

# **Heroes, Traitors, and Survivors in the Borderlands of Empires**

Military Mobilizations and Local Communities in the Sandžak (1900s-1920s)

## **D i s s e r t a t i o n**

zur Erlangung des akademischen Grades

### **Doctor philosophiae (Dr. phil.)**

eingereicht

an der Philosophischen Fakultät  
der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin

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Zu Beginn des 20. Jahrhundert bildete der aus zahlreichen Grenzgebieten bestehende und zwischen der Habsburgermonarchie, Serbien und Montenegro befindliche Sandžak die nördlichsten Teile der osmanischen Provinz Kosovo. Dessen multikonfessionelle und mehrsprachige Einwohner waren bis zu frühen 1920er Jahren den Regierungspraktiken von fünf Staaten unterworfen: dem Osmanischen Reich, Montenegro, Serbien, der Habsburgermonarchie und dem Königreich der Serben, Kroaten und Slowenen. Es gelang jedem dieser Staaten, die Einheimische für ihre eigenen militärischen Zwecke zu mobilisieren, vor allem im Rahmen der Balkankriege 1912/13 und des Ersten Weltkriegs. Bislang hat sich die Geschichtsschreibung entweder auf eine imaginäre Gemeinschaft oder auf Regierungsstrukturen konzentriert. Damit tappte sie oftmals in die Falle des methodischen und/oder regionalen Nationalismus sowie der Opfererzählung. Die vorliegende Dissertation bietet einen umfassenderen und differenzierteren Ansatz, indem sie eine lokale Perspektive einnimmt und bei den Mobilmachungsbemühungen des Staates nach dem „Großen im Kleinen“ sucht. Die Studie, die an der Schnittstelle zwischen neuer Militär-, Sozial- und Kulturgeschichte sowie der Sozialgeschichte der Religion angesiedelt ist, zeigt, dass die militärischen Mobilisierungen ein Feld konstruierten, das es ermöglicht, verschiedene Staatsziele zu analysieren, einschließlich der Figurationen zwischen der herrschenden Eliten und den Einheimischen. Durch die Synthese von Quellen unterschiedlicher Herkunft, Art und Sprache konzentriert sich die Erzählung sowohl auf staatliche Pläne, die die Mobilmachungen zu verschleiern versuchten, als auch auf die Lebenswelten der Einheimischen. Hierzu werden verschiedene Ebenen des Regimewechsels, die Vorstellungen von Loyalität, Sicherheit und Ungewissheit im Wandel untersucht. Die Dissertation befasst sich mit Praktiken der Abgrenzung und Verdinglichung auferlegter Kategorien, mit Strategien der herrschenden Eliten, mit Widerstandstaktiken der Einheimischen, mit der Position von Frauen und Kindern in diesem Kontext. Letztere werden in verschiedenen Maßstäben analysiert. Die militärischen Mobilmachungen des Staates zielen darauf ab, den Übergang von Grenzgebieten als Ort, an dem gesellschaftliche Gefüge verschwommen sind, zu angrenzendem Land, wo feste ethnonationale Hierarchien und die Verwaltung von Ressourcen – in staatlicher Hand etabliert sind, zu erleichtern. Bei genauer Betrachtung der Mobilmachungsbemühungen zeigt die Dissertation, dass dies kein eindimensionaler Prozess war, da verschiedene einheimische Akteure diese staatliche Regelung unterlaufen und behindern konnten.

Stichworte: Militär, Imperien, Nationalstaaten, Verflochtene Geschichte

At the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the Sandžak, a mental map which consisted of numerous borderlands, consisted the northmost parts of the Ottoman province of Kosovo. By the early 1920s, its multi-confessional and multi-lingual inhabitants were subject to the governmental practices of the five following polities: The Ottoman Empire, Montenegro, Serbia, the Habsburg Monarchy, and the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes. Each of these states managed to mobilize the locals for their own military purposes (the Balkans Wars (1912/13) and World War I). The historiography has dealt namely with the broader setting, either by focusing on one imagined community or on governmental structures, thereby falling into the trap of methodological and/or regional nationalism, and the victimhood narrative. The present dissertation offers a more nuanced approach by attending to a local perspective and searching for the “big in the small” in the state’s mobilization efforts. Couched at the crossroads of new military, social, and cultural histories, and the social history of religion, the study contents that the military mobilizations constructed a field through which analyzing various states goals, including figurations between the ruling elites and the locals of various forms of capital and gender, is feasible. Through the mixture of sources of different origin, type, and language, the narrative is centered on the state’s hidden plans which the mobilizations aptly veiled, and on the lifeworld of the locals by investigating various levels of regime change, and the notions of loyalty, security, and uncertainty from Ottoman to SCS rule. The study deals with the practices of demarcation and/or reification of imposed categories; its strategies for achieving mobilization of the borderlands’ inhabitants; how the tactics of the latter, regardless of confession, were used to defy the governance policies; the position of women and children in this game; and all their local social networks. The state’s military mobilizations were aimed at facilitating the transition of borderlands, as a place where societal boundaries were blurred, to bordered land, where fixed ethno-national hierarchizations and the management of resource – in the hands of the state – were achieved. The dissertation shows that this transition was not a one-dimensional process since different locals hampered this regulation.

**Keywords:** Military, Empires, Nation-States, Entangled History

The present dissertation is the result of a dialogue between Humboldt University in Berlin and the Berlin Graduate School Muslim Cultures and Societies at the Free University in Berlin, a dialogue that I had with wonderful people during my journey since late 2016. Every text is indebted to our academic encounters with other people and their works. I am fortunate to have remarkable institutional and personal support that has made this long research journey both immensely rewarding (and somewhat painful) and ultimately successful. The study was a never-ending learning experience, and I am indebted to all those colleagues, supervisors, and research participants – many of whom have become friends in the meantime – who exchanged their thoughts with me. I am filled with gratitude for my two principal supervisors: Hannes Grandits from the Chair for Southeast-European History at Humboldt University and Nora Lafi affiliated at Leibniz-Zentrum Moderner Orient and the Institute of Islamic Studies of the Free University. Their expertise, continuous support, encouragement, patience, constructive criticism, and guidance both enriched my knowledge and directed the work thoroughly from its inception. Their help also was crucial in adjusting to the new academic environment in Berlin and understanding the complexities of the German academic system. Without their firm assistance, the dissertation would not exist today, and I am the only one liable for the mistakes and inaccuracies to be found in this study.

The realization of the present project would not have been possible without the pleasant financial support of the DAAD: German Academic Exchange Service and its Graduate School Scholarship Programs. I also thank the DAAD for financing my archival and library research stays in Istanbul, Ankara, Belgrade, Novi Pazar, Podgorica, Cetinje, and Bern. I am grateful to Laura Mendelssohn, my contact at the DAAD for explaining to me how to navigate throughout the system. Thanks to the Central European Network for Teaching and Research in Academic Liaison (CENTRAL) and its financial support, which allowed me to conduct research in Vienna in 2018, as well as an academic stay at the Institute for East-European History at the University of Vienna at the invitation of Oliver Jens Schmitt, for which I owe a considerable debt and from whom I benefited greatly. Besides providing initial financial support, the Berlin Graduate School Muslim Cultures and Societies offered me an ideal working environment, and the chance to pursue and conceptualize my research in an unbelievable setting. The school, its staff and its fellows became my supporting community, many of whom have become close friends and with whom I shared and still share my joy, a glass of beer, wine, a meal, tea, and doubts. I

am indebted to Lucía Cirianni Salazar, Lisa Ernst, Laura Hinderlang, Soheb Niazi, Besnik Sinani, Viktor Ullmann, André Weißenfels, Özgür Ögütçü, and Zeynep Ertuğrul.

I would have never been able to finish my work without the help, advice, and constructive criticism of my other “academic” home, the Chair for Southeast-European History at Humboldt University and its *kleines Kolloquium* consisting of wonderful fellows, who also became an important part of my life, just as those of the BGSMS. I owe a considerable debt to Thomas Schad, Ruža Fotiadis, Johannes Breit, Janis Nalbadidacis, Matthias Thaden, Martin Blasius, Kathrin Jurkat, Veronika Hager, Thomas Porena, and Fernando Zamola, whose critic and engagement enriched the dissertation by reading part or even whole chapters of the work. I am particularly indebted to Fernando Zamola for his suggestion concerning the title of the study. Your endless stream of comments during and after the colloquium constitutes part of my narrative, for which I am indebted to all of you.

The dissertation builds upon the critical reflections, conversations, collaborations, conference presentations, talks, and lectures made in Sarajevo, Berlin, Zürich, Aarhus, Budapest, Vienna, Paris, Bern, Sofia, Göttingen, and Berkeley. For their care, critique, and feedbacks, I am grateful to Raphael Schwere, Petar Todorov, Christian Axboe Nielsen, Martin Zückert, Natalie Clayer, Xavier Bougarel, Robert Pichler, Nazan Maksudyan, Max Bergholz, Dennis Dierks, Franziska Anna Zaugg, Isabel Ströhle, Elke Hartmann, John Paul Newman, Dmitar Tasić, Heiko Brendel, Danilo Šarenac, Eli Krasniqi, Rok Stergar, Siniša Malešević, Christian Marchetti, Clemens Ruthner, Milan Ristović, Tamara Scheer, Husnija Kamberović, Spyros Tsoutsoumpis, Šerbo Rastoder, Martin Valkov, Charalambos Minasidis, Stacy Fahrenthold, Andreas Guidi, Robert Pichler, Michael Portmann, Tchavdar Marinov, Denis Ljuljanović, Dalibor Denda, Miljan Milkić, Christopher Kinley, Emily Greble, Ussama Makdisi, Lale Can, Michael Provence, Sean Tomlinson, Abed Takriti, Christine Philliou, Malte Fuhrmann, Ulrike Freitag, Daniel Marc Segesser, Christian Gerlach, Franz Eder, Brigitta Schmidt-Lauber, and Gesine Krüger. By talking to them I learned so much and some of them also offered their suggestions, encouragement, and comments on different draft manuscripts. Franziska, Eli, Petar, Dmitar, and Danilo were there with encouragement when I needed it the most, and when I harbored doubts about how I should proceed further with my work.

I am thankful to Atvija Kerović, Hivzo Gološ, Miloš K. Vojinović, Dragan S. Paldrmić, Nurbanu Duman, Ridvan Ayaydın, Mustafa Tercan, Ali Açıkgöz, Natalija Dimić, Rastko Lompar, Miloš Vojinović, Vladislav Lilić, Bogdan Živković, Nemanja Radonjić, Tomislav Marković, Davor Stipić, Miloš Vukanović, Stefan Gužvica, Aleksandar Savić, Uroš Šešum, Rade Ristanović, Filip Kuzman, Dino Dupanović, Miloš Perišić, Luka Jovanović, Petar



Glendža, Jelica and Nedeljko Samardžić, Tanja Samardžić and Fabio Scascighini, Biljana Jotić, Umihana Redžepagić, Selma Gusinac, Ana Kapor, Davor Tomić, Igor Radulović, and Tomaš Damjanović. They suggested, bought, carried, sent, scanned, and photographed material needed for writing this project when traveling was not possible. My sisters, Snežana and Božana, equally participated in this since I forced them to seek for books in Banja Luka and Belgrade. Jelica and Nedeljko, Tanja and Fabio, Ana and Davor, Miloš, Igor, Umihana, and Selma who hosted me while conducting research in Belgrade, Bern, Sarajevo, Podgorica, and Istanbul, for which I am gratefully indebted to them. Nurbanu, Ridvan, and Mustafa, as well as *hocam* Mahir Aydın, at my previous alma mater İstanbul Üniversitesi, have always offered me support in deciphering Ottoman terms when I hit a dead-end, I cannot find words to express my thanks for this help. I also thank Samantha Guzman for her meticulous proofreading, as well as Dušan Dačić for enriching the dissertation with maps. For their help and patience which they showed me during my work at the archives and libraries in Austria, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Germany, Montenegro, Serbia, Switzerland, and Turkey, I thank the personnel in these countries.

Equally as important was the constant support and encouragement from my family: Ivana, my wife, and Ines, our daughter. Although Ines came to the world at the beginning of this endeavor, seeing her growing or laughing at moments of self-doubt was enough to make my day, particularly during the Covid-19 pandemic, which still defines our everyday life and during which time writing became extremely difficult. For listing my sorrows, calming my anxieties, and just being there for me, I owe you a lot, Ivana since you provided endless support and help in times of doubt and disappointments, and assisted me with staying on track. I dedicate this work to you, although I am sure that you are not thrilled with such an idea.

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## Abbreviations

### *Archives and Sources*

<b>ABH</b>	= Arhiv Bosne i Hercegovina
<b>ABO</b>	= Arhivsko-bibliotečko odjeljenje
<b>AhOB GSt</b>	= Allerhöchster Oberbefehl Chef des Generalstabs
<b>AHG</b>	= Arhiv Hivzo Gološ
<b>AJ</b>	= Arhiv Jugoslavije
<b>AMV</b>	= Arhiv Miloš K. Vojinović
<b>AOK Op. Abt. B-Gruppe</b>	= Armeoberkommando Operationsabteilung Balkan-Gruppe
<b>AOK Qu. Abt.</b>	= Armeoberkommando Quartiermeisterabteilung
<b>ASANU</b>	= Arhiv Srpske akademije nauka i umetnosti
<b>ATASE</b>	= Genelkurmay Askerî Tarih ve Stratejik Etütü
<b>BAR</b>	= Schweizerisches Bundesarchiv
<b>BIUCG</b>	= Biblioteka Istorijskog instituta Univerziteta Crne Gore
<b>BEO</b>	= Babıali Evrak Odası
<b>BH</b>	= Balkan Harbi
<b>BOA</b>	= Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi
<b>BS I WK</b>	= Bildersammlung Erster Weltkrieg
<b>DACG</b>	= Državni arhiv Crne Gore
<b>DAS</b>	= Državni arhiv Srbije
<b>DH.EUM.KADL</b>	= Dahiliye Nezareti Eminiyet-i Umumiye Müdüriyeti Kısmı Adli
<b>DH.EUM.KLU</b>	= Dahiliye Nezareti Emniyet-i Umumiye Kalemî
<b>DH.ID</b>	= Dahiliye Nezareti İdare
<b>DH.MKT</b>	= Dahiliye Nezareti Mektubî Kalemî
<b>DH.SYS</b>	= Dahiliye Nezareti Siyasi Kısmı
<b>DPP</b>	= Dosije personalnih podataka oficira Kraljevine Jugoslavije
<b>FA NFA MGG/S</b>	= Feldakten Neue Feldakten Militärgeneralgouvernement Serbien
<b>FA NFA MGG/M</b>	= Feldakten Neue Feldakten Militärgeneralgouvernement Montenegro
<b>G-Akten</b>	= Geheimakten
<b>GHB</b>	= Biblioteka Gazi Husrev-begove džamije
<b>HR.SYS</b>	= Hariciye Nezareti Siyasi Kalemî
<b>HR.TH</b>	= Hariciye Nezareti Tercüme Odası
<b>IA</b>	= Istorijski arhiv
<b>IAR</b>	= Istorijski arhiv Ras
<b>İSH</b>	= İstiklal Harbi
<b>GKA KsA</b>	= Gesandtschaft- und Konsulatsarchive
<b>KC</b>	= Kapetanija cetinjska
<b>KuP</b>	= Konzulat u Prištini
<b>KuS</b>	= Konzulat u Skoplju
<b>LZMO</b>	= Leibniz-Zentrum Moderner Orient
<b>MdÄ</b>	= Ministerium des Äußern
<b>MID</b>	= Ministarstvo inostranih dela
<b>MID-KIZ</b>	= Ministarstvo inostranih dela, Komisija za ispitivanje zločina
<b>MID-PC</b>	= Ministarstvo inostranih djela, Poslanstvo u Carigradu
<b>MID-PP</b>	= Ministarstvo inostranih dela, Političko-prosvetno odeljenje
<b>MID-PO</b>	= Ministarstvo inostranih dela, Političko odeljenje
<b>MPs-C</b>	= Ministarstvo prosvete i crkvenih dela
<b>MUD-İK</b>	= Ministarstvo unutrašnjih djela, Istražna komisija
<b>MUD-P</b>	= Ministarstvo unutrašnjih dela, Policijsko
<b>MUDuI, OP</b>	= Ministarstvo unutrašnjih dela u izbeglištvo, Odeljenje policijsko
<b>MUDuI, OJB</b>	= Ministarstvo unutrašnjih dela u izbeglištvo Odeljenje javne bezbednosti

<b>MUD-UO</b>	= Ministarstvo unutrašnjih djela, Unutrašnje odjeljenje
<b>MUD-ŠVK</b>	= Ministarstvo unutrašnjih dela, Štab Vrhovne komande
<b>MV</b>	= Meclis-i Vükela Mazbatkları
<b>MV-KMV</b>	= Ministarstvo vojno, Kabinet ministra vojnog
<b>MV-Raspisi i zakoni</b>	= Ministarstvo vojno, Raspisi i zakoni
<b>MV-VS</b>	= Ministarstvo vojno, Vojni sudovi
<b>MV-DVb</b>	= Ministarstvo vojno, Donjovasojevićka brigada
<b>NB</b>	= Narodna biblioteka
<b>NPA</b>	= Neues Politisches Archiv
<b>N. I</b>	= Fond Nikola I
<b>NMCG</b>	= Narodni muzej Crne Gore
<b>OuBP</b>	= Oblasna uprava Bijelo Polje
<b>OuP</b>	= Oblasna uprava Peć
<b>OuPlj</b>	= Oblasna uprava Pljevlja
<b>ÖNb, POR, WK1/KS/Serbien</b>	= Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Bildarchiv und Grafiksammlung Kriegssammlung Erster Weltkrieg
<b>ÖStA/AdR</b>	= Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Archiv der Republik
<b>ÖStA/HHStA</b>	= Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv
<b>ÖStA/KA</b>	= Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Kriegsarchiv
<b>PA I</b>	= Ministerium des Äußern, Politisches Archiv Allgemeines
<b>PA XII</b>	= Ministerium des Äußern, Politisches Archiv Türkei
<b>PA XXXVIII</b>	= Ministerium des Äußern, Politisches Archiv Konsulate
<b>PA AA</b>	= Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes
<b>PPKŽ</b>	= Političko-pogranični komeserijat Žabljak
<b>RZ 201</b>	= Länderabteilung I (1867-1919)
<b>RZ 206</b>	= Länderabteilung II (1920-1936)
<b>SVL KS</b>	= Službeni vojni list Kraljevine Srbije
<b>SVL KSHS</b>	= Službeni vojni list Kraljevine Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca
<b>TFR.I.KV</b>	= Teftişat-ı Rumeli Kosova Evrakı
<b>TFR.I.ŞKT</b>	= Teftişat-ı Rumeli Şikayet
<b>VA</b>	= Vojni arhiv
<b>VGG</b>	= Vojni generalni guverman za Srbiju
<b>VK</b>	= Vrhovna komanda
<b>Y.PRK.ASK</b>	= Yıldız Askerî Maruzat Evrakı
<b>Y.MTV</b>	= Yıldız Mütenevvi Maruzat Belgeleri
<b>Y.PRK.UM</b>	= Yıldız Perakende Evrakı Umum Vilayet
<b>ZF</b>	= Zbirka fotografija
<b>ZVS</b>	= Zemaljska vlada Sarajevo

*Others*

<b>1JB</b>	= Prva jugoslovenska brigada
<b>D</b>	= Dosije
<b>F</b>	= Fascikla
<b>GC</b>	= Glas Crnogorca
<b>K</b>	= Kutija
<b>KKO</b>	= Komanda Kombinovanog odredba
<b>KOB</b>	= Komanda odbrane Beograda
<b>KDZO</b>	= Komanda Zetske divizijske oblasti
<b>KIDO</b>	= Komanda Ibarske divizijske oblasti
<b>KKDO</b>	= Komanda Kosovske divizijske oblasti
<b>KKRT</b>	= Komanda Kruševačkih rezervnih trupa
<b>KKRT</b>	= Komanda Kragujevačkih rezervnih trupa
<b>KMDO</b>	= Komanda Moravske divizijske oblasti

<b>KNRT</b>	= Komanda rezervnih trupa
<b>Kt.</b>	= Karton
<b>KUB</b>	= Komanda Uzičke brigade
<b>KUA</b>	= Komanda Uzičke vojske
<b>KIA</b>	= Komanda Prve armije
<b>KHIAO</b>	= Komanda Druge armijske oblasti
<b>KHIAO</b>	= Komanda Treće armijske oblasti
<b>JD</b>	= Jugoslovenska divizija
<b>MoEaCA</b>	= Ministry of Education and Confessional Affairs
<b>MoFA</b>	= Ministry of Foreign Affairs
<b>MoI</b>	= Ministry of the Interior
<b>MoW</b>	= Ministry of War
<b>MoWN</b>	= Ministry of War and Navy
<b>M.V. Nr.</b>	= Militärverwaltungsnummer
<b>Nr.</b>	= Nummer
<b>pov.</b>	= poverljivo
<b>P</b>	= Popisnik
<b>R</b>	= Red
<b>Op. Nr.</b>	= Operationsnummer
<b>SN</b>	= Srpske novine

## Notes on Transliteration and Toponymies

Rather than using the various complex scholarly system of rendering Ottoman Turkish into the Latin script, I opted to use using the modern Turkish orthography throughout the study, as suggested by the International Journal of Middle East Studies (IJMES).<sup>1</sup>

The use of the place names entailed considerable technical difficulties for the present dissertation since not only Slavic vernaculars, but also Albanian, German, and Ottoman names existed during the time period. I had considered providing all variants; however, this would make reading flow the work considerably difficult and disruptive. Additionally, using only the Albanian and Slavic names is not sufficient because even Slavic labels used in the local, Montenegrin, and Serbian context are not coherent, as one would assume. For example, the town of Taşlıca in Ottoman Turkish was called Taşlıdža, Pljevlja, Pljevlje, Plevlja, or Plevlje. In order to avoid confusion, the study adheres to the Ottoman designations when referring to the (post-)Ottoman space prior to and after 1912 – except in the cases of Berane, the Vasojevići, Istanbul, Kosovo, Stari Vlah, and villages, for which international or Slavic designations are used. The following table nevertheless depicts places and imagined landscapes in Albanian, BHS, and German, and is meant to assist in the reading of the text.

Ottoman Turkish <sup>2</sup>	Albanian	BHS	German
Akova	Bellopoja	Bijelo/Belo Polje	Bijelopolje
Berana	Berana	Berane	Berane
Bihor	/	Bihor, Bior, Raštak	Bihor, Bior, Raštak
Gusine	Gusine/Gucia	Gusinje	Gusinje
İpek	Peja	Peć	Ipek
İşkodra	Shkodra	Skadar	Scutari
Kalkadelen	Tetova	Tetovo	/
Kolaşin-i Zîr	/	Donji Kolaşin	Donji Kolaşin
Kolaşin	Kolashini i Ibrit	Stari/Ibarski Kolaşin	Kolaşin
Kumanova	Kumanova	Kumanovo	Kumanova
Manastır	Manastiri	Bitolj	/
Mitroviça(e)	Mitrovica	(Kosovska) Mitrovica	Mitrovitza am Kossovo
Plava	Plava	Plav	Plava
Peşter	Peshter	Peşter/Peštera	Peštera

<sup>1</sup><https://www.cambridge.org/core/services/aop-file-manager/file/57d83390f6ea5a022234b400/TransChart.pdf> accessed 11/02/2021.

<sup>2</sup> For the Ottoman Turkish toponymies see M. Türker Acaroğlu, *Balkanlar'da Türkçe Yer Adları Kılavuzu* (İstanbul: IQ Kültür Sanat Yayıncılık, 2006). and Tahir Sezen, *Osmanlı Yer Adları* (Ankara: T.C. Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü, 2017).

Pirlepe	Përlepi	Prilep	/
Prizrin/Prizren	Prizren	Prizren	Prizren
Preboy	/	Priboj	Priboj
Prepole	Prepoli	Prijepolje	Prijepolje
Preşova	Presheva	Preševo	/
Priştine	Prishtina	Priština	/
Rugov/a	Rugova	Rugova	Rugova
Selanik	Selaniku	Solun	/
Seniçe	Senica	Senica/Sjenica	Sjenica
Taşlıca	Plevla	Taşlidža/Pljevlja	Plevlje/Taşlidža
Tırgovişte	Rozhaja	Rožaje/a	Rož(zh)aj
Üsküp	Shkupi	Skoplje	Skoplje/Skopje/ Üsküb
Vulçitrın	Vushtrria	Vučitrn	Vučitrn
Yakova	Gjakova	Đakovica	Djakova
Yeni Pazar	Pazari i Ri	Novi Pazar	Novipazar
Yeni Varoş	/	Nova Varoş	Novavaroş

Map 1: Simplifications of the Political Borders in the Borderlands Prior to the Balkan Wars (1912/13)





Map 2: Complexity of the Borderlands (1900s-1920s)



## 1 Introduction

### 1.1. Questions, Aims, and Scope of the Study

Private Kosta Đorđević, a native of Üsküp [Ottoman Macedonia], 28 years old, unmarried, illiterate, was in the Ottoman army before the Balkan Wars serving as a non-commissioned officer, and [then] in the Serbian army as a paramilitary [during the same conflicts]. He was wounded in the leg and then, he was captured (...) in 1914 by the Hungarians and sent to [a prisoner-of-war camp]. From there, he was sent to the [Habsburg-]Italian front and [Habsburg Bosnia where he] repair[ed] road and railways. One day Ziya Bey came with a Habsburg general and separated all the Muslims born in [the former Ottoman provinces], who were later sent to Istanbul and to the depo of the Ottoman army. [While in Bosna] Kosta stated that he was a Turk and, as he knows how to read and write Ottoman well, was taken to an [Ottoman] non-commissioned officer school, where he spent six months, and then he was made a sergeant. As a sergeant of the [unit], he was deployed on the Baghdad-Samara front and while he was rendering guard's duty (...) he surrendered himself with the whole platoon (...) to the British army (...) now wanting to join the Serbian army [once again!]<sup>3</sup>

It would be wrong to think that Kosta's story, which seems similar to some Hollywood movies, was unique. Five months after the Balkan War broke out, some former Ottoman junior officers and soldiers, who hailed from the occupied Ottoman Balkan provinces, fought under the Serbian banner against the Bulgarian army in a new conflict.<sup>4</sup> The unknown number of the latter served in the same army during WWI, singing to the beat of Serbian patriotic songs and dying for the new homeland. Either they preserved their military titles or got promoted, thus becoming a crucial part in enhancing the bond between inexperienced Albanian, Slavic and/or Turkish-speaking Serbian soldiers of Muslim creed and officers.<sup>5</sup> In the wake of the Serbian defeat, now under Habsburg rule, while serving as Serbian POWs in the Habsburg Monarchy, they entered for the second time (!) into the Ottoman rank, serving in Galicia, Arabia or in the Caucasus; or they threw in their lot with the Austrian and the Hungarian Honvéd regiments, also fighting in Galicia or at the Habsburg-Italian front.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> VA/Belgrade, P3, K178, F3, 3/1, *Podaci o prilikama u Srbiji okupiranoj od Bugara 1916-1918. godine*, #19434, 18.10.1917. All translations are mine unless otherwise indicated.

<sup>4</sup> VA/Belgrade, P2, K15, F1, 15/7, 15.05.1913, Skoplje, Supreme Command to the MoW; *ibid*, 15/6, 18.05.1913, Skoplje, Supreme Command to the MoW; DAS/Belgrade, ŠVK-PO 1912/13, B-2388, #2284, Cipher sent on 06.06. and received on 07.06.1913 from Pljevlja; Pavle Blažarić, *Memoari* (Leposavić: Institut za srpsku kulturu Priština/Leposavić, 2006), 173-82. See also Miloš Jagodić, *Novi krajevi Srbije (1912-1915)* (Beograd: Filozofski fakultet, Univerzitet u Beogradu, 2013), 193-97. and Dalibor Denda, "Završni izveštaji austrougarskog vojnog atašea u Beogradu o srpskoj vojsci u Balkanskim ratovima 1912/1913," in *Balkanski ratovi 1912/1913: Nova viđenja i tumačenja*, ed. Srđan Rudić and Miljan Milkić (Beograd: Istorijski institut / Institut za strategijska istraživanja, 2013), 125-58, here pp. 50.

<sup>5</sup> VA/Belgrade, P3, K81, F4, 8/44, #10741, 02.01.1915, Kragujevac, Supreme Command to the KNRT; *ibid*, K72, F5, 22/9, 24.04.1915, Kragujevac, Supreme Command to the KOB; *ibid*, K81, F4, 8/91, 20.05.1915, #3540, Topčidersko brdo, KKO to the KOB; *ibid*, K72, F5, 22/6, #23, 05.06.1915, Kumodraž, Commander of the 4<sup>th</sup> Battalion to the Commadner of the 19<sup>th</sup> Infantry Regiment; VA/Belgrade, P3, K72, F5, 22/6, 15.07.1915, Položaj, Commander of the 4<sup>th</sup> Battalion to the Commander of the 10<sup>th</sup> Infantry Regiment and *ibid*, K72, F5, 22/6, #4149, 21.07.1915, KKO to the Supreme Command.

<sup>6</sup> BOA/Istanbul, HR.SYS, 2319/4, leff 35/3, 09.04.1917, Belgrade, Ottoman Proxy to the MoFA; *ibid*, leff 33/2, 25 Temmuz 1333 [04/04/1917], Belgrade, Ottoman Proxy to the MoFA; ÖStA/KA/Vienna, AOK Op. Abt. B-Gruppe, 510/1916, #31432, 02.10.1916, AOK to the MGG/M and KM; *ibid*, Nr. 32370, #20512, 13.10.1916, Vienna, KM to the AOK; *ibid*, 13.10.1916, Vienna, KM to the Mostar Military Command; *ibid*, AOK Op. Abt. B-Gruppe, 510/1916, #33434, Präs. Nr. 17775, 29.10.1916, Belgrade, MGG/S to the AOK; ÖStA/HHStA/Vienna, PA I 1007/50w, #8572, 28.11.1916, Teschen, Proxy to the MdÄ; ÖStA/KA/Vienna, AOK Qu. Abt. 2448/1917, M.V. Nr. 64401/S, #12262, 01.05.1917, Belgrade, MGG/S to the AOK and *ibid*, M.V. Nr. 64374/S, #9952, KM to the Railway Army Command South; DAS/Belgrade, MID-KIZ, K35, R79, 10.12.1918, Sofija, Kurtano Laković iz Velesa; *ibid*, Amaćir Jusufović iz Velesa; *ibid*, K44, R24, 22.12.1918, Sofija, Aši Ašević iz Dojrana and *ibid*, K35, R54, 22.12.1918, Sofija, Arif Abidović iz Dojrana to the Proxy.

Others fought under the Habsburg flag, while their kin remained in Habsburg captivity far from their homes.<sup>7</sup> The number of those who (re-)entered into the Ottoman army between 1916 and 1918 from the post-1913 Ottoman Balkan provinces was around 50.000.<sup>8</sup> Those who were deployed on the Iraqi front fell captive to the British and were then shipped to Egypt or British-colonized India in POW camps, where they saw the end of WWI.<sup>9</sup> After reaching Istanbul, which was occupied by the Allies, they now tried to return to their homes, where a new draft had been waiting for them, although it was the army of the Kingdom of Slavs, Croats, and Slovenes (= SCS).<sup>10</sup>

Their life trajectories were far from coherent or linear and at the same time, showed their mobility between the armies, polities, spaces, fronts, and the continents between the 1900s and the 1920s. Categorizing them all as nationally/confessionally indifferent or simple as collaborators is misleading. The latter term represented a highly charged concept signifying asymmetric relations of power, not to mention its chief usage within the context of WWII.<sup>11</sup> By referring to their life trajectories, the four main questions continue recurring throughout the present study: how does every state manage to mobilize the bilingual male populations into their (para-)militaries? What are the locals' reasons for joining this or that (para-)military unit? What is the role of women and children in this game? And, ultimately, what are the corollaries of the military mobilizations for the societal fabrics in their native areas? Thus, the life trajectory of the Ottoman, Serbian, Habsburg, again Ottoman, and SCS soldiers represents only a small piece of a much larger puzzle.

The initial hypothesis is that the state's mobilization efforts, which aptly conceal various hidden transcripts of the ruling elites, cannot be explained only by highlighting the national and

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<sup>7</sup> DAS/Belgrade, VGG, 8-1107, 12.04.1917, Municipality of Vojkovac, Amir Ismailović to the Novi Pazar District Command. See also Nemanja M. Kalezić and Jasmina I. Tomašević, "'Pisati se mogu samo privatne vesti': privatna korespondencija tokom Prvog svetskog rata," ed. Narodna biblioteka Srbije (Beograd: Narodna biblioteka Srbije, 2018), Letters of Trajko Arsić and his family, 42.

<sup>8</sup> ATASE/Ankara, İSH, 80-10AA, 31/01/1920, (...) Bulgaristan'ın Harb-i Umumi'ye iştirakından sonra Trakya ve Yunan Makedonyası ve Sırp Makedonyası ve Arnavutluk ve şimalî Arnavutluk ahalisinden elli bin kadar efradın Osmanlı ordusuna gönderildiği (...)

<sup>9</sup> VA/Belgrade, P3, K178, F3, 3/1, *Podaci o prilikama u Srbiji okupiranoj od Bugara 1916-1918. godine*, #19434, 18.10.1917; #25002, 02.50.1918 and DAS/Belgrade, MUDuI, OJB, 1919/2, #1470, 30.10.1919, Beograd, MoFA to the MoI.

<sup>10</sup> VA/Belgrade, P4/3, K57, F7, 14/27, #295, 24.07.1919, The Court of the Malj Municipality to the Mitrovica POK and AJ/Belgrade, 370-6-136, #53, 08.11.1921, Istanbul, Chargé d'affaires to the MoFA.

<sup>11</sup> On the confessional and national indifference, and its critique see Pascal Siegers, "Religious Indifference and Religious Rites of Passage," in *Religious Indifference: New Perspectives From Studies on Secularization and Nonreligion*, ed. Johannes Quack and Cora Schuh (Cham: Springer, 2017), 171-92. Tara Zahra, "Imagined Noncommunities: National Indifference as a Category of Analysis," *Slavic Review* 69, no. 1 (2010): 93-119. and Tara Zahra, *Kidnapped Souls: National Indifference and the Battle for Children in the Bohemian Lands, 1900-1948* (Ithaca / New York: Cornell University Press, 2011). and Alex Toshkov, "The Phantom Subject of 'National Indifference': A Response to Tara Zahra, Imagined Noncommunities: National Indifference as a Category of Analysis," *Slavic Review* 69, no. 1 (2010): 94. On the notion of collaboration in WWII see Stathis N. Kalyvas, "Collaboration in Comparative Perspective," *European History Quarterly* 15, no. 2 (2008): 109-11. and Christoph Dieckmann, Babette Quinkert, and Tatjana Tönsmeier, "Editorial," in *Kooperation und Verbrechen: Formen der Kollaboration in Südöst- und Osteuropa 1939-1945*, ed. Tatjana Tönsmeier, Babette Quinkert, and Christoph Dieckmann (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag GmbH, 2012), 7-23.

confessional fervors. To deconstruct this and give a more nuanced narrative, one should pay heed to other drafting tools that, combined with the former, engendered a powerful pulling force on the locals. It is pivotal to be mindful of language communities, networks, worldview (self-)interpretations, national and/or confessional ideological drafts, particular loyalties, age, gender, and local standings. These pre-war socializing filters play an important role in understanding the agency, intention, and the lifeworld of the locals before, during and after war(s).<sup>12</sup> Their actions, based on the causally related and contextualized evidences, had to be explained by specifying the social inference and immediate settings, including the social worlds that set the boundaries of their sensemaking.<sup>13</sup> Depending on the time, they were heroes and/or traitors in the eyes of the ruling elites, but in the present dissertation, they are survivors as well.<sup>14</sup>

This is exemplified through the prism of the Sandžak, an imagined Ottoman region consisting of numerous borderlands that covered various administrative units and was located between the Habsburg Monarchy, Serbia and Montenegro prior to 1912 (Map 1).<sup>15</sup> Until 1918, the area was part of Montenegro, Serbia (1912-1915/6), the Habsburg Monarchy (1915/6-1918), and finally the Kingdom of SCS (from 1918), remaining thereby an open-end borderland. It provides the setting in which one is able to evaluate the state's mobilizations efforts during the Balkans Wars (1912/13) and WWI by seeing it as a never-ending process and underlining the interrelation between the locals of various backgrounds and the ruling elites. Even though the politics perceived the former through the clear-cut national and/or confessional lenses, the present study is not concerned with one isolated "group." This is unfeasible given the many shared links that bonded the peoples locally. The focus is placed on their practices, how they were vulnerable or resistant to the state control, how they were mobilized, how they transgressed it, and how they remained alive.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> Reinhart Koselleck, "Der Einfluß der beiden Weltkriege auf das soziale Bewußtsein," in *Der Krieg des kleinen Mannes: Eine Militärgeschichte von unten*, ed. Wolfram Wette (München: Piper, 1992), 324-43. Nikolaus Buschmann and Horst Carl, "Zugänge zur Erfahrungsgeschichte des Krieges: Forschung, Theorie, Fragestellung," in *Die Erfahrung des Krieges: Erfahrungsgeschichtliche Perspektiven von der Französischen Revolution bis zum Zweiten Weltkrieg*, ed. Nikolaus Buschmann and Horst Carl (Padaborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2001), 11-26. Nikolaus Buschmann and Aribert Reimann, "Die Konstruktion historischer Erfahrung: Neue Wege zu einer Erfahrungsgeschichte des Krieges," in *Die Erfahrung des Krieges: Erfahrungsgeschichtliche Perspektiven von der Französischen Revolution bis zum Zweiten Weltkrieg*, ed. Nikolaus Buschmann and Horst Carl (Padaborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2001), 261-71. and Ralf Pröve, *Militär, Staat und Gesellschaft im 19. Jahrhundert* (München: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 2006), 82-83.

<sup>13</sup> Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann, *Die gesellschaftliche Konstruktion der Wirklichkeit: Eine Theorie der Wissenssoziologie* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 2003), 20. Alun Munslow, *Deconstructing History* (London / New York: Routledge: Taylor and Francis Group, 2006), 5-7, 12-14, 18, 56-58. and Michael T. Hannan et al., *Concepts and Categories: Foundations for Sociological and Cultural Analysis* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2019).

<sup>14</sup> James S. Scott, *Tahakküm ve Direniş Sanatları: Gizli Senaryolar* (İstanbul: Ayrıntı Yayınları, 2018).

<sup>15</sup> On the case-study approach see John Gerring, *Case Study Research: Principles and Practices* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

<sup>16</sup> Talal Asad, *The Idea of an Anthropology of Islam* (Washington D. C.: Center for Contemporary Arab Studies Georgetown University, 1986), 1, 5, 13-15. Ana Ranitović, "Why Do They Call it Raška When They Mean Sandžak? On the Synchrony and Diachrony of Identities in Southwest Serbia" (PhD University of Oxford, 2018), 10-11. and Andreas Guidi, "Youth and

The present work takes an inside-outward perspective and adopts a view from within the region. In seeking to understand as many aspects of a particular space as possible, it underlines multidimensional knowledge by not essentializing or totalizing the area, although any choice of the latter is not neutral. By paying heed to the locals, their localities, histories, activities, coexistences, ways of being, and production of spaces, one overcomes the enclosed space and counterweights the imposed epistemologies. Thus, the region itself is actually composed of various spaces, which in turn allow a comparative and relational context.<sup>17</sup>

In order to better conceptualize the hypothesis, the multitude of state actors, locals, and various forms of identifications, one has to reflect not only on how the ruling elites and their agents mapped the space(s) but also the local perceptions of territoriality and local particularities. Notions of spatiality and territoriality are always imagined, made, molded, appropriated or discerned, but they are not given/natural entities.<sup>18</sup> In doing so, one in fact deconstructs the center-periphery binary and acknowledges that within one polity many different borderlands existed.<sup>19</sup> In this regard, the study builds up on the scholarship of

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Generations between two Empires: Changing Sociabilities from Ottoman to Italian Rule in Rhodes" (PhD Philosophische Fakultät I der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, 2018), 4.

<sup>17</sup> Prem Kumar Rajaram and Carl Grundy-Warr, "Introduction," in *Borderscapes: Hidden Geographies and Politics at Territory's Edge*, ed. Prem Kumar Rajaram and Carl Grundy-Warr (Minneapolis / London: University of Minnesota Press, 2007), ix-xi, here pp. x-xi, xxx. Pekka Hämäläinen and Samuel Truett, "On Borderlands," *The Journal of American History* 98, no. 2 (2011): 338-61, here pp. 40, 49, 51-53, 57-59. Chiara Brambilla et al., "Introduction: Thinking, Mapping, Acting and Living Borders under Contemporary Globalisation," in *Borderscapes: Imaginations and Practices of Border Making*, ed. Jussi Laine, Gianluca Bocchi, and Chiara Brambilla (London: Routledge: Taylor and Francis, 2016), 1-9, here pp. 2, 4-6. and Vincent Houben, "New Areas Studies, Translation and Mid-Range Concepts," in *Areas Studies at the Crossroads: Knowledge Production after the Mobility Turn*, ed. Katja Mielke and Anna-Katharina Hornidge (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 195-211, here pp. 02-05.

<sup>18</sup> James Anderson and Liam O'Dowd, "Borders, Border Regions and Territoriality: Contradictory Meanings, Changing Significance," *Regional Studies* 33, no. 7 (1999): 593-604, here pp. 594. Anssi Paasi, "Territory," in *A Companion to Political Geography*, ed. John Agnew, Katharyne Mitchel, and Gerard (Gearóid) Total (Ó Tutathail) (Melden, MA / Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2003), 109-22. Joachim Becker and Andrea Komlosy, "Grenzen und Räume - Formen und Wandel: Grenztypen von der Stadtmauer bis zum "Eisernen Vorhang", in *Grenzen weltweit: Zonen, Linien, Mauern im historischen Vergleich*, ed. Joachim Becker and Andrea Komlosy (Wien: Promedia Verlag / Südwind, 2004), 21-54. Zoran Milutinović, "Introduction: Areas Studies in Motion," in *The Rebirth of Area Studies: Challenges for History, Politics and International Relations in the 21st Century*, ed. Zoran Milutinović (London: I. B. Tauris, 2020), 1-18, here pp. 6-7. Jan Kubik, "How to Think about "Area" in Area Studies?," in *The Rebirth of Area Studies: Challenges for History, Politics and International Relations in the 21st Century*, ed. Zoran Milutinović (I. B. Tauris: London, 2020), 53-90, here pp. 64, 75-77, 79. Wendy Bracewell, "Eastern Europe, with and without Borders," in *The Rebirth of Area Studies: Challenges for History, Politics and International Relations in the 21st Century*, ed. Zoran Milutinović (London: I. B. Tauris, 2020), 91-128, here pp. 13-14. Claus Bech Hansen, "Rethinking Area Studies: Figurations in the Construction of Space," in *The Rebirth of Area Studies: Challenges for History, Politics and International Relations in the 21st Century*, ed. Zoran Milutinović (London: I. B. Tauris, 2020), 177-210, here pp. 188-87. and Edward W. Soja, *Thirdspace: Journeys to Los Angeles and Other Real-and-Imagined Places* (Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1996).

<sup>19</sup> Maurus Reinkowski, "Double Struggle, No Income: Ottoman Borderlands in Northern Albania," *International Journal of Turkish Studies* 9, no. 1 (2003): 239-53, here pp. 39. and Anderson and O'Dowd, "Borders, Border Regions and Territoriality: Contradictory Meanings, Changing Significance," 594. On the center-periphery paradigm see Şerif Mardin, "Center-Periphery Relations: A Key to Turkish Politics?," *Daedalus* 102, no. 1 (1973): 169-90; Şerif Mardin, "Turkish Islamic Exceptionalism Yesterday and Today: Continuity, Rupture and Reconstruction in Operational Codes," *Turkish Studies* 6, no. 2 (2005): 145-65. Metin Heper, "Center and Periphery in the Ottoman Empire: With Special Reference to the Nineteenth Century," *International Political Science Review* 1, no. 1 (1980). and Kemal H. Karpat, "Comments on Contributions and the Borderlands," in *Ottoman Borderlands: Issues, Personalities and Political Changes*, ed. Kemal H. Karpat and Robert W. Zens (Madison: The University of Wisconsin, 2003), 1-14.

borderlands.<sup>20</sup> Here, borders refer to linear dividing lines that mark the division between outer and/or inner political and administrative entities, and indicate the limit of various boundaries. Borderlands – not to be conflated with frontier – should be understood as areas of cultural and social interaction and exchange, in which people, by leaning on their own perspective of boundaries, might recognize or contest the borders. Thus, asking what the imposed borders exert is equally important.<sup>21</sup>

The concept of a mobilization field, introduced in pages ahead, allows one to follow the interplay between the state actors, agents, and locals as a kind of a game, in which all the players possess a certain share of the strength and could exert influence on each other or hamper each other's intentions. Downplaying different locals as being unable to hinder the state's strategies is misleading even though some act from asymmetrical positions. In emphasizing this, one should not romanticize them. While being involved in games, all actors configure the very notions of strength, networks, governance, and duty. The multiplicity of horizontal and vertical loyalties further underlines the significance of we-group processes that move across the seemingly monolithic confessional and/or national blocks. This second step demonstrates not only how the mutuality between the governing elites and the locals worked in practice but also enables one to follow the same actors in different periods, beginning from the Ottoman period all the way to the SCS context. For some, a change of regime only opened up new avenues of negotiating. Focusing exclusively on the building of national and/or confessional communities appears narrow-minded since it blurs one's view to fully grasp the mobilizations and the actions of the locals.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> Christophe Duhamelle, Andreas Kossert, and Bernhard Struck, "Einleitung: Perspektiven für eine vergleichende Grenzforschung Europas," in *Grenzregionen: Eine europäische Vergleich vom 18. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert*, ed. Christophe Duhamelle, Andreas Kossert, and Bernhard Struck (Frankfurt - New York: Campus Verlag, 2007), 9-21. Jared Orsi, "Construction and Contestation: Toward a Unifying Methodology for Borderlands History," *History Compass* 12, no. 5 (2014): 433-43. and Matthew H. Ellis, "Over the Borderline? Rethinking Territoriality at the Margins of Empire and Nation in the Modern Middle East (Part I and II)," *History Compass* 13, no. 8 (2015): 411-22 and 23-34.

<sup>21</sup> Tobias Wendl and Michael Rösler, "Introduction. Frontiers and Borderlands: The Rise and Relevance of an Anthropological Research Genre," in *Frontiers and Borderlands: Anthropological Perspectives*, ed. Michael Rösler and Tobias Wendl (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1999), 1-27. Thomas M. Wilson and Hastings Donnan, "Borders and Border Studies," in *A Companion to Border Studies*, ed. Thomas M. Wilson and Hastings Donnan (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), 1-25. Bradley J. Parker, "Toward an Understanding of Borderland Processes," *American Antiquity* 71, no. 1 (2006): 77-100. Paul Readman, Cynthia Radding, and Chad Bryant, "Introduction: Borderlands in a Global Perspective," in *Borderlands in World History, 1700-1914*, ed. Paul Readman, Cynthia Radding, and Chad Bryant (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 1-23. and David Newman, "On Borders and Power: A Theoretical Framework," *Journal of Borderlands Studies* 18, no. 1 (2003): 13-25. On the concept of frontiers and its difference in American and British English see Etienne François, Jörg Seifarth, and Bernhard Struck, "Einleitung. Grenzen und Grenzräume: Erfahrungen und Konstruktionen," in *Die Grenze als Raum, Erfahrung und Konstruktion: Deutschland, Frankreich und Polen vom 17. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert*, ed. Etienne François, Jörg Seifarth, and Bernhard Struck (Frankfurt - New York: Campus Verlag, 2007), 7-29, here pp. 18-20. and Günter Lottes, "Frontiers between Geography and History," in *Frontiers and the Writing of History, 1500-1850*, ed. Steven G. Ellias and Raingard Eßer (Hannover-Laatzon: Wehrhan Verlag, 2006), 39-71.

<sup>22</sup> Georg Elwert, *Ethnizität und Nationalismus: Über die Bildung von Wir-Gruppen*, vol. 22: Occasional Papers (Berlin: Verlag das Arabische Buch, 1989), 7, 29-30, 37.

By contextualizing and historicizing the notion of security between all the actors involved, the study, finally, points to the dynamics of their subjective uncertainties. Since the ruling elites tend to cover as many able-bodied inhabitants as possible in times of total war, this concept stresses the significance of building a tacit security contract that lies at the heart of their mutuality. But it is merely one of many investments needed to induce the locals to join their armies and legitimize the state's *raison d'être*. By means of the contract, the old/new governing elites increasingly seek to shape and govern the locals in a rather gentile and parental way, whereas the natives, depending on their background, show different responses.

The study is thus couched at the crossroads of the new military, social and cultural histories, as well as the social history of religion. Its aim is through such a plurality and thick description to offer a more nuanced narrative juxtaposed to the nationalistic historiographies that still depict the history of the region through the black-and-white paradigm.<sup>23</sup> The social refers here to multi-directionally operating power, tools of governance, territoriality, and inequality, whereas the cultural relates to the production and politics of meanings and differences, structures of outer/inner perceptions and their significance for independent action, the symbolic and its interpretation in a bilingual and multi-confessional setting.<sup>24</sup> The social history of religion indicates the reconstruction of religious meanings, confessionalization, and communication that have to be added to the economic and political structures of a given community whereby the latter does not signify a top-down approach.<sup>25</sup>

The new military history combines all these dimensions (e.g. the production of myths and rituals, gender dimension, combat morale) by situating them in the large time span. War, violence, coexistence, the regular and paramilitary rank and file, the governing elites, as well as women and children cannot be properly understood without considering the locally rooted values, perceptions, norms, and structures, and their interaction with the military. These are not

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<sup>23</sup> On the thick description see Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays by Clifford Geertz* (New York: Basic Books, Inc., Publishers, 1973), Thick Description: Toward an Interpretive Theory of Culture, 3-30, here pp. 9-10, 14, 17, 20, 26-27. One of the latest black-and-white studies is Slaviša Nedeljković, *Dahijska vremena na Kosovu i Metohiji (1878-1899)* (Novi Sad: Prometej / Matica srpska, 2019).

<sup>24</sup> Ute Daniel, "'Kultur' und 'Gesellschaft'. Überlegungen zum Gegenstandsbereich der Sozialgeschichte," *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 19, no. 1 (1993): 69-99, here pp. 93-99. Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays by Clifford Geertz*, The Politics of Meaning, 312-13, 15-16. Peter Burke, *What is Cultural History?* (Cambridge / Malden, Ma: Polity, 2004). Alex Flügel, "Der Ort der Regionalgeschichte in der neuzeitlichen Geschichte," in *Kultur und Staat in der Provinz: Perspektiven und Erträge der Regionalgeschichte*, ed. Stefan Brakensiek et al. (Bielefeld: Verlag für Regionalgeschichte, 1992), 1-28, here pp. 12-14. Wolfgang Kaschuba, "Kulturalismus: Kultur statt Gesellschaft?," *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 21, no. 1 (1995): 80-95. and Patrick Joyce, "What is the Social in Social History?," *Past & Present* 206, no. 1 (2010): 213-48, here pp. 40-42, 44-45.

<sup>25</sup> Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays by Clifford Geertz*, Religion as a Cultural System, 87-125. Benjamin Ziemann, *Sozialgeschichte der Religion: Von der Reformation bis zur Gegenwart* (Frankfurt/New York: Campus Verlag, 2009), 22-25, 57-60, 65, 71, 73, 98. Rudolf Schlögl, *Religion and Society at the Dawn of Modern Europe: Christianity Transformed, 1750-1850* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2020). and Nathalie Clayer, "The Dimension of Confessionalisation in the Ottoman Balkans at the Time of Nationalisms," in *Conflicting Loyalties in the Balkans: the Great Powers, the Ottoman Empire and Nation-Building*, ed. Hannes Grandits, Nathalie Clayer, and Robert Pichler (London-New York: I. B. Tauris, 2011), 89-109.

separate but rather mutually empowering and influencing areas of life. In an attempt to answer the main and supporting questions throughout the study, and to confirm the hypothesis, this study requires an expended and manifold approach, which in turn leads to the use of new sources and tools as well.<sup>26</sup> This refers, for example, to the human-animal and human-nature interaction or the history of emotions that have to be included into the analysis of violence and mobilization.<sup>27</sup> The fact that this is not an overstatement, is described by a Serbian reserve officer who notes the overlap of emotions and human-animal bonding, after having witnessed the case at the outset of WWI, as follows:

E-hey! Mobilization is announced! Pick up the herd and drive it into the valley. The shepherds stared at each other, as if they did not understand the meaning of the word and as if they ask: why is that? What did they do to anyone? They are fine there. They have come to terms with their herd. Nature has given them everything, they do not ask of anything from people. They have already become alienated from them. Out of the reach of their gaze, they do not seem to know about people or the country. *And if the enemy comes and picks up your flock*, said someone. Their eyes flashed with mountaineering wilderness. They will defend themselves, they will defend themselves, to the last drop. The shepherds packed their bags, gathered the herd and walked slowly, almost reluctantly, down the mountain [italicized J.M].<sup>28</sup>

By historicizing and contextualizing this and similar cases, efforts are made to write the history from below, as stressed in pages ahead.<sup>29</sup> However, the work does not investigate in

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<sup>26</sup> Jutta Nowosadtko, *Krieg, Gewalt und Ordnung: Einführung in die Militärgeschichte* (Tübingen: Edition Diskord, 2002), 7-10, 17-18, 136, 50-52, 56, 92-99, 221-30. Pröve, *Militär, Staat und Gesellschaft im 19. Jahrhundert*, 1-5, 74-85, 88-90. Bernhard R. Kroener, *Militär, Staat und Gesellschaft im 20. Jahrhundert* (München: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 2011), xii, 2, 60-61. Rolf-Dieter Müller, *Militärgeschichte* (Köln - Weimar - Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 2009), 9, 11-12, 16, 19-20. John Horne, "End of a Paradigm? The Cultural History of the Great War," *Past & Present* 242, no. 1 (2019): 155-92. and Benjamin Ziemann, "Militärgeschichte: Perspektiven auf Militär und Gesellschaft im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert," *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte [APuZ]* 70, Militär, no. 16-17 (14. April 2020): 4-10.

<sup>27</sup> On the human-nature bonding, for example, see John Robert McNeill, *The Mountains of the Mediterranean World: An Environmental History* (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992). Ulf Brunnbauer, "Die Menschen und ihre Umwelt: Anpassungsstrategien an den Naturraum," in *Historische Anthropologie im südöstlichen Europa: Eine Einführung*, ed. Karl Kaser, Siegfried Gruber, and Robert Pichler (Wien: Böhlau, 2003), 103-27. Richard P. Tucker, "The Impact of Warfare on the Natural World: A Historical Survey," in *Natural Enemy, Natural Ally: Toward an Environmental History of Warfare*, ed. Richard P. Tucker and Edmund Russel (Corvallis: Oregon State University Press, 2004), 15-41. Julia Herberg, "Ostmitteleuropa im Blick: Umweltgeschichte zwischen Global- und Regionalgeschichte," in *Umweltgeschichte(n): Ostmitteleuropa von der Industrialisierung bis zum Postsozialismus*, ed. Horst Förster, Julia Herzberg, and Martin Zückert (Göttingen Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 2013), 7-29. Joan E. Cashin, *War Stuff: The Struggle for Human and Environmental Resources in the American Civil War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018). Diana Panke Tim Krieger, Michael Pregernig, "Environmental and Resource-Related Conflicts, Migration and Governance," in *Environmental Conflicts, Migration and Governance*, ed. Tim; Panke Krieger, Diana; Pregernig, Michael' (Bristol: Bristol University Press, 2020), 1-15. On the human-animal interactions, for instance, see Samantha Hurn, *Humans and Other Animals: Cross-Cultural Perspectives on Human-Animal Interactions* (London: Pluto Press, 2012). (Hg.) Roland Borgards, *Tiere: Kulturwissenschaftliches Handbuch* (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler Verlag, 2016). On this history of emotions and its use in the new military history and conflict studies see Daniele Saxer, "Mit Gefühl handeln: Ansätze der Emotionsgeschichte," *Traverse: Zeitschrift für Geschichte = Revue d'histoire* 14, no. 2 (2007): 15-29. Barbara H. Rosenwein, "Problems and Methods in the History of Emotions," *Passions in Context* 1 (2010): 1-31. Ute Frevert, "Was haben Gefühle in der Geschichte zu suchen?," *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 35, no. 2 (2009): 183-208. Ute Frevert and Anne Schmidt, "Geschichte, Emotionen und die Macht der Bilder," *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 37, no. 1 (2011): 5-25. Susanne Michl and Jan Plamper, "Soldatische Angst im Ersten Weltkrieg: Die Karriere eines Gefühls in der Kriegspsychiatrie Deutschlands, Frankreichs und Russlands," *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 35, no. 2 (2009): 207-48. Vanda Wilcox, "'Weeping Tears of Blood': Exploring Italian Soldiers' Emotions in the First World War," *Modern Italy* 17, no. 2 (2012): 171-84. and Ruža Fotiadis, *Freundschaftsbande: Griechisch-serbische Geschichts- und Gegenwartsdeutungen vor dem Hintergrund der Jugoslawienkriege 1991-1999* (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2021).

<sup>28</sup> Stevan Jakovljević, *Srpska trilogija: Devestočetnaesta*, vol. I (Beograd: Istočnik, 2003), 15.

<sup>29</sup> Donald Quataert, "History from Below and the Writing of Ottoman History," *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 34, no. 1 (2014): 129-34.



detail the mobilization of animals. Given Kosta's and others' life trajectories, a global dimension, entangled histories, and the agency of the governing elites cannot be not ignored.<sup>30</sup> The aim is to overcome the shortages of methodological nationalism and regionalism whereby the deconstructed region functions as an imperial intersection. It offers a chance to interlink not only the Habsburg and Ottoman studies, as the latter scholars have already done mainly in the context of Bosnia-Herzegovina, but also to mesh these with the national historiographies that communicate seldomly.<sup>31</sup> Stressing the entangled histories of the broader region and the Middle East represents a constituent part of this narrative.<sup>32</sup>

By keeping an eye on the interaction between the locals and the five polities, the area provides a stimulating venture point to look for "the big in the small," as well as for the analysis of relations between different scales (local, regional, national, and global) since not every changed stemmed from the local setting. These big questions, such as state- and/or nation-building, the question of loyalty, regime changes, societal differentiations, asymmetric relations of power, hegemonizing campaigns, and accommodations under new rule, could be answered through the prism of the myriad military mobilizations.<sup>33</sup> In this way, the study builds upon the

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<sup>30</sup> Jürgen Osterhammel, *Die Verwandlung der Welt: Eine Geschichte des 19. Jahrhunderts* (München: C. H. Beck, 2009), 144, 46-50, 891. Shmuel N. Eisenstadt, "Multiple Modernities," *Daedalus* 129, no. 1 (2000): 1-29. Sebastian Conrad and Andreas Eckert, "Globalgeschichte, Globalisierung, multiple Modernen: Zur Geschichtsschreibung der modernen Welt," in *Globalgeschichte: Theorien, Ansätze, Themen*, ed. Sebastian Conrad, Andreas Eckert, and Ulrike Freitag (Frankfurt / New York: Campus Verlag, 2007), 7-49. Margrit Pernau, *Transnationale Geschichte*, UTB, (Göttingen / Stuttgart: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011), 49-50; Michael Werner and Bénédicte Zimmermann, "Vergleich, Transfer, Verflechtung. Der Ansatz der Histoire croisée und die Herausforderung des Transnationalen," *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 28, no. 4 (2002): 607-36. and Michael Werner and Bénédicte Zimmermann, "Beyond Comparison: Histoire Croisée and the Challenge of Reflexivity," *History and Theory* 45, no. 1 (2006): 30-50.

<sup>31</sup> On the Habsburg-Ottoman intersection in the context of Bosnia and Herzegovina, for instance, see Leyla Amzi-Erdoğanlar, "Afterlife of Empire: Muslim-Ottoman Relations in Habsburg Bosnia Herzegovina" (PhD Columbia University, 2013). Jared Manasek, "Empire Displaced: Ottoman-Habsburg Forced Migration and the Near Eastern Crisis" (PhD Columbia University, 2013). and Harun Buljina, "Empire, Nation, and the Islamic World: Bosnian Muslim Reformists between the Habsburg and Ottoman Empires, 1901-1914" (PhD Columbia University, 2019). On the New Imperial History approach see Laurence Cole, "Visions and Revisions of Empire: Reflections on a New History of the Habsburg Monarchy," *Austrian History Yearbook* 49 (2018): 261-80, here pp. 63, 67-68. and Ulrike von Hirschhausen, "A New Imperial History? Programm, Potenzial, Perspektiven," *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 41, no. 4 (2015): 718-57. On methodological nationalism and regionalism see Andreas Wimmer and Nina Glick Schiller, "Methodological Nationalism and Beyond: Nation-State Building, Migration and the Social Sciences," *Global Networks: A Journal of Transnational Affairs* 2, no. 4 (2002): 301-34. Daniel Chernilo, *A Social Theory of the Nation-State: the Political Forms of Modernity beyond Methodological Nationalism* (London and New York: Routledge: Taylor and Francis Group, 2007). Ulrich Beck and Edgar Grande, "Jenseits der methodologischen Nationalismus: Außereuropäische und europäische Variationen der Zweiten Moderne," *Soziale Welt* 61, no. 3/4 (2010): 187-216. Anna Amelina et al., "Methodological Predicaments of Cross-Border Studies," in *Beyond Methodological Nationalism: Research Methodologies in Cross-Border Studies*, ed. Anna Amelina et al. (London and New York: Routledge: Taylor and Francis Group, 2012), 1-19. and Xosé M. Núñez Seixas and Eric Storm, "Conclusion: Overcoming Methodological Regionalism," in *Regionalism and Modern Europe: Identity Construction and Movements from 1890 to the Present Day*, ed. Xosé M. Núñez Seixas and Eric Storm (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2019), 343-54.

<sup>32</sup> Karl Kaser, *Balkan und Naher Osten: Einführung in eine gemeinsame Geschichte* (Wien: Böhlau, 2011). Vezekov Alexander, "History against Geography: Should We Always Think of the Balkans as Part of Europe?," in *Ottoman Legacies in the Contemporary Mediterranean: the Balkans and the Middle East Compared*, ed. Ginio Eyal and Karl Kaser (Jerusalem: The European Forum at the Hebrew University, 2013), 59-77, here pp. 60. and Sabine Rutar, "Introduction: Beyond the Balkans," in *Beyond the Balkans: Towards an Inclusive History of Southeastern Europe*, ed. Sabine Rutar (München: Lit, 2014), 7-25, here pp. 12-13, 20-22. See also Tchavdar Marinov, "Introduction to Section One: Nations and National Ideologies in the Balkans," in *Entangled Histories of the Balkans*, ed. Roumen Daskalov and Tchavdar Marinov (Leiden - Boston: Brill, 2013), 3-10.

<sup>33</sup> Richard White, "The Nationalization of Nature," *The Journal of American History* 86, no. 3 (1999): 976-86. Ewald Hiebl and Ernst Langthaler, "Einleitung: Im Kleinen das Große suchen. Mikrogeschichte in Theorie und Praxis," in *Im Kleinen das*

latter scholarship that utilized a similar method in the context of the Habsburg Monarchy, Prussia, USA, and the Ottoman eastern provinces.<sup>34</sup>

In contrast, other works on the similar topic adhered, roughly speaking, to a positivist approach, and focus on military organizations and operational history of wars, uncritically absorbing the state-fostered labels without contextualizing or conceptualizing them. They fail to see that mobilization is not a top-down process, as scholars have already stressed.<sup>35</sup> Such studies emphasize an ethnoreligious dimension to conflicts, claiming that this or that person exclusively acts or deserts because they belong to this or that imagined or confessional “group.”<sup>36</sup> Scholars still consider the Balkan Wars, the belligerent armies, and local communities as monolithic blocs that are divided into clear ethnoreligious labels, focusing on and classifying violence exclusively along the same lines.<sup>37</sup> Some tried to implement today’s

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*Große suchen: Mikrogeschichte in Theorie und Praxis. Hanns Haas zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Ewald Hiebl and Ernst Langthaler (Innsbruck / Wien / Bozen: Studien Verlag, 2012), 7-21, here pp. 8-10. and Angelika Epple, "Globale Mikrogeschichte: Auf dem Weg zu einer Geschichte der Relationen," in *Im Kleinen das Große suchen: Mikrogeschichte in Theorie und Praxis. Hanns Haas zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Ewald Hiebl and Ernst Langthaler (Innsbruck / Wien / Bozen: Studien Verlag, 2012), 37-47.

<sup>34</sup> Ilya Berkovich, *Motivation in War: The Experience of Common Soldiers in Old-Regime Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012). Bernhard Schmitt, *Armee und staatliche Integration: Preußen und die Habsburgermonarchie 1815-1866. Rekrutierungspolitik in den neuen Provinzen: Staatliches Handeln und Bevölkerung* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2007). Nancy Gentile Ford, *Americans All! Foreign-born Soldiers in World War I* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2001). Peter S. Carmichael, *The War for the Common Soldier: How Men Thought, Fought, and Survived in Civil War* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2018). Dick Douwes, "Şiddetin Yeniden Örgütlenmesi: Osmanlı Suriye'sinde Geleneksel ve Zorunlu Askerlik," in *Devletin Silâhlanması: Ortadoğu'da ve Orta Asya'da Zorunlu Askerlik (1775-1925)*, ed. Erik Jan Zürcher (İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2003), 123-43. Yvette Talhamy, "Conscription among the Nusayris ('Alawis) in the Nineteenth Century," *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 38, no. 1 (2011): 23-40. and Janet Klein, *Hamidiye Alayları: İmparatorluğun Sınır Boyları ve Kürt Aşiretleri* (İstanbul: İletişim, 2014). See also Uğur Z. Peçe, "The Conscription of Greek Ottomans into the Sultan's Army, 1908-1912," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 52, no. 3 (2020): 433-48.

<sup>35</sup> Danilo Šarenac, *Top, vojniki i sećanje: Prvi svetski rat i Srbija 1914-2009* (Beograd: Institut za savremenu istoriju, 2014). and Iva Lučić, *Im Namen der Nation: Der politische Aufwertungsprozess der Muslime im sozialistischen Jugoslawien (1956-1971)* (Uppsala: Uppsala Universitet, 2016).

<sup>36</sup> See, for instance Redžep Škrijelj, "Birinci Dünya Savaşı'nda Sırbistan Krallığı Müslümanları," in *100. Yılında I. Dünya Savaşı Uluslararası Sempozyumu 03-05 Kasım Budapeşte*, ed. Selcan Koçaslan and Aynur Yavuz Akenkin (Ankara: Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi Yayınları, 2015), 871-95. Hasip Saygılı, "Birinci Dünya Harbi'nde Rumeli'nden Osmanlı Ordusuna Müslüman Gönüllü Katılımları," in *Osmanlı'nın Son 40 Yılında Rümeli Türkleri ve Müslümanları 1878-1918* (İstanbul: İlgi Kültür Sanat, 2016), 192-218. Mitar Đurišić, *Prvi balkanski rat 1912-1913: Operacije crnogorske vojske*, vol. III (Beograd: Istorijski institut Jugoslovenske narodne armije 1960). Reşat Hallı, "Türk Silahlı Kuvvetleri Tarihi: Balkan Harbi (1912-1913), Garp Ordusu, Vardar Ordusu ve Ustruma Kolordusu," (Ankara: Genelkurmay Basımevi, 1993). and Fehmi Özatalay, *Türk Silahlı Kuvvetleri Tarihi: Balkan Harbi, Garp Ordusu, Karadağ Cephesi*, vol. III. cilt / 3. Kısım (Ankara: Genelkurmay Basımevi, 1993). Interestingly, scholars from Serbia and Turkey share the same narrative, albeit the object in the story is different, about desertion amid the Balkan Wars and WWI. While Mehmet Beşikçi claims without conceptualizing the issue that Ottoman Christian and Jews subjects were not enthusiastic about military service and thus chose desertion, Jovana Šaljić argues that Serbian Muslim subjects fled amid WWI from the Serbian army because they were Muslims. Both do not explain the reasons why these fled from the army and others did not. See Jovana D. Šaljić, "Muslimani novih oblasti Srbije u srpskoj vojsci tokom Prvog svetskog rata," in *Srbi i Prvi svetski rat: Zbornik radova sa međunarodnog naučnog skupa održanog 13-15. juna 2014*, ed. Dragoljub R. Živojinović (Beograd: Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti, 2015), 349-63. and Mehmet Beşikçi, "The Ottoman Mobilization in the Balkan War: Failure and Reorganization," in *The Wars of Yesterday: The Balkan Wars and the Emergence of Modern Military Conflict, 1912-13*, ed. Katrin Boeckh and Sabine Rutar (New York; Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2018), 164-90, here pp. 74.

<sup>37</sup> Katrin Boeckh and Sabine Rutar, "The Wars of Yesterday: The Balkan Wars and the Emergence of Modern Military Conflict, 1912/13. An Introduction," in *The Wars of Yesterday: The Balkan Wars and the Emergence of Modern Military Conflict, 1912-13*, ed. Katrin Boeckh and Sabine Rutar (New York; Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2018), 10-24. and Wolfgang Höpken and Wim van Meurs, "Sarajewo und das Kriegsjahrzehnt auf dem Balkan, 1908-1918. Zum Stand der Forschung," in *Der Ester Weltkrieg auf dem Balkan: Ereignis, Erfahrung und Erinnerung*, ed. Wolfgang Höpken and Wim van Meurs (Berlin: Peter Lang, 2018), 7-40. For the studies that do not reflect local dimensions, for instance, see Richard C. Hall, *The Balkan Wars, 1912-1913: Prelude to the First World War* (London / New York: Routledge, 2000). Edward J. Erickson, *Büyük Hezimet: Balkan*

national terms and worldviews onto the past or seek to identify the rank and file according to the ethnoreligious containers without reflecting that the imposed identification are problematic, ambiguous or do not fit the picture on the ground.<sup>38</sup>

Nevertheless, the dissertation does not discard such works. Drawing on their outcomes, thorough archival-library research, extensive reading of pertinent literature, and innovative methodological-theoretical procedure, it provides a supplementary and complementary look at “the big in the small,” not overlooking their cultural, economic, political, and social dimensions.<sup>39</sup> Such topics are still at the margin of the scholarship or are not mentioned at all, as some scholars have noticed, whereby the narrative of heroism and victimhood dominates.<sup>40</sup> Without reflecting on the context and the literature, one is not able to grasp certain local events, no matter how many primary sources are used, which is evident in the work of certain scholars.<sup>41</sup> The study thus aims to deliver a synthesis, avoid Balkanism and the ethnic-cleansing-stories that still reign in some academic works, showing thereby a more nuanced narrative when it comes to the latter point.<sup>42</sup> Similar to the (post-)Ottoman Rhodes, it argues that the locals “experienced a significant transformation *during* – not simply *because of* – a change of political regime.” Although one cannot fully gauge these transitions as moving along watersheds and ruptures, meaning, it is not only about continuities, although these still had an impact on the lifeworld of the locals.<sup>43</sup> Of course, not all natives were subject to the same

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*Harpleri'nde Osmanlı Ordusu* (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2013). and Włodzimierz Borodziej and Maciej Górny, *Der vergessene Weltkrieg*, vol. I: Imperien 1912-1916 and II: Nationen 1917-1923 (Darmstadt: wbg Theiss, 2018).

<sup>38</sup> Rok Stergar, "Introduction," *Austrian History Yearbook* 49 (2018): 17-22.

<sup>39</sup> Jay Winter and Antoine Prost, *The Great War in History: Debates and Controversies, 1914 to the Present* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 210-12. and Cevat Şayin, "Askerî Tarih Araştırmasında Yeni Bir Yaklaşım 3T (Teşkilat, Teçhizat, Tefekkürat)," in *Osmanlı Askerî Tarihini Araştırmak: Yeni Kaynaklar, Yeni Yaklaşımlar*, ed. Cevat Şayin and Gültekin Yıldız (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2012), 58-88, here pp. 72-75.

<sup>40</sup> See Danilo Šarenac, "Problemi vojne discipline u srpskoj vojsci," in *Leksikon Prvog svetskog rata u Srbiji*, ed. Momčilo Pavlović, Stanislav Sretenović, and Danilo Šarenac (Beograd: Institut za savremenu istoriju / Društvo istoričara Srbije, 2015), 352-56, here pp. 52. Danilo Šarenac and Aleksandar R. Miletić, *Između diskriminacije i neplanirane integracije: Albanci i Bošnjaci u srpskoj uniformi 1914-1918* (Novi Sad: Centar za istorijske studije i dijalog, 2021). Ismar Dedović, "Our War? Their War? Which War? Remembering the First World War in the Yugoslosphere" (PhD University of Copenhagen, 2018). and Tea Sindbæk Andersen and Ismar Dedović, "End of War or End of State? 1918 in the Public Memories of Post-Communist Croatia and Serbia," *Nationalities Papers: The Journal of Nationalism and Ethnicity* FirstView Articles (2021): 1-16.

<sup>41</sup> For instance, see Bülent Özdemir and Abidin Temizer, "Politika crnogorskih vlasti prema muslimanskom stanovništvu," *Almanah: časopis za proučavanje, prezentaciju i zaštitu kulturno-istorijske baštine Bošnjaka/Muslimana* 55-56 (2013): 105-21. and Mucize Ünlü, *Kosova Vilayeti* (Ankara: Gece Kitaplığı, 2014).

<sup>42</sup> Roger Chichering, "Why Are We Still Interested In This Old War?," in *Finding Common Ground: New Directions in First World War Studies*, ed. Jennifer Keene and Michael S. Neiberg (Leiden / Boston: Brill, 2011), 3-18, here pp. 16-17. Gültekin Yıldız, "Bütüncül, Karşıtarmalı ve Felsefi Bir Askerî Tarih'e Doğru: Türkiye'de Askerî Tarih Araştırması ve Öğretiminin Geleceği Üzerine," in *Osmanlı Askerî Tarihini Araştırmak: Yeni Kaynaklar, Yeni Yaklaşımlar*, ed. Cevat Şayin and Gültekin Yıldız (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2012), 3-22. Dimitris Livanios, "Beyond "ethnic cleansing": Aspects of the Functioning of Violence in the Ottoman and post-Ottoman Balkans," *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies* 8, no. 3 (2008). and Diana Mishkova, *Beyond Balkanism: The Scholarly Politics of Region Making* (London / New York: Routledge, 2019).

<sup>43</sup> Guidi, "Youth and Generations between two Empires: Changing Sociabilities from Ottoman to Italian Rule in Rhodes," 6, italic in original.

mobility alike to the soldiers from the opening paragraph whereby the dissertation exemplifies local complexities and ambiguities.<sup>44</sup>

Nor is the periodization applied here neutral either. In order to break the homogenized historical time boundaries of the national historiographies, the study is embedded in the enlarged time frame of the war known in the scholarship as “the Greater War.” The goal is thus to highlight (dis-)continuities in the (post-)Ottoman and (post-)Habsburg worlds, and the never-ending mobilization efforts.<sup>45</sup> Still, the chronology is not reified. Emphasizing small wars within a greater war, imperial legacies as continuity or perception, local conditions, and wars of *des kleinen Mannes* is important.<sup>46</sup> This helps in avoiding what Frederick Cooper called “story plucking” (“extracting tidbits from different times and places and treating them as a body independent of their historical relationship, context, or countervailing tendencies”), “leapfrogging legacies” (“something at time A caused something in time C without considering time B”) and “time flattening” (“an assumption that a certain essence characterizes a long period of time, passing over the conflict and change within it”).<sup>47</sup> In most cases, for instance, scholars have overlooked the Habsburg occupation (B) while focusing on the Serbian (A) and SCS (C) policies in an attempt to build an argument of the continuous homogenizing campaigns, which is methodologically wrong. One should “not only investigate the First World War in terms of its significance for long-term historical processes but should continue to think of the consequences of those processes for the way in which the War unfolded,” to cite the paraphrased words of John Horne.<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> Hiebl and Langthaler, "Einleitung: Im Kleinen das Große suchen. Mikrogeschichte in Theorie und Praxis," 7. and Stephen Morillo and Michael F. Pavkovic, *What is Military History?* (Cambridge - Medford: Polity, 2018), 3, 67-68.

<sup>45</sup> John Paul Newman, "Post-imperial and Post-war Violence in the South Slav Lands, 1917-1923," *Contemporary European History* 19, no. 3 (2010): 249-65. Dominik Geppert, William Mulligan, and Andreas Rose, "Introduction," in *The Wars before the Great War: Conflict and International Politics before the Outbreak of the First World War*, ed. Andreas Rose, Dominik Geppert, and William Mulligan (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 1-17. Jacques Le Goff, *Treba li povijest zaista dijeliti na razdoblja?* (Zagreb: Tim Press, 2015), 7-11, 29. and Horne, "End of a Paradigm? The Cultural History of the Great War," 177. Keya Ganguly, "Temporality and Postcolonial Critique," in *The Cambridge Companion to Postcolonial Literary Studies*, ed. Neil Lazarus (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 162-79. and Kathleen Davis, *Periodization and Sovereignty: How ideas of Feudalism and Secularization Govern the Politics of Time* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), 3-8, 11, 20. For an example of the rigid periodization see Šerbo Rastoder, *Bošnjaci/Muslimani Crne Gore: između prošlosti i sadašnjosti* (Podgorica: Almanah, 2010), 12-14.

<sup>46</sup> Wolfram Wette, "Militärsgeschichte von unten. Die Perspektive des "kleinen Mannes"," in *Der Krieg des kleinen Mannes: Eine Militärgeschichte von unten*, ed. Wolfram Wette (München: Piper, 1992), 9-47. Jörn Leonhard, "Legacies of Violence: Eastern Europe's First World War - A Commentary from a Comparative Perspective," in *Legacies of Violence: Eastern Europe's First World War*, ed. Jochen Włodzimierz Böhler, Borodziej; von Puttkamer, Joachim (München: Oldenbourg Verlag, 2014), 319-26, here pp. 23. and Zdravko M. Deletić, *Zanat istoričara: Metodologija istoriopisanja* (Kosovska Mitrovica: Filozofski fakultet u Prištini s privremenim sedištem u Kosovskoj Mitrovici / Istorijski arhiv Kraljevo, 2019), chapter 10. On the Ottoman legacy in particular see Maria Todorova, "The Ottoman Legacy in the Balkans," in *Imperial Legacy: The Ottoman Imprint on the Balkans and the Middle East*, ed. L. Carl Brown (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), 45-77. and Maria Todorova, "Introduction: Learning Memory, Remembering Identity," in *Balkan Identities: Nation and Memory*, ed. Maria Todorova (London: Hurst & Company, 2004), 1-24.

<sup>47</sup> Frederick Cooper, "Postcolonial Studies and the Study of History," in *Postcolonial Studies and Beyond*, ed. Ania Loomba et al. (Durham / London: Duke University Press, 2005), 401-22, here pp. 04-07.

<sup>48</sup> Katrin Bromber et al., "About the Book," in *The Long End of the First World War: Ruptures, Continuities and Memories*, ed. Katrin Bromber et al. (Frankfurt/New York: Campus Verlag, 2018), 7-14, here pp. 9.

Also, the work does not refer to the development of state organization, administration, and the dislocation of troops since the scholarship has already addressed that question.<sup>49</sup> In what follows, by relying on the perspective of the governing elites, their agents and the locals, the aim is to deconstruct the Sandžak insofar as scholars still foster the *region-has-a-center* narrative, conceptualizing and mapping it as fixed, which in turn blurs their analysis. In a word, they do not situate the locals and events in a local setting.<sup>50</sup> After elaborating on the policies of the ruling elites and their intentions for how to solidify their presence, the study, then, turns to its methodological-theoretical approach. The introduction concludes with sources and the structure of the dissertation.

## 1.2. Deconstructing the Sandžak, Revealing Concealed Landscapes

Sandžak means flag. Sandžak also means district. These two meanings are related. The Ottoman Empire divided the conquered territories into sanjaks, administrative divisions that give one *bayrak* each. (...) What belonged to the sanjak of Yeni Pazar, we [sic!] call briefly: the Sandžak. Until the Congress of Berlin [1878], the sanjak of Yeni Pazar covered land between Serbia, Montenegro, and Bosnia, up to Kosovo. (...) the Sandžak is not a whole. It is composed of parts of the geographical areas whose majority remained in Serbia, Bosnia and Montenegro. A smaller part of Stari Vlah had fallen to the Sandžak, while a larger part to Serbia. Also, a smaller part of Herzegovina had belonged to the Sandžak, while a larger part was occupied [by the Habsburg Monarchy] or was located in Montenegro. (...) And yet, this Sandžak is a geographical whole, bordered on the Serbian side by mountains (...) The same goes for the Montenegrin side (...) the Sandžak has no place that can be considered as its economic and traffic center. (...) The Sandžak does not exist as a province. The people do not have any special provincial physiognomy within themselves nor a developed provincial feeling. A peasant from [Prepole, Preboy and Yeni Varoš] feels much closer to that from Stari Vlah [partially also located in Serbia] than to the peasant from Bihor or (...) Vasojevići, who again feels closest to [his kin on the other side of the political border].<sup>51</sup>

In this manner, Sreten Vukosavljević reflected in the 1930s on the region he hailed from whereby he deconstructed, it but at the same time saw it as a geographic whole from the position of the imagined *we*. His post-1918 narrative speaks about various meanings of the Ottoman word *sancak* that, besides the two meanings that he emphasized, had other significances as well:

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<sup>49</sup> Elke Hartmann, *Die Reichweite des Staates: Wehrpflicht und moderne Staatlichkeit im Osmanischen Reich 1860-1910* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2016), 122-44 and Anhänge 2-14. Ela Özkan, *19. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Devleti'nin İdari Taksimati (1839-1914)* (İstanbul: Hiper Yayın, 2020), 78-79, 109-10, 27, 44, 59-60, 89-90, 97-98, 200-02, 05-07, 16-17, 63-64, 72, 74. Jagodić, *Novi krajevi Srbije (1912-1915)*, 103-14, 97-204. Branko Babić, *Politika Crne Gore u novooslobođenim krajevima 1912-1914* (Cetinje - Podgorica: Obod - Pobjeda, 1984), chapter 4. Hamdija Šarkinović, "Organizacija i funkcionisanje vlasti u Crnoj Gori (1912-1914)," *Matica: časopis za društvena pitanja, nauku i kulturu* 14, no. 54 (2013): 433-70. Mile S. Bjelajac, *Vojska Kraljevine SHS/Jugoslavije* (Beograd: Institut za noviju istoriju Srbije, 1994), 30-38. and Tih. J. Arandelović, *Vojna teritorijalna podela: Treća armiska oblast* (Beograd, 1930).

<sup>50</sup> For instance, see Raif Hajdarpašić, *Sandžak od 1912. - 1929.* (Sarajevo: Grafičko-izdavačka kuća OKO, 2003), 11-12. Mustafa Memić, *Gusinjsko-plavska krajina u vrtlogu historije* (Sarajevo: Institut za istraživanje zločina protiv čovječnosti i međunarodnog prava Univerziteta u Sarajevu, 2008), 67. Muhammed Aruçi, "Sancak: Günümüzde Sırbistan ile Karadağ Arasında Kalan, Osmanlı Döneminde Teşekkül Etmiş İdarî Bölge," *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi* 36 (Sakal-Sevm) (2009): 99-102. Sandra King-Savic, *History and Identity within the Sandžak Region* (Lawrence: University of Kansas, 2012), 6. Kenneth Morrison and Elizabeth Roberts, *The Sandžak: A History* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 2013), xx, 1-5, 7. and Rizvan Halilović, "Sandžak, od okupirane teritorije od prekogranične euroregije," in *Sto godina Sjeničke konferencije (1917-2017): Međunarodna naučna konferencija "Društveno-politički, pravni i historijski značaj Sjeničke konferencije"*, Sjenica, 20-22. oktobar 2017, ed. Muhedin Fijuljanin and Redžep Škrijelj (Nova Varoš: Bošnjacko nacionalno vijeće, 2018), 433-48.

<sup>51</sup> Sreten V. Vukosavljević, *Istorija seljačkog društva: Seoske zajednice i oblici ponašanja u njima*, vol. 5 (Beograd: Službeni glasnik, 2012), 405-07.

it also meant ensign or starboard, and a military fief.<sup>52</sup> Yet in the local Slavic vernaculars, German, Ottoman or in English, the following terms: (*Novopazarski*) *Sandžak* (Bosnia-Herzegovina, Montenegro, Serbia, Kingdom of SCS), *der Sandschak*, *Sandžak (von Novibazar)* or *Sandjak* (Habsburg Monarchy, Germany), *Yeni Pazar sancağı* or *Yeni Pazar huttası* (Ottoman Empire) or *the Sanjak of Novibazar* (United Kingdom) kept emerging before and after 1913 in records, the traveler accounts, and local or foreign maps, even though the sanjak of Yeni Pazar did not exist as an administrative unit from 1901 onwards.<sup>53</sup> They used it despite of being aware that as an governing entity, it did not exist.<sup>54</sup>

The term signified an imagined political isthmus, triplex confinium, or as some locals used to say, *hudud-ı salise*. After the Congress of Berlin (1878), the space gained special military, economic and political importance for all states that surrounded it, including the Ottoman Empire too. It became increasingly used in diplomatic language, geographical-scientific and geographical-military literature.<sup>55</sup> Having been the northernmost part of the province of Kosovo, the contemporaries, experts, and the local preachers of nationalism confined it within the sanjaks of Taşlıca and Seniçe. In doing so, they confronted each other in their writings about the “true nature” of the region and its residents.<sup>56</sup>

For Şemseddin Sami, a preacher of Albanian and Turkish nationalisms, the region belonged to imagined Albania (*Arnavutluk*), a term that has not always carried a political and/or national meaning. Some Habsburg officers and diplomats claimed this only partially, mostly during the

<sup>52</sup> Sâmî Şemseddin, *Kamus-i Türki* (Dersaadet: İkdâm Matbaası, 1317 [1899]), entry "sancak," 737-38. J. Deny and Kunt. M., "Sandjak," in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam: New Edition*, ed. C. E. Bosworth et al. (Leiden: Brill, 1997), entry "sandjak," 11-13. and İlhan Şahin, "Sancak," *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi* 36 (Sakal-Sevm) (2009): 97-99.

<sup>53</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MID-PPO 1911, R17, #77, 16.03.1911, Pljevlja, Prokopije Šiljak to the GŠT (...) kako će okupaciju novopazarskog sandžaka; DACG/Cetinje, PPKŽ, F8, 282, #1157 14.11.1911, Žabljak, Commander to the MoFA (...) Stanje u Novopazarskom sandžaku postoji sve nesnosnije; ABH/Sarajevo, ZVS 1912, 20-47, #286678, 02.01.1913, Sarajevo, Regional Government to the Zenica County (...) Militärflüchtlinge aus Serbien sowie serbische Flüchtlinge aus dem Sandžak; DAS/Belgrade, MID-PO 1913, R399, F12, D8, XII/828, #1366, 30.01.1913, Prizren, Bož. Janković to the Supreme Command (...) parče zemljišta u Novopazarskom sandžaku; AJ/Belgrade, 14-177-650, #9014, 08.05.1922, Beograd, MoI to the Skoplje District Chief (...) Odredenom komesaru za Sandžak; PA AA/Berlin, RZ 201, R 14220, #411, 20.10.1912, Pera, Wangenheim to the MoFA (...) den militärischen Schutz des Sandschak zu übernehmen; ÖStA/HHStA/Vienna, PA I 973, 32a, Mitrovica a/K, 03.12.1916, *Reise durch den Sandjak* (November 1916), 1, Der Sandjak, der von jeher unser natürliches Ausfallstor auf den Balkan war (...); *ibid*, PA I 977, 32k, #29.725, 21.05.1918, Baden, Proxy to the MdÄ (...) der Sandschak österreich-ungarisch bleiben werde; Şemseddin Sami, *Kamus'ül-a'lam: Tarih ve Coğrafya Lugatı ve Tabir-i Esahha Kaffē-yi Esmā-yı Hassayı Camidir*, vol. VI (İstanbul: Mihran Matbaası, 1316 [1898]), entry "Yeni Pazar," 4803. BOA/Istanbul, BEO, 3952/296367, leff 2, 29 L 1329 [24/10/1911], MoFA to the Saderetpenahî (...) Yeni Pazar sancağı ahali-i Müslümesine silah tevzi edildiği (...) and "The Sanjak of Novibazar," *The Geographical Journal* 41, no. 5 (1913): 468-73.

<sup>54</sup> AS/Beograd, MID-PPO 1905, R353, #924, 12.11.1904, Priština, Consul to the MoFA. See also Hans-Jürgen Kornrumpf, "Der Sancak Novi Pazar: Zur Geschichte einer irreführenden Bezeichnung," *Archiv orientalmi* 69, no. 2 (2001): 181-86.

<sup>55</sup> BOA/Istanbul, BEO, 3792/284372, leff 16, 26/03/1317 [08/04/1901], Mejlis of the Kolašin District (...) bu havalı hudud-ı salise hususıyla (...) and *ibid*, leff 13-1, 21/04/1317 [04/05/1901], Mejlis of the Yeni Pazar Region, (...) bu havalı hudud-ı salise (...); Theodor A. Ippen, *Novibazar und Kossovo (Das alte Rascien): Eine Studie* (Wien: Alfred Hölder: K. und K. Hof- und Universitäts-Buchhändler, 1892), 5. Milan Đ. Nedić, "Novopazarski sandžak: Vojno-geografska studija," *Ratnik: Mesečni vojni list* 32, no. 2 (1910): 177-96, here pp. 77. and Grigorije Božović, *Kroz nekadanju tromeđu: putopisna proza o pljevaljskom kraju iz 1932. godine* (Šabac: IKP "Zaslon", 2007), 15-16. See also Andrej Mitrović, *Prodor na Balkan i Srbija, 1908-1918* (Beograd: Zavod za udžbenike, 2011).

<sup>56</sup> Emilo J. Cvetič, *Novopazarski sandžak* (Jagodina: Štamparija Đorđevića i Gilića, 1909), 3-4. Şemseddin Sami, *Kamus'ül-a'lam: Tarih ve Coğrafya Lugatı ve Tabir-i Esahha Kaffē-yi Esmā-yı Hassayı Camidir*, vol. IV (İstanbul: Mihran Matbaası, 1311 [1894]), entry "Taşlıca," 2987.

Balkans Wars, aiming to hamper the Montenegrin and Serbian conquests.<sup>57</sup> For a former Ottoman officer it had been a constituent part of north Albania.<sup>58</sup> But, the region was also named differently. Besides adhering to the term Sandžak, the Habsburg experts, at the same time, used the term Old Rascien (*das alte Rasz(c)ien*) that either included other parts of the province of Kosovo almost up to its provincial capital, Üsküp, or it became a synonym for the Sandžak. The same also called the region according to the main rivers.<sup>59</sup>

Those coming from pre-1913 Serbia also named the space the Sandžak but viewed it as a part of the wider and imagined Old Serbia (*Stara Srbija*) region that also entered into the Ottoman Turkish (*Eski Sirbiye/Sirbistan*), German (*Altserbien*), and the vocabulary of some Slavic-speaking Christians. Depending on the time, context, and person, the label could cover various Ottoman Balkan provinces. Yet its usage veiled and legitimized the “liberation” claims and “historical” rights of the Serbian governing elites both on the local material objects, populations and territories, which both the Ottoman and Habsburg authorities had noticed.<sup>60</sup> Similar to their Habsburg peers, the Serbian actors also called the region Old Raška (*Stara Raška*) before and after 1913; however, its usage was not dominant in the public discourse, which today’s scholars have missed, claiming that Raška was preferred given the alleged

<sup>57</sup> Şemseddin Sami, *Kamus'ül-âlam: Tarih ve Coğrafya Lugatı ve Tabir-i Esahha Kâffe-yi Esmâ-yı Hassâyı Camidir*, vol. I (İstanbul: Mihran Matbaası, 1306 [1889]), entry "Arnavudluk," 149-53, here pp. 49 (...) şimalen dahi Sirbiye, Bosna ve Karadağ hududuyla mahdud ve muhattır. and Otto von Gerstner, *Albanien* (Wien und Leipzig: Wilhelm Braumüller, 1913), 16-17, 29-35. See also Bülent Bilmez, "Shemseddin Sami Frashëri (1850–1904): Contributing to the Construction of Albanian and Turkish Identities," in *We, the People: Politics of National Peculiarity in Southeastern Europe*, ed. Diana Mishkova (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2009), 341-71. and Nathalie Clayer, *Arnavut Milliyetçiliğinin Kökenleri: Avrupa'da Çoğunluğu Müslüman bir Ulusun Doğuşu* (İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi, 2013), 209-19.

<sup>58</sup> Özatalay, *Türk Silahlı Kuvvetleri Tarihi: Balkan Harbi, Garp Ordusu, Karadağ Cephesi*, III. cilt / 3. Kısım, 20.

<sup>59</sup> Ippen, *Novibazar und Kossovo (Das alte Rascien): Eine Studie*, 3-5, 8, 10-11. *Detaillbeschreibung des Sandžkas Plevlje und des Vilajets Kosovo*, (Wien: k.k. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1899), 3, 45-46, 75, 98. von Gerstner, *Albanien*, 3. Juris Georg Stern, *Das alte Rascien: Der Sandschak Novipazar und dessen Anland unter der k. u. k. Militärverwaltung* (Wien: K. u. k. Hof- und Universitäts- Buchhändler, 1916), 7-9, 11, 13-14. For the building and changing process of the Kosovo(a) territory see Nathalie Clayer, "Kosova: The Building Process of a Territory from the Nineteenth to the Twenty-First Century," in *Ottoman Legacies in the Contemporary Mediterranean: the Balkans and the Middle East Compared*, ed. Ginio Eyal and Karl Kaser (Jerusalem: The European Forum at the Hebrew University, 2013), 79-92. and Eva Anne Frantz, "Kosovo," in *Das Südosteuropa der Regionen*, ed. Oliver Jens Schmitt and Michael Metzeltin (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2015), 201-75.

<sup>60</sup> BOA/Istanbul, Y.PRK.MYD, 8/57, 26 L 1306 [25/06/1889], Kosova Valisi to the Yıldız Saray (...) Eski Sirbiye olan Kosova vilayetiyle Makedonya'nın olan hal-i esarete bulunduğu (...); *ibid*, BEO, 514/38523, leff 2, 27 Teşrin-i Evvel 1310 [08/11/1894], MoFA to the Sadrazam (...) asıl Priştine ahalisinden ve tebaa-ı devlet-i osmaniyeden Yovan Anatasiyeviç namında bir genç (...) memleketi Eski Sirbistan diyü muharrer olan Sırp pasaportu zabt edilmiş (...); Ippen, *Novibazar und Kossovo (Das alte Rascien): Eine Studie*, 3-4. Karl Oestreich, "Reiseindrücke aus dem Vilajet Kosovo," *Abhandlungen der K. K. Geographischen Gesellschaft in Wien* 1 (1899): 327-72, here pp. 32. and Stern, *Das alte Rascien: Der Sandschak Novipazar und dessen Anland unter der k. u. k. Militärverwaltung*, 9, 13. See, for example, the petitions filed by the Ottoman subjects or deserters to the Montenegrin authorities DACG/Cetinje, MUD-UO, 1911/F110, #614/2, 15.02.1911, Cetinje, Đordije Đoković Bjegunac, a fugitive from Akova to the MoI; *ibid*, MID, 1910-1911/F187, #3582, 20.02.1911, Jakov S. Kostantinović from Pljevlja to the King and the Queen and *ibid*, MID, 1912/F207, #1/1912, 04.01.1912, Krsto Ž. Veselinović from Peć to the MoI. There are also examples that Ottoman subjects and deserters of Muslim faith employed the same term in their petitions but it could be that their petition writers used it. See, for example DACG/Cetinje, MID, 1908/F163, #4231, 09.06.1908, Sjenica, Nuro Smailagić to the MoFA and *ibid*, MUD-UO, 1911/F111, #912(2), 22.02.1911, Cetinje, Nehad Mekić, a deserter, to the MoI. On the term Old Serbia and its changing meanings since the 1850s in the Serbian context see Bogdan Trifunović, *Memory of Old Serbia and the Shaping of Serbian Identity* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo DiG Sp. j., 2015). Miloš Jagodić, *Srbija i Stara Srbija (1839-1868): Nasleđe na jugu* (Beograd: Evoluta, 2016). and Srđan Atanasovski, *Mapiranje Stare Srbije: Stopama putopisaca, tragom narodne pesme* (Beograd: Biblioteka XX vek, 2017).

Islamic feature of the term Sandžak. Both terms became synonyms by 1913, having been used interchangeably in the post-1918 setting by certain locals.<sup>61</sup>

In the SCS context, an office with a seat in Tašlica (1922) that was in charge of public law and security was titled as a special commissioner for the Sandžak.<sup>62</sup> This period offered a chance to the national and confessional actors to encode the region as one of many Serbian lands – in doing so, they adhered to the use of the term Sandžak or Raška – or others (e.g. those from Sarajevo) claimed that they and Muslims from the region were brothers.<sup>63</sup> In this regard, they emerged as both region- and nation-builders.<sup>64</sup> Hence, the claim that the Habsburg Monarchy created the term for its own purposes does not coincide with sources.<sup>65</sup> This assumption has something to do with the dissolution of socialist Yugoslavia whereby wielding the regional approach in context of *certain* areas is still considered for the nationalist historiographies as some kind of a Trojan horse.<sup>66</sup>

While the region's "natural" boundaries toward Montenegro, Serbia, and Habsburg Bosnia were not problematic given the rivers or mountains, the experts could not come to the terms with where the Sandžak ended toward Kosovo. Some argued that the boundary lay between the towns of Yeni Pazar and Mitroviča (not surprisingly, divided by another mountain), others claimed that it should be drawn more to the south around Vilçitrin.<sup>67</sup> The reason for the latter was a stone obelisk located between Mitroviča and Vilçitrin that represented an old administrative border between the Ottoman provinces of Bosnia and Rumelia.<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>61</sup> NMCG-ABO/Cetinje, N. I, 1912/F63, #313, undated, Nikola R. Minića from Prijepolje, dr. phil. Pavle Čubrolović-Lutovac from Beran-nahije by power of attorney of Sretena Vukosavljevića from Prijepolje and priest Simo Šiljak from Pljevalja to the King (...) Klasični srpski krajevi stare Raške; Cvetić, *Novopazarski sandžak*, 3-4, 7, 16-17. Dušan J.] Urednik [Pešić, "Slava im!", *Ratnik: List za vojne nauke, novosti i književnost* XXXVI, no. LXXIV/I (januar 1914) (1914): 1-3, here pp. 1. Tamara Scheer, "Sanjak of Novi Pazar," in *1914-1918-Online. International Encyclopedia of the First World War*, ed. Ute Daniel et al. (Berlin: issued by Freie Universität Berlin, 2015-03-16). Krzysztof Marcin Zalewski, "Der Sandschak: Zur Konstruktion einer historischen Region," in *Das Südosteuropa der Regionen*, ed. Oliver Jens Schmitt and Michael Metzeltin (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2015), 177-99, here pp. 86-88. Morrison and Roberts, *The Sandžak: A History*, 5. Milan Borisavljević, *Agrarna reforma u Novo-Pazarskom Sandžaku (Staroj Rasiji - "Raškoj")* (Beograd: Štamparski zavod "Orao", 1928), 3-4, 6, 8-10, 12-13. and Aleksa Borisavljević, "Uspomene Alekse Borisavljevića," in *Kazivanja Borisavljevića* (Nova Varoš: "Rujno" Užice, 1995), 155-87, here pp. 68-70, 72, 80-81, 83, 88-87.

<sup>62</sup> AJ/Belgrade, 14-177-650, #9014, 08.05.1922, Beograd, MoI to the Skoplje District Chief.

<sup>63</sup> Xavier Bougarel, *Islam and Nationhood in Bosnia-Herzegovina: Surviving Empires* (London - Oxford - New York - New Delhi - Sydney: Bloomsbury, 2018), 33-39. and Zalewski, "Der Sandschak: Zur Konstruktion einer historischen Region," 187-88. See also B. D. and V. Radovanović, "Raška oblast," in *Narodna enciklopedija srpsko-hrvatsko-slovenačka*, ed. Stanoje Stanojević (Zagreb: Bibliografski zavod D. D. , 1928), 727-28.

<sup>64</sup> Jörg Hackmann and Robert Schweitzer, "Introduction: North Eastern Europe as a Historical Region," *Journal of Baltic Studies* 33, no. 4 (2002): 361-68, here pp. 61. and Stefan Troebst, "Introduction: What's in a Historical Region? A Teutonic Perspective," *European Review of History* 10, no. 2 (2003): 173-88, here pp. 78 (citation).

<sup>65</sup> Božović, *Kroz nekadanju tromeđu: putopisna proza o pljevaljskom kraju iz 1932. godine*, 16.

<sup>66</sup> Oliver Jens Schmitt and Michael Metzeltin, "Das Südosteuropa der Regionen: Einleitung," in *Das Südosteuropa der Regionen*, ed. Oliver Jens Schmitt and Michael Metzeltin (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2015), 7-37, here pp. 26. See Slavenko Terzić, "Raška ili "Sandžak": O sudbini oblasnog istorijskog imena Raška," *Mileševski zapisi* 2 (1996): 197-208. and Slavenko Terzić, "Upotreba islamskog faktora u balkanskog strategiji velikih sila: Raška i "sandžačko pitanje", in *Islam, Balkan i velike sile (XIV-XX vek)*, ed. Slavenko Terzić (Beograd: Istorijski institut SANU, 1997), 319-28.

<sup>67</sup> Ippen, *Novibazar und Kossovo (Das alte Rascien): Eine Studie*, 6. and Nedić, "Novopazarski sandžak: Vojno-geografska studija," 178.

<sup>68</sup> ÖStA/HHStA/Vienna, PA I 977, 32k, Serbien, #12.616, 21.05.1917, Belgrade, MGG/S to the AOK.



Besides trying to reify the boundaries, these actors also wanted to show their readers who dwelled in the region. However, their narratives also in this regard were inconsistent inasmuch as the experts saw and labeled what they wanted to see, essentially feeding their white mythologies.<sup>69</sup> The locals, whose numbers before 1912 amounted to more than 200.000, were divided into clear-cut ethno-national units, Muslims vs. Christians who, of course, detested each other. While for most Serbian experts, they were all Serbs regardless of faith, except some Albanians leaving here and there, certain Habsburg peers encoded the Slavic-speaking Muslims either as Serbs or simply as Muslims, or they tried to enhance the numbers of the imagined Albanian community.<sup>70</sup> They sought to prove that belonging to any specific national and/or confessional “group” delineated their agency, according to the zeitgeist, claiming this to be the only true one.<sup>71</sup>

But they were referring to nothing else but one of the many mental maps of the time, a concept that underlines a space of imagination, construction and desires. Even if it lies over a physical-material space and was related to material objects, it remains their space to imagine and dream.<sup>72</sup> They failed to see that there might be other loyalties that were (equally) important for the self-identification of the locals, meaning, for some, besides the national or confessional ones, there is no singular loyalty but many. Reflecting on only the outer attributes without contextualizing them does not suffice.<sup>73</sup> History, geography, anthropology, and ethnography supported their arguments given their close ties with governmental ideologies worldwide. Thus, the authorities and their agents tended to inscribe themselves both on a material soil and on the forms of discourse by adhering to the invented labels.<sup>74</sup>

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<sup>69</sup> Robert J. C. Young, *White Mythologies: Writing History and the West* (London / New York: Routledge, 2004).

<sup>70</sup> Ippen, *Novibazar und Kosovo (Das alte Rascien): Eine Studie*, 10-11. and Cvetić, *Novopazarski sandžak*, 17-18.

<sup>71</sup> Joep Leerssen, *National Thought in Europe: A Cultural History* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2006), 57, 60-64. and Don Martindale, "The Sociology of National Character," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 370 (1967): 30-35, here pp. 33, 35.

<sup>72</sup> Hans-Dietrich Schultz, "Räume sind nicht, Räume werden gemacht: Zur Genese "Mitteleuropas" in der deutschen Geographie," *Europa Regiona* 5, no. 1 (1997): 2-14, here pp. 2, 12. Hans-Dietrich Schultz, "Raumkonstrukte der klassischen deutschsprachigen Geographie des 19./20. Jahrhunderts im Kontext ihrer Zeit: Ein Überblick," *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 28, no. 3 (2002): 343-77. and Frithjof Benjamin Schenk, "Mental Maps: Die Konstruktion von geographischen Räumen in Europa seit der Aufklärung," *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 28, no. 3 (2002): 493-514.

<sup>73</sup> Christian Wille and Rachel Reckinger, "Zur Untersuchung von Raum- und Identitätskonstruktion in Grenzregionen," in *Räume und Identitäten in Grenzregionen: Politiken - Medien - Subjekte*, ed. Christian Wille et al. (Bielefeld: transcript, 2014), 9-13. and Sonja Kmec and Rachel Reckinger, "Identifikations- und Identifizierungsprozesse," in *Räume und Identitäten in Grenzregionen: Politiken - Medien - Subjekte*, ed. Christian Wille et al. (Bielefeld: transcript, 2014), 35-43, here pp. 38, 40-41.

<sup>74</sup> Michel Foucault, *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings*, ed. Colin Gordon (New York: Pantheon Books, 1980), 362-63. Michel Foucault, *Power*, ed. Paul Rabinow, vol. 3, *Essential Works of Foucault, 1954-1984*, (New York: New Press, 2001), 63, 68-71, 74-75, 77. Hans-Dietrich Schultz, "'Natürliche Grenzen" als politisches Programm," in *Grenzenlose Gesellschaft?*, ed. Claudia Honegger, Stefan Hradil, and Franz Traxler (Oplande: Leske + Budrich, 1999), 328-43; Tara Zahra, "Looking East: East Central European "Borderlands" in German History and Historiography," *History Compass* 3, no. 1 (2005): 1-23, here pp. 2-3. Eric J. Hobsbawm, "Introduction: Inventing Traditions," in *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. Eric J. Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 1-14. Eric J. Hobsbawm, "Mass-Producing Traditions: Europe, 1870-1914," in *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. Eric J. Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 263-307. and Vedran Duančić, *Geography and Nationalist Visions of Interwar Yugoslavia* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2020).

A case in point is that of a French geographer who worked in pre-1913 Belgrade and an Ottoman journalist from Istanbul, who both visited the place of Tırgovište around the same time. While for the former its population represented an “Albanian oasis,” the journalist claimed that it consisted entirely of Slavic-speaking Muslims. They failed to notice that in some areas the locals were bi- or multilingual, which represented a useful tactic while serving in the army as well.<sup>75</sup> Behind the so-called regionalization, stood the interests of the ruling elites that were needed to legitimize their rule and expansion, what one sees in Asia, Egypt and Libya, at the same time as well.<sup>76</sup> One deals here with the geographical imaginations that define the region as an enclosed space defined by the fixed boundaries. This legitimates their Orientalisms, imperialist fantasies and actions, similar to the German setting.<sup>77</sup> Also here, one could ask who the Sanžak belonged to.<sup>78</sup> Thus, similar to Habsburg Galicia, which had the status of a crownland, the region meant different things to its diverse populations and outsiders of a different color.<sup>79</sup> But, the issue is that they could not fully categorize the region and the locals based on their linguistic or ethnographic categories, which represented the sole tool for designating the ethnographic boundaries of imagined communities.<sup>80</sup>

The Ottoman governing elites named certain political units according to the local landscapes, although in terms of their spatial extent, they did not always correspond to the relevant local terms. Yet, the officials that hailed from the native populations or foreigners that stayed for a long time locally absorbed the natives’ spatial labelling.<sup>81</sup> Instead of simplifications, one sees the complexities and the landscapes with which the locals identified

<sup>75</sup> Gaston Gravje, *Novopazarski sandžak* (Novi Pazar: Zavičajni muzej Novi Pazar, 1977), 15. and Ahmet Şerif, *Arnavudluk'da, Sûriye'de, Trablusgarb'de Tanîn*, ed. Mehmed Çetin Börekçi, vol. II (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1999), 93, 96.

<sup>76</sup> ÖStA/HHStA/Vienna, PA I 975, 32g, Serbien, #I<sup>a</sup>, 24.09.1916, Vienna, Evidenzbüro of the General Staff to the AOK; DAS/Belgrade, VGG, 18-737, Lajos Thallóczy, Novi Pazar (November 1916), *Schlussbemerkungen*; Prasenjit Duara, "Asia Redux: Conceptualizing a Region for Our Times," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 69, no. 4 (2010): 963-83. and Matthew H. Ellis, *Desert Borderland: The Making of Modern Egypt and Libya* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2018). See also Monique Scheer, Christian Marchetti, and Reinhard Johler, "'A Time Like no Other': The Impact of the Great War on European Anthropology," in *Doing Anthropology in Wartime and War Zones: World War and the Cultural Sciences in Europe*, ed. Reinhard Johler, Christian Marchetti, and Monique Scheer (Bielefeld: transcript, 2010), 9-26. and Christian Marchetti, "'Frontier Ethnography': Zur colonial situation der österreichischen Volkskunde auf dem Balkan im Ersten Weltkrieg," in *Wechselwirkungen: Austria Hungary, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and the Western Balkans, 1878-1918*, ed. Clemens Ruthner et al. (New York: Peter Lang, 2015), 363-81.

<sup>77</sup> Derek Gregory, *Geographical Imaginations* (Cambridge, MA & Oxford UK: Blackwell, 1994). Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (London: Penguin Books, 2003), 54, 57, 60, 63, 71. and Edward W. Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1993). Sara Friedrichmeyer, Sara Lennox, and Susanne Zantop, "Introduction," in *The Imperialist Imagination: German Colonialism and Its Legacy*, ed. Sara Friedrichmeyer, Sara Lennox, and Susanne Zantop (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1998), 1-29. and Susanne Zantop, *Colonial Fantasies: Conquest, Family, and Nation in Precolonial Germany, 1770-1870* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1997), 4.

<sup>78</sup> Edin Hajdarpašić, *Whose Bosnia? Nationalism and Political Imagination in the Balkans, 1840-1914* (Ithaca / New York: Cornell University Press, 2015).

<sup>79</sup> Larry Wolff, *The Idea of Galicia: History and Fantasy in Habsburg Political Culture* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2010).

<sup>80</sup> Oestreich, "Reiseindrücke aus dem Vilajet Kosovo," 331-33. and Mishkova, *Beyond Balkanism: The Scholarly Politics of Region Making*, 47, 49. On the concept of imagined communities see Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London / New York: Verso, 2003).

<sup>81</sup> *Detailbeschreibung des Sandžkas Plevlje und des Vilajets Kosovo*, 86.

(Map 2). These represented a local system of action, status, influence, and authority, having been to some extent remote from the outside, whereby they constituted a distinct sphere of perception and information. Equally important was their moral economy towards the inside and outside. They are the result of an encroaching, selective, and meaningful process, which is subject to historical contingencies and subjective landscape images.<sup>82</sup> Some peasants, for instance, did not name certain areas by political borders. They traveled not to Serbia but to Morava (a river in Serbia) or to Drina (a river between Habsburg Bosnia and Serbia).<sup>83</sup>

Beginning from the segmentary tribe of the Vasojevići, which surrounded the town of Berane (2,000 dwellers), one notices how their imagined tribal boundaries were divided by the state border. This space, including the adjacent woodland area of Kolašin-i Zir, announced the beginning of the Ottoman tribal zone that encompassed bilingual Albanian and Slavic-speaking tribes, kinships (of bilinear descent, e.g. Rugova) and tribal confederations of Muslim, Catholic, and Orthodox faiths along the Ottoman-Montenegrin borderlands, which strongly resembled those in the Ottoman Eastern Anatolian districts.<sup>84</sup> Thus, their inner fabric varied. The zone included the tribes of short- and long-distance herding, for which the seasonal migration between their summer and winter pastures was crucial, in addition to tilling land and in some spaces, raiding. Any border moving represented a peril since this could deprive them of their precious pastures located close to their homes, around Selanik or on the Adriatic Sea coast.<sup>85</sup>

They were not monolithic blocks because they could be split into those who belong to the tribe or not and different village areas, as shown in the case of the Vasojevići that function here

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<sup>82</sup> James C. Scott, *Decoding Subaltern Politics: Ideology, Disguise, and Resistance in Agrarian Politics* (London / New York: Routledge: Taylor & Francis Group, 2013), 37-38. and Rainer Gulđin, *Politische Landschaften: Zum Verhältnis von Raum und nationaler Identität* (Bielefeld: transcript, 2014), 9-11.

<sup>83</sup> Petar [Atanasije] Mrkonjić [Pejatović], "Srednje Polimlje i Potarje u Novopazarskom sandžaku: Antropogeografska ispitivanja," in *Naselja srpskih zemalja: Srpski etnografski zbornik*, 1/IV (Beograd: Srpska kraljevska akademija, 1902), 225-356, here pp. 270.

<sup>84</sup> On the concept of tribal zone see R. Brian Ferguson and Neil L. Whitehead, "Preface to the Second Printing," in *War in the Tribal Zone: Expanding States and Indigenous Warfare*, ed. R. Brian Ferguson and Neil L. Whitehead (Santa Fe, New Mexico / Oxford: School of American Research Press / James Currey Ltd., 1999), xi-xxxv. Ferguson and Whitehead, "The Violent Edge of Empire," 1-30. On Eastern Anatolia see Elke Hartmann, "The Central State in the Borderlands: Ottoman Eastern Anatolia in the Late Nineteenth Century," in *Shatterzone of Empires: Coexistence and Violence in the German, Habsburg, Russian, and Ottoman Borderlands*, ed. Omer Bartov and Eric D. Weitz (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2013), 168-86. Klein, *Hamidiye Alayları: İmparatorluğun Sınır Boyları ve Kürt Aşiretleri*, 18, 31, 43-44. Sabri Ateş, *The Ottoman-Iranian Borderlands: Making a Boundary, 1843-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013). and Martin van Bruinessen, *Agha, Shaikh and State: The Social and Political Structures of Kurdistan* (London: Zed Books, 1992).

<sup>85</sup> Thede Kahl, "Auswirkungen von neuen Grenzen auf die Fernweidewirtschaft Südosteuropas," in *Raumstrukturen und Grenzen in Südosteuropa*, ed. Cay Lienau (München: Südosteuropa-Gesellschaft, 2001), 245-72. Thede Kahl, "Hirten und "ihr Land": Zur Kulturlandschaft griechischer Weidegebiete," in *Griechische Kulturlandschaften, Sehnsuchts- und Erinnerungsorte*, ed. Horst D. Blume and Cay Lienau (Münster: 2009), 149-70. Karl Kaser, "Pastoral Economy and Family in the Dinaric and Pindus Mountain (14th-early 20th Centuries)," in *Household and Family in the Balkans: Two Decades of Historical Family Research at University of Graz*, ed. Karl Kaser (Berlin: Lit Verlag, 2012), 289-303, here pp. 290, 99. On Rugova see Franz Baron Nopcsa, *Aus Šala und Klementi: Albanische Wanderungen* (Sarajevo: Druck und Verlag und Daniel A. Kajon, 1910), 57. and Mirko Barjaktarović, "Rugova," in *Naselja srpskih zemalja (knj. 36): Srpski etnografski zbornik (knj. LXXIV)* (Beograd: Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti, 1960), 165-241.

as a case study.<sup>86</sup> Sources allow for one to heed their interrelation with the state, neighboring kinship alliances, and the inner-communal change, while they also seek to reify their imagined tribal boundaries, carrying more about their vision of sovereignty than that of the state.<sup>87</sup> For travelers and non-natives to these areas, it was utterly difficult to distinguish who is who here, not least because in addition to being bi- or multilingual, the locals wore the same clothes.<sup>88</sup> This does not mean they were not familiar with national and/or confessional labels. In addition to seeing them as Albanians, the headmen of the Vasojevići and others identified, for example, their neighbors from Plava, Gusine, Tırgovište, Rugova and İpek as White Turks (*bijeli Turci*), meaning, those who were renegades of Christian faith and spoke the Slavic language.<sup>89</sup>

For certain Montenegrin subjects, their King, and outsiders, Plava, Gusine and Rugova were more dangerous “than being in the middle of Africa itself.” It represented the head of imagined *Arnautluk*, a place where only bad things happened and where foreigners did not come by.<sup>90</sup> Hinging on the context, some locals also could nest orientalism against others in order to legitimize their status and complaints whereby the roles between the ruler and the ruled changed.<sup>91</sup> But these assertions and rumors of the locals’ ruthlessness and cruelty were an integral part of their effectiveness at keeping their military and tax privileges mainly vis-à-vis the state. Stories about regular and alleged display of violence represented a tactic for guarding their local status.<sup>92</sup> But for the tribe of Shala, the dwellers of Gusine were not Albanians since they do not know the institution of a given word (*besa*).<sup>93</sup>

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<sup>86</sup> Ippen, *Novibazar und Kossovo (Das alte Rascien): Eine Studie*, 89-91. and *Detailbeschreibung des Sandžkas Plevlje und des Vilajets Kosovo*, 89.

<sup>87</sup> See Pekka Hämäläinen, *The Comanche Empire* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2008).

<sup>88</sup> W. H. Cozens-Hardy, "Montenegro and Its Borderlands," *The Geographical Journal* 4, no. 5 (1894): 385-405, here pp. 394. and Nopcsa, *Aus Šala und Klementi: Albanische Wanderungen*, 43-44, 75-76. See also Adolf Köster, *Mit den Bulgaren: Kriegsberichte aus Serbien und Mazedonien* (München: Albert Langen, 1916), 53.

<sup>89</sup> Marko P. Cemović, *Vasojevići: Istorijaska istraživanja* (Beograd: Izdavački savjet Zavičajnog udruženja Vasojevića, 1992), 51. Radoslav J. Vešović, *Pleme Vasojevići u vezi sa istorijom Crne Gore i plemenskim životom susjednih Brda* (Sarajevo: Državna štamparija, 1935), 258-59. DACG/Cetinje, MID, 1909/F172, #1480, 26.08.1909, Andrijevića, Lakić Vojvodić to the MoW; *ibid*, MID, 1910/F179a, #611, 31.06.1910, Andrijevića, Protić to the MoFA and *ibid*, MID, 1912/F207a, #99, 22.07.1912, Andrijevića, Janko Vukotić to the MoW.

<sup>90</sup> BIHUCG/Podgorica, K85, unnumbered, 25.09.1912, Šitarici, Avro Cemović to Janko Vukotić; Cozens-Hardy, "Montenegro and Its Borderlands," 402. Mary E. Durham, *Through the Lands of the Serb* (London: Edward Arnold, 1904), 274, 303-04. Lovro Mihačević, *Durch Albanien: Reise-Eindrücke* (Prag: Druck und Verlag des Bonifatius-Buchdruckerei, 1913), 76. and Aleksandar Bašmakov, *Preko Crne Gore u zemlju Gega* (Podgorica: CID, 1996), 18, 20 (citation), 54-56.

<sup>91</sup> BOA/Istanbul, BEO, 3792/284372, leff 13-1, 21/04/1317 [04/05/1901], Mejlis of the Yeni Pazar Region, (...) cehalet ve huşunet tebaaları; DAS/Belgrade, MUDuI, OP 1919, K1, #233, 25.06.1919, Orahovac, County Chief to the Prizren District Chief; Milica Bakić-Hayden, "Nesting Orientalisms: The Case of Former Yugoslavia," *Slavic Review* 54, no. 4 (1995): 917-31. Ulf Brunnbauer and Robert Pichler, "Mountains as "lieux de mémoire": Highland Values and Nation-Building in the Balkans," *Balkanologie: Revue d'études pluridisciplinaires* VI, no. 1-2 (2002): 77-100, here pp. 99-00. and Vangelis Kechriotis, "Postcolonial Criticism Encounters late Ottoman Studies," *Historiein: A Review of the Past and other Stories* 13 (2013): 39-46, here pp. 44.

<sup>92</sup> Philippe Bourgois, *In Search of Respect: Selling Crack in El Barrio* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 24. and Božidar Jezernik, *Wild Europe: The Balkans in the Gaze of Western Travellers* (London: Saqi Books and the Bosnian Institute, 2004), 100-01, 05-08, 10-11.

<sup>93</sup> Nopcsa, *Aus Šala und Klementi: Albanische Wanderungen*, 75-76. See also Isa Blumi, "An Honorable Break from Besa: Reorienting Violence in the Late Ottoman Mediterranean," *European Journal of Turkish Studies* 18, no. (Hi)stories of Honor in Ottoman Societies (2014): 2-19.

That is why the reformulating of long-established academic categories of Ghegs (northern Albanians) is needed, which still depicts the imagined Albanian community exclusively along the Gheg-Tosk binary.<sup>94</sup> One also sees this in Kolašin-i Zir, which included the town of Akova (3,000 residents), where the locals consisted mainly of Slavic-speaking Muslims whose outfit and norms shared common points with Habsburg Herzegovina and imagined Albania. Thus, some identified them as Albanians, not least because the natives enjoyed a bad reputation in the broader region as being outlaws, dishonored, and members of Ottoman paramilitaries.<sup>95</sup> Similar to other Ottoman areas, the notion of being labelled as Albanian was also equated here almost with being a criminal. It became the epithet for persons who made a living by plundering local communities and encompassed those who might not identify themselves as such.<sup>96</sup> Their neighbors perceived them as unreliable for holding *besa*. Relying on this and their vicinity to the Montenegrin-Ottoman borderland, they skillfully maintained their political autonomy and offered refuge to those who might fall victim to the state.<sup>97</sup>

The landscapes Bihor, Pešter, and Stari Vlah were also inhabited by the mixed locals whereby some Ottoman authorities considered Stari Vlah to be a small Šumadija, indicating the dominance of the Slavic-speaking Christians and referring to the inner provinces of pre-1912 Serbia. In addition to husbandry, occasional raiding, and the production of milk products, the locals tilled the land too. In contrast to the area around Yeni Varoş, the plateau between Seniçe and Yeni Pazar is almost treeless but it was a pastureland with good grass, where one, depending on the time in the year, could see herds of sheep and cattle. In fact, the local breed of sheep was the best and most popular in the Ottoman Balkan provinces, providing the kurbans for the most prestigious houses in Istanbul. The costume of those living in Bihor was similar to the locals of Kolašin-i Zir, whereas the bilingual natives of Pešter looked the same as those who dwelt in the

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<sup>94</sup> George W. Gawrych, *The Crescent and the Eagle: Ottoman Rule, Islam and the Albanians, 1874-1913* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2006), 22-23, 28-29. Robert Elsie, *The Tribes of Albania: History, Society and Culture* (London - New York: I. B. Tauris, 2015), 2-3. See also Isa Blumi, "The Commodification of Otherness and the Ethnic Unit in the Balkans: How to Think about Albanians," *East European Politics and Societies: and Cultures* 12, no. 3 (1998): 527-69.

<sup>95</sup> DACG/Cetinje, PPKŽ, F2, #222, 12.07.1908, Vaškov, Milisav P.K. to Vule Knežević; *ibid*, F7, #138; 5/1911, 29.01.1911, Premčani, Unknown to Vule Knežević; *ibid*, F7, #62, 10.03.1911, Prenčani, Miloica Peruničić to Vule Knežević; Nićifor Dučić, "Kolašin, prijedjel i pleme u Hercegovini," *Brastvo* 4, no. 2 (1888): 142-58. Mrkonjić [Pejatović], "Srednje Polimlje i Potarje u Novopazarskom sandžaku: Antropogeografska ispitivanja," 225-356, here pp. 284-85. NMCG-ABO/Cetinje, N. I, 1913/F66, #18, 15.03.1913, Turski poručnik novi Srbin Milan Milovanović, *Taşlıca 60. Alayı Nizamiye ve Redif Kıtaatı*, 5-6; Ippen, *Novibazar und Kossovo (Das alte Rascien): Eine Studie*, 52-53, 75-88. and *Detailbeschreibung des Sandžkas Plevlje und des Vilajets Kosovo*, 86-88.

<sup>96</sup> Ryan Gingeras, *Sorrowful Shores: Violence, Ethnicity, and the End of the Ottoman Empire, 1912-1923* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 31-32, 35. and Tolga U. Esmer, "Economies of Violence, Banditry and Governance in the Ottoman Empire Around 1800," *Past & Present* 224, no. 1 (2014): 163-99, here pp. 78, 96-97.

<sup>97</sup> DACG/Cetinje, PPKŽ, F1, #1/1906, 13.05.1906, Barice, Nešo M. Joksimović to Jovan Mamedović; *ibid*, F4, #244, undated, The Population of the Villages Barice, Prenčani and Vaškova to Vule Knežević and Ippen, *Novibazar und Kossovo (Das alte Rascien): Eine Studie*, 53, 85.

İpek area, partially Herzegovina or Bosnia. Those from Stari Vlah were distinguishable from the others due to their clothes and the headgear.<sup>98</sup>

Some locals from Pešter, in contrast, maintained kinship relations with the bilingual Kelmendi, Kući, Shala and Triepši but did not enjoy military and tax benefits as the latter.<sup>99</sup> One was able to communicate Albanian without any issues up to Seniče whereby after passing the town northwards and westwards, the knowledge of Slavic vernaculars was a must.<sup>100</sup> Something similar reigned as far as to Īškodra because the Albanian-speaking locals understood the *naš govor* (our language), a form of expression which they had acquired in their dealings with the Slav neighbors.<sup>101</sup>

Urban towns and their vicinities were equally parted and mixed. Since Ottoman records offer numbers on the populations only on the level of a province or districts, one is forced to use the outsider's data for the towns.<sup>102</sup> Prior to 1912, the town of Tašlica had around 12,000 inhabitants where the Slavic vernaculars of the Christian and Muslim communities were spoken. Given its close proximity to the border and the fact that one of the four Habsburg garrisons in the region (Prepole, Preboy, Yeni Varoş) was located there (until 1908), including the seat of an Ottoman division with the new barracks, locals, and an Orthodox Christian monastery had a chance to gain capital by renting rooms and trading, not exclusively, with the Habsburg rank and file or neighboring Sarajevo. Here, one of the two beer companies in the province of Kosovo (another in Üsküp) could be found.<sup>103</sup>

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<sup>98</sup> Milan Borisavljević, "Žitije porodice Borisavljevića," in *Kazivanja Borisavljevića* (Nova Varoš: "Rujno" Užice, 1995), 28. Cozens-Hardy, "Montenegro and Its Borderlands," 399-400. Ippen, *Novibazar und Kossovo (Das alte Rascien): Eine Studie*, 57, 92, 111-13. Gravje, *Novopazarski sandžak*, footnote #30, 56-57. Cvetić, *Novopazarski sandžak*, 19. and Jevto Dedijer, *Nova Srbija* (Beograd: Srpska književna zadruga, 1913), 290. See also Holm Sundhassen, "Die Šumadija: Historische (Nicht-)Region und/oder "Mentap Map"?", in *Das Südosteuropa der Regionen*, ed. Oliver Jens Schmitt and Michael Metzeltin (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2015), 277-312.

<sup>99</sup> *Detailbeschreibung des Sandžkas Plevlje und des Vilajets Kosovo*, 88-89. and Nedić, "Novopazarski sandžak: Vojno-geografska studija," 188-87.

<sup>100</sup> Ferencz Nopcsa, *Reisen in den Balkan: Die Lebenserinnerungen des Franz Baron Nopcsa (Kindle Edition)*, vol. Vol. 11, Albanian studies, (London: Centre for Albanian Studies, 2015).

<sup>101</sup> Oestreich, "Reiseindrücke aus dem Vilajet Kosovo," 331. whether something similar to the Kindertausch/hande took place locally, alike to the bilingual areas of the Habsburg Cisleithania, it is not clear. See Pieter M. Judson, *Guardians of the Nation: Activists on the Language Frontiers of Imperial Austria* (London: Harvard University Press, 2006). and Zahra, *Kidnapped Souls: National Indifference and the Battle for Children in the Bohemian Lands, 1900-1948*, 2.

<sup>102</sup> BOA/Istanbul, Y.PRK.UM, 3/45, leff 1, 24 Eylül 1296 [06/10/1880]; *ibid.*, Y.PRK.DH, 8/44, leff 1, 12 Mart 1311 [25/03/1895] and Kemal H. Karpat, *Ottoman Population, 1830-1914: Demographic and Social Characteristics* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1985), 140-41.

<sup>103</sup> Ippen, *Novibazar und Kossovo (Das alte Rascien): Eine Studie*, 65-66. Cvetić, *Novopazarski sandžak*, 30-31. *Detailbeschreibung des Sandžkas Plevlje und des Vilajets Kosovo*, 107-08, 10-13. and Geza Varadi and Imre Laki, *Novopazarski sandžak - Pljevlja: Crteži, pripovetke i putopisi o Novopazarskom sandžaku Turske od okupacije do aneksije* (Podgorica [Budimpešta]: Književni klub "Dalma" Pljevlja, 2009 [1912]), 147-48. On the Habsburg presence in the region see Tamara Scheer, "Minimale Kosten, absolut kein Blut": *Österreich-Ungarns Präsenz im Sandžak von Novipazar (1879-1908)* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang Edition, 2013). and Tamara Scheer, "A Micro-Historical Experience in the Late Ottoman Balkans: The Case of Austria-Hungary in Sanjak Novi Pazar (1879-1908)," in *War and Nationalism: The Balkan Wars (1912-13) and Socio-Political Implications*, ed. M. Hakan Yavuz and Isa Blumi (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2013), 197-229.

The adjacent towns of Prepole (around 2,100 residents), Preboy (up to 1,000 residents) and Yeni Varoş (around 650 residents) also harbored the mixed Slavic-speaking populations of Christian and Muslim faiths whose peoples, just as to those around Taşlıca, tilled the land or mainly took care of their herds. Some locals would utter that they were from Herzegovina, Bosnia or Stari Vlah given to their clothes and vernacular.<sup>104</sup> Seniçe (1,500 inhabitants) and Yeni Pazar (around 11,000 peoples) populated by the Albanian- and/or Slavic-speaking Muslims and Christians, were oriented near to Mitroviça and Selanik, while their inhabitants dealt with animal husbandry, trade and land.<sup>105</sup>

Mitroviça, with its railroad station had less than 10,000 inhabitants, in which Albanian-, Slavic- and Turkish-speaking locals of Muslim and Christian faiths dwelled. In addition to wearing the fez, all of the local Christians seemed to have an Ottoman feeling to them and took pride in being Ottoman before 1912. In reference to daily jobs, they did not differ so much from their neighbors in other parts of the region.<sup>106</sup> Continental climate reigned in these areas whereby the winter was quite severe. The region together with Montenegro was one of the highest areas seen broadly.<sup>107</sup> The point in which all sources were unanimous was the lack of infrastructure between the region's main urban settlements even though every state tried to improve the road network primarily by following military ends.<sup>108</sup>

Thus, the term Sandžak or the region are used here interchangeably and encompass all these settings and landscapes. By following the locals' social networks and the state's mobilization efforts, it becomes clear that the towns of Vılçıtrın, İpek, and Yakova have to be included into the analysis as well because İpek, hinging on the context and the inhabitants, might become part of the imagined Sandžak.<sup>109</sup> Therefore, writing an isolated history of any area is not

<sup>104</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MUD-UO, 1913/F135, #1535(1), br. 1298, 01.05.1913, Pljevlje S. Šiljak to the MoI; NMCG-ABO/Cetinje, NI 1913/F67, #832/164<sup>a</sup>, 23.12.1913, Pljevlje, Lazo Đ. Popović to the King; Mrkonjić [Pejatović], "Srednje Polimlje i Potarje u Novopazarskom sandžaku: Antropogeografska ispitivanja," 307, 11. Nopcsa, *Reisen in den Balkan: Die Lebenserinnerungen des Franz Baron Nopcsa (Kindle Edition)*, Vol. 11, 21. Gravje, *Novopazarski sandžak*, 29. Cvetić, *Novopazarski sandžak*, 31-32. and Serafim Džarić, *Doživljaj igumana Serafima Džarića* (Pljevlja: Uprava manastira Sv. Trojice, Pljevlja - Eparhija mileševska, Prijepolje, 2004). See also Hannes Grandits, "Herzegowina," in *Das Südosteuropa der Regionen*, ed. Oliver Jens Schmitt and Michael Metzeltin (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2015), 133-75.

<sup>105</sup> Şerif, *Arnavudluk'da, Süriye'de, Trablusgarb'de Tanîn*, II, 38. and Gravje, *Novopazarski sandžak*, 29.

<sup>106</sup> Stern, *Das alte Rascien: Der Sandschak Novipazar und dessen Anland unter der k. u. k. Militärverwaltung*, 81-86. Şerif, *Arnavudluk'da, Süriye'de, Trablusgarb'de Tanîn*, II, 32-33. Mil Ant Vujičić, *Rečnik mesta u oslobođenoj oblasti Stare Srbije po službenim podacima* (Beograd: Državna štamparija Kraljevine Srbije, 1914), 4. and Eva Anne Frantz, *Gewalt und Koexistenz: Muslime und Christen im spätosmanischen Kosovo (1870-1913)* (München: De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2016), chapters 4 and 5.

<sup>107</sup> *Detailbeschreibung des Sandžkas Plevlje und des Vilajets Kosovo*, 45-46. and Nedić, "Novopazarski sandžak: Vojno-geografska studija," 193.

<sup>108</sup> BOA/Istanbul, Y.PRK.ASK, 102/74, Ieff 4/2-4/5, 14 Kanun-i Sani 1310 [26/01/1895], *Kosova Fırkası Dahilesindeki İttisalat-ı Askeriyenin Ahval ve Keyfiyet-i (...)*; VA/Belgrade, P3, K1, F1, 1a/1, Đeneralštabna komisija, 8<sup>th</sup> Meeting dated 28.03.1914, 165; DAS/Belgrade, MUD-P 1913, F15/R41, #2041, 18.05.1913, Novi Pazar, District Chief to the Police Department of the Supreme Command; ÖStA/HHStA/Vienna, PA I 977, 32k, Serbien, #23/616 B, 09.06.1916, Mitrovica, Julius Ledinegg to the MdÄ; Stern, *Das alte Rascien: Der Sandschak Novipazar und dessen Anland unter der k. u. k. Militärverwaltung*, 34-37. and DAS/Belgrade, MUDuI, OP 1919, K1, #1774, 21.07.1919, Beograd, Command of the Entire Gendarmerie to the MoI.

<sup>109</sup> ÖStA/HHStA/Vienna, PA I 999, 49h Montenegro, unnumbered, 13.12.1917, Heinrich Graf Clam-Martinic to the the MdÄ.

possible.<sup>110</sup> Given the high degree of residential mixing, local peculiarities, and inner fabrics, the study uses the term borderlands and the populations in the plural, whose daily routines would be elaborated upon further in pages ahead. Viewing the clear-cut Orthodox Christian or Muslim communities does not help since being an Orthodox Christian in the Vasojevići or a muhajir in Seniçe after 1908 does not simply imply that they were integrated into the local fabrics per se.<sup>111</sup>

One has to contextualize and historicize the categories of analysis, being mindful of the local categories of practice whether the topic is national and/or confessional indifference, nationalism and/or confessional loyalty.<sup>112</sup> This does not mean that here, one tends to romanticize the locals or to claim that people did not identify themselves in the national sense. The argument is rather that *not all* saw themselves in such a way. Also, in certain urban and rural areas, one is able to exemplify the so-called shared spaces and provincial cosmopolitanism between the natives of different confessional background or national belonging, seen elsewhere too.<sup>113</sup> The mixed clothes and bi/multilingualism represented a serious issue for the nationally-minded ruling elites and the preachers of nationalisms, for which reason an SCS scholar labelled those who wore “Albanian” outfits as ethnic mimicry (*etnička mimikrija*).<sup>114</sup> Their Albanian peers called Albanians who were donned in the “half-Slavic” costume and knew the Slavic vernaculars as *melezi* or *bastards*.<sup>115</sup> This was not without inasmuch as, to paraphrase the words of Homi Bhabha, they were almost Albanians/Serbs but not quite since being partial means

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<sup>110</sup> For the same argument see Oliver Jens Schmitt, *Kosovo: Kurze Geschichte einer zentralbalkanischen Landschaft*, UTB Geschichte, (Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 2008), 25-26. and Hannes Grandits, *Multikonfessionalna Hercegovina: Vlast i lojalnost u kasnoosmanskom društvu* (Sarajevo: Institut za istoriju, 2014).

<sup>111</sup> Vešović, *Pleme Vasojevići u vezi sa istorijom Crne Gore i plemenskim životom susjednih Brda*, 344-45. Bogdan Lalević and Ivan Protić, "Vasojevići u crnogorskoj granici," in *Naselja srpskih zemalja: Srpski etnografski zbornik*, 2/V (Beograd: Srpska kraljevska akademija, 1903), 514-610, here pp. 564. Bogdan Lalević and Ivan Protić, "Vasojevići u turskoj granici," in *Naselja srpskih zemalja: Srpski etnografski zbornik*, 3/VI (Beograd: Srpska kraljevska akademija, 1905), 694-733, here pp. 03. Vukosavljević, *Istorija seljačkog društva: Seoske zajednice i oblici ponašanja u njima*, 5, 104. *Detailbeschreibung des Sandžkas Plevlje und des Vilajets Kosovo*, 76. and Vojislav Šikoparija, *Sećanja srpskog oficira (1900-1918)* (Beograd: Zavod za udžbenike i nastavna sredstva, 2016), 107.

<sup>112</sup> Rogers Brubaker, "Categories of Analysis and Categories of Practice: A Note on the Study of Muslims in European Countries of Immigration," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 36, no. 1 (2013): 1-8, here pp. 5-7.

<sup>113</sup> Robert M. Hayden, "Antagonistic Tolerance: Competitive Sharing of Religious Sites in South Asia and the Balkans," *Current Anthropology* 43, no. 2 (2002): 205-31. Robert M. Hayden, "Intersecting Religioscapes and Antagonistic Tolerance: Trajectories of Competition and Sharing of Religious Spaces in the Balkans," *Space and Polity* 17, no. 3 (2012): 320-34. Donald Quataert, *The Ottoman Empire, 1700-1922* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 174-75, 78-81, 86-90. Nora Lessersohn, "'Provincial Cosmopolitanism' in Late Ottoman Anatolia: An Armenian Shoemaker's Memoir," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 57, no. 2 (2015): 528-56. and Rebecca Bryant, "Introduction: Everyday Coexistence in the Post-Ottoman Space," in *Post-Ottoman Coexistence: Sharing Space in the Shadow of Conflict*, ed. Rebecca Bryant (New York / Oxford: Berghahn, 2016), 1-38.

<sup>114</sup> Mil. S. Filipović, "Etničke prilike u Južnoj Srbiji," in *Spomenica dvadesetpetogodišnjice oslobođenja Južne Srbije, 1912-1937*, ed. Aleksa Jovanović (Skoplje: Štamparija Južna Srbija, 1937), 387-497, here pp. 39.

<sup>115</sup> *Detailbeschreibung des Sandžkas Plevlje und des Vilajets Kosovo*, 78. See also M. Edith Durham, "High Albania," (London: Edward Arnold, 1909), 253-54.



being incomplete.<sup>116</sup> “[They] were treated as problems to be solved” according to the preferred solution of the governing elites.<sup>117</sup>

Also, in the eyes of the outsiders, the Sandžak or its various landscapes were inhabited with the uncultivated, primitive, fanatical, and wild locals whereby their places of birth and the climate fell under the category of various wildernesses. In the published photos and archival records, one sees and reads about the alleged empty spaces, bad roads, and empty hills. As such, the Sandžak belongs to the most remote parts in the broader region, which “still lives its old primitive life.”<sup>118</sup> In contrast to ‘their’ fanatical violence, ‘our’ violence is peace-making, rational, and ready to be deployed when needed.<sup>119</sup> By adhering to the denial of coevalness (Johannes Fabian), these scholars and officers believed that the locals live in another time, what in turn justified their (future) actions.<sup>120</sup> Thus, coloniality and colonial narratives also became commonplace in this part of the world. That is why in the Montenegrin and Serbian context, for instance, after the political conquest was achieved as a result of the Balkan Wars, authorities and nationally minded actors demanded the cultural one (*kultivisanje, kulturno osvajanje*). This was supposed to delineate, enlighten and border the space, the locals, their clothes, and the nature, similarly to the Habsburg narrative.<sup>121</sup>

These forms of orientalisms are not fully reified objects and do not act unified because they have various actors who took note of what others wrote, citing and appropriating each other’s narratives. Labelling the region or someone as primitive was not always derogatory inasmuch

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<sup>116</sup> Homi Bhabha, "Of Mimicry and Man: The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse," in *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World*, ed. Ann Laura Stoler and Frederick Cooper (Berkeley / Los Angeles / London: University of California Press, 1997), 152-60, here pp. 53-57.

<sup>117</sup> Holly Case, *The Age of Questions* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2018), 4.

<sup>118</sup> DACG/Cetinje, PPKŽ, F5, #16, br. 7, 12.02.1910, Ograđenica, M. Džambasanović to V. Knežević; DAS/Belgrade, KuP 1912, #1268, 13.08.1912, Priština, Consulate to the MoFA; VA/Belgrade, P2, K102, F1, 40/1, #1184, 21.11.1912, Sjenica, Commander of the Javor Brigade to the Supreme Command; NMCG-ABO/Cetinje, N. I, 1913/F66, #18, 15.03.1913, Turski poručnik novi Srbin Milan Milovanović, *Tašlica 60. Alayı Nizamiye ve Redif Kitaatı*, 6; DAS/Belgrade, MID-PO 1914, R420, F7, D4, VII/371, #807, 08.03.1914, Beograd, MoI to the MoFA; Ippen, *Novibazar und Kossovo (Das alte Rascien): Eine Studie*, 55, 82, 85-86, 113-14. J. Baumann, *Militär-touristische Wahrnehmungen im Sandschak Novibazar, in Montenegro und in der Krivosije* (Berlin: A. Bath, 1899), 1. Oestreich, "Reiseeindrücke aus dem Vilajet Kosovo," 327-72. Nopcsa, *Aus Šala und Klementi: Albanische Wanderungen*, 1, 4, 18, 21, 26, 32, 35, 61, 77. Nedić, "Novopazarski sandžak: Vojno-geografska studija," 177-96, here pp. 93 (citation). Šerif, *Arnavudluk'da, Sûriye'de, Trablusgarb'de Tanîn*, II, 5, 7, 12, 23-24, 31, 55, 40, 49, 69, and Ljubodrag Dimić and Đorđe Borozan, *Jugoslovenska država i Albanci*, vol. II (Beograd: JP Službeni list SRJ/Arhiv Jugoslavije/Vojno-istorijski institut, 1999), #650, 18.05.1920, Prizren, District Chief to the KIIIAO, 676.

<sup>119</sup> William T. Cavanaugh, *The Myth of Religious Violence: Secular Ideology and the Roots of Modern Conflict* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

<sup>120</sup> Johannes Fabian, *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes its Object* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014), 15, 17-18, 25-26, 30-32, 34, 49.

<sup>121</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MUD-UO, 1913/F135, #1535(1), br. 1298, 01.05.1913, Pljevlje S. F. Šiljak to the MoI; DAS/Belgrade, MUD-P 1913, F15/R41, #2041, 18.05.1913, Novi Pazar, District Chief to the Police Department at the Supreme Command; *Stenografske bilješke o radu crnogorske Narodne Skupštine sazvane u redovan saziv 15. januara 1914. god. (I i II prethodni sastanak i I-XXX redov. sjednica)*, (Cetinje: Štampano u Državnoj štampariji Kraljevine Crne Gore, 1915), I redovna sjednica, 29.01.1914, 37 and II redovna sjednica, 31.01.14, 42-43. ÖStA/HHStA/Vienna, PA I 998, 49e, Montenegro, #266, 17.03.1916, Cetinje, MGG/M to the AOK, 10; *ibid*, #1185, 27.04.1916, Sarajevo, A Commanding General in Bosnia-Herzegovina to the AOK; Walter D. Mignolo, *Local Histories/Global Designs: Coloniality, Subaltern Knowledges, and Border Thinking* (Princeton / Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2012), 13, 17, 50, 53. and Manuela Boatcă, in *Jenseits des Eurozentrismus: Postkoloniale Perspektiven in den Geschichts- und Kulturwissenschaften*, ed. Shalini Randeria, Regina Röhnhild, and Sebastian Conrad (Frankfurt / New York: Campus), 322-44.

as it could also be viewed in a rather positive way.<sup>122</sup> The locals might be wild but they possessed excellent combat features; thus, the Serbian or Habsburg officers wanted to harvest these for their own purposes.<sup>123</sup> In contrast to the Western European forms, these frontier orientalisms (Andre Gingrich) aimed at securing national self-assurances through inclusion and exclusion, promoting civilization missions and devaluing the imagined Other less absolutely and more relatively.<sup>124</sup>

Besides becoming a trope of nationalist politics and functioning as claim-making devices, the very labels colonizer/ruler and colonized/ruled are not fixed and labeling the region as a kind of hybrid only legitimizes nationalist mobilizations locally.<sup>125</sup> Still, these simplifications conveyed the message that the Sandžak required to be civilized, a verb that in the contemporary rhetoric worldwide implied the assimilation of the locals under asymmetric conditions.<sup>126</sup> While some experts called the state to intervene, others thought they were invited.<sup>127</sup> Yet the Ottoman Empire, Serbia, and Montenegro were both objects and subjects of the orientalism discourses, such as Romania, Russia, or Japan. Having been located between an essentialized East and an equally essentialized West, by nesting their orientalisms, they were civilizing themselves and legitimizing their actions both within and outside of their polities.<sup>128</sup> By

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<sup>122</sup> Ursula Reber, "The Experience of Borders: Montenegrin Tribesmen at War," in *Doing Anthropology in Wartime and War Zones: World War and the Cultural Sciences in Europe*, ed. Reinhard Johler; Christian Marchetti; Monique Scheer (Bielefeld: transcript, 2010), 191-206, here pp. 195.

<sup>123</sup> Nedić, "Novopazarski sandžak: Vojno-geografska studija," 195-96. While for a Habsburg diplomat the region is an unknown part of Europe, a German war correspondent had a feeling like being both on the threshold of the Orient or in the Orient (1915). Adolf Köster, „Serbisches Tagebuch: An der Schwelle des Orients“, *Hamburger Echo*, 19.12.1915 and Köster, *Mit den Bulgaren: Kriegsberichte aus Serbien und Mazedonien*, 52.

<sup>124</sup> Andre Gingrich, "Frontier Myths of Orientalism: The Muslim World in Public and Popular Cultures of Central Europe," in *Mediterranean Ethnological Summer School*, ed. Bojan Baskar and Borut Brumen (Ljubljana: Inštitut za multikulturene raziskave, 1998), 99-127, here pp. 13, 16-21. Andre Ginrich, "The Nearby Frontier: Structural Analyses of Myths of Orientalism," *Diogenes* 60, no. 2 (2015): 60-66, here pp. 61-63. Johann Heiss and Johannes Feichtiger, "Distant Neighbors: Uses of Orientalism in the Late Nineteenth-Century Austro-Hungarian Empire," in *Deploying Orientalism in Culture and History: From Germany to Central and Eastern Europe*, ed. James Hodkinson et al. (Rochester / New York: Camden House, 2013), 148-65, here pp. 49, 53-55, 58. Johannes Feichtiger, "Komplexer k. u. k. Orientalismus: Akteure, Institutionen, Diskurse im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert in Österreich," in *Orientalismen in Ostmitteleuropa: Diskurse, Akteure und Disziplinen vom 19. Jahrhundert bis zum Zweiten Weltkrieg*, ed. Sarah Lemmen and Robert Born (Bielefeld: transcript, 2014), 31-63, here pp. 62-63. and Wolfgang M. Schörder, "Mission impossible? Begriff, Modelle und Begründungen der „civilizing mission“ aus philosophischer Sicht," in *Zivilisierungsmissionen: Imperiale Weltverbesserung seit dem 18. Jahrhundert*, ed. Boris Barth and Jürgen Osterhammel (Konstanz: UVK, 2005), 13-32.

<sup>125</sup> Zahra, "Looking East: East Central European "Borderlands" in German History and Historiography," 8-13. and Yonca Köksal, "Tanzimat ve Tarih Yazımı," *Doğubatu Düşünce Dergisi* 51 (2010): 193-214, here pp. 01-04. See also Robert Shannan Peckham, "Internal Colonialism: Nation and Region in Nineteenth-Century Greece," in *Balkan Identities: Nation and Memory*, ed. Maria Todorova (London: Hurst & Company, 2004), 41-59.

<sup>126</sup> Sebastian Conrad, *Globalisation and the Nation in Imperial Germany* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 4-5. and Anil Bhatti, "Kulturelle Vielfalt und Homogenisierung," in *Habsburg postcolonial: Machtstrukturen und kollektives Gedächtnis*, ed. Johannes Feichtiger, Ursula Prutsch, and Moritz Csáky (Innsbruck, Wien, München, Bozen: Studien Verlag, 2003), 55-68.

<sup>127</sup> Ippen, *Novibazar und Kossovo (Das alte Rascien): Eine Studie*, 12-13. and Şerif, *Arnavudluk'da, Süriye'de, Trablusgarb'de Tanın*, II, 5, 7, 12, 23-24, 31, 55, 40, 49, 69.

<sup>128</sup> Maria Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009). James Hodkinson and John Walker, "Introduction," in *Deploying Orientalism in Culture and History: From Germany to Central and Eastern Europe*, ed. James Hodkinson et al. (Rochester / New York: Camden House, 2013), 1-14. Sebastian Conrad, "Die Zivilisierungs des „Selbst“. Japans koloniale Moderne," in *Zivilisierungsmissionen: Imperiale Weltverbesserung seit dem 18. Jahrhundert*, ed. Boris Barth and Jürgen Osterhammel (Konstanz: UVK, 2005), 245-68. Kerstin S. Jobst, "'Das Asien auf der Krim': Die Kategorien "Orient" und "Okzident" im russischen Krim-Diskurs vom ausgehenden 18. Jahrhundert bis zum Ersten Weltkrieg," in

civilizing “the Rest,” they emerge as “the West,” since their ruling elites believed that they lagged behind an imagined Europe.<sup>129</sup>

The present study speaks here about the internal colonialism that has to be distinguished from the external one, between the states and between the areas within a given policy.<sup>130</sup> Habsburg, Ottoman and Serbian experts or officers marginalized the region or its towns as a periphery of the periphery, where “nothing even happens,” to invoke Marc Aymes.<sup>131</sup> These constructed peripheries represented the contrast of the “modern” and imagined centers from whose point of view, the peripheries should be enclosed, integrated and monetized in order to become rentable.<sup>132</sup> Thus, the binary between the empire and the nation-state does not always help here, not least because, apart from sharing a very similarly narrative, the two were being continuously shaped by broader geopolitical change and the impulses of domestic politics.<sup>133</sup> “The ambiguity between empire and nation remained as much in the imagination of critical intellectuals as in that of the ruling autocracy,” as Frederick Cooper aptly claims.<sup>134</sup>

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*Grenzregionen: Eine europäische Vergleich vom 18. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert*, ed. Christophe Duhamelle, Andreas Kossert, and Bernhard Struck (Frankfurt - New York: Campus Verlag, 2007), 225-45. Kerstin S. Jobst, "Where the Orient Ends? Orientalism and its Function for Imperial Rule in the Russian Empire," in *Deploying Orientalism in Culture and History: From Germany to Central and Eastern Europe*, ed. James Hodkinson et al. (Rochester / New York: Camden House, 2013), 190-208. Christoph Herzog and Raoul Motika, "Orientalism 'alla turca': Late 19<sup>th</sup> / Early 20<sup>th</sup> Century Ottoman Voyages into the Muslim 'Outback'," *Die Welt des Islams* 40, no. 2 (2000): 139-95. Ussama Makdisi, "Ottoman Orientalism," *The American Historical Review* 107, no. 3 (2002): 768-96. and Selim Deringil, "'They Live in a State of Nomadism and Savagery': The Late Ottoman Empire and the Post-Colonial Debate," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 45, no. 2 (2003): 311-42.

<sup>129</sup> Niall Ferguson, *Civilization: The West and the Rest* (London: Penguin Group, 2011). and Hannes Grandits, Pieter Judson, and Malte Rolf, "Towards a New Quality of Statehood: Bureaucratization and State-Building in Empires and Nation States before 1914," in *The Routledge History Handbook of Central and Eastern Europe in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Włodzimierz Borodziej, Sabina Ferhadbegović, and Joachim von Puttkamer (Abingdon - New York: Routledge, 2020), 41-116, here pp. 44.

<sup>130</sup> Jürgen Osterhammel, *Kolonialismus: Geschichte, Formen, Folgen* (Wissen: C. H. Beck, 2002), 10, 20-21. Sebastian Conrad, *Deutsche Kolonialgeschichte* (München: C. H. Beck, 2006), 96-97. Andreas Eckert, *Kolonialismus* (Frankfurt am Main: S. Fischer, 2006). Michael Hechter, *Internal Colonialism: The Celtic Fringe in British National Development, 1536-1966* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1975). and John Stone, "Introduction: Internal Colonialism in Comparative Perspective," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 2, no. 3 (1979): 255-59.

<sup>131</sup> Varadi and Laki, *Novopazarski sandžak - Pljevlja: Crteži, pripovetke i putopisi o Novopazarskom sandžaku Turske od okupacije do aneksije*, 118-19. Nopcsa, *Reisen in den Balkan: Die Lebenserinnerungen des Franz Baron Nopcsa* (Kindle Edition), Vol. 11, 17-18. Šikoparija, *Sećanja srpskog oficira (1900-1918)*, 86-87. and Marc Aymes, *A Provincial History of the Ottoman Empire: Cyprus and the Eastern Mediterranean in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Routledge, 2013), 4 (citation).

<sup>132</sup> James C. Scott, *The Art of Not Being Governed: An Anarchist History of Upland Southeast Asia* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2009), 4-5. Osterhammel, *Kolonialismus: Geschichte, Formen, Folgen*, 22. Endre Hárs et al., "Zentren peripher: Vorüberlegungen zu einer Denkfigur," in *Zentren, Peripherien und kollektive Identitäten in Österreich-Ungarn*, ed. Endre Hárs et al. (Tübingen / Basel: A. Francke, 2006), 1-15. Andrea Komlosy, "Innere Peripherien als Ersatz für Kolonien? Zentrenbildung und Peripherisierung in der Habsburgermonarchie," in *Zentren, Peripherien und kollektive Identitäten in Österreich-Ungarn*, ed. Endre Hárs et al. (Tübingen / Basel: A. Francke, 2006), 55-78. and Özgür TÜresay, "The Ottoman Empire Seen through the Lens of Postcolonial Studies: A Recent Historiographical Turn," *Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine* 60, no. 2 (2013): 127-45. On the Habsburg colonial policy in post-Ottoman Bosnia-Herzegovina see Clemens Ruthner, *Habsburgs 'Dark Continent': Postkoloniale Lektüren zur österreichischen Literatur und Kultur im langen 19. Jahrhundert* (Tübingen: Narr Francke Attempto, 2017).

<sup>133</sup> Siniša Malešević, "Empires and Nation-States: Beyond the Dichotomy," *Thesis Eleven* 139, no. 1 (2017): 3-10, here pp. 6, 8. Siniša Malešević, "The Foundations of Statehood: Empires and Nation-States in the Longue Durée," *Thesis Eleven* 139, no. 1 (2017): 145-61. Siniša Malešević, *Grounded Nationalisms: A Sociological Analysis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), chapter 4. See also Tamara Scheer and Rok Stergar, "Ethnic Boxes: the Unintended Consequences of Habsburg Bureaucratic Classification," *Nationalities Papers: The Journal of Nationalism and Ethnicity* 46, no. 4 (2018): 575-91.

<sup>134</sup> Frederick Cooper, *Colonialism in Question: Theory, Knowledge, History* (Berkeley / Los Angeles / London: University of California Press, 2005), 192.

Both nationalizing empires and imperializing nation-states could be transformed into something more like the other, which one sees in the context of the Kingdom of SCS or post-1918 Italy, which both represented a hybrid between an empire and a nation-state.<sup>135</sup> That is why the study adheres to the plural term empires in the title since it signifies the ambiguity. In pre- and post-1913 Serbia, for instance, one notices how the ruling elites cloaked their imperial policies towards the region with the liberation narrative. Imperialism is understood here as attempts to assert effective control, intervention, and influence, and involved varying degrees of subordination, which scholars have already called small state imperialism.<sup>136</sup>

But is it not an overstatement to use the term internal colonialism for the Montenegrin or Serbian settings? And how is this interlinked with the questions of this dissertation? Analyzing the narratives and practices of their governing elites shows that centralizing measures, inner settlements, administrative distinctiveness, and local subjecthood status (the latter two only in the Serbian context) were applied. In post-1913 Serbia, given the lower cultural and mental development of the “liberated” locals, the governing elites implemented a special regime that was supposed to last for six years, although its army “liberated” the locals from the Ottoman “yoke.” As a Minister of the Interior stated, they neither asked them when to come nor were the locals invited to reflect what kind of governance was about to be established. This worked in both ways because in order to assimilate, civilize, and enhance the new territories, the authorities also had to tame their old ones too, which had already served as a laboratory for certain policies.<sup>137</sup>

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<sup>135</sup> Jane Burbank and Frederick Cooper, *Empires in World History: Power and the Politics of Difference* (Princeton / Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2011), 8-10, 368. Jörn Leonhard and Ulrike von Hirschhausen, *Empires and Nationalstaaten* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011). Ulrike von Hirschhausen and Jörn Leonhard, "Beyond Rise, Decline and Fall: Comparing Multi-Ethnic Empires in the Long Nineteenth Century," in *Comparing Empires: Encounters and Transfers in the Long Nineteenth Century*, ed. Jörn Leonhard and Ulrike von Hirschhausen (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011), 9-34. Stefan Berger and Alexei Miller, "Introduction: Building Nations in and with Empires - A Reassessment," in *Nationalizing Empires* ed. Stefan Berger and Alexei Miller (Budapest - New York: Central European University Press, 2015), 1-30. Bougarel, *Islam and Nationhood in Bosnia-Herzegovina: Surviving Empires*, 31. and Roberta Pergher, *Mussolini's Nation-Empire: Sovereignty and Settlement in Italy's Borderlands, 1922-1943* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 16-17.

<sup>136</sup> Andrew Porter, *European Imperialism, 1860-1914* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1994), 2-3, 17, 20, 24, 50. Holm Sundhaussen, "Nation und Nationalstaat auf dem Balkan: Konzepte und Konsequenzen im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert," in *Der Balkan: Eine europäische Krisenregion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, ed. Jürgen Elvert (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1997), 77-90. Holm Sundhaussen, "Die Ethnisierung von Staat, Nation und Gerechtigkeit: Zu den Anfängen nationaler "Homogenisierung" im Balkanraum," in *Auf dem Weg zum ethnisch reinen Staat? Europa in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, ed. Mathias Beer (Tübingen: Attempto, 2004), 69-90. and Marharyta Fabrykant and Renee Burh, "Small State Imperialism: The Place of Empire in Contemporary Nationalist Discourse," *Nations and Nationalism* 22, no. 1 (2016): 103-22, here pp. 04. See also Michael Adas, "Imperialism and Colonialism in Comparative Perspective," *The International History Review* 20, no. 2 (1998): 371-88.

<sup>137</sup> *Stenografski zapisnici Narodne skupštine: I. i II. prethodni, I., II., III., IV., V., VI., VII., VIII., IX., X., XI., XII., XIII., XIV., XV., XVI., XVII., XVIII., XIX., XX. i XXI redovni sastanak držani 1., 4., 9., 10., 11., 12., 15., 16., 17., 18., 19., 21., 22., 23., 24., 28. i 30. oktobra i 1. novembra 1913. godine*, (Beograd: Državna štamparija Kraljevine Srbije, 1913), 250-51, 82, 353-54, 64, 406. *Stenografski zapisnici Narodne skupštine: XLIV., XLV., XLVI., XLVII., XLVIII., XLIX., L., LL., LII., LIII., LIV., LV. i LVI. redovni sastanak držani 22., 24., 25., 26., 27. i 28. februara i 1., 3., 4., 5., 6., 8. i 10. marta 1914. godine*, (Beograd: Državna štamparija Kraljevine Srbije, 1914), 1137. Indira Duraković, *Serbien und das Modernisierungsproblem: Die Entwicklung der Gesundheitspolitik und sozialen Kontrolle bis zum Ersten Weltkrieg* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang Edition, 2014). and Ann Laura Stoler and Frederick Cooper, "Between Metropole and Colony: Rethinking a Research Agenda," in *Tensions of Empire:*

While their Montenegrin peers looked up to the British colonial policies in Canada, South Africa, and Australia, for the Serbian ruling elites, the Habsburg procedures in Bosnia-Herzegovina; German rule in Alsace-Lorraine; British and French colonial policies; and the US colonial actions in Hawaii, the Philippines, and Puerto Rico served as a reference point.<sup>138</sup> That is why a Christian from Yeni Varoş, among other things, mockingly called the Serbian authorities cultural bearers (*kultur tregeri*) who act alike to the British and French officials in the Congo and the Senegambia, although he had never traveled to colonized Africa.<sup>139</sup>

The internal colonial practices were supposed to enhance the integration of the region into the national territories, which one encounters in Romania, France, Germany, post-1918 Italy, post-1918 Poland and pre-1914 Russia. The intertwining of state/nation-building, confessionalization, and inner colonialism with the notion of territoriality is therefore palpable.<sup>140</sup> In this regard, the present study draws on the Ottoman studies and post-colonial theory.<sup>141</sup> The internal colonialism does not emerge here as fixed but is seen as a methodical tool used to clarify “the range of possibilities, the different consequences that could ensue from each, and the possibilities of different trajectories,” as practically showed in the context of (post-)Ottoman Rhodes.<sup>142</sup> The region is better grasped when the emphasis on the similarities

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*Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World*, ed. Ann Laura Stoler and Frederick Cooper (Berkeley / Los Angeles / London: University of California Press, 1997), 1-56, here pp. 3-4, 6-10, 29.

<sup>138</sup> *Stenografske bilješke o radu crnogorske Narodne Skupštine sazvane u redovan saziv 15. januara 1914. god. (I i II prethodni sastanak i I-XXX redov. sjednica)*, XV redovna sjednica, 21.02.1914, 441. and *Stenografski zapisnici Narodne skupštine: XLIV., XLV., XLVI., XLVII., XLVIII., XLIX., L., LL., LII., LIII., LIV., LV. i LVI. redovni sastanak držani 22., 24., 25., 26., 27. i 28. februara i 1., 3., 4., 5., 6., 8. i 10. marta 1914. godine*, 1141-42.

<sup>139</sup> IA/Užice, AMB 1914, #199, 21.02.1914, Nova Varoš and *ibid*, #200, 11.05.1914, Nova Varoš, Milan Borisavljević to Aleksa and Mihajlo.

<sup>140</sup> Willard Sunderland, *Taming the Wild Field: Colonization and Empire on the Russian Steppe* (Ithaca / London: Cornell University Press, 2004), 4-5. Charles S. Maier, "Consigning the Twentieth Century to History: Alternative Narratives for the Modern Era" *The American Historical Review* 105, no. 3 (2000): 807-31. Charles S. Maier, *Once within Borders: Territories of Power, Wealth, and Belonging since 1500* (Cambridge, Massachusetts; London, England: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2016). Grandits, Judson, and Rolf, "Towards a New Quality of Statehood: Bureaucratization and State-Building in Empires and Nation States before 1914," 78-79, 86, 97-98. Jack E. Reece, "Internal Colonialism: The Case of Brittany," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 2, no. 3 (1979): 275-92. Constantin Iordachi, "Internal Colonialism: The Expansion of Romania's Frontier into Northern Dobrogea after 1878," in *National Borders and Economic Disintegration in Modern East Central Europe*, ed. Uwe Müller and Helga Schultz (Berlin: Berlin Verlag Arno Spitz, 2002), 77-105. Detmar Klein, "German-Annexed Alsace and Imperial Germany: A Process of Colonization?," in *The Shadow of Colonialism on Europe's Modern Past*, ed. Róisín Healy and Enrico Dal Lago (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 92-108. Róisín Healy, "From Commonwealth to Colony? Poland under Prussia," in *The Shadow of Colonialism on Europe's Modern Past*, ed. Róisín Healy and Enrico Dal Lago (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 109-25. Christoph Mick, "Colonialism in the Polish Eastern Borderlands, 1919-1930," in *The Shadow of Colonialism on Europe's Modern Past*, ed. Róisín Healy and Enrico Dal Lago (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 126-41. Kathryn Clare Ciancia, "Poland's Wild East: Imagined Landscapes and Everyday Life in the Volhynian Borderlands, 1918-1939" (PhD Stanford University, 2011). and Pergher, *Mussolini's Nation-Empire: Sovereignty and Settlement in Italy's Borderlands, 1922-1943*, 15-17, 23, 36, 243-46, 53.

<sup>141</sup> Thomas Kuehn, *Empire, Islam, and Politics of Difference: Ottoman Rule in Yemen, 1849-1919* (Leiden - Boston: Brill, 2011). Thomas Kühn, "Clothing the 'Uncivilized': Military Recruitment in Ottoman Yemen and the Quest for 'Native' Uniforms, 1880-1914," in *Ottoman Costumes: From Textile to Identity*, ed. Suraiya Faroqhi and K. Neumann Christoph (İstanbul: Eren Press, 2004), 143-56. and Christoph Herzog, *Osmanische Herrschaft und Modernisierung im Irak: Die Provinz Bagdad, 1817-1917* (Bamberg: University of Bamberg Press, 2012). Robert J. C. Young, *Postcolonialism: An Historical Introduction* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2001). and Ania Loomba et al., "Beyond What? An Introduction," in *Postcolonial Studies and Beyond*, ed. Ania Loomba et al. (Durham / London: Duke University Press, 2005), 1-38.

<sup>142</sup> Cooper, *Colonialism in Question: Theory, Knowledge, History*, 232 (citation). and Guidi, "Youth and Generations between two Empires: Changing Sociabilities from Ottoman to Italian Rule in Rhodes," 17.

and interrelationships of the world are reflected.<sup>143</sup> In short, having been situated in this setting, the ruling elites sought through the state's mobilization efforts to civilize and delineate all locals regardless of faith, as well as to enclose the borderlands. It was the zeitgeist of the massive reduction of vernaculars of all kinds and most certainly was not a one-dimensional process.<sup>144</sup>

### 1.3. Methodological-Theoretical Approaches

#### 1.3.1. Local Perspective

As an alternative to the instrumentality of governmental attempts to catalogue the everyday, the present study attends to microhistory and a view from within in an attempt to explain historical complexities and contradictions, and to reveal the agency of the locals. The aim is neither to confine the dissertation at the level of the particular nor to eradicate local idiosyncrasies by diving into abstract generalities, as the latter scholarship has aptly shown.<sup>145</sup> By keeping in mind the fabric of the local communities, a combination of historical circumstances, the goal to search "for the big in the small," and the guiding questions, applying this perspective sounds the most appropriate. Not only do other structures become visible but social action can be described much more precisely on a small scale.<sup>146</sup> The work tends to give space to people that hitherto have been silenced for to various reasons, and whose existence and actions were so often ignored or misunderstood. Reconstructing their norms, attitudes, and narratives without idealizing these small people, represents one of the chief tasks in the present work.<sup>147</sup>

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<sup>143</sup> Clemens Ruthner and Tamara Scheer, "Bosnien-Herzegowina als k.u.k. Kolonie: Eine Einführung," in *Bosnien-Herzegowina und Österreich-Ungarn, 1878-1918: Annäherungen an einer Kolonie*, ed. Clemens Ruthner and Tamara Scheer (Tübingen: Narr Francke Attempto, 2018), 15-44, here pp. 44. and Sebastian Conrad and Shalini Randeria, "Geteilte Geschichten: Europa in einer postkolonialen Welt," in *Jenseits des Eurozentrismus: Postkoloniale Perspektiven in den Geschichts- und Kulturwissenschaften*, ed. Shalini Randeria, Regina Röhnhild, and Sebastian Conrad (Frankfurt / New York: Campus, 2013), 32-70.

<sup>144</sup> Scott, *The Art of Not Being Governed: An Anarchist History of Upland Southeast Asia*, 12-13.

<sup>145</sup> Ben Highmore, *Everyday Life and Cultural Theory: An Introduction* (London / New York: Routledge: Taylor and Francis Group, 2002), 18, 20, 23-24. and Gert Zang, *Die Unaufhaltsame Annäherung an das Einzelne: Reflexionen über den theoretischen und praktischen Nutzen der Regional- und Alltagsgeschichte* (Konstanz: Maus-Offsetdruck, 1985). For instance, see Isa Blumi, *Rethinking the Late Ottoman Empire: A Comparative Social and Political History of Albanian and Yemen, 1878-1918* (Istanbul: The Isis Press, 2003). Isa Blumi, *Foundations of Modernity: Human Agency and the Imperial State* (New York and London: Routledge: Taylor and Francis Group, 2012). Hannes Grandits, "The Difficult Mission of Reform: Tanzimat Bureaucracy and Local Society in late Ottoman Herzegovina," in *Society, Politics and State Formation in Southeastern Europe during the 19th Century*, ed. Tassos Anastassiadis and Nathalie Clayer (Athens: Alpha Bank / Historical Archives, 2011), 35-63. Xavier Bougarel, Hannes Grandits, and Marija Vulesica, "Local Approaches to the Second World War in Southeastern Europe: An Introduction," in *Local Approaches to the Second World War in Southeastern Europe*, ed. Xavier Bougarel, Hannes Grandits, and Marija Vulesica (London: Routledge: Taylor & Francis Group, 2019), 1-22. and Anna Vakalis, "Tanzimat in the Province: Nationalist Sedition (Fesat), Banditry (Eşkiya) and Local Councils in the Ottoman Southern Balkans (1840s to 1860s)" (PhD Philosophisch-Historische Fakultät der Universität Basel, 2019), 33.

<sup>146</sup> Sigurður Gylfi Magnússon and István M. Sziujártó, *What is Microhistory? Theory and Practice* (London / New York: Routledge: Taylor & Practice, 2013). *Was ist Militärgeschichte?*, (Paderborn; München; Wien; Zürich: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2000), 9-46, here pp. 38. and Roger Chickering, "Militärgeschichte als Totalgeschichte im Zeitalter des totalen Krieges," in *Was ist Militärgeschichte?*, ed. Thomas Kühne and Benjamin Ziemann (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2000), 301-12, here pp. 12.

<sup>147</sup> David F. Crew, "Alltagsgeschichte: A New Social History "From Below"?", *Central European History* 22, no. 3-4 (1989): 394-407, here pp. 395. Jim Sharpe, "History from Below," in *New Perspectives on Historical Writing*, ed. Peter Burke (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1991), 24-41, here pp. 25, 36-37. Selçuk Akşin Somel, K. Neumann

The latter were heterogenous people that differ from area to area and that had a low social prestige and very limited financial resources. As such, they played a subordinate role within a social balance of power. Yet they influenced decision-makers to reconsider their decisions and the mobilization efforts.<sup>148</sup> How they were shaped by historical processes and settings, in which their worldviews and actions laid, and how they in turn shaped their communities and histories all matters. They are both objects and subjects in the present narrative.<sup>149</sup> The approach thus analyzes, what Georg Simmel labelled, the interdependency between various locals, state agents and governmental institutions with the goal of underlining their specificities. This sidesteps the binary oppositions, showing the in-between spaces and possible autonomous social networks.<sup>150</sup> One meets in the study a number of life trajectories that allow a scholar to better gauge one's agency, means, and experience including historic processes too, because in this manner, certain profiles and dynamics of the event are identified.<sup>151</sup>

Hence, the dissertation seeks to understand the lifeworld of the locals. This refers to "the region of reality in which man can engage himself and which he can change while he operates in it." This is not an isolated but an intersubjective world, which is treated as a natural and social arena that sets the limits of one's or others' reciprocal actions. The lifeworld is being modified through one's action and as the same time it changes one's actions. By participating, a historical actor tries to revise and influence what is imposed upon him/her whereby the study examines what constitutes and structures it, and what its significance is for social action, showing the zones of operation, separate sectors and the networking of people. Building of a we-relation is

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Christoph, and Amy Singer, "Introduction: Re-sounding Silent Voices," in *Untold Histories of the Middle East: Recovering Voices from the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> Centuries*, ed. Amy Singer, K. Neumann Christoph, and Selçuk Akşin Somel (Abingdon / New York: Routledge: Taylor & Francis Group, 2011), 1-22, here pp. 7. and Selim Karahasanoğlu, "Introduction," in *History from below: A Tribute in Memory of Donald Quataert*, ed. Selim Karahasanoğlu and Deniz Cenk Demir (İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi University Press, 2016), 1-23, here pp. 6.

<sup>148</sup> Wolfram Wette, "Militärgeschichte von unten," in *Geschichte von unten: Modelle alternativer Geschichtsschreibung*, ed. Jaspert Bernd (Hofgeismar: Evangelische Akademie Hofgeismar, 1990), 130-50, here pp. 31-32, 38. Wette, "Militärgeschichte von unten. Die Perspektive des "kleinen Mannes"," 9-47, here pp. 14-15. and Stephanie Cronin, "Introduction," in *Subalterns and Social Protest: History from Below in the Middle East and North Africa*, ed. Stephanie Cronin (London and New York: Routledge: Taylor and Francis Group, 2011), 1-22, here pp. 2, 17-18.

<sup>149</sup> Alf Lüdtke, "Introduction: What is the History of Everyday Life and Who are its Practitioners?," in *The History of Everyday Life: Reconstructing Historical Experiences and Ways of Life*, ed. Alf Lüdtke (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1995), 3-40, here pp. 6-7, 20-22. Eric J. Hobsbawm, *Ungewöhnliche Menschen: Über Widerstand, Rebellion und Jazz* (München: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 1998), 8. and Aaron Sheehan-Dean, "Introduction," in *The View from the Ground: Experiences of Civil War Soldiers*, ed. Aaron Sheehan-Dean (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 2007), 1-8.

<sup>150</sup> Georg Simmel, *Soziologie: Untersuchungen über die Formen der Vergesellschaftung* (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 2013), 12-13, 16, 22, 26-27. Peter Knoch, "Einleitung," in *Kriegsalltag: Die Rekonstruktion des Kriegsalltags als Aufgabe der historischen Forschung und der Friedenserziehung*, ed. Peter Knoch (Stuttgart: J. M. Metzlerische Verlagsbuchung, 1989), 1-12, here pp. 6-7. Rifa'at 'Ali Abou-El-Haj, *Formation of the Modern State: The Ottoman Empire, Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries* (Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 2005), 52, 69-70. Somel, Neumann Christoph, and Singer, "Introduction: Re-sounding Silent Voices," 9. and Alan Mikhail and Christine May Philliou, "The Ottoman Empire and the Imperial Turn," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 54, no. 4 (2012): 721-45, here pp. 43-44.

<sup>151</sup> Elenē Gkara, Mustafa Erdem Kabadayı, and Christoph K. Neumann, "Introduction: Ottoman Subjects as Political Actors. Historiographical Representations," in *Popular Protest and Political Participation in the Ottoman Empire: Studies in Honor of Suraiya Faroqhi*, ed. Elenē Gkara, Mustafa Erdem Kabadayı, and K. Neumann Christoph (İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi University Press, 2011), 1-37, here pp. 1, 20. and Alf Lüdtke, "Akteure: Täter, Opfer, Zuschauer," in *Gewalt. Ein interdisziplinäres Handbuch*, ed. Christian Gudehus and Michaela Christ (Stuttgart-Weimar: Verlag J. B. Metzler, 2013), 177-83, here pp. 77.

described by paying heed to various stages of concrete uncertainties and social construction of the imagined Other.<sup>152</sup> Having formed the indirect setting of what is said, discussed, addressed in a given situation, one should treat the lifeworld “as a complementary concept to communicative action,” in which contextual horizons move, grow and narrow down.<sup>153</sup> By positioning and organizing the evidence in relation to other examples, the study describes how the state, by the means of structural, economic and systemic constraints, seeks to penetrate into people’s understanding of life, which Jürgen Habermas calls the colonization of the lifeworld. The governing elites and the military combined their nationally laden designs with the local norms, which certain locals defied.<sup>154</sup>

Voices of most of the locals are lost and thus they cannot speak.<sup>155</sup> Yet, by focusing on fragments, the study builds its arguments based on a polyphonic multiplicity of narratives. Reading between the lines, pointing at the gaps, contradictions, and implications represented one of the employed methods. One has to critically consider the reasons for writing and ideological fortitudes so as to produce more preferable interpretations.<sup>156</sup> Thus, pinpointing a qualitative concept of voice implies placing a stress on the stylistic expressivity so as to identify voice effects and their agents.<sup>157</sup> Some subchapters share the problem of many reception studies. Not everything which was written is applied and tracing it is difficult. Yet conclusions are reached by cross-checking records, booklets, and ego-documents in order to gauge reaction and avoid a state-centered and one-sided reading.<sup>158</sup>

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<sup>152</sup> Alfred Schütz and Thomas Luckmann, *The Structures of the Life-world*, vol. 1 (London: Heinemann, 1974), 3 (citation)-6, 18-19, 22, 35-37, 41-42, 63, 77. and Heiko Haumann, *Lebenswelten und Geschichte: Zur Theorie und Praxis der Forschung* (Wien: Böhlau, 2012), 90-92.

<sup>153</sup> Alfred Schütz and Thomas Luckmann, *The Structures of the Life-world*, vol. 2 (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1989), 148, 51, 53, 56. Jürgen Habermas, *The Theory of Communicative Action*, vol. 2: Lifeworld and System: A Critique of Functionalist Reason (Boston: Beacon Press, 1987), 130 (citation)-33.

<sup>154</sup> Habermas, *The Theory of Communicative Action*, 2: Lifeworld and System: A Critique of Functionalist Reason, 184, 97, 310, 18-19, 22, 24, 27, 29, 44-49. Haumann, *Lebenswelten und Geschichte: Zur Theorie und Praxis der Forschung*, 36. and Munslow, *Deconstructing History*, 8, 11, 187.

<sup>155</sup> Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, "Can the Subaltern Speak?," in *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*, ed. Cary Nelson and Lawrence Grossberg (London: Macmillian Education, 1988), 271-313.

<sup>156</sup> Eric J. Hobsbawm, "History from Below: Some Reflections," in *History from Below*, ed. Frederick Krantz (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1988), 13-27, here pp. 19, 21-24. Peter Burke, "Overture: the New History, its Past and its Future," in *New Perspectives on Historical Writing*, ed. Peter Burke (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1991), 1-23, here pp. 12. Boğaç A. Ergene, "Mâduniyet Okulu, Post-kolonyal Eleştiri ve Tarihte Bilgi-Özne Sorunu: Osmanlı Tarihçiliği İçin Yeni Dersler Mi?," *Toplum ve Bilim* 83, no. Kış (1999/2000): 32-47, here pp. 34. Ranajit Guha, "The Small Voice in History," in *The Small Voice of History: Collected Essays*, ed. Ranajit Guha (Delhi: Permanent Black, 2002), 304-17. and Gyanendra Pandey, "Voices from the Edge: The Struggle to Write Subaltern Histories," in *Mapping Subaltern Studies and the Postcolonial*, ed. Vinayak Chaturvedi (London / New York: Verso, 2000), 281-99.

<sup>157</sup> Richard Aczel, "Hearing Voices in Narrative Texts," *New Literary History* 29, no. 3 (1998): 467-500. See also Paul Friedrich, "Multiplicity and Pluralism in Anthropological Construction/Synthesis," *Anthropological Quarterly* 61, no. 3 (1988): 103-12.

<sup>158</sup> Werner Benecke, *Militär, Reform und Gesellschaft im Zarenreich: Die Wehrpflicht in Russland 1874-1914* (Padaborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2006), 16. and Mehmet Beşikçi, *Cihan Harbi'ni Yaşamak ve Hatırlamak: Osmanlı Askerlerinin Cephe Hatıraları ve Türkiye'de Birinci Dünya Savaşı Hafızası* (İstanbul: İletişim, 2019), 15, 21.



Within various reports, attitudes and performance of the natives are evident insomuch as they were regularly surveyed by state authorities.<sup>159</sup> Hearings, letters, and petitions written by soldiers, deserters, defendants, women, and others were favored in order to counterweight the narrative of the governing elites but they all were not without their problems, having been, for example, often tailored for their audiences.<sup>160</sup> Language of a letter not only shows what has been experienced but how it was experienced too.<sup>161</sup> Offenders may not have been a typical representative, and might have been prepared to state or write certain things, while the patriotic narrative of the ruling elites can be interpreted as one of their tactics to further their goals.<sup>162</sup>

Thus, as Donald Quataert has rightly contended, it is the desire to examine the subaltern that is missing not sources.<sup>163</sup> Formulating questions led to searching for new sources since many records became practical for the dissertation after the right questions had been posed. War photography, for instance, offers the opportunity so that topics could gain new aspects needed for the local dimension. It has the same value as a text and does not represent by any means privileged access to the past.<sup>164</sup> Still, the use of the war photography generates many problems. Besides being a speechless witness, there is a difficulty in translating its testimony into words, including its propagandistic practice. This is especially true for those which a scholar does not possess that much information about.<sup>165</sup>

In dealing with those visual sources whose origin and reception conditions are not familiar, they are examined as part of the narrative and time in which they are involved. Before one begins to look at it, any photography should be embedded in the historical context because they

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<sup>159</sup> Wette, "Militärsgeschichte von unten," 145. and Wette, "Militärsgeschichte von unten. Die Perspektive des "kleinen Mannes", " 23.

<sup>160</sup> On ego-documents see Rudolf M. Dekker, "Verzeichnen und Edieren niederländischer Ego-Dokumente vom 16. bis zum frühen 19. Jahrhundert," *Edition 9* (1995): 80-95. Peter Knoch, "Erleben und Nacherleben: Das Kriegserlebnis im Augenzeugenbericht und im Geschichtsunterricht," in *Keiner fühlt sich hier mehr als Mensch... : Erlebnis und Wirkung des Ersten Weltkriegs*, ed. Gerhard Hirschfeld, Gerd Krumeich, and Irina Renz (Frankfurt: Fischer, 1996), 199-219. Kaspar von Greyerz, "Ego-Documents: The Last Word?," *German History* 28, no. 3 (2010): 273-82. Christa Hämmerle and Saurer Edith, "Frauenbriefe - Männerbriefe? Überlegungen zu einer Briefgeschichte jenseits von Geschlechterdichotomien," in *Briefkulturen und ihr Geschlecht: Zur Geschichte der privaten Korrespondenz vom 16. Jahrhundert bis heute*, ed. Christa Hämmerle and Edith Saurer (Wien - Köln - Weimar: Böhlau Verlag, 2003), 7-32. and Benjamin Ziemann, "Feldpostbriefe der beiden Weltkriege: Eine "authentische" Quellengattung?," in *Briefe - Tagebücher - Autobiographien: Studien und Quellen für den Unterricht*, ed. Peter Eigner, Christa Hämmerle, and Günter Müller (Wien: VGS, 2006), 63-75.

<sup>161</sup> Klaus Latzel, "Vom Kriegserlebnis zur Kriegserfahrung. Theoretische und methodische Überlegungen zur erfahrungsgeschichtlichen Untersuchung von Feldpostbriefen," *Militärsgeschichtliche Mitteilungen*, no. 56 (1997): 1-30, here pp. 21-23.

<sup>162</sup> Burke, "Overture: the New History, its Past and its Future," 12. and Elif Mahir Metinsoy, "Writing the History of Ordinary Ottoman Women during World War I," *Aspasia* 10, no. 1 (2016): 18-39.

<sup>163</sup> Karahasanoğlu, "Introduction," 19.

<sup>164</sup> Jens Jäger and Martin Knauer, "Bilder als historische Quellen? Ein Problemaufriss," in *Bilder als historische Quellen? Dimension der Debatten um historische Bildforschung*, ed. Jens Jäger and Martin Knauer (München: Wilhelm Fink, 2009), 7-25, here pp. 14-15. Burke, "Overture: the New History, its Past and its Future," 12. and Gerhard Paul and Potsdam Zentrum für Zeithistorische Forschung, *Visual History*, 2014. <<http://dx.doi.org/10.14765/zzf.dok.2.558.v3>> accessed 27/01/2021.

<sup>165</sup> Peter Burke, *Eyewitnessing: The Uses of Images as Historical Evidence*, Picturing history series, (London: Reaktion Books, 2001), 14-15, 19, 23. See also Gillian Rose, *Visual Methodologies: An Introduction to the Interpretation of Visual Materials* (London; Thousand Oaks; New Delhi: SAGE Publications, 2002).

should not be isolated but must always be related to other sources too.<sup>166</sup> Hence, the war photography is analyzed by combining it with historical written sources. It opens up new avenues through which a fresh view on historical processes is feasible.<sup>167</sup> The study also critically explores the use of novels and songs. In sum, the plurality of methods and practices, coupled with the following three pillars, provides the chance to conduct a historical-anthropological research in order to better understand the mobilization efforts situated at different scales.<sup>168</sup>

### 1.3.2. A Mobilization Field

(...) the authorities ordered the calling up of volunteers in the district. As there was no response at first, especially among the Muslim population, [the state] engaged all hodjas, priests, teachers and respectable people of all faiths, and through them it was explained to the people that it is their civic duty to respond to the call of the state.<sup>169</sup>

Mobilization does not simply denote the relationship between the state and its subjects. In addition to self-mobilization actions, it engulfs societal institutions, the families of the able-bodied, and the influential actors of various background too. The latter, as the cited paragraph illustrates, had to prepare and encourage the local communities both emotionally and ideologically for a (future) war in order to reach its fullest possible execution.<sup>170</sup> Hence, mobilization cannot be “looked at from two perspectives – that of the government, expressed by its policies, and that of the individuals who join or who resist joining,” as some scholars have argued.<sup>171</sup>

The notion of mobilization is treated here in a broader sense, addressing not only conscription, raising mass armies, and delivering them to the barracks or the battlefield. It also refers to economic, social, cultural and political mobilizations with whose help the state aspires

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<sup>166</sup> Jens Jäger, *Fotografie und Geschichte* (Frankfurt/New York: Campus Verlag, 2011).

<sup>167</sup> Crew, "Alltagsgeschichte: A New Social History "From Below?," 396. For instance, see Elke Hartmann, "Shaping the Armenian Warrior: Clothing and Photographic Self-Portraits of Armenian fedayis in the late 19th and early 20th Century," in *Fashioning the Self in Transcultural Settings: The Uses and Significance of Dress in Self-Narratives*, ed. Claudia Ulbrich and Richard Wittmann (Würzburg: Ergon Verlag, 2015), 117-48. Elke Hartmann, "Family Portraits: Visual Sources for a Social History of the Late Ottoman Empire," in *Ways of Knowing Muslim Cultures and Societies: Studies in Honour of Gudrun Krämer*, ed. Bettina Gräf et al. (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2019), 111-31. Martina Baleva, *Bulgarien im Bild: Die Erfindung von Nationen auf dem Balkan in der Kunst des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Wien: Böhlau, 2012). and Karl Kaser, "Gibt es den Balkan doch? Krieg und visuelle Revolution zu Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts," in *"Den Balkan Gibt es Nicht": Erbschaften im südöstlichen Europa*, ed. Martina Baleva and Boris Previšić (Wien: Böhlau, 2016), 142-57.

<sup>168</sup> Crew, "Alltagsgeschichte: A New Social History "From Below?," 396-97. and Hannes Grandits and Karl Kaser, "Historische Anthropologie im südöstlichen Europa: Aufgaben, Methoden, Theorien, Themen," in *Historische Anthropologie im südöstlichen Europa: Eine Einführung*, ed. Karl Kaser, Siegfried Gruber, and Robert Pichler (Wien: Böhlau, 2003), 13-39.

<sup>169</sup> DAS/Belgrade, ŠVK-PO 1912/1913, B-2388, unnumbered, 03.06.1913, Priština, District Chief to the Police Department at the Supreme Command.

<sup>170</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MUD-P 1913, F22/R1, #3531, 19.05.1913, Skoplje, Vujičić to all district chiefs. Wolfgang Höpken, "Gewalt auf dem Balkan - Erklärungsversuche zwischen "Struktur" und "Kultur"," in *Politische und ethnische Gewalt in Südosteuropa und Lateinamerika*, ed. Wolfgang Höpken and Michael Riekenberg (Köln - Weimar - Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 2001), 53-95, here pp. 78-79. and Wolfgang Höpken, "Performing Violence: Soldiers, Paramilitaries and Civilians in the Twentieth-Century Balkan Wars," in *No Man's Land of Violence: Extreme Wars in the 20th Century*, ed. Alf Lüdtke and Bernd Weisbrod (Göttingen: Max-Planck-Institut für Geschichte / Wallstein Verlag, 2006), 211-49, here pp. 21-22.

<sup>171</sup> Peter Karsten, "Volume Introduction," in *Recruiting, Drafting, and Enlisting: Two Sides of the Raising of Military Forces*, ed. Peter Karsten (London and New York: Routledge: Taylor and Francis Group, 1998), ix-xv, here pp. ix.

to stimulate and control as many subjects and spaces as possible.<sup>172</sup> This does not happen exclusively in times of war, but the study shows these ends in peacetime too. Of course, the state's or war's totality is never fully realized and could just be pursued.<sup>173</sup> The military and the soldier's life are seen here as a reciprocal labor that is based on shared assumptions about obligations, which should not be conflated with equality because military service is a legally imposed incomparable duty.<sup>174</sup> However, neither did the natives wholly accept the latter without negotiation nor were they passive subjects; still, "population is both aware of what it wants and unaware of what is being done to it."<sup>175</sup>

The study conceives the chains of their interdependence as a part of the figuration process, in which a balance of power runs to and fro between the actors involved. They function as interdependent players in what is called here "a mobilization field," who, by acting and negotiating change tacit patterns of the game.<sup>176</sup> The dissertation is interested in the dynamics and variation of the societal figuration. The players obtain social position within this field according to the total amount and composition of their capitals, which as a result specify the internal logic, hierarchy, and relations between them. The relation of force defines the structure of the field. In the struggle to enforce the legitimate view of the social world and the monopoly on legitimate naming as official, they have strength proportional to the size of their capital, as well as to the degree of their recognition by others.<sup>177</sup>

Among them, the state represents a culmination of a process of concentration of different forms of capital that allows it to become the owner of a sort of meta-capital. It possesses power

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<sup>172</sup> John Horne, "Introduction: Mobilizing for 'Total War', 1914-1918," in *State, Society and Mobilization in Europe during the First World War*, ed. John Horne (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 1-17. and Roger Chickering, "Total War: The Use and Abuse of a Concept," in *Anticipating Total War: The German and American Experiences*, ed. Manfred F. Boemeke, Roger Chickering, and Stig Förster (Washington / Cambridge: German Historical Institute / Cambridge University Press, 1999), 13-28, here pp. 16-17, 23. See also David Welch, "German and Propaganda in World War I: Pacifism, Mobilization and Total War," (London: I. B. Tauris, 2014).

<sup>173</sup> Stig Förster, "Introduction," in *Great War, Total War: Combat and Mobilization on the Western Front, 1914-1918*, ed. Stig Förster; Roger Chickering (Washington, D. C.: German Historical Institute, 2000), 1-15, here pp. 1-4, 6-9. and Ian F. W. Beckett, "Total War," in *Total War and Historical Change: Europe 1914-1955*, ed. Arthur Marwick, Clive Emsley, and Wendy Simpson (Buckingham: Open University Press, 2001), 24-41, here pp. 29.

<sup>174</sup> Jan Lucassen and Erik Jan Zürcher, "Conscription as Military Labour: The Historical Context," *International Review of Social History* 43, no. 3 (1998): 405-19. and Erik-Jan Zürcher, "Giriş: Askere Alımlarda ve Askerî İstihdamda Dünyadaki Değişiklikleri Anlamak," in *Askerlik 'İşi': Askerî İçgücünün Karşılaştırmalı Tarihi 1500-2000*, ed. Erik-Jan Zürcher (İstanbul: İletişim, 2017), 11-40, here pp. 17, 20.

<sup>175</sup> Mehmet Beşikçi, Selçuk Akşin Somel, and Alexandre Toumarkine, "Introduction," in *Not All Quiet on the Ottoman Fronts: Neglected Perspectives on a Global War, 1914-1918*, ed. Mehmet Beşikçi, Selçuk Akşin Somel, and Alexandre Toumarkine (Baden-Baden: Ergon Verlag, 2020), 7-18, here pp. 7-9. and Michel Foucault, *Security, Territory, Population. Lectures at the Collège de France 1977-1978* (New York: Picador-Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 105 (citation).

<sup>176</sup> Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process: Sociogenetic and Psychogenetic Investigations* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000), 409, 11, 37. Norbert Elias, *What is Sociology?* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1978), 71-72, 128-30. Norbert Elias, *The Society of Individuals* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1991), 24. and Pierre Bourdieu and Loïc J. D. Wasquant, *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology* (Cambridge / Oxford: Polity Press / Blackwell, 1992), 98.

<sup>177</sup> Pierre Bourdieu, *Sozialer Raum und "Klassen" und Leçon sur la leçon: Zwei Vorlesungen* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1985), 9-11, 20-24. Bourdieu and Wasquant, *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology*, 99. and Stephen Quilley and Steven Loyal, "Eliasian Sociology as a 'Central Theory' for the Human Sciences," *Current Sociology* 53, no. 5 (2005): 809-30, here pp. 15-16, 18. On the economic, cultural, social and symbolic forms of capital see Pierre Bourdieu, "Ökonomisches Kapital, kulturelles Kapital, soziales Kapital," in *Soziale Ungleichheiten*, ed. Reinhard Kreckel (Göttingen: Otto Schwartz & Co, 1983), 183-98.

over its other kinds and over the holders by knowingly enhancing or reducing one's forms of capital.<sup>178</sup> The ruling elites could change the relative value between various forms of capital by wielding strategies (e.g. the agrarian reform) aimed at discrediting, for instance, the economic capital upon which the opponents' strength rests.<sup>179</sup>

But the state is assemblages of the active agencies and consists of multiple arenas of domination and opposition that are anchored locally through the so-called state effect. By disaggregating the state and local communities into various levels, which noticeably vary in the kinds of pressure they face from one another, one notices their mutual transformation and empowerment.<sup>180</sup> The study illustrates the state effects (e.g. census, annual draft, taxation) and analyzes different actions of social forces. Mobilization is merely one of many junctures where these "confronted each other to negotiate and contest and in so doing cast and recast the very terms of domination and subjugation," as Huri İslamoğlu aptly summarizes in reference to land issues in the Ottoman context.<sup>181</sup> The goal is to go beyond all entrenched dualisms since the actors involved in the mobilization field are not merely nested within one another but are able to intermingle, combine, and cross between their spaces.<sup>182</sup>

It is therefore sometimes difficult to delineate who is who on the ground. Still, by detecting who acts on the field, one follows them and makes comparisons between the players who seemingly do not to have anything to do with each other (e.g. the ruling elites and outlaws). This juncture shares similarities with the political field in which fights, and outspoken confrontations also take place, and where an accumulation of strength and reputation is palpable. As struggles over the change of social status ranges, it yields conditions among the locals to act, who tend to keep, enhance, and transform their forms of capital by following the

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<sup>178</sup> Bourdieu and Wasquant, *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology*, 114-15. and Pierre Bourdieu, "Rethinking the State: Genesis and Structure of the Bureaucratic Field," in *State/Culture: State-formation after the Cultural Turn*, ed. George Steinmetz (Ithaca, N.Y: Cornell University Press, 1999), 53-75.

<sup>179</sup> Bourdieu and Wasquant, *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology*, 99.

<sup>180</sup> Joel S. Migdal, "The State in Society: an Approach to Struggle for Domination," in *State Power and Social Forces: Domination and Transformation in the Third World*, ed. Joel S. Migdal, Atul Kohli, and Vivienne Shue (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 7-34. Atul Kohli and Vivienne Shue, "State Power and Social Forces: On Political Contention and Accommodation in the Third World," in *State Power and Social Forces: Domination and Transformation in the Third World*, ed. Joel S. Migdal, Atul Kohli, and Vivienne Shue (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 293-326, here pp. 294, 309, 21. and Patrick Joyce and Chandra Mukerji, "The State of Things: State History and Theory Reconfigured," *Theory and Society* 46, no. 1 (2017): 1-19. On the state effect see Timothy Mitchell, "Society, Economy, and the State Effect," in *State/Culture: State-formation after the Cultural Turn*, ed. George Steinmetz (Ithaca, N.Y: Cornell University Press, 1999), 76-97.

<sup>181</sup> Huri Islamoglu, "Property as a Constested Domain: A Reevaluation of the Ottoman Land Code of 1858," in *New Perspectives on Property and Land in the Middle East*, ed. Roger Owen (Cambridge, Massachusetts - London: Harvard University, 2000), 3-61, here pp. 11. See also Kurt Gostentschnigg, *Wissenschaft im Spannungsfeld von Politik und Militär: Die österreichisch-ungarische Albanologie 1867-1918* (Wiesbaden: Springer Fachmedien Wiesbaden, 2018), 38-43.

<sup>182</sup> Hans-Peter Müller, "Die Einbettung des Handelns: Pierre Bourdieus Praxeologie," *Berliner Journal für Soziologie* 12, no. 2 (2002): 157-71, here pp. 58. and Stefan Kühl, "Gruppen, Organisationen, Familien und Bewegungen: Zur Soziologie mitgliedschaftsbasierter Systeme zwischen Interaktion und Gesellschaft," in *Zeitschrift für Soziologie, Sonderheft: Interaktion - Organisation - Gesellschaft revisited. Anwendungen, Erweiterungen, Alternativen*, ed. Bettina Heintz and Hartmann Tyrell (Stuttgart: Lucius & Lucius Verlag, 2014), 65-85, here pp. 68.

tacit rules of the game.<sup>183</sup> Some of them are still capable of autonomous action in this context but, roughly speaking, they can be better conceptualized in communal relations to others.<sup>184</sup>

Even though Norbert Elias claims that as the number of interdependent players expands, the figuration, development and direction of the game become gradually harder for the state and its institutions to follow and control, the study contends the opposite.<sup>185</sup> By establishing the intertwining network of the local actors that is coupled with the state one, the governing elites are able to amass enough inhabitants for their armies. Thus, all kinds of social groupings and institutions stood behind the war effort, contributing to their convergence.<sup>186</sup> The authorities sought to play them off against each other, hoping that this would lead to their mutual weakening or the reification of their asymmetric roles, which reveals the modes of domination and symbolic violence.<sup>187</sup> Divulging the latter that are also concealed with body and gender metaphors is important because the governing elites painted their mobilization efforts as part of state-fostered ideologies with whose help they wanted to simplify the social complexities, including the worldview of the locals.<sup>188</sup> The issue, however, emerges when another polity intervenes in the mobilization field, for which reason, the governmental actors become aware of their inability to fully regulate the situation locally. Given the inner context, the increase of demands upon the male subjects in times of war, and the presence of unwanted actors, the ruling elites have to invest more effort, time, or money in order to draw the locals on their side, thereby becoming prone to negotiating.<sup>189</sup>

The able-bodied and other locally grounded actors fully understood this chance that could enhance their bargaining capabilities vis-à-vis the state. The study exemplifies that even those who possessed the lowest forms of capital in the field were able, depending on their skills and the context, to reconstruct the tacit rules of the game by wielding non-violent techniques. Not only did this lead to the renegotiation of political, emotional and economic bonds with the state,

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<sup>183</sup> Bourdieu and Wasquant, *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology*, 99. and Pierre Bourdieu, *Das politische Feld: Zur Kritik der politischen Vernunft* (Konstanz: UVK Verlagsgesellschaft, 2001), 33-34, 81.

<sup>184</sup> Elias, *The Civilizing Process: Sociogenetic and Psychogenetic Investigations*, 411. Elias, *The Society of Individuals*, 61, 195. Anthony Giddens, *The Constitution of Society: Outline of the Theory of Structuration* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1986), xxii-xxiii, xxv, 2, 5-28. and Xabier Barandiaran, Ezequiel Di Paolo, and Marieke Rohde, "Defining Agency: Individuality, Normativity, Asymmetry, and Spatio-temporality in Action," *Adaptive Behavior* 17, no. 5 (2009): 367-86.

<sup>185</sup> Elias, *What is Sociology?*, 84.

<sup>186</sup> Horne, "Introduction: Mobilizing for 'Total War', 1914-1918," 6.

<sup>187</sup> Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 183-88, 96. Bourdieu and Wasquant, *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology*, 101. and Elias, *What is Sociology?*, 84.

<sup>188</sup> Pierre Bourdieu, *Die verborgenen Mechanismen der Macht: Schriften zu Politik und Kultur 1*, ed. Margaret Steinrück (Hamburg: VSA-Verlag, 2005), 83. Alan I. Forrest, "Conscription as Ideology: Revolutionary France and the Nation in Arms," in *The Comparative Study of Conscription in the Armed Forces*, ed. Lars Mjøset and Stephen van Holde, Comparative social research (Amsterdam: JAI, 2002), 95-115. Daniel Moran, "Introduction: The Legend of the Levée en masse," in *The People in Arms: Military Myth and National Mobilization*, ed. Daniel Moran and Arthur Waldron (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 1-7. and Birsen H. Örs, "İdeoloji: Karmaşık Dünyayı Anlaşılır Kılmak," in *19. Yüzyıldan 20. Yüzyıla Modern Siyasal İdeolojiler*, ed. Birsen H. Örs (İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2012), 3-45.

<sup>189</sup> Beckett, "Total War," 34-35.

and thus the possible growth of their kinds of capital, but it also facilitated their remobilization into armies because the new governmental strategies meant re-motivating them for the state cause.<sup>190</sup> Certainly, the military does not act alone in the mobilization field but in order to fully encompass the locals it had to join forces with other governmental networks which covered different socio-spatial boundaries and dynamics, and the way which they overlap, intersect and entwine.<sup>191</sup>

### 1.3.3. A Multiplicity of Horizontal and Vertical Loyalties

During the Russian occupation of Galicia, the flags of all [belligerent] countries have been found (...) in a citizen's house, in a chest, [and thus] he was brought up before court. How come you have all the flags?" one of the judges asked him. "I am a citizen, I have my estate and my own factories, and I have kept these flags because I did not know whose army would come here" [the accused person replied]. The military court had acquitted him. Such a case happened in the Sandžak too, as an army entered Čajniče [Habsburg Bosnia]. The people hailed an army with the flags and flowers, and after eight days another army came in [and they were cheered in the same way], so that no one had been prosecuted by the army.<sup>192</sup>

The erosion of old rule is not measured merely by lost battles but also by the decline of loyalty of the population.<sup>193</sup> Jana Osterkamp and Martin Schulze Wessel sketch four arguments that keep loyalty from the danger of becoming lost in a fog of conceptual vagueness: *duration* (the willingness to give loyalty is based on a particular horizon of experiences and expectations); *mutuality* (loyalty is a category of relationship); *sequentiality* (loyalty must be created, can erode and may be reoriented); and *communication* (as a sort of social interaction, loyalties are conditioned by spoken and unspoken communication and only become evident when they are expected, provided or drawn upon).<sup>194</sup> Since occupation initializes pressure for acting, due to private reasons and engulfing uncertainty, the locals are often (in)directly occupier-driven; thus, the loyalty is subject to change, as the cited example shows. In such a context, "normality assumptions" become dubious, reliability corrodes, expectations and routines are uncertain, while the feelings of vulnerability are spread. Their regulations are massively threatened and are severely under stress. To what degree their normality-assumptions-based decisions prove to be valid are exemplified.<sup>195</sup>

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<sup>190</sup> Elias, *What is Sociology?*, 133-40. and Home, "Introduction: Mobilizing for 'Total War', 1914-1918," 13-14.

<sup>191</sup> Michael Mann, *The Sources of Social Power*, vol. 2: The Rise of Classes and Nation States (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), ix, xiv, 9-10, 56.

<sup>192</sup> A. Musanić, „Ferad beg Draga je i na ponovnom pretresu osuđen na 20 godina robije“, *Vreme*, god. VII, 17.05.1927, br. 1947, 5.

<sup>193</sup> Martin Schulze Wessel, ""Loyalität" als geschichtlicher Grundbegriff und Forschungskonzept: Zur Einleitung," in *Loyalitäten in der Tschechoslowakischen Republik: Politische, Nationale und Kulturelle Zugehörigkeiten*, ed. Martin Schulze Wessel (München: Oldenbourg, 2004), 1-22, here pp. 11.

<sup>194</sup> Jana Osterkamp and Martin Schulze Wessel, "Exploring Loyalty," in *Exploring Loyalty*, ed. Jana Osterkamp and Martin Schulze Wessel (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 2017), 1-16, here pp. 3.

<sup>195</sup> Tatjana Tönsmeier, *Besatzungsgesellschaften. Begriffliche und konzeptionelle Überlegungen zur Erfahrungsgeschichte des Alltags unter deutscher Besatzung im Zweiten Weltkrieg*, 2015. < <http://dx.doi.org/10.14765/zzf.dok.2.663.v1> > accessed 26/01/2021.

Also here, the locals should not simply be viewed as pawns in a larger power struggle. Rather, they know the exact value of their capital and how to communicate with the new authorities, who also, following their interests, have to relate with the former.<sup>196</sup> Thus, loyalty blurs the distance between subject and object, and leads to the stabilization of (old/new) rule, social relationships and hierarchies through which one can analyze the behavior adjustment and nomination, including the so-called national closure of a certain grouping.<sup>197</sup>

But shifting loyalties is also obvious among deserters in peacetime when the subjective reasons and a momentary setting pushes them to exit from a tacit contract after their voices had not been reflected upon.<sup>198</sup> This *bottom-up* approach is to be distinguished between *bottom* and *top* as social categories and *bottom up* as an upward direction of political activity.<sup>199</sup> Compared with fidelity, trust or solidarity, loyalty demonstrates a number of overlaps and differences. Fidelity designates a personal bond but lacks the analytical multi-layered characteristics, while allegiance can indicate pluralization of the social bonds. Yet the main difference between the two concerns the emotional intensity and sphere of actions: contrary to the private dimension of fidelity, loyalty is limited to relationships and interactions between individuals and institutions as a result of the societalization process. Whereas trust addresses the emotional disposition in a mutual relationship, solidarity describes a willingness to support one another; yet the historical analysis of trust seldom involves the examination of actual behavior, as solidarity mainly implies the horizontal dimension of allegiance.<sup>200</sup> Even though loyalty is defined as a relationship between the state and its subjects, they do not act from the same position. The state draws the rules of interaction, meaning, already at the beginning, the locals are at a disadvantage.<sup>201</sup>

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<sup>196</sup> Judkin Browning, *Shifting Loyalties: The Union Occupation of Eastern North Carolina* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2014). Malte Rolf, "Einführung: Imperiale Biographien. Lebenswege imperialer Akteure in Groß- und Kolonialreichen (1850-1918)," *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 40, no. 1 (2014): 5-21. and Martin Aust and Frithjof Benjamin Schenk, "Einleitung: Autobiographische Praxis und Imperienforschung," in *Imperial Subjects: Autobiographische Praxis in den Vielvölkerreichen der Romanovs, Habsburger und Osmanen im 19. und frühen 20. Jahrhundert*, ed. Martin Aust and Frithjof Benjamin Schenk (Wien: Böhlau, 2015), 11-36.

<sup>197</sup> George P. Fletcher, *Loyalty: An Essay on the Morality of Relationships* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 61. Peter Haslinger, "Loyalität in Grenzregionen: Methodische Überlegungen am Beispiel der Südslowakei nach dem Ersten Weltkrieg," in *Loyalitäten in der Tschechoslowakischen Republik: Politische, Nationale und Kulturelle Zugehörigkeiten*, ed. Martin Schulze Wessel (München: R. Oldenbourg, 2004), 45-60, here pp. 47. and Peter Haslinger and Joachim von Puttkamer, "Staatsmacht, Minderheit, Loyalität: Konzeptionelle Grundlagen am Beispiel Ostmittel- und Südosteuropas in der Zwischenkriegszeit," in *Staat, Loyalität und Minderheiten in Ostmittel- und Südosteuropa*, ed. Peter Haslinger and Joachim von Puttkamer (München: R. Oldenbourg, 2007), 1-16.

<sup>198</sup> Albert O. Hirschman, *Exit, Voice, and Loyalty: Responses to Decline in Firms, Organizations, and States* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2007).

<sup>199</sup> Antōnēs Anastasopoulos, "Introduction: Political Initiatives 'from the Bottom up'," in *Political Initiatives 'from the Bottom up' in the Ottoman Empire: Halcyon Days in Crete VII. A Symposium Held in Rethymno 9-11 January 2009*, ed. Antōnēs Anastasopoulos (Rethymno: Crete University Press, 2012), 1-12, here pp. 7.

<sup>200</sup> Schulze Wessel, "'Loyalität' als geschichtlicher Grundbegriff und Forschungskonzept: Zur Einleitung," 3. and Jana Osterkamp and Martin Schulze Wessel, "Texturen von Loyalität: Überlegungen zu einem analytischen Begriff," *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 42 (2016): 553-73, here pp. 59-60.

<sup>201</sup> Haslinger, "Loyalität in Grenzregionen: Methodische Überlegungen am Beispiel der Südslowakei nach dem Ersten Weltkrieg," 59.

Although the emphasis throughout the study is placed on the state loyalty, one should ask whether its change instigates a negative shift within other forms of allegiance in the eyes of the locals. This is crucial because depending on the communal context one might speak about strong kin-based, patronage, class, confessional, and national loyalties, which make one's daily life meaningful. They function as social bridges that sidestep separation and polarity because people bring their shared histories to their loyalties, and outsiders therefore cannot ask for equal treatment in this setting.<sup>202</sup> Thus, there is the horizontal (between locals) and vertical loyalties (between the state and the people) whereby the former are conceptualized as both social and symbolic capital that are cashed in during times of turmoil and that, depending on the context, reinforce the vertical ones. This approach brings together under the same caption the different levels of social relationships, which exist locally or within a given polity.<sup>203</sup> The study illustrates about whether shifting the vertical loyalty triggers among the locals the questioning of horizontal loyalties between them and thus the reconstruction of loyalty at the level of human interactions. This is tackled on a case-by-case basis. Whereas the multilayered loyalty relations always existed in daily life during peacetime, this alters greatly in times of accelerating violence because in the wake of narrowed down loyalties, people were inclined to being coerced by the belligerent parties to choose sides.<sup>204</sup>

In doing so, the dissertation does not seek to sketch a hierarchy of loyalties, gender, or region against or above nation.<sup>205</sup> By elucidating the lifeworld of the locals, the goal is to show how the corollaries of changing loyalty were echoed in an area of social and economic everyday interactions and whether this led to a polarization along the ethnonational axis.<sup>206</sup> Two detail cases from Taşlıca and Mitroviça illustrate that although the towns witnessed two large conflicts (Balkan Wars and WWI) and small skirmishes, this was not sufficient to instigate violence exclusively along the ethnonational lines. In fact, in the face of danger, actors of diverse confessional background helped each other. Drawing on Burcu Akan's study, this behavior is understood here as performing urban or şehirli loyalty.<sup>207</sup>

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<sup>202</sup> Grandits, *Multikonfesionalna Hercegovina: Vlast i lojalnost u kasnoosmanskom društvu*, 11-24. and Fletcher, *Loyalty: An Essay on the Morality of Relationships*, 3, 7.

<sup>203</sup> Harold Steere Guetzkow, *Multiple Loyalties: Theoretical Approach to a Problem in International Organization* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1955), 35-37. Fletcher, *Loyalty: An Essay on the Morality of Relationships*, 7. Osterkamp and Wessel, "Exploring Loyalty," 5. Bourdieu, "Ökonomisches Kapital, kulturelles Kapital, soziales Kapital," 183-98, here pp. 91-93. and Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, 178.

<sup>204</sup> Hannes Grandits, Nathalie Clayer, and Robert Pichler, "Introduction: Social (Dis-) Integration and the National Turn in the Late- and Post-Ottoman Balkans. Towards an Analytical Framework," in *Conflicting Loyalties in the Balkans: the Great Powers, the Ottoman Empire and Nation-Building*, ed. Hannes Grandits, Nathalie Clayer, and Robert Pichler (London-New York: I. B. Tauris, 2011), 1-12, here pp. 6.

<sup>205</sup> Zahra, "Imagined Noncommunities: National Indifference as a Category of Analysis," 111-12.

<sup>206</sup> Otto Luchterhandt, *Nationale Minderheiten und Loyalität* (Köln: Verlag Wissenschaft und Politik, 1997), 21-22.

<sup>207</sup> Burcu Akan Ellis, *Shadow Genealogies: Memory and Identity among Urban Muslims in Macedonia* (Boulder CO; New York: Columbia University Press, 2003).



Since war influences persons differently, it leads in some areas to a rapid collective collectivization along the ethnonational lines, whereas in others the picture is different, what is addressed by zooming in on certain local communities. The locals' actions are also conditional on broader non-local fluctuations that influence them since they follow events by reading newspapers or hearing rumors.<sup>208</sup> Shifting loyalty has to be distinguished from the concept of changing identities, used by Gábor Demeter and Krisztián Csaplár-Degovics, who have claimed that a person threatened in peacetime by a comitadji leader in late Ottoman Macedonia, changes his/her identity in order to stay alive.<sup>209</sup> But changing allegiance does not mean changing identities. Judkin Browning, analyzing the concept in the context of the American Civil War (1861-1865), argues convincingly that an individual could have multiple loyalties with varying degrees of attachment to each, depending on one's circumstances and agenda, which were driven by practicalities. Hence, the Southerners' loyalty to the Union represented only a rejection of the Confederate state who still adhered to a sense of Southern nationalism, meaning, identity does not signify a relationship.<sup>210</sup>

Loyalty, in contrast, is limited to the analysis of specific relations for which reason the study is interested in long-terms effective imprints and in the possibilities of analyzing the actors' action. Loyalty makes it possible for the observer to change a perspective. If identity focuses on the individual or an imagined community, one, by applying the category of loyalty, can trace the perspective of their counterpart, be it from the view of a person or of institutions.<sup>211</sup> The emphasis on questions of the national and ethnic identities led to the neglect of other forms of collective interactions and a takeover of the ethicizing discourse of nationally minded actors and scholars who see social connections only in ethnonational terms. National and ethnic identities by no means constitute the totality of collective distinctiveness. Besides going beyond mosque, church, and state in this context, one equally has to be open to other anti-national and non-national alternatives.<sup>212</sup> As Rogers Brubaker and Frederick Cooper fittingly emphasize, this approach unfolds possibilities for specifying other kinds of connectedness and other

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<sup>208</sup> Quataert, "History from Below and the Writing of Ottoman History," 133. and Žan-Noel Kapferer, *Glasiine: Najstarije sredstvo informisanja na svetu* (Sremski Karlovci-Novi Sad: Izdavačka knjižarnica Zorana Stojanovića, 2016).

<sup>209</sup> Gábor Demeter and Krisztián Csaplár-Degovics, "Social Conflicts: Changing Identities and Everyday Strategies of Survival in Macedonia on the Eve of the Collapse of Ottoman Central Power (1903-1912)," *The Hungarian Historical Review* 3, no. 3 (2014): 609-49, here pp. 21-22.

<sup>210</sup> Browning, *Shifting Loyalties: The Union Occupation of Eastern North Carolina*, 4, 64.

<sup>211</sup> Osterkamp and Wessel, "Exploring Loyalty," 5. and Osterkamp and Wessel, "Texturen von Loyalität: Überlegungen zu einem analytischen Begriff," 560.

<sup>212</sup> Ulf Brunnbauer, "Einleitung: Zur Forschung von Ethnizität in Südosteuropa," in *Umstrittene Identitäten: Ethnizität und Nationalität in Südosteuropa*, ed. Ulf Brunnbauer (Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 2002), 11-29, here pp. 13-14. Abou-El-Haj, *Formation of the Modern State: The Ottoman Empire, Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries*, 80. and Theodora Dragostinova and Yana Hashamova, "Beyond Mosque, Church, and State: Alternative Narratives of the Nation in the Balkans," in *Beyond Mosque, Church, and State: Alternative Narratives of the Nation in the Balkans*, ed. Theodora Dragostinova and Yana Hashamova (New York: Central European University Press, 2016), 1-27, here pp. 5-8, 15.

phrases of identification since social analysis requires relatively explicit analytical categories.<sup>213</sup>

Here, a local switches loyalty knowingly and hinging on the context. This reckoning is related to Isa Blumi's view who exemplifies that natives in late Ottoman Yemen, whose livelihood depended on ensuring the safe passage of their commerce, were faithful to a person who could gain the upper hand in the region. As soon as their power is contested by the state or other residents, the locals, fearing that this might harm their interests, switch their adherence.<sup>214</sup> Or in the context of the American Civil War, the Southerners sought in the tense atmosphere of change, to create circumstances that would give them the best means to support themselves and their families.<sup>215</sup> The curiosity to explore these marginal and "irregular" performances, once condemned to contempt or oblivion, coincide with a current in the new imperial history.<sup>216</sup> It demonstrates how the locals understood the discursive construction of "ethnic identities," which are not simply natural or top-down imposed but are rather the results of concrete negotiation processes.<sup>217</sup>

The goal is to move beyond imagined communities but at the same time to keep in mind the nation-state and its impact whereby national and confessional indifference are not disregarded.<sup>218</sup> This does not mean that this study is on the same page with soft and weak understandings of identity. Some locals, be it educated in state-sponsored institutions or not, were able to recognize the moment in which, what Brubaker and Cooper calls, the *identitarian language* of the ruling elites has to be deployed, underlining how loyal they are.<sup>219</sup> They comprehend how the identity discourse runs so as to endure the transition and make the best of a bad bargain, adhering afterwards to their life and tactics.<sup>220</sup> They are not all opportunists but see that they have to pretend in order to protect themselves since there is no other alternative.

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<sup>213</sup> Rogers Brubaker and Frederick Cooper, "Beyond "Identity"," *Theory and Society* 29, no. 1 (2000): 1-47, here pp. 2, 32.

<sup>214</sup> Isa Blumi, "Shifting Loyalties and Failed Empire: A New Look at the Social History of the Late Ottoman Yemen, 1872-1918," in *Counter-Narratives: History, Contemporary Society, and Politics in Saudi Arabia and Yemen*, ed. Madawi Al-Rasheed and Robert Vitalis (New York u.a: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 103-17.

<sup>215</sup> Browning, *Shifting Loyalties: The Union Occupation of Eastern North Carolina*, 5.

<sup>216</sup> Dariusz Kołodziejczyk, "The "Turkish Yoke" Revisited: the Ottoman Non-Muslim Subjects between Loyalty, Alienation, and Riot," *Acta Poloniae Historica* 93 (2006): 177-95, here pp. 79. and Laurence Cole and Daniel L. Unowsky, "Introduction: Imperial Loyalty and Popular Allegiances in the Late Habsburg Monarchy," in *The Limits of Loyalty: Imperial Symbolism, Popular Allegiances, and State Patriotism in the Late Habsburg Monarchy*, ed. Laurence Cole and Daniel L. Unowsky (New York - Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2009), 1-10.

<sup>217</sup> Brunnbauer, "Einleitung: Zur Forschung von Ethnizität in Südosteuropa," 16.

<sup>218</sup> Zahra, "Imagined Noncommunities: National Indifference as a Category of Analysis," 97, 119.

<sup>219</sup> Brubaker and Cooper, "Beyond "Identity"," 11-12. See BOA/Istanbul, TFR.I.ŞKT, 66/6562, leff 1, 24.04.1905, Berane, Five Headmen from the Berane Area to Müfettiş Paşa in Selanik. (...) vjerni carski podanici (...)

<sup>220</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MUD-UO, 1914/F146, #1930/1, br. 1546-v.519, 02.05.1914, Pljevlja, Ramadanović to the MoI. Što se tiče isključivo muslimanskog elementa u varoši, on je poslušan i prilagođava se novome stanju; ÖStA/AdR/Vienna, AA NPA/Kt. 638, #10/Pol, 13.01.1920, Belgrade, Chargé d'affaires to the MoFA (...) die moslemische Bevölkerung scheint sich mit der serbischen Herrschaft abgefunden zu haben (...) and *ibid*, #88/Pol, 09.11.1926, Belgrade, Hoffinger to the Bundeskanzler. Der Großteil der Bevölkerung hat sich mit der serbischen Herrschaft als mit einer gegebenen Tatsache abgefunden und versucht weder die mazedo-bulgarische sprachliche und kulturelle Sonderstellung zu retten, noch etwa gar irredentistischen Ziele zu verfolgen.

A German war correspondent, who was in Yeni Pazar in late 1915 when the town was being occupied by German troops, aptly präzises this as follows:

Everywhere people are rushing to paint the red crescent with the star on their doors, on their shops – to protect themselves from any power – of course, also those who have never been Muslims before and who just eight days ago cheered the Serbian soldiers..<sup>221</sup>

Given the focus on the state loyalty and its impact on the other forms, performances and attitudes of the locals are studied mainly through the lens of state sources because ego documents are lacking. Seeing loyalty as a performance and attitude “makes it possible to treat [it] as existing even when no overt emotional or motor responses are exhibited by the individual.”<sup>222</sup> Using the records creates an imbalance of which a historian has to be mindful so as to avoid an uncritical adoption of the state agents’ narration..<sup>223</sup> Yet, in newspapers or in other persons’ ego-documents, the performance is traceable since the goal is to avoid the shortcoming of one unified narrative. These are cross-checked and, in most cases, supplement each other’s narrative. Thus, their lifeworld and loyalty could be reconstructed because the authorities carefully observed the performance, tending thereby to decipher the locals’ hidden transcripts. Various government powers may even demand loyalty so as to establish a level of dependability and replace a plurality of loyalties with the single one. This emerges in the times of crises, when the performance of expectations takes center stage and when there should be no context-sensitive loyalties, which are easily sculpted and changed. These have to be unambiguous and to provide a firm basis upon which the ruling elites build their numerous projects..<sup>224</sup>

By stressing the monopolization of all loyalties, the authorities imply that their subjects are expected to suffer during war and remain loyal to their cause. This is palpable in both Habsburg and Serbian settings, when authorities tried to triumph over self-interested economic calculation as well..<sup>225</sup> Thus, Osterkamp and Wessel’s argument that only the nation-state, in contrast to the imperial contexts, ranks loyalties needs to be reconsidered..<sup>226</sup>

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<sup>221</sup> Köster, *Mit den Bulgaren: Kriegsberichte aus Serbien und Mazedonien*, 53.

<sup>222</sup> Guetzkow, *Multiple Loyalties: Theoretical Approach to a Problem in International Organization*, 8 (citation), 30. and Haslinger, "Loyalität in Grenzregionen: Methodische Überlegungen am Beispiel der Südslowakei nach dem Ersten Weltkrieg," 48.

<sup>223</sup> Anastasopoulos, "Introduction: Political Initiatives "from the Bottom up"," 5.

<sup>224</sup> Osterkamp and Wessel, "Exploring Loyalty," 7. and Brunnbauer, "Einleitung: Zur Forschung von Ethnizität in Südosteuropa," 18.

<sup>225</sup> Alejandro Colás and Bryan Mabee, "Introduction: Private Violence in Historical Context," in *Mercenaries, Pirates, Bandits and Empires: Private Violence in Historical Context*, ed. Alejandro Colás and Bryan Mabee (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010), 1-13; Patricia Owens, "Distinctions, Distinctions: 'Public' and 'Private' Force?," in *Mercenaries, Pirates, Bandits and Empires: Private Violence in Historical Context*, ed. Alejandro Colás and Bryan Mabee (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010), 15-32. and Fletcher, *Loyalty: An Essay on the Morality of Relationships*, 5, 62-63, 79, 101.

<sup>226</sup> Osterkamp and Wessel, "Exploring Loyalty," 15. See also Pieter M. Judson, *The Habsburg Empire: A New History* (Cambridge, MA / London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2016), chapter 8.

#### 1.3.4. Historicizing the Notion of Security and Uncertainty

(...) due to a violent attack by the Montenegrins, our lack of force and the dominant surrounding hills that are in the possession of the enemy, if within twenty-four hours the required troops do not come, our homeland and the Muslim population will fall and be ruined under the dirty feet of the enemy and his fire. For God's sake [*Allah aşkına*], we screamingly ask in the name of the Muslim and Christian populations that the required forces to be sent right away.<sup>227</sup>

Having been socially and culturally determined, the perception of security refers to the integrity of the body, life and property, as the cited paragraph illustrates. Since it is seen differently by various layers, the notion represents a variable bulk in the historical process. As such, security discourses play a crucial role in negotiating, structuring and shaping political and social conditions in terms of power politics.<sup>228</sup> The dissertation focuses on *i*) a statist model, in which the state and its institutions provide various forms of security; *ii*) a communal model, in which kinship, neighborhood or tribal fabrics thwart the feeling of uncertainty; *iii*) a spatial model, in which state-contested areas can offer security whereby the relationship between one's own position and elements of the spatial environment construct such a space; and *iv*) an individual model, in which an influential actor with its social network guarantees security.<sup>229</sup>

The study stresses the dimensions of naming the threat, known as securitization, in settings remote from the state too, and its possible function in politicization processes, including the formation of political or communal belongings. The naming of safety problems is regarded as possible threats that could arise in the future. This setting is interpreted here as uncertainty that pushes the locals to take prevention measures and organize their relationship to the future. This is characterized by an activist negativism since prevention does not want to achieve anything; it wants to prevent the future that justifies their actions, having been seen darker than the present itself.<sup>230</sup>

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<sup>227</sup> BOA/Istanbul, BEO, 4095/307054, 25 L 1330 [07/10/1912], The Berane mufti, town mayor and some of the local notables to the Kosova Valisi, one day before the town fell into the hands of the Montenegrin army and the local Vasojevići insurgents.

<sup>228</sup> Eckart Conze, *Geschichte der Sicherheit: Entwicklung - Themen - Perspektiven* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2018), 13-15, 18. and Eckart Conze, "Sicherheit als Kultur: Überlegungen zu einer "Modernen Politikgeschichte" der Bundesrepublik Deutschland," *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte* 53 (2005): 357-80, here pp. 62-63.

<sup>229</sup> Beck and Grande, "Jenseits der methodologischen Nationalismus: Außereuropäische und europäische Variationen der Zweiten Moderne," 200-01. Conze, *Geschichte der Sicherheit: Entwicklung - Themen - Perspektiven*, 128-32. Peter Haslinger and Dirk van Laak, "Sicherheitsräume: Bausteine zu einem interdisziplinären Modell," *Saeculum* 68, no. 1 (2018): 9-35. Alan Ingram and Klaus Dodds, "Spaces of Security and Insecurity: Geographies of the War on Terror," in *Spaces of Security and Insecurity: Geographies of the War on Terror*, ed. Alan Ingram and Klaus Dodds (Farnham / Burlington: Ashgate, 2009), 1-18, here pp. 3. and Valentin Rauer, "Interobjektivität: Sicherheitskultur aus Sicht der Akteur-Netzwerk-Theorie," in *Sicherheitskultur: Soziale und politische Praktiken der Gefahrenabwehr*, ed. Christopher Daase, Philipp Offermann, and Valentin Rauer (Frankfurt / New York: Campus Verlag, 2012), 69-91.

<sup>230</sup> Ole Wæver, "Securitization and Desecuritization," in *On security*, ed. Ronnie D. Lipschutz (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995), 46-85. Conze, *Geschichte der Sicherheit: Entwicklung - Themen - Perspektiven*, 55, 89, 111. Eckart Conze, "Securitization. Gegenwartsdiagnose oder historischer Analyseansatz?," *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 38, no. 3 (2012): 453-67, here pp. 56. Ulrich Bröckling, "Dispositive der Vorbeugung: Gefahrenabwehr, Resilienz, Precaution," in *Sicherheitskultur: Soziale und politische Praktiken der Gefahrenabwehr*, ed. Christopher Daase, Philipp Offermann, and Valentin Rauer (Frankfurt / New York: Campus Verlag, 2012), 93-108. and Reinhart Koselleck, "'Erfahrungsraum' und 'Erwartungshorizont': Zwei historische Kategorien," in *Vergangene Zukunft: Zur Semantik geschichtlicher Zeiten*, ed. Reinhart Koselleck (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1988), 349-73.

This does not imply that the state is not present in the contested areas. Rather, these are landscapes where, given largely to geographical obstacles and the lack of road networks, the governing elites face difficulties to adjust, encroach, or, hinging on the context, simply do not want to offer protection. Thus, the monopoly of violence is subject to the ebb-and-flow effect in these not-fully isolated spaces whereby they function as the zones of refuge, whose inhabitants have chosen to exit out of the reach of the ruling elites. Their boundaries represented the line between civilization and barbarism because ethnicity begins where sovereignty, conscription and taxes ended.<sup>231</sup> By asking whose security this is, the study exemplifies perceived threats, the emergence and the change of mechanisms of security production, showing also the capacity of the locals for the armed self-mobilization.<sup>232</sup> Here, the dissertation turns to the statist model, claiming that when these two notions overlap, they unleash a powerful mobilization effect because security and uncertainty are interactive concepts. They mark two poles on the safety scale.<sup>233</sup>

The notion of war, having been a powerful instrument that mobilizes fear and anxiety, and unifies opposing fractions, paves the ground for the adoption of exceptional governmental measures whereby security becomes a code in governing the local communities. By resting upon the perceptions and imaginations of future threats, security is future-oriented but its effects in terms of mobilizing and wielding governmental practices are palpable in the present, be it during drill in the barracks or in the schooling system.<sup>234</sup> State rule is justified by the protection that the governmental institutions provide to its subjects because order creates security and security made order possible.<sup>235</sup> This enhances, what Michael Mann calls, the infrastructure power of the state, which implies the capacity to penetrate its territories and logistically implement decisions. The growth of state infrastructures means that people and their networks are step-by-step mobilized and merged into one society.<sup>236</sup>

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<sup>231</sup> Scott, *The Art of Not Being Governed: An Anarchist History of Upland Southeast Asia*, 10-11, 13, 22-24, 31-32, 122-23, 27, 83. Scott, *Decoding Subaltern Politics: Ideology, Disguise, and Resistance in Agrarian Politics*, 38. Ippen, *Novibazar und Kosovo (Das alte Rascien): Eine Studie*, 52-55, 78, 82-84, 87-88. ÖStA/HHStA/Vienna, *Diplomatie und Außenpolitik 1848-1918 KsA Plevlje 3*, #18, März 1907, Plevlje, Wolfgang Heller, *Die Unruhen im Herbst 1905, Nächst Plevlje und im Frühsommer 1906 in Donji Kolašin (Mit 6 Skizzen)*, 13-16, 18, 21, 28-29 and Dimić and Borozan, *Jugoslovenska država i Albanci*, II, #714, 19.06.1920, Skoplje, KIII AO to the MoW, 740-743.

<sup>232</sup> Cornel Zwierlein, "Sicherheitsgeschichte. Ein neues Feld der Geschichtswissenschaften," *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 38, no. 3 (2012): 365-86.

<sup>233</sup> Conze, "Sicherheit als Kultur: Überlegungen zu einer "Modernen Politikgeschichte" der Bundesrepublik Deutschland," 379.

<sup>234</sup> Beatrice de Graaf and Cornel Zwierlein, "Historicizing Security: Entering the Conspiracy Dispositive," *Historical Social Research / Historische Sozialforschung* 38, no. 1 (2013): 46-64, here pp. 52. and DACG/Cetinje, PPKŽ, F8, #163; 04.07.1911, Žabljak, Vule Knežević to the MoFA. Jedino ratovanje učinilo bi kraj svima razmiricama (...)

<sup>235</sup> Conze, *Geschichte der Sicherheit: Entwicklung - Themen - Perspektiven*, 23, 27, 34-36. and John Horne, "Defining the Enemy: War, Law, and the Levée en masse from 1870 to 1945," in *The People in Arms: Military Myth and National Mobilization since the French Revolution*, ed. Daniel Moran and Arthur Waldron (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 100-23.

<sup>236</sup> Michael Mann, *Devletler, Savaş ve Kapitalizm: Politik Sosyoloji İncelemeleri* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2011), 8-9, 12-14. and Mann, *The Sources of Social Power, 2: The Rise of Classes and Nation States*, xi, 59-61, 361, 80, 95, 487-88, 505, 732.

Apart from trying to normalize its notion of security and securitize borderlands, the ruling elites understood that by offering what Michel Foucault names a tacit security contract from uncertainties of all kinds, they obtained a perfect tool not only to uphold the state loyalty but also to colonize the lifeworld of the locals. In this manner, countering the threat was interweaved with the nationalization of the state, the imperative of social and/or national cohesion, and the continuous production of inner and outer enemy formations. The contract fosters the creation of situations of dependency inasmuch as by giving the populations security, the state powers increase their disciplinal reliance.<sup>237</sup> The study shows how the authorities tended to achieve this, claiming that in certain cases the inhabitants themselves invited the state to intervene given its self-assigned duty. However, failing to provide protection openly called into question not only the locals' obligations imposed by the governing elites but the very legitimacy of the state itself.<sup>238</sup>

The military mobilization efforts have to be conducted in an environment that is safe enough to verify the state capacities of taking care of the populations. This becomes a dominant though particularly in times of crises or war when the able-bodied are mobilized and their kin exposed to various uncertainties. The governing elites have to pay heed to the soldiers' families and provide them with social welfare benefits, if they wanted the soldiers to be motivated and focused on war. This does not imply that the termination of the tacit security contract emerges; rather, the state and soldiers might be keen to renegotiate their mutual obligations, avoiding unnecessary coercive methods and costs.<sup>239</sup> All these policies reduced potential unrests and enhanced the state loyalty, which in turn maintained political stability and secured rule. Their well-being turns to be the state's utility and its very strength.<sup>240</sup>

This is interlinked with gaining the locals' consensus for the legitimate use of physical and symbolic violence that should be echoed in people's minds as a natural way of procuring the

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<sup>237</sup> Foucault, *Power*, 3, 366. Michel Foucault, "Die Sicherheit und der Staat," in *Michel Foucault. Schriften in vier Bänden: Dits et Ecrits, Band III 1976-1979*, ed. Daniel Defert and François Ewald (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 2003), 495-502, here pp. 498-99. Foucault, *Security, Territory, Population. Lectures at the Collège de France 1977-1978*, 11-12, 19-21, 23, 57. Conze, "Securitization. Gegenwartsdiagnose oder historischer Analyseansatz?," 461-62. Conze, *Geschichte der Sicherheit: Entwicklung - Themen - Perspektiven*, 36-40. Mark Neocleous, *Critique of Security* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2008), chapter 4. On securitized borderlands see Martin Deleixhe, Magdalena Dembrinska, and Julien Danero Iglesias, "Securitized Borderlands," *Journal of Borderlands Studies* 34, no. 5 (2019): 639-47.

<sup>238</sup> Peter Graf Kielmansegg, "Legitimität als analytische Kategorie," in *Demokratische Politik: Analyse und Theorie. Politikwissenschaft in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland*, ed. Wolfgang Seibel et al. (Wiesbaden: Springer VS, 1997), 62-96. and Christopher Daase, "Sicherheitskultur als interdisziplinäres Forschungsprogramm," in *Sicherheitskultur: Soziale und politische Praktiken der Gefahrenabwehr*, ed. Christopher Daase, Philipp Offermann, and Valentin Rauer (Frankfurt / New York: Campus Verlag, 2012), 23-44, here pp. 27-28.

<sup>239</sup> Hamit Bozarslan, "Afterword," in *World War I and the End of the Ottomans: From the Balkan Wars to the Armenian Genocide*, ed. Kerem Öktem and Maurus Reinkowski Hans-Lukas Kieser (London - New York: I. B. Tauris, 2015), 262-81, here pp. 62-63.

<sup>240</sup> Foucault, *Security, Territory, Population. Lectures at the Collège de France 1977-1978*, 328-29. and Conze, *Geschichte der Sicherheit: Entwicklung - Themen - Perspektiven*, 40.

common good.<sup>241</sup> The governmental powers sought to produce risk-conscious subjects in the sense of becoming aware of recognizing and assessing the state-imposed risk perceptions as their own.<sup>242</sup> The officers, for instance, fostered this policy in the barracks while the locals served under the banner. Of course, this was not one-dimensional because the centralizing policies jeopardize the autonomy of the locals who grasped the hidden transcripts of the governing elites, which in turn yielded only partial results.<sup>243</sup>

In times of war, not all subjects followed the strategic culture (military-backed security policy) of a given polity. Security culture therefore encompasses a much broader field of actions of states, communities, and individuals, and their meanings of security. Different groupings, having adhered to their own interests, show numerous responses to the mobilization efforts, which are context driven. This led to competing ideas of security locally.<sup>244</sup> The study also illustrates who is excluded from the tacit security contract, showing thereby who benefited from the mobilizations and who was drafted into (para-)military troops.<sup>245</sup> This is crucial inasmuch as every state claimed that all natives are equal before the law; yet by looking at the mobilization efforts the dissertation deconstructs this claim by exemplifying the shades of the state loyalty.

By analyzing a speech-act, one can trace, methodologically speaking, the notion of security and uncertainty in the records, including an (un)successful securitization and the reaction of the populations, which are supposed to follow the securitizing move. The speech-act or the utterance of a security issue represents the act by which the locals or state powers turned to necessary measures that were supposed to block the perceived threat.<sup>246</sup>

This performative utterance indicates that the issuing of the utterance is the performing of an action since it usually leads to the incident in the performance of the act.<sup>247</sup> Also here, the communicational dimension is important because by studying it, one can name the securitizing

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<sup>241</sup> Bourdieu and Wasquant, *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology*, 112 and footnote #65. and Alf Lüdtke, "Einleitung. "Sicherheit" und "Wohlfahrt": Aspekte der Polizeigeschichte," in *"Sicherheit" und "Wohlfahrt": Polizei, Gesellschaft und Herrschaft im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, ed. Alf Lüdtke (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1992), 7-33, here pp. 10, 12, 31.

<sup>242</sup> Lars Gerhold, "Risikobewusstsein: Sicherheit als Konstrukt gesellschaftlicher Wahrnehmung," in *Sicherheitskultur: Soziale und politische Praktiken der Gefahrenabwehr*, ed. Christopher Daase, Philipp Offermann, and Valentin Rauer (Frankfurt / New York: Campus Verlag, 2012), 341-56.

<sup>243</sup> Molly Greene, "The Ottoman Experience," *Daedalus* 134, no. 2 (2005): 88-99, here pp. 96-97. and Gudrun Krämer, *A History of Palestine: From the Ottoman Conquest to the Founding of the State of Israel* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2008), 72-81, 176.

<sup>244</sup> Daase, "Sicherheitskultur als interdisziplinäres Forschungsprogramm," 33. Conze, "Securitization. Gegenwartsdiagnose oder historischer Analyseansatz?," 461. and Conze, *Geschichte der Sicherheit: Entwicklung - Themen - Perspektiven*, 70.

<sup>245</sup> Axel Groenemeyer, "Wege der Sicherheitsgesellschaft: Transformationen der Konstruktion und Regulierung innerer Unsicherheiten," in *Wege der Sicherheitsgesellschaft: Gesellschaftliche Transformationen der Konstruktion und Regulierung innerer Unsicherheiten*, ed. Axel Groenemeyer (Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 2010), 7-19, here pp. 10-11, 13. and Conze, *Geschichte der Sicherheit: Entwicklung - Themen - Perspektiven*, 91.

<sup>246</sup> Wæver, "Securitization and Desecuritization," 55-57. de Graaf and Zwierlein, "Historicizing Security: Entering the Conspiracy Dispositive," 49. and Eckart Conze, "Historicizing a Security Culture: Peace, Security and the Vienna System in History and Politics, 1815 to Present," in *Securing Europe after Napoleon: 1815 and the New European Security Culture*, ed. Beatrice de Graaf, Ido de Haan, and Brian Vick (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 40-55, here pp. 50-51.

<sup>247</sup> John L. Austin, *How to Do Things with Words: The William James Lectures delivered at Harvard University in 1955* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1962), 4, 6-8, 21, 25.

actors (who speak and wield enough influence to persuade and perform its securitizing moves), the way the referent subject is defined or perceived (which has to be defended and prevented), and what modes of security actions and risk assessment are invoked, legitimized and deployed.<sup>248</sup> The aim is thus to show what happens on the ground if the state fails to fulfill its duty, whether the securitizing issues hamper the military mobilization efforts, and to what extent the notion of uncertainty plays a role in deciding whether one would join the (para-)militaries or not.

#### 1.4. Sources

The accessibility of records shapes the narrative of the present study, including the operational tools. The diversity of languages (Ottoman, BHS, German, Turkish) from both primary and secondary sources represented a challenge since examining them was a time-consuming process. Another serious problem was to situate the “liberation” reading of the ethno-national studies in the present work, as well as the stress on historical ruptures of regime changes. Not to reemphasize the fragments of sources that are scattered in reports, hearings, letters, articles, travel accounts, petitions, memoirs, diaries. Evaluations of good conduct or events, mood reports, and tribal procedures and sentences, all produced by governmental institutions and their officials, are mingled in order to obtain an all-encompassing narrative in reference to the local communities and periodization. Absorbing the sources in these languages constitutes a central methodological and epistemological element of the dissertation.

The main collection of sources stems from the Prime Minister Ottoman Archive (BOA) in Istanbul, Military Archive of Serbia (VA) in Belgrade, State Archives of Serbia (DAS) in Belgrade, Archive of Yugoslavia (AJ) in Belgrade, State Archives of Montenegro (DACG) in Cetinje, Archive-Library Department of the National Museum of Montenegro (NMCG-ABO) in Cetinje, Library of the Historical Institute of the University of Montenegro (BIIUCG) in Podgorica, and the States Archives of Austria in Vienna that consisted of the State Archives (HHStA) and Military Archive (KA). In addition to brushing against the archive’s received categories, research went along the archival grain, consisting of reading for the archive’s regularities, its logic of recall, its densities and distributions, its consistencies of misinformation, omission, and mistakes.<sup>249</sup>

Ottoman sources, coming from the depository of the Ministry of the Interior (DH), Foreign Affairs (HR), Council of Ministers (MV), the Inspector-General of the Balkan provinces (TFR),

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<sup>248</sup> de Graaf and Zwierlein, "Historicizing Security: Entering the Conspiracy Dispositive," 59-60.

<sup>249</sup> Ann Laura Stoler, "Colonial Archives and the Arts of Governance," *Archival Science: International Journal on Recorded Information* 2 (2002): 87-109, here pp. 00, 03, 09.



the Sublime Porte (BEO), and of the Yıldız Palace (Y), refer to the relations between the authorities and various locals in the borderlands concerning annuals draft, social welfare policies, evasion of military service or desertion, border relations, (military) tax or land issues. One should add here filed petitions too. The aim to analyze Ottoman recruitment rolls (*kur'a defterleri*), which include data about the structure of households and who was recruited, was unfeasible because hitherto only those for the period prior to the 1870s are available for researchers. In the Montenegrin and Serbian cases, the recruitment rolls do not exist. Obtaining the records of the Ottoman Ministry of Foreign Affairs was crucial for understanding the governmental policies towards its allies and the mobilization actions in the broader region during WWI.

Ottoman consuls and proxies in Sarajevo and Belgrade during the Habsburg occupation updated Istanbul about the figuration between the local actors as well. This is why research has also been conducted in the Archive of Military History and Strategic Studies, and Supervisory Directorate of the General Staff (ATASE) in Ankara (briefly the Military Archive of Turkey). There, the declassified catalogs of the Balkan War (BLH), WWI (BDH), and of the War of Independence (İSH) were scrutinized. Gaining access into the Archive of the Turkish Red Crescent (TKA) in Ankara was not possible. Since the institution conducted a project on Ottoman prisoners of war by relying on the same cards and letters of the captured Ottoman soldiers in Egypt that the author, too, tended to look at, the entry was not allowed.<sup>250</sup> Visits in the Archive of the Institute of Turkish Revolution History of the Ankara University (TİTE) and the Prime Minister Republican Archive (CBA) in Istanbul/Ankara delivered limited results.

The sources from the Montenegrin and Serbian archives and libraries relate both to the Ottoman period and to the administration of the borderlands between 1912-1915/16 and after 1918. Having built and financed the network of schools, consuls, churches/monasteries, and informants, officials of the polities before the Balkan Wars amassed interesting and yet biased data on the local and outer figurations between various actors in reference to the military, tax, and land policies. Coupled with the Ottoman ones they shed a new light, for instance, on desertion before the Balkan Wars. Customs officials (PPKŽ, PPKA or Carinarica Javor), military (border) officers, consuls, teachers, lower Ottoman administrators, clergy, and locals sent reports and petitions the Ministries of the Interior (MUD, MUD-UO), Foreign Affairs (MID-PPO, MID-PO, MID), War or to military commands. Several published archival collections that cover the Ottoman, Serbian and SCS periods also fall under the latter

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<sup>250</sup> Can, Recep. "Re: Türk Kızılayı Arşivi." Email to Jovo Miladinović. 10 Jul 2018. E-mail.

category.<sup>251</sup> For the period after 1912 and 1918, diving into the fonds of the Ministry of the Interior (MUD-UO, MUDuI OP and OJB), The Ministry of Education and Confessional Affairs (MPCp), Montenegrin/Serbian Supreme Commands (MV-VK, P2/3), and locally established civil/military districts was pivotal (OuPlj, OuBP, OuP, P4/6/7, 4/2, 4/3 etc.).

In addition to protocols of the Serbian General Staff and hearings of the deserters and draft-dodgers, mood reports cover local governance, repression, (inner-communal) violence, charities, conscription, public works, and population statistics. They yield information on profiles, performance, attitudes, and negotiating capabilities of local individuals, and their moral and political features in the eyes of the governing elites. In the Military Archive of Serbia (P3) and the State Archives of Serbia (MID-PPO), one is able to find the censored letters of the Serbian rank and file whose number is very limited (around 50 letters), which, coupled those that were published in Skopje, Macedonia, offer a limited view in the life of the soldiers and their families under war conditions.<sup>252</sup> Similar things can be said for the Archives of Yugoslavia in Belgrade that also keeps records of the diplomatic representatives in Istanbul (370) after the official end of WWI, which, together with the ones from the Turkish Military Archive, reveal the relations between the SCS authorities – located in the State Archives of Serbia too – (MUDuI, 14), the Istanbul-based Ottoman government (İSH), and the locals drafted during the Habsburg occupation of the borderlands.

In a similar manner, the Austrian archives are pivotal because not only did the Habsburg Monarchy have a consul in Mitroviça (PA 37) and a civil representative in Taşlıca (KsA Plevlje) but its garrisons in Taşlıca, Prepol, Yeni Varoş and Preboy (1879-1908) collected information that are important for the study. Also, an archival edition that was published last year includes Habsburg consular reports from the Ottoman and Serbian times. It provides narratives on the relations in the borderlands since the consular network went as far as to certain villages, what in turn enables one to reconstruct the communal and outer societal grids, including the relation between various communal and state structures.<sup>253</sup> In the State Archives and the Military Archive in Vienna one can use vast records from the occupation period (1915/16-1918). Since

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<sup>251</sup> The edition titled *Documents on Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom of Serbia, 1903-1914* that was being published between 1980 and 2015 in 42 volumes. It has been digitalized: <http://diplprepiska.mi.sanu.ac.rs/Wiki.jsp?setLang=en&page=Serbia-Forum> accessed 28/01/2021. See also other published editions Milić F. Petrović, "Dokumenti o Raškoj oblasti, 1900-1912," (Arhiv Srbije: Beograd, 1995). Živko Avramovski, *Britanci i Kraljevini Jugoslaviji: Godišnji izveštaji Britanskog poslanstva u Beogradu 1921-1938*, vol. I (1921-1930) (Beograd - Zagreb: Arhiv Jugoslavije - Globus, 1986). and *Jugoslovenska država i Albanci*, ed. Ljubodrag Dimić and Đorđe Borozan, vol. 1-2 (Beograd: JP Službeni list SRJ/Arhiv Jugoslavije/Vojno-istorijski institut, 1998/99).

<sup>252</sup> Jasmina Najdovska, *Otpretani svedoštva: Vojnički pisma od golemata vojna 1914-1918* (Skopje: Fondacija Institut otvoreno opštesstvo - Makedonija, 2008).

<sup>253</sup> *Politik und Gesellschaft im Vilayet Kosovo und im serbisch beherrscheden Kosovo, 1870-1914: Berichte der österreichisch-ungarischen Konsuln aus dem zentralen Balkan*, ed. Oliver Jens Schmitt and Eva Anne Frantz, vol. I-V (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2020).

they are scattered between the two and classified according to the occupation administrations, namely, Montenegro (MGG/M) or Serbia (MGG/S), following the state/national labels represents a pitfall not least because important data had equally been found in the fonds titled Albania (19<sup>th</sup> Corps).

Thus, officers had been exchanging data on processes, networks and events that surpassed the state-imposed borders. The Habsburg ruling elites also appointed civil proxies of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Cetinje (PA I 996/7/8/9), Scutari (PA I 1007), Mitroviça and Belgrade (PA I 973/5/7) whose reports, combined with the military ones and those from Istanbul allow one to heed the mobilization field and the locals from different angles. The latter unearths hidden transcripts, mutual empowerment and clashes over the draft. This becomes clear when the fond of the Military General Governorate Serbia (VGG) kept in the State Archives of Serbia in Belgrade is added too, in which mood reports and petitions filed by the locals are to be found. Not to mention the digitalized photo collections located in the States and Military Archives in Vienna that cover the Balkan Wars and WWI. These photos were mainly taken by the Habsburg photographers.

Supporting archives and libraries should not be omitted. Although the Historical Archive Ras (IAR) in Novi Pazar (Serbia) does not possess archival collections needed for the study, expect several documents from the Habsburg period, its photo (ZF 1912-1945) and chronicle collections (F284) are worth mentioning. Whereas the former includes photo albums on the Habsburg and Ottoman drafts (1916-1917), authors of the latter are natives whose narratives go as late as to 1945, covering the local events, inner-communal relationships, and relation with the state authorities. The Archive of the Leibniz-Zentrum Moderner Orient (Nachlass Gerhard Höpp) contains several records concerning the Habsburg policy toward the bilingual Muslim populations in occupied Serbia. Personal male correspondence of the Borisavljević family (AMB) from Užice, Prepol and Yeni Varoş that is kept in the Historical Archive of Užice (IAU), Serbia, offered a glimpse into the power relations under Ottoman and Serbian rules, including the positionalities of the family members.

The unpublished memoirs of Stevan Simić (13315/6), who was, among other things, a Serbian teacher in the borderlands before and after Ottoman rule, depicts the tactics of the locals how to avoid military service under Serbian rule. These were located in the Archive of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts in Belgrade (ASANU). Using archival and published German consular and military reports sent from Cetinje (RZ 201) and Belgrade (RZ 201, RZ 206) during the Balkan Wars and after 1918, kept in the Political Archive of the Federal Foreign Office (PA AA) in Berlin, helped gaining another perspective on the local mood and bargaining

capabilities during and after the Balkan Wars.<sup>254</sup> The same offered the Austrian diplomatic records (NPA and Gesandtschaft Belgrad) on the SCS context after the official end of WWI, located in the Archive of Republic (AdR) in Vienna. Particularly fruitful was a research stay in the Archive of Bosnia-Herzegovina (ABH) and the Gazi Husrev-Beg Library (GHB), both in Sarajevo, where petitions and hearing protocols of pre-1912 Ottoman deserters and draft-dodgers, as well as those of the WWI volunteers from the region could be found.

Since it is difficult to reconstruct what is happening on the ground, as one state is dissolving and another rule is being established, the study turned to those war correspondents who accompanied military units and were present on the ground, such as Alexander Roda Roda from the Habsburg Monarchy or Adolf Köster from Germany. Their biased narratives, when critically addressed, nevertheless offer interesting descriptions of the figurations between various actors. But those from non-belligerent parties, such as Switzerland, were included into the narrative as well. The case in point is Karl Egli, a Swiss officer, who, while following the Habsburg military in its campaign against the Montenegrin and Serbian armies in late 1915/16, visited the region whose detailed report (E27#1000/721#12663) is located in the Swiss Federal Archive (BAR) in Bern. Although such sources do not bring much new understandings of the broad historical contours, they still lead to some refinement that enhances the local perspective, as shown in reference to the Dutch political records sent from Istanbul during WWI.<sup>255</sup>

Here, another two sources have to be mentioned too, whose copies the author personally got a hold of while conducting research in Novi Pazar and Cetinje. One refers to the history of the town of Yeni Pazar written by Bećir Hodžić-Šećerović and given by Hivzo Gološ, thus Archive HG (AHG), while the other focuses on the genealogy of brotherhoods in Kolašin-i Zir handed over by Miloš K. Vojinović, thus Archive MV (AMV). Both contain precious information about the inner fabric of the locals and relations between the natives in various periods, which are juxtaposed to other sources.

The study also turned to official gazettes, minutes of the national parliaments, and collection of laws and regulations necessary to address social welfare and military policies toward the populations. Besides one published number of a local Ottoman newspaper titled *Lim*, other newspapers had not been established in the region until the 1930s. Those valuable for understanding the figuration between the rank and file and their superiors, in addition to the

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<sup>254</sup> *Crna Gora i Njemački rajh: Dokumenti iz Političkog arhiva Službe inostranih poslova u Berlinu 1906-1914*, vol. II (1910-1914) (Podgorica: Univerzitet Crne Gore Istorijski institut Crne Gore, Leibniz-Institut für Ost- und Südosteuropaforschung (Regensburg), 2019).

<sup>255</sup> Erik Jan Zürcher, "Güvenilir Kaynaklar: Birinci Dünya Savaşı'nda İstanbul Hollanda Büyükelçiliği'nin Siyasi İstihbaratı," in *Savaş, Devrim ve Uluslaşma: Türkiye Tarihinde Geçiş Dönemi (1908-1928)* (İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi, 2005), 27-44.

ego-documents and petitions, were military manuals or booklets, articles and literature published by state or independent printing houses. Some were printed in the official journals of the Ottoman and Serbian Ministries of War, *Mecmua-i Fünûn-i Askeriye* (Journal of Military Sciences) and *Ratnik* (Warrior) respectively. To a certain degree, this type of sources could even be considered as a genre of the ego-documents inasmuch as junior officers and brokers conveyed their messages based on their experience. Either information on the life in the army are given in short stories or were formulated in question-and-answer format.<sup>256</sup> The latter, roughly speaking, reveal difficulties and strategies on how NCOs and junior officers should approach recruits in order to mold them. They are cross-checked with other types of records in order to gauge a possible performance and reckoning of the soldiers. Thus, the rich collections of these archives supplemented by various records offer a polyphonic voice multiplicity needed for writing the present dissertation.

Absorbing a view from the inside requires one to reflect on the ways of translating and citing namely because translation involves a method of shifting into a different system of meanings and substitutions to achieve mid-level abstraction. In doing so, acknowledging the agency of the translator and the issues of generating gaps and inserting phrases while translating is important.<sup>257</sup> Even though one might argue that in this regard a translated text is diminished or inferior, one should rather consider whether this might also be a process of gaining significance.<sup>258</sup> Discovering systemic relations that still enables the establishment of textual equivalences is primarily a descriptive task, which is solved with the help of contrastive analysis of language pairs, studying the relationship between formal correspondents and translation equivalents. The aim is to reach an adequate translation of sources or of another translations, which preserves meanings and information contained in the original language.<sup>259</sup>

Since one is also translating cultural norms and values – to be understood as a language, a cognitive system, a literature, legal or social system – the translator should reflect an audience that reads translations. Thus, the differences between source text and translation, which result from the shift from the obligatory treats of one language to another, are inevitable (e.g. the usage of round and square brackets) insofar as certain features of the source are unfamiliar to

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<sup>256</sup> See Benjamin C. Fortna, *Imperial Classroom: Islam, the State, and Education in the Late Ottoman Empire* (Oxford - New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), chapter 6.

<sup>257</sup> Houben, "New Areas Studies, Translation and Mid-Range Concepts," 206-07.

<sup>258</sup> Susan Bassnett and Harish Trivedi, "Introduction: Of Colonies, Cannibals and Vernaculars," in *Post-colonial Translation: Theory and Practice*, ed. Susan Bassnett and Harish Trivedi (London / New York: Routledge, 1999), 1-18, here pp. 4.

<sup>259</sup> Ranko Bugarski, "Teorija prevodenja kao naučna disciplina," in *Teorija i poetika prevodenja*, ed. Ljubiša Rajić (Beograd: Biblioteka XX vek / Prosveta, 1981), 7-26, here pp. 17-19. and Ljubiša Rajić, "O prevodenju s prevoda," in *Teorija i poetika prevodenja*, ed. Ljubiša Rajić (Beograd: Biblioteka XX vek / Prosveta, 1981), 201-18, here pp. 02-04.

the receiving audience.<sup>260</sup> As Ebru Boyar fittingly points out, “attaching fixed meanings to words without regard to the specific context in which they are used and without acknowledging fluctuations of meaning not merely from author to author but from text to text of the same author is the high dynamic environment of the Ottoman nineteenth century is unlikely to lead to any accurate understanding of the concepts of the time.”<sup>261</sup> Take, for example, the noun *Turčin* (Turkish) employed often by Montenegrin and Serbian officials. Hinging on the context, it refers to a Slavic-speaking local of Muslim faith, an Ottoman bureaucrat, say, hailed from Istanbul, a confessional belonging and/or an inscribed ethnonational label. Its adjective (*tursko*) coupled with the noun *carstvo* (Empire) signifies the Turkish Empire. However, the study, situating the noun or adjective in a context and constellation, uses the Ottoman Empire, an Ottoman official, a Slavic-speaking Muslim/native, or the imagined Turkish as a latent and fictional enemy.

### 1.5. Structure of the Dissertation

The chapters progress chronologically and thematically, which are coached at the crossroad between the empirical material and the key methodological-theoretical concepts, and through which the mobilization field runs as a read thread. Each focuses on the relations, actors and groupings either in particular spaces (the state border, the town, the village, or the tribe) or beyond the borderlands (the barracks, the front, Istanbul, or Graz). They are neither fully independent from nor determined by each other but altogether tell a story whose sequel is found in pages ahead. Each chapter is divided either into two or three differently conceptualized subchapters whose goal is to provide a clearer and broader reply with the help of guiding sub-questions. For each of them particular methodological-theoretical approach is designed. In order to be concise, each chapter turns to the time when the local communities were under the rule of at least two states because keeping an eye on all five polities at once is hard to follow and thus the argument would not be clear. The sources also determined this inasmuch as they did not allow to follow or to offer a full answer to certain questions, thus remaining only partial.

Concentrating on the development of military duty in the global, regional, and local settings, *chapter one* details the imposition and the length of military obligation, and the two main state effects that are closely interlinked with the latter: the census record and annual draft. These were supposed to facilitate the encroachment of the state on the spot but for achieving that goal the ruling elites have to cooperate with other locally grounded actors. The story then shifts to

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<sup>260</sup> Maria Tymoczko, "Post-colonial Writing and Literary Translation," in *Post-colonial Translation: Theory and Practice*, ed. Susan Bassnett and Harish Trivedi (London / New York: Routledge, 1999).

<sup>261</sup> Ebru Boyar, *Ottomans, Turks and the Balkans: Empire Lost, Relations Altered* (London: Tauris Academic Studies, 2007), 50. See also Pernau, *Transnationale Geschichte*, 138-43.

the network of interdependent brokers or corporate actors without whose assistance the draft or mobilization would be piecemeal. Diving into their lifeworld is key to grasping why they are important whereby in lieu of obtaining their support, the state is forced to offer benefits and/or maintain their status. The borderlands thus became the place of mutual empowerment which in turn might hamper its enclosure. Here, one sees the difference among the ruling elites who depending on their aims and self-ascribed narrative might back various players. However, in order to enhance their presence, the mobilization efforts and the mutual bonding not only with them but also with other locals, the old/new power has to show that it is capable to uphold the tacit security contract by taking care of their notions of security too.

After gaining the upper hand, the state chases the mood of the able-bodied by launching so-called actual deeds or strategies of inducement which should boost the military mobilizations and legitimize its purpose in the eyes of the locals. *Chapter two* describes what these actions consisted of and whether they had an effect on the populations. By looking at these and paramilitary units with whose help the old/new powers also sought to solidify their presence and confine local autonomies, this chapter explores the shades of the state loyalties and illustrates who profited from the strategies of inducement. It shows that in certain cases the state knowingly wielded political violence, thereby blurring the line between regular and paramilitary troops. Yet by zooming in on the relations between local communities in one of the many Montenegrin-Ottoman borderlands before, during, and after war, the chapter deconstructs the claim that all violence that happened in wartime belongs to the political one. The locals are equally skilled at unleashing violence by becoming part of the military, which offered them the chance to misuse the state institutions in order to pursue their own aims. In this regard, they are the ones who now drew the tacit rules within the mobilization field.

Turning to the regular army and the annual draft in peace and wartime, *chapter three* discusses how the state tends to produce various rituals and invoke emotions around the mobilization efforts with the goal of drowning negative effects that might emerge among the able-bodied. The very act of serving far from their homes belongs to these strategies because, in the eyes of the officers, the soldiers' families represented the threat with their supporting networks. The chapter argues that this is also possible with the help of some brokers who were able to enter the barracks and act jointly with the officers. But here, too, the locals do not act as simply recipients of the narrative. The fabrication of obedience engenders the emergence of residence. By looking at avoidance and desertion in times of peace and war, the chapter describes the reasons why the locals and soldiers evaded or fled from the army. By turning to numerous actors (e.g. outlaws, paramilitaries, consuls, foreign merchants) and their kin, the

locals and deserters also sought in this context to recast the tacit rules of the game. In contrast, the rank and file who remained in line pushed the state to apply harsher actions towards these and local authorities who protected the deserters for to various reasons.

Focusing on the claim that women and children represented objects to protect, *chapter four* delves into the reasons behind this narrative. Since the family was interlinked with the body of the imagined community, seen in this figuration as the motherland, the ruling elites tended to keep the rank and file focused on war, arguing so long as the state is protected, their kinship is too. The strategy conceives the territoriality aims, symbolic violence, and power of the governing elites insofar as the state vis-à-vis the soldier's family becomes fatherland that protects its "weak" subjects. Arguing that the discourse yielded the piecemeal result, the chapter exemplifies how women, in certain areas, in the Montenegrin context during and after the Balkan Wars were an integral part of the army, who did not pay heed to what the ruling elites told them about their ascribed position. Given the inner and outer context, women surface as player in the mobilization field who adhered to their agency. Following the beginning of WWI, the authorities excluded the women from the army whereby social welfare policies were supposed to reify their passive role because some among them called the state to absorb its protecting duty. Still, thanks to their tactics and by communicating with their male kin, they could shake off and change the tacit rules of the field because the imagined fatherland failed to honor its part of deal.

Beginning with the Habsburg occupation, during which the locals are again recruited, *chapter five* examines the meddling of the Ottoman Empire in the mobilization field, which calculatedly reorganized the figuration between various actors and the Habsburg authorities locally. The context enhances the bargaining power of the brokers and locals, whereby the latter were deceived in the game but could nevertheless modify the figuration. The chapter illustrates how the ruling elites easily fell into their orientalist fantasies, believing that they draft the best possible human material for their own purposes, and how this backfired on them. It highlights that even though the locals were founded themselves in Graz, Mostar or Istanbul; thus, far from their homes, given to their skills, they were able to gain better conditions in the field or could return home despite the plan of the ruling elites to prevent them from doing so. Looking at three cases of the shifting of state loyalty, the chapter focuses on the lifeworld of one junior officer and two corporate actors, who, hinging on the notion of uncertainty and the momentary context changed their allegiance to the previous state, seeking to keep their former kinds of capital. By paying particular attention to the lifeworld of the brokers, the aim is to show how they



renegotiated terms to remain influential under practically every state that occupied the region. In doing so, differences in their approach become evident.

Underlining the main elements and dynamics in the mobilization field, the *conclusion* outlines an additional three general points that resulted from this approach: the evaluation of the categories of analysis and categories of practice; stressing local peculiarities in understanding physical violence during war; and the persistence of open-ended borderlands despite being subjected to the state-backed mobilization actions.

## 2 Obligatory Military Duty, The Network of Interdependent Brokers, and Initial Challenges

How is mandatory military service conceptualized in a regional setting? How long does it last in times of peace? Who is included or excluded from this service? What does the draft look like on the ground? And, finally, who is engaged in this process? These questions make up the first subchapter which analyzes the Ottoman and Serbian settings and pay particular attention to the theoretical and practical side of military regulations at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, thereby placing military service into a global context in order to stress its local specificities. Previously, scholars have worked on the development of military organizations and provided an introductory analysis of military duty within the state setting.<sup>1</sup> By relying on an anthropology of the state, the subchapter perceives military service as just one of a myriad of state effects which not only maintain a certain social and political order but also reifies the state. Due to its powerful and methodical practice within a limited territory, it reduces the space between the many actors involved and delineates the boundaries of the state in both rural and public areas. The state then becomes the place and people whereby the fictional and structural characteristics of a given polity should also be considered.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> For the Ottoman Empire, for instance, see Fatih Yeşil, *İhtilaller Çağında Osmanlı Ordusu: Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Sosyoekonomik ve Sosyopolitik Değişim Üzerine Bir İnceleme (1793-1826)* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2016). Gültekin Yıldız, *Neferin Adı Yok: Zorunlu Askerliğe Geçiş Sürecinde Osmanlı Devleti'nde Siyaset, Ordu ve Toplum, 1826-1839* (İstanbul: Çağaloğlu Kitabevi, 2009). Tobias Heinzelmann, *Cihaddan Vatan Savunmasına: Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Genel Askerlik Yükümlüğü 1826-1856* (İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2009). Odile Moreau, *Reformlar Çağında Osmanlı İmparatorluğu. Askerî "Yeni Düzen" in İnsanları ve Fikirleri 1826-1914* (İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2010). Gültekin Yıldız, "Kara Kuvvetleri," in *Osmanlı Askerî Tarihi: Kara, Deniz ve Hava Kuvvetleri 1792-1918*, ed. Gültekin Yıldız (İstanbul: Timaş, 2013), 35-77. Hartmann, *Die Reichweite des Staates: Wehrpflicht und moderne Staatlichkeit im Osmanischen Reich 1860-1910*. Rıdvan Ayaydın, "Osmanlı Devleti'nde Askerî Yükümlülükler ve Muafiyetler (1826-1914)" (Master İstanbul Üniversitesi, 2011). Erik Jan Zürcher, "Teoride ve Pratikte Osmanlı Zorunlu Askerlik Sistemi (1844-1918)," in *Devletin Silâhlanması: Ortadoğu'da ve Orta Asya'da Zorunlu Askerlik (1775-1925)*, ed. Erik Jan Zürcher (İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2003), 87-104. For Serbia, for example, see Zoran Kilibarda and Jan Marček, "Vojno vaspitanje i obrazovanje u Kraljevini Srbiji (1880-1912)," in *Obuka srpske vojske (1804-1918)*, ed. Đorđe Stanić, Zoran Kilibarda, and Jan Marček (Beograd: Vojnoizdavački zavod, 2007), 303-577. Milić J. Milićević, *Reforma vojske Srbije 1897-1900* (Beograd: Vojnoizdavački zavod Beograd, 2002). Slavica B. Ratković-Kostić, *Evropeizacija srpske vojske 1878-1903* (Beograd: Vojnoistorijski institut, 2007). Dalibor Denda, "A Professional Army as a Successful Factor of War - Case Study: Serbia, 1876-1918," in *Nations at War. Why do Nations participate in Wars and Why not?*, ed. Harold E. Rough and Jordan Baev (Sofia: G. S. Rakovski National Defense Academy, 2014), 15-23. and Milić J. Milićević, "Regrutni sastav vojske Srbije 1883-1912. Sistem poziva i neki njegovi društveni aspekti," *Vojno-istorijski glasnik* LXVI, no. 1 (2016): 9-25. For Montenegro see Tatjana Jović and Milan Jovičić, *Crnogorska vojska: organizacija i uniforme, 1830. do 1914.* (Cetinje: Narodna muzej Crne Gore, 2006). Boban Batrićević, "Crnogorska vojska uoči Balkanskih ratova 1910-1912. Ustrojstvo, naoružanje, finansije (između tradicije i modernosti)" (Master Univerzitet Crne Gore/Filozofski fakultet Nikšić, 2014). Boban Batrićević, "Crnogorska vojska uoči Balkanskih ratova," *Matica crnogorska*, no. 63 (2015): 305-48. and Srđa Martinović, *Crnogorska vojska 1854-1916 (naučna monografija)* (Cetinje: Ministarstvo odbrane Crne Gore, 2018). For the SCS context see Mile S. Bjelajac, *Vojska Kraljevine SHS 1918-1921* (Beograd: Narodna knjiga, 1988). Bjelajac, *Vojska Kraljevine SHS/Jugoslavije.* and Dmitar Tasić, *Rat posle rata: Vojska Kraljevine Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca na Kosovu i Metohiji i u Makedoniji 1918-1920* (Beograd: Službeni glasnik, 2012).

<sup>2</sup> Reinhard Bendix, "Introduction," in *State and Society: A Reader in Comparative Political Sociology*, ed. Reinhard Bendix (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1968), 2-23, here pp. 12. Mitchell, "Society, Economy, and the State Effect," 76-97, here pp. 83-84, 89-90, 95. Joel S. Migdal, *State in Society: Studying How States and Societies Transform and Constitute One Another* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 18-19. Jens Hanssen, Thomas Philipp, and Stefan Weber, "Introduction: Towards a New Urban Paradigm," in *The Empire in the City: Arap Provincial Capitals in the late Ottoman Empire*, ed. Jens Hanssen, Thomas Philipp, and Stefan Weber (Beirut: Ergon Verlag Würzburg in Kommission, 2002), 1-25, here pp. 6, 10, 12. Aradhana Sharma and Akhil Gupta, "Introduction: Rethinking Theories of the State in an Age of Globalization," in *The Anthropology of the State: A Reader*, ed. Aradhana Sharma and Akhil Gupta (Malden,

Ultimately, military service is seen as an integral part of state-building that is not equal with nation-building, although the two intersect in regard to populations, which the governing elites often homogenize through military service (but not exclusively).<sup>3</sup> It is to expect that this plan poses a significant challenge that is not easy to meet. By leaning on idiosyncrasies of a polity, political self-image, and historical development, various governing elites implemented a specific form of military service locally. This approach reveals the local context through which military service and two state effects closely interlinked with it – the census and the draft – can be better understood.<sup>4</sup>

To understand these state effects, it is necessary to look beyond the state-society dichotomy because mobilization formed just one of multiple areas that reconfigured the constellation of power and led to negotiation and/or mutuality. This created a situation where it was sometimes unclear who the state was, who spoke in its name, and who its subjects were.<sup>5</sup> Military service equally empowered the locally grounded elites since they were included in governmental institutions. By adhering to their localities and broader networks, through which they established influence using mutuality and communication with the locals, they possessed local knowledge, and some were able to frame and code mobilization when necessary. They could also act against the state and were capable of hampering state-building.<sup>6</sup>

These actors are labelled here as (military) brokers, entrepreneurs or corporate players and should not be seen as a monolithic group running back and forth between the state and the

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Oxford, Carlton: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), 1-41, here pp. 8, 10, 17, 28. and Mann, *The Sources of Social Power*, 2: The Rise of Classes and Nation States, 56.

<sup>3</sup> Samuel E. Finer, "State- and Nation-Building in Europe: The Role of the Military," in *The Formation of National States in Western Europe*, ed. Charles Tilly (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975), 84-174, here pp. 85-89. and Ute Frevert, "Gesellschaft und Militär im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert: Sozial-, kultur- und geschlechtergeschichtliche Annäherungen," in *Militär und Gesellschaft im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, ed. Ute Frevert (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1997), 7-14, here pp. 11-12.

<sup>4</sup> Roland G. Foerster, "Einführung," in *Die Wehrpflicht: Entstehung, Erscheinungsformen und politisch-militärische Wirkung*, ed. Roland G. Foerster (München: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 1994), xi-xv, here pp. xiii. Lars Mjøset and Stephen van Holde, "Killing for the State, Dying for the Nation: An Introductory Essay on the Life Cycle of Conscription into Europe's Armed Forces," in *The Comparative Study of Conscription in the Armed Forces*, ed. Lars Mjøset and Stephen van Holde (Amsterdam: JAI, 2002), 3-94, here pp. 3, 6. and Erik Jan Zürcher and Jan Lucassen, "Giriş: Zorunlu Askerlik ve Direniş: Tarihi Çerçeve," in *Devletin Silâhlanması: Ortadoğu'da ve Orta Asya'da Zorunlu Askerlik (1775-1925)*, ed. Erik Jan Zürcher (İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2003), 1-22.

<sup>5</sup> Mjøset and van Holde, "Introduction," xiii-xix, here pp. xv. and Migdal, *State in Society: Studying How States and Societies Transform and Constitute One Another*, 11-12, 100-01, 06. Johann Büssow and Astrid Meier, "Ottoman Corporatism, Eighteenth to Twentieth Centuries: Beyond the State-Society Paradigm in Middle Eastern History," in *Ways of Knowing Muslim Cultures and Societies: Studies in Honour of Gudrun Krämer*, ed. Bettina Gräf, Birgit Krawietz, and Schirin Amir-Moazami (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 81-110, here pp. 83.

<sup>6</sup> Alexander J. Motyl, "Thinking about Empire," in *After Empire. Multiethnic Societies and Nation-Building: The Soviet Union and the Russian, Ottoman, and Habsburg Empires*, ed. Karen Barkey and Mark von Hagen (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1997), 19-29. Lutz Raphael, "Ländliche Gesellschaften zwischen lokaler Autonomie und nationalstaatlichen Zugriff: Eine Leitung," in *Lokale Gesellschaften im historischen Vergleich: Europäische Erfahrungen im 19. Jahrhundert*, ed. Ruth Dörner, Norbert Franz, and Christine Mayr (Trier: Kliomedia, 2002), 9-23. Yonca Köksal, "Coercion and Mediation: Centralization and Sedentarization of Tribes in the Ottoman Empire," *Middle Eastern Studies* 42, no. 3 (2006): 469-91, here pp. 69-71. Dierk Walter, "Asymmetrien in Imperialkriegen. Ein Beitrag zum Verständnis der Zukunft des Krieges," *Mittelweg 36: Zeitschrift des Hamburger Instituts für Sozialforschung* 17, no. 1 (2008): 14-52. and Ali Yaycıoğlu, "Provincial Power-Holders and the Empire in the Late Ottoman World: Conflict or Partnership?," in *The Ottoman World*, ed. Christine Woodhead (Hoboken: Taylor and Francis, 2011), 436-52, here pp. 39.

communities since their boundaries changed depending on time, space and local idiosyncrasies. Since they were aware of their importance, the state would allow them to maintain their undefined roles to a certain extent.<sup>7</sup> Who were these brokers? Where did their strength and local influence come from? And how did authorities seek to obtain their support? The second subchapter answers these questions by placing the lifeworld of these entrepreneurs, in times of peace and war, under the spotlight, focusing on those who experienced various transitions. This approach reconstructs their multitude of networks through which they are connected with other players and, with whom the governing elites also used to establish contact, and thereby explaining where their real or ascribed strength came from. This method recognizes those who could wield their influence locally although many possessed the same title. They had a shared interest in preserving the framework that made or maintained their status and, for this reason, some were ready to negotiate with the new state in order to protect their localities which functioned as a base.<sup>8</sup>

Here, the mutuality lay between themselves and the state because the latter, despite being able to apply coercive measures, which might not yield results and could only instigate disorder, usually offered a tacit trade-off. Thus, this development did not represent a purely top-down process imposed by them but it illustrates the balance of power between locals, other brokers, the state, and its officials.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Andrew Abbott, "Things of Boundaries," *Social Research* 62, no. 4 (1995): 857-82, here pp. 57, 59-63. Holm Sundhaussen, "Eliten, Bürgertum, politische Klasse? Anmerkungen zu den Oberschichten in den Balkanländern des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts," in *Eliten in Südosteuropa: Rolle, Kontinuitäten, Brüche in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, ed. Wolfgang Höpken and Holm Sundhaussen (München: Südosteuropa-Gesellschaft, 1998). Antōnēs Anastasopoulos, "Introduction," in *Provincial Elites in the Ottoman Empire*, ed. Antōnēs Anastasopoulos (Rethymno: Crete University Press, 2005), xi-xxviii. Gudrun Krämer, "Der Reiz des Gesellschaftsvergleichs: Kategorien sozialer Ordnung im islamisch geprägten Vorderen Orient," in *Europa in der Welt des Mittelalters: Ein Colloquium für und mit Michael Borgolte*, ed. Tillmann Lohne and Benjamin Scheller (Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter, 2014), 101-18. Yonca Köksal, *The Ottoman Empire in the Tanzimat Era: Provincial Perspectives from Ankara to Edirne* (London and New York: Routledge: Taylor and Francis Group, 2019), 78, 91. and Büsow and Meier, "Ottoman Corporatism, Eighteenth to Twentieth Centuries: Beyond the State-Society Paradigm in Middle Eastern History," 87.

<sup>8</sup> Clemens Zimmermann, "Dorf und Land in der Sozialgeschichte," in *Sozialgeschichte in Deutschland: Entwicklungen und Perspektiven im internationalen Zusammenhang*, ed. Wolfgang Schieder and Volker Selling (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1986), 90-112, here pp. 07-08. Roger V. Gould, "Power and Social Structure in Community Elites," *Social Forces* 68, no. 2 (1989): 531-52. Roger V. Gould and Roberto M. Fernandez, "Structures of Mediation: A Formal Approach to Brokerage in Transaction Networks," *Sociological Methodology* 19 (1989): 89-126. John P. Heinz et al., "Inner Circles or Hollow Cores? Elite Networks in National Policy Systems," *The Journal of Politics* 52, no. 2 (1990): 356-90. Charles Wetherell, "Historical Social Network Analysis," *International Review of Social History* 43, no. 6 (1998): 125-44. Gunter Mahlerwein, "Zur Analysierbarkeit von Machtkonstellationen in Dörfern des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts," in *Lokale Gesellschaften im historischen Vergleich: Europäische Erfahrungen im 19. Jahrhundert*, ed. Ruth Dörner, Norbert Franz, and Christine Mayr (Trier: Kliomedia, 2002), 65-76. and Karen Barkey, *Empire of Difference: The Ottomans in Comparative Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

<sup>9</sup> Cornelis J. Lammers, "The Interorganizational Control of an Occupied Country," *Administrative Science Quarterly* 33, no. 3 (1988): 438-57, here pp. 43. Cornelis J. Lammers, "Levels of Collaboration. A Comparative Study of German Occupation Regimes during the Second World War," in *Die deutsche Herrschaft in den "germanischen" Ländern 1940-1945*, ed. Robert Bohn (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1997), 47-69, here pp. 50. Clayer, "The Dimension of Confessionalisation in the Ottoman Balkans at the Time of Nationalisms," 89-109, here pp. 04-05. Clayer, *Arnavut Milliyetçiliğinin Kökenleri: Arupa'da Çoğunluğu Müslüman bir Ulusun Doğuşu*, 16-20, 22-25, 43-45, 422-28. and Elias, *The Society of Individuals*, 61.

Relying on the concept of security, the last subchapter exemplifies how the notion is socially and culturally determined and how it varies between the different local actors in the historical process. Because it plays an important part in negotiating, shaping and structuring power relations, it also influenced mobilization.<sup>10</sup> What did the locals expect from the (new) ruling elites? Who could exacerbate state-fostered public order on the ground? And, ultimately, what did the brokers and locals do when the state authorities were unable to provide security? Here, security and securitization are linked to state legitimacy through which the ruling elites not only reinforced mutuality with the inhabitants but also concealed their hidden transcripts.<sup>11</sup> By relying on a speech-act that states one's notion of security, it is possible to methodologically trace its development locally since by identifying a security issue, (state) actors claim a special right to use any means necessary to block it.<sup>12</sup> This approach tends to reconstruct and historicize the changeability of what is viewed as a risk and of applied actions that are considered expedient for the reduction of its negative effects, thereby arguing that they should not always be comprehended in a strict state-only sense. In brief, it unveils how experiences and expectations guide one's actions by interlinking the past and the envisioned future.<sup>13</sup>

## 2.1. "One of the Holiest Duties:"\* Compulsory Military Service in Times of Peace and War

Introduced during the first half of the 19th century, military service in the region had an extensive and complex history behind itself by 1912. Its introduction did not mean that a conscript would serve right away in a standing army, namely because institutionalization of a regular army did not always follow the former. Although military service was introduced in Montenegro and Serbia in 1855 and 1861 respectively, it took considerable time before their

<sup>10</sup> Conze, *Geschichte der Sicherheit: Entwicklung - Themen - Perspektiven*.

<sup>11</sup> Kielmansegg, "Legitimität als analytische Kategorie," 62-96. Hakan Karateke and Maurus Reinkowski, "Introduction," in *Legitimizing the Order: The Ottoman Rhetoric of State Power*, ed. Maurus Reinkowski Hakan T. Karateke (Leiden - Boston: Brill, 2005), 1-11, here pp. 1, 3-4. Hakan T. Karateke, "Legitimizing the Ottoman Sultanate: A Framework for Historical Analysis," in *Legitimizing the Order: The Ottoman Rhetoric of State Power*, ed. Maurus Reinkowski Hakan T. Karateke (Leiden - Boston: Brill, 2005), 13-52. Mine Ener Michael Bonner, Amy Singer, "Introduction," in *Poverty and Charity in Middle Eastern Contexts*, ed. Mine Ener Michael Bonner, Amy Singer (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2003), 1-9. Amy Singer, "Special Issue Introduction," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 46, Politics of Benevolence, no. 2 (2014): 227-38. Wolfgang Höpken, "Inszenierungen des Imperiums. Imperiale Herrschaftslegitimierung in Österreich-Ungarn, Russland und im Osmanischen Reich 1850 bis 1914," in *(Südost-)Europa. Narrative der Bewegtheit: Festschrift zum 65. Geburtstag von Angela Richter*, ed. Eva Kowollik, Gabriela Lehmann-Carli, and Tatjana Petzer (Berlin: Frank & Timme GmbH: Verlag für wissenschaftliche Literatur, 2017), 455-501. and Scott, *Tahakküm ve Direniş Sanatları: Gizli Senaryolar*.

<sup>12</sup> Austin, *How to Do Things with Words: The William James Lectures delivered at Harvard University in 1955*, 4, 6-8, 21, 25. Wæver, "Securitization and Desecuritization," 46-85. and Conze, *Geschichte der Sicherheit: Entwicklung - Themen - Perspektiven*, 87-91.

<sup>13</sup> Koselleck, "'Erfahrungsraum' und 'Erwartungshorizont': Zwei historische Kategorien," 349-73. and Christopher Daase, "Die Historisierung der Sicherheit: Anmerkungen zur historischen Sicherheitsforschung aus politikwissenschaftlicher Sicht," *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 38, no. 3 (2012): 387-405, here pp. 396.

\* Jovan M. Sretenović, *Potrebna znanja za vojnika stalnog kadra, vojne obveznike od njihove 18.-50. godine, za opštinske vlasti i za građane u opšte u njihovim odnosima prema vojnoj službi i prema vojnim vlastima s bukvarom za samouke* (Beograd: Štamparija "Srbija" Mih. Jovanovića i Konp., 1908), v.

standing armies were established, just as it had been in the French and Italian cases.<sup>14</sup> By the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, compulsory conscription became common practice throughout the world and was regarded “as a classic example of an idea that travelled from one polity to another, going back and forth,” and thereby evolving.<sup>15</sup> Under mandatory conscription, it should be understood that for an armed force of a given state, recruitment was grounded wholly or partially on the legal obligation of all, or part, of its male subjects of a certain age. This differs to the so-called selective conscription, which only encapsulated certain parts of the male population and at the same time, excluded others for various reasons.<sup>16</sup> Regardless of whether one speaks here about general or selective conscription, military service turned out to be a duty which was wholly unavoidable.

It was imposed either in the form of fulfilling the duty in person, or instead of performing this duty, a male subject had to pay a fixed sum of money. Military service was seen by the governing elites as a debt that fell under the category of various obligations which the population was asked not so much to fulfil them as they were to anticipate them. Besides having a duty to exist for the state (implying that a person was not permitted to die merely for his/her own reasons or at a time of his/her own wishing), conscripts were obligated to serve the state during every moment of their life. As such, it represented a resource of the state, meaning that the authorities essentially owned the right to charge it in any form. Ultimately, it became fixed in their minds as a kind of tax that had to be collected on an annual base like any other.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> Torsten Holm, *Allgemeine Wehrpflicht: Entstehung, Brauch und Mißbrauch* (München: Pohl & Co., 1953). Thomas Hippler, "Fransız Ordusu, 1789-1914: Gönüllüler, Zorla Alıkonulanlar ve Zorunlu Askerlik," in *Askerlik 'İşi': Askeri İçgücünün Karşılaştırmalı Tarihi 1500-2000*, ed. Erik-Jan Zürcher (İstanbul: İletişim, 2017), 403-27. Marco Rovinello, "İtalya'da Askere Çağırma ve Çağrılanlar (1861-1914)," in *Askerlik 'İşi': Askeri İçgücünün Karşılaştırmalı Tarihi 1500-2000*, ed. Erik-Jan Zürcher (İstanbul: İletişim, 2017), 459-96.

<sup>15</sup> Delia González de Reufels, "Health, Education, and General Conscription: Chilean Social Policy and the Military in the Second Half of the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century," *Historical Social Research / Historische Sozialforschung* 45, no. 2 (2020): 114-42, here pp. 33 (citation). For the general overview see Ute Frevert, "Bürgersoldaten: Die allgemeine Wehrpflicht im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert," in *Die Wehrpflicht und ihre Hintergründe: Sozialwissenschaftliche Beiträge zur aktuellen Debatte*, ed. Ines-Jacqueline Werkner (Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 2004), 49-65. For the Prussian/German, Habsburg, Russian, Italian and Egyption settings see Stig Förster, "Militär und staatsbürgerliche Partizipation. Die allgemeine Wehrpflicht im Deutschen Kaiserreich 1871-1914," in *Die Wehrpflicht: Entstehung, Erscheinungsformen und politisch-militärische Wirkung*, ed. Roland G. Foerster (München: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 1994), 54-70. Ute Frevert, *Die kasernierte Nation: Militärdienst und Zivilgesellschaft in Deutschland* (München: C. H. Beck, 2001). Walter Wagner, "Die k. (u.) k. Armee: Gliederung und Aufgabenstellung," in *Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848-1918*, ed. Adam Wandruszka and Peter Urbanitsch (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1987), 142-633. Vladimir V. Lapin, "Wehrpflicht im zaristischen Russland," in *Die Wehrpflicht: Entstehung, Erscheinungsformen und politisch-militärische Wirkung*, ed. Roland G. Foerster (München: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 1994), 171-80. Joshua A. Sanborn, *Drafting the Russian Nation: Military Conscription, Total War, and Mass Politics, 1905-1925* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 2003). Benecke, *Militär, Reform und Gesellschaft im Zarenreich: Die Wehrpflicht in Russland 1874-1914*. Rovinello, "İtalya'da Askere Çağırma ve Çağrılanlar (1861-1914)," 462-84. and Khaled Fahmy, *Paşanın Adamları. Kavalalı Mehmed Ali Paşa, Ordu ve Modern Mısır* (İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2010).

<sup>16</sup> Paul Klein, "Wehrsysteme und Wehrformen im Vergleich," in *Die Wehrpflicht und ihre Hintergründe: Sozialwissenschaftliche Beiträge zur aktuellen Debatte*, ed. Ines-Jacqueline Werkner (Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 2004), 9-27, here pp. 9-10.

<sup>17</sup> Holm, *Allgemeine Wehrpflicht: Entstehung, Brauch und Mißbrauch*, 234. Michael Walzer, *Obligations: Essays on Disobedience, War, and Citizenship* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard Univ. Press, 1970), xii, 107, 70. Michael Walzer, "Political Alienation and Military Service," in *The Military Draft: Selected Readings on Conscription*, ed. Martin Anderson and Barbara Honegger (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1982), 153-80, here pp. 53. and Margaret Levi, *Consent, Dissent,*

However, this levy was charged with symbolic messages and was seen as a tax based on blood, life (*bir kan ve can vergisi*), class, ability, gender, and sexuality that one owed to his imagined homeland or community (*milletine ve vatanına karşı borçlu*), as Ottoman officers claimed. This was echoed in post-Ottoman Turkey as well.<sup>18</sup> Therefore, nuances existed between numerous obligations, among which military duty occupied one of the holiest and possibly, one of the greatest places among the many imposed duties.<sup>19</sup> Depending on the context, it lasted between 20 and 44 years in total (Table 1), whereas in pre-1913 Serbia and Montenegro lasted even more longer more than, for example, in Germany or the Habsburg Monarchy.

Table 1: Length of the Military Obligation in the Ottoman Empire, Serbia, Montenegro and the Kingdom of SCS.<sup>20</sup>

Age	Ottoman Empire (1886)	Age	Serbia (1901)	Age	Montenegro (1910)	Age	Kingdom of SCS (1923)
20-25	<i>Nizam and its Ihtiyat</i>	18-20	<i>Final Defense</i>	18-19	<i>Recruiting Levy</i>	18-20	<i>In Case of War</i>
26-32	<i>Redif of I and II Levy</i>	21-31	<i>I Levy and its Reserve</i>	20-52	<i>Active Army of I and II Levies</i>	21-40	<i>Operative Army</i>
33-40	<i>Müstahfiz</i>	32-38	<i>II Levy</i>	53-62	<i>Military Reserve</i>	41-50	<i>Reserve Army</i>
<b>Total</b>	<b>20 Years</b>	39-45	<i>III Levy</i>	<b>Total</b>	<b>44 Years</b>	51-55	<i>In Case of War</i>
		46-50	<i>Final Defense</i>			<b>Total</b>	<b>Scenario 37 Years</b>
		<b>Total</b>	<b>32 Years</b>				

Table 2: Length of the Military Obligation in the Broder Setting<sup>21</sup>

Country	Bulgaria (1903/4)	Germany	Habsburg Monarchy (1912)	Romania (1900)	Greece (1904)
Age-group	19-43	20-48	21-44	21-47	21-48
Active Military Service	2	2	2	2	2
In Total (with Reserve)	<b>26 years</b>	<b>28 years</b>	<b>23 years</b>	<b>26 years</b>	<b>29 years</b>

In the Serbian case this debt was directly linked to their male subjects because not only could there be no replacement, but also, no one could resign from his subjecthood until military service was served out. The same applied in cases of war, during which the length might be

and Patriotism (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 1-2, 5. See also Yanni Kotsonis, *States of Obligation: Taxes and Citizenship in the Russian Empire and Early Soviet Republic* (Toronto / Buffalo / London: University of Toronto Press, 2016).

<sup>18</sup> Ömer Fevzi, *Osmanlı Efradına Maneviyat-ı Askeriye Dersleri*, vol. I (İstanbul: Mekteb-i Harbiye Matbaası, 1325 [1909]), 4. Salahaddin, *Küçük Zabıt Numune Taburu Efradı Tedris Olunmak üzere Gayret-i Muhtasar-ı Coğrafya ve Ordu Teşkilatı* (Dersaadet: Mahmud Bey Matbaası, 1330 [1911/12]), 15. Hüseyin Arif, *Piyade Neferi* (İstanbul: Nefaset Matbaası, 1329 [1913]), 17-18. and Salih Can Açıkgöz, *Sacrificial Limbs: Masculinity, Disability, and Political Violence in Turkey* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2020), 45-46. See also John Horne, "'L'impôt du sang': Republican Rhetoric and Industrial Warfare in France, 1914-18," *Social History* 14, no. 2 (1989): 201-23.

<sup>19</sup> Sretenović, *Potrebna znanja za vojnika stalnog kadra, vojne obveznike od njihove 18.-50. godine, za opštinske vlasti i za građane u opšte u njihovim odnosima prema vojnoj službi i prema vojnim vlastima s bukvarom za samouke*, v. Mitar B. Martinović, *Upustva vojničkom starešinstvu za vaspitanje vojske u vojenom duhu i disciplini* (Cetinje: K. C. državna štamparija, 1900), 21-22, 39. and Arif, *Piyade Neferi*, 17.

<sup>20</sup> „Zakon o ustrojstvu vojske od 27.01.1901“, *SN*, god. LXVIII, 01.02.1901, br. 25, 101-109, §3; „Zakon o izmenama i dopunama u Zakonu o ustrojstvu vojske od 27.01.1901“, *SN*, god. LXIX, 19.04.1902, br. 85, 383; "Zakon o ustrojstvu vojske za Knjaževinu Crnu Goru od 29. aprila/12. maja 1910," in *Crnogorski zakonic: Pravni izvori i politički akti od značaja za istoriju državnosti Crne Gore*, ed. Branko Pavićević and Radoslav Raspopović (Podgorica: Istorijski institut Crne Gore, 1998), §4, 7, 1053-54. *Zakon o ustrojstvu vojske i mornarice od 9. avgusta 1923*, (Beograd: Izdavačka knjižarnica Gece Kona, 1924), §9-10. Hartmann, *Die Reichweite des Staates: Wehrpflicht und moderne Staatlichkeit im Osmanischen Reich 1860-1910*, 98-101. and Faruk Aydın, *Tanzimat'tan Sonra Askeralma Kanunları (1839-1914)* (Ankara: Genelkurmay Askeri Tarih ve Stratejik Etüt Başkanlığı Yayınları, 1994), 31-32.

<sup>21</sup> *Ratnikov vesnik savremene vojne veštine*, vol. I (Beograd: Nova Štamparija "Davidović", 1908), 3, 33-34, 69, 130, 43-45, 335. Holm, *Allgemeine Wehrpflicht: Entstehung, Brauch und Mißbrauch*, 153-54. and Wagner, "Die k. (u.) k. Armee: Gliederung und Aufgabenstellung," 493-94.

changed due to pressure from the war, as the Serbian military law clearly suggested when referring to those older than 50, which happened in the post-1914 Ottoman Empire twice.<sup>22</sup> Not fulfilling this duty meant that one deprived himself of the chance to join a civil service since they could become neither an official or a military supplier, something which offered a regular income and a chance to build various forms of capital.<sup>23</sup> The same policy could be found in the Habsburg Monarchy, Germany, France, and Italy where military service also symbolized a personal duty which one had to fulfill.<sup>24</sup> Still, depending on the position within the governmental field, a certain number of peace-time officials ended up in the army in times of war, as Serbian regulations show.<sup>25</sup>

However, military service in the Ottoman Empire was selective and excluded the non-Muslim population from the standing army until 1909. From 1856, non-Muslim subjects, including the Romani people, had paid the exemption tax, just as their Muslim peers in post-1879 Montenegro and Bulgaria had.<sup>26</sup> Thus, the Ottoman military service revolved mainly around conscripts of the Muslim faith, who also had a chance not to avoid service in lieu of paying the exemption tax, a policy that has gradually changed since 1911.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> „Zakon o ustrojstvu vojske od 27.01.1901“, *SN*, god. LXVIII, 01.02.1901, br. 25, 101-109, §2-3, 5; "Zakon o ustrojstvu vojske za Knjaževinu Crnu Goru od 29. aprila/12. maja 1910," §1, 22. *Zakon o ustrojstvu vojske i mornarice od 9. avgusta 1923*, §7-8. and Mehmet Beşikçi, "Topyekün Savaş Çağında Askerî İşgücünü Seferber Etmek: Birinci Dünya Savaşı Öncesinde ve Esnasında Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Zorunlu Askerlik Hizmeti," in *Askerlik 'İşi': Askerî İşgücünün Karşılaştırmalı Tarihi 1500-2000*, ed. Erik-Jan Zürcher (İstanbul: İletişim, 2017), 523-56, here pp. 33.

<sup>23</sup> „Zakon o ustrojstvu vojske od 27.01.1901“, *SN*, god. LXVIII, 01.02.1901, br. 25, 101-109, §11; "Zakon o ustrojstvu vojske za Knjaževinu Crnu Goru od 29. aprila/12. maja 1910," §18. Vladimir Jovanović, "Policijski činovnik," in *Privatni život kod Srba u devetnaestom veku: od kraja XVIII veka do početka Prvog svetskog rata*, ed. Ana Stolić and Nenad Makuljević (Beograd: Clio, 2006), 759-78, here pp. 60-61, 66-67. In the SCS period, one could not start business if he did not serve out. *Zakon o ustrojstvu vojske i mornarice od 9. avgusta 1923*, §47.

<sup>24</sup> Wagner, "Die k. (u.) k. Armee: Gliederung und Aufgabenstellung," 490. Gerd Krumeich, "Zur Entwicklung der "national armée" in Frankreich bis zum Ersten Weltkrieg," in *Die Wehrpflicht: Entstehung, Erscheinungsformen und politisch-militärische Wirkung*, ed. Roland G. Foerster (München: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 1994), 133-45, here pp. 41. Rovinello, "İtalya'da Askere Çağırma ve Çağrılanlar (1861-1914)," 467. and Förster, "Militär und staatsbürgerliche Partizipation. Die allgemeine Wehrpflicht im Deutschen Kaiserreich 1871-1914," 64.

<sup>25</sup> „Pravilo za oslobodavanje činovnika i odpravnika javnih službi, od poziva na vojnu službu u miru i ratu od 17.02.1897“, *SN*, god. LXIV, 21.02.1897, br. 42, 1-2; „Naređenje #8631 od 01.12.1899“, *SVL*, god. 19, 04.12.1899, br. 47, 1226-1228; „Naređenje #7003 od 14.07.1900“, *SVL*, god. 20, 23.09.1900, br. 38, 875-876; „Naređenje #10086 od 31.12.1907“, *SVL*, god. 28, 01.01.1908, br. 1, 7; „Naređenje #789 od 13.03.1909“, *SVL*, god. 29, 18.03.1909, br. 13, 215-216; „Naređenje #8761 od 07.09.1910“, *SVL*, god. 30, 11.09.1910, br. 33, 737 and „Naređenje #1449“, *SVL*, god. 34, 26.08.1914, br. 26, 812-813.

<sup>26</sup> BIIUCG/Podgorica, F137, sv. 2, *Muhamedanci u Crnoj Gori*, 33, 42; *Anâsır-ı Gayrimüslimenin Askerliği hakkında Nizâmname-i Muvakkate ve Dersâdet ve Bilâd-ı Selase'de İcra Olunacak Ahz-ı Asker Muamelâtına dair Talimat*, (Dersâdet, 06/08/1325 [19/08/1909]), 1-2; Selahattin Karatamu, *Türk Silahlı Kuvvetleri Tarihi (1908-1920)*, vol. III/6, 1. Kitap (Ankara: Genelkurmay Basımevi, 1971), 232-33. Mehmet Hacısalihoğlu, "Inclusion and Exclusion: Conscription in the Ottoman Empire," *Journal of Modern European History* 5, no. 2 (2007): 264-86, here pp. 67, 71-73, 76-79. Hartmann, *Die Reichweite des Staates: Wehrpflicht und moderne Staatlichkeit im Osmanischen Reich 1860-1910*, 145. Beşikçi, "Topyekün Savaş Çağında Askerî İşgücünü Seferber Etmek: Birinci Dünya Savaşı Öncesinde ve Esnasında Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Zorunlu Askerlik Hizmeti," 528. Milena B. Methodieva, *Between Empire and Nation: Muslim Reform in the Balkans* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2020), 69-72. Martinović, *Crnogorska vojska 1854-1916 (naučna monografija)*, 665-67. and Egemen Yılıgür, "Son Sönem Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Devlet ve 'Çingeneler': Vergi, Askerlik ve Adlandırma Meseleleri," *MSGSÜ Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi* 2, no. 18 (2018): 267-302.

<sup>27</sup> Beşikçi, "Topyekün Savaş Çağında Askerî İşgücünü Seferber Etmek: Birinci Dünya Savaşı Öncesinde ve Esnasında Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Zorunlu Askerlik Hizmeti," 528. and Hartmann, *Die Reichweite des Staates: Wehrpflicht und moderne Staatlichkeit im Osmanischen Reich 1860-1910*, 203-06.



Table 3: Active and Reserve Military Service in Peacetime.<sup>28</sup>

Ottoman Empire (1909)		Serbia (1901)	
Nizam	Three Years	1 <sup>st</sup> Levy	Eighteen Months in Infantry
Active Reserve (Ihtiyat) + Redif	Three years + Once every two years the reservists should be called up for exercises. Depending of the regiment they occur between March and October	Reservists of 1 <sup>st</sup> Levy	1) Training every year on Sundays, public holidays, and non-working days but at their own expense and at a time when fieldwork does not demand too much hands 2) Training at battalion drill fields up to ten days, but at their own expense 3) Training at regiment drill fields up to twenty days, but at state expense
Müstahfiz	Not clear	2 <sup>nd</sup> and 3 <sup>rd</sup> Levy	The above-outlined first two points also apply for these two levies? 3) Training at regiment drills field up to five days, but at their own expense 4) At a war game up to fifteen days at the state expense
		Final Defense	The first point outlined for 1 <sup>st</sup> Levy applies for this levy too. 2) Training at company drill fields top five days at their own expense

Based on general or selective conscription, militia armies and conscript-centered military forces are distinguishable. A standing army (Table 3) is understood here as a type of force that was made up of conscripts who were commanded and trained by an active officer corps during their active military service. They served in a peaceful environment for several years and were subject to military discipline and law until they became experienced and operational soldiers who were used either in defense or attack. In contrast, serving in the militia varied between a few weeks to six months per year, which could be directed by professional officers or the locals who the drafters knew. This is evident in Montenegro although its ruling elites tended to switch (once again) to a standing army. In this case, militia members were in most cases, responsible for keeping their firearms, while the state took care of lodging and food.<sup>29</sup> However, most armies in the region and the world represented a combination of both and were built around the draft and militia systems, where one first served in standing and then in the militia-based units. Thus, the name “the conscription army” is deceptive.<sup>30</sup>

In the Ottoman or Serbian context (see Table 3), one entered into the standing army at age 20 or 21 respectively and had to spent several years far from home. After being discharged, the soldiers who served were obliged to attend annual military training in militia-based units (*reservisti*, *redif*, *müstahfiz*) generally close to their hometown. Sources indicate that there was a discrepancy between theory and practice. Although the Serbian military service was fixed at eighteen months, prior to 1913, a large percentage of infantry recruits served a shortened term

<sup>28</sup> Salahaddin, *Küçük Zabıt Numune Taburu Efradı Tedris Olunmak üzere Gayret-i Muhtasar-ı Coğrafya ve Ordu Teşkilatı*, 16. Hartmann, *Die Reichweite des Staates: Wehrpflicht und moderne Staatlichkeit im Osmanischen Reich 1860-1910*, 146, 237. Ayın, *Tanzimat'tan Sonra Askeralma Kanunları (1839-1914)*, 31. and „Zakon o ustrojstvu vojske od 27.01.1901“, *SN*, god. LXVIII, 01.02.1901, br. 25, 101-109, §8, 84-85.

<sup>29</sup> ÖStA/KA/Vienna, AhOB GSt Militärattachés Cetinje 60 G-Akten Geheime Berichte, Gustav Hubka to the General Staff, *Montenegro im Jahre 1913*. Jahresbericht, 1-4; PA AA/Berlin, RZ 201, R 8201, #22, 27.02.1914, Cetinje, Eckardt to the MoFA; Mjøset and van Holde, "Killing for the State, Dying for the Nation: An Introductory Essay on the Life Cycle of Conscription into Europe's Armed Forces," 9. Holm, *Allgemeine Wehrpflicht: Entstehung, Brauch und Mißbrauch*, 198-200. Klein, "Wehrsysteme und Wehrformen im Vergleich," 11-13. Batrićević, "Crnogorska vojska uoči Balkanskih ratova 1910-1912. Ustrojstvo, naoružanje, finansije (između tradicije i modernosti)," 31-35. and Martinović, *Crnogorska vojska 1854-1916 (naučna monografija)*, 53-60.

<sup>30</sup> Klein, "Wehrsysteme und Wehrformen im Vergleich," 13-14.

of six months, which bothered some Serbian officers, whereas some of their Ottoman peers were forced to serve more than six years before 1909 and this turn encouraged desertion.<sup>31</sup> However, by defining the length of military duty and dividing it into various levies (Tables 1 and 3), the ruling elites covered as many conscripts as possible, yet took only the imagined best (those were between the ages of 18 and 25). In doing so, the goal was to reach both good quality and size through the general conscription.<sup>32</sup> This “youth-as-politics,” as Andreas Guidi calls it, was subject to change depending on the context because even if they were imagined as the best, recruits could also be labelled as being dangerous.<sup>33</sup>

In exchange for performing military duty over such a long period, a male subject was supposed to obtain certain rights, meaning, general conscription went hand in hand, among other things, with the granting of basic and political participatory rights. Anyone who shielded the imagined community with their body and soul must also have the right to participate in political decisions, meaning, the concept of subjecthood was envisioned as a package of mutual obligations and rights.<sup>34</sup>

However, general military service did not lead to a general democratization of communities, as was seen in the Prussian case.<sup>35</sup> For instance, even if Serbian military regulations adhered to the labels citizen (*državljanin* or *građanin*) or citizenship (*državljanstvo*), at the same time officials also used the term subject (*podanik*). Therefore, the concept was flexible, selective, and implied numerous things with varying definitions throughout both the region and world. In the post-1913 Serbian setting, the locals, regardless of their faith, did not enjoy the same rights as their peers from the pre-1913 Serbian territories. For instance, 4,000 Slavic-speaking Christian locals who recruited in early 1914 did not receive full rights as was promised.<sup>36</sup> The

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<sup>31</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MUD-P 1903, F29, R142, 12.08.1902, Protocol compiled at the Vranje District Office, Subject: *An Ottoman Deserter Mustafa Asanović from Izmir* and Danilo S. Kalafatović, "Rok službe u našem stalnom kadru," *Ratnik: Mesečni vojni list* LXXIV, no. 3 (1914): 1-7, here pp. 1.

<sup>32</sup> Holm, *Allgemeine Wehrpflicht: Entstehung, Brauch und Mißbrauch*, 199.

<sup>33</sup> Andreas Guidi, *Youth and Generations between two Empires: Changing Sociabilities from Ottoman to Italian Rule in Rhodes*, Philosophische Fakultät I der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, 2018, pp. 300-301, 307, 309.

<sup>34</sup> Bendix, "Elements of Citizenship to the Lower Classes," 233-57. Ute Frevert, "Mann und Weib, und Weib und Mann": *Geschlechter-Differenzen in der Moderne* (München: C. H. Beck, 1995), 66, 69-71, 85, 89, 95, 103, 19, 21, 30. Ute Frevert, "Soldaten, Staatsbürger: Überlegungen zur historischen Konstruktion von Männlichkeit," in *Männergeschichte - Geschlechtergeschichte: Männlichkeit im Wandel der Moderne*, ed. Thomas Kühne (Frankfurt/New York: 1996), 69-87, here pp. 78-79. and Christoph Conrad and Jürgen Kocka, "Einführung," in *Staatsbürgerschaft in Europa: Historische Erfahrungen und aktuelle Debatten*, ed. Christoph Conrad and Jürgen Kocka (Hamburg: edition Körber-Stiftung, 2001), 9-26, here pp. 11-12.

<sup>35</sup> Frevert, "Das jakobinsche Modell: Allgemeine Wehrpflicht und Nationsbildung in Preußen-Deutschland," 17-47.

<sup>36</sup> "Zakon o ustrojstvu vojsku", *SN*, god. LXVIII, 01.02.1901, br. 35, §2, 5, 11; "Propisi Ustava Kraljevine Srbije od 05.06.1903", *SN*, god. LXXX, 23.11.1913, br. 257, 1-3; DAS/Belgrade, MUD-ŠVK, K-2388, #4763, 01.10.1913, Novi Pazar, District Chief to the MoI; *ibid*, MID-PO 1914, R420, F7, D11, VII/549, unnumbered, 20.03.1914, Carigrad, Serbian Legation to the MoFA; VA/Belgrade, P3, K73, F1, 2/37, #3164, 18.12.1914, Skoplje, KTNO to the MoW; Dušan Stefanović, "Prvo stupanje Južnosrbijanaca u srpsku vojsku 1914. godine," in *Spomenica: 20-godišnjica prvih regruta Južne Srbije 1914-1934* (Skoplje: Zadužbinska štamparija Vardarske banovine "Nemanja" - Skoplje, 1934), 48-53. Jovanović, "Državna vlast i pojedinac," 61-62. Patrick Weil, *How to Be French: Nationality in the Making since 1789* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2008). Sabina Donati, *A Political History of National Citizenship and Identity in Italy, 1861-1950* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2013).

same occurred in for the pre-1908 Ottoman case where women and children who, in most cases and, as seen globally, before and after 1918, were stripped of these rights as well.<sup>37</sup> The locals could therefore shape local politics; however, the so much-praised liberation did not bring about any improvement in this regard. They only enjoyed a local type of masculine subjecthood, just as Habsburg Bosnia-Herzegovinian subjects had until 1910 or those in Dobruja had under Rumanian rule until 1913.<sup>38</sup>

Analyzing military service deconstructs the seemingly stable category of citizen and, for this reason, this present study uses the term subjects and/or subjecthood. Its definition relies on the notion of inclusion and exclusion, having been directed both towards the inside and outside of a given polity.<sup>39</sup> The Serbian military service was not levied on every fit male subject. According to the Constantinople Peace Treaty signed between the Ottoman Empire and Serbia in early 1914, the former Ottoman inhabitants of Muslim faith became Serbian subjects; however, they had a period of three years to state whether they wanted to remain under Ottoman subjecthood. Thus, the Serbian military could not draft or impose any military levy on its Muslim subjects until March 1917.<sup>40</sup> This meant that by calling upon the treaty, the bilingual Muslim populations were freed from military service, which in turn constrained their governmental control, including the scope of military service as well. It is therefore unsurprising that, following the Ottoman declaration of war in late 1914, the Serbian ruling

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<sup>37</sup> Ariel Saizmann, "Citizens in Search of a State: The Limits of Political Participation in the late Ottoman Empire," in *Extending Citizenship, Reconfiguring States*, ed. Michael Hanagan and Charles Tilly (Lanham-Boudler-New York-Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield, 1999), 37-66, here pp. 46. Fortna, *Imperial Classroom: Islam, the State, and Education in the Late Ottoman Empire*, 21; Will Hanley, "What Ottoman Nationality Was and Was Not," *Journal of the Ottoman and Turkish Studies Association* 3, no. 2 (2016): 277-98. Maureen Healy, *Vienna and the Fall of the Habsburg Empire: Total War and Everyday Life in World War I* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 10. and Kimberly Jensen, "Gender and Citizenship," in *Gender and the Great War*, ed. Susan R. Grayzel and Tammy M. Proctor (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017), 10-26.

<sup>38</sup> Constantin Iordachi, *Citizenship, Nation- and State-Building: The Integration of Northern Dobrogea into Romania, 1878-1913*, ed. Eileen O'Malley, The Carl Beck Papers, (Pittsburgh: The Center for Russian and East European Studies, University of Pittsburgh, 2002), 2, 149. Benno Gammerl, *Staatsbürger, Untertanen und Andere: Der Umgang mit ethnischer Heterogenität im Britischen Weltreich und im Habsburgerreich 1867-1918* (Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht: Göttingen, 2010), 160. and Açıkgöz, *Sacrificial Limbs: Masculinity, Disability, and Political Violence in Turkey*, 45-47.

<sup>39</sup> Conrad and Kocka, "Einführung," 13-15. Holm Sundhaussen, "Unerwünschte Staatsbürger: Grundzüge des Staatsangehörigkeitsrechts in den Balkanländern und Rumänien," in *Staatsbürgerschaft in Europa: Historische Erfahrungen und aktuelle Debatten*, ed. Christoph Conrad and Jürgen Kocka (Hamburg: edition Körber-Stiftung, 2001), 193-215. and Ronald R. Krebs, *Fighting for Rights: Military Service and the Politics of Citizenship* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2006).

<sup>40</sup> "Ugovor o miru zaključen između Kraljevine Srbije i Otomanskog carstva, Carigrad 1. (14) marta 1914," in *Balkanski ugovorni odnosi 1876-1996: Dvostrani i višestrani međunarodni ugovori i drugi diplomatski akti o državnim granicama, političkoj i vojnoj saradnji, verskim i etničkim manjinama*, ed. Momir Stojković (Beograd: JP Službeni list SRJ / SJU "Međunarodna politika", 1998), 409-15, here pp. 10, §3. „Dok traje rok za opciju muslimani se iz ustupljenih oblasti neće podvrgavati vojnoj obavezi niti plaćanju ma kakve vojne takse.“ *Dersaadet'te akdedilen Devlet-i Aliye – Sirbistan Muahedenamesi Ahkamı Mucibince Tatbik ve Takib Olunacak Olan Tabiiyet Meselesine dair Devlet-i Aliye Şehbenderlerine Tebliğ ve İrsal Olunacak Talimatnamedir*, (Dersaadet: Matbaa-ı Osmaniye, 1330), here pp. 7-8, §15. "1/14 Mart sene 1914 tarihinde arâzi-i metrukede mütemekkin bulunan Müslümanlar hakk-ı hiyârın istimali mücaz olan üç sene zarfında hizmet-i askeriyeye tabi tutulmayacakları gibi bir güne bedel-i askerî dahi i'tâ etmeyeceklerdir." See also Katrin Boeckh, *Von den Balkankriegen zum Ersten Weltkrieg: Kleinstaatenpolitik und ethnische Selbstbestimmung auf dem Balkan* (München: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 1996), 88-92. and Tomislav Marković, "Srpsko-turski ugovor o miru 1914. godine," *Srpske studije* 6 (2015): 66-94.

elites used this opportunity to enlist these subjects by claiming that the treaty was invalid.<sup>41</sup> Yet, even prior to the Ottoman war declaration, the authorities found a way to include the able-bodied Muslims by wielding another ambiguous category of war volunteers.<sup>42</sup> This treaty should be kept in mind since between 1916 and 1918 it provoked a dispute between the Habsburg Monarchy and their Ottoman ally over the question about whether the locals were Serbian or Ottoman subjects.

The subjecthood question in Serbia during WWI became a crucial issue not least because the “liberated” brethren complained that compared to their peers from the pre-1913 Serbian territories, they were being treated poorly. For this reason and given the brethren’s high understanding of civic duties (*visoko shvatanje građanskih dužnosti*), the ruling elites promised in late 1914 that after the war, the National Assembly would implement all political and constitutional rights locally. They honored this promise, and the rights were implemented.<sup>43</sup> This was also guaranteed for their Muslim peers (at least those in Yeni Pazar), and by accepting Serbian subjecthood in late 1914 they then became eligible to serve.<sup>44</sup> In fact, they yielded their consent to Serbia before even gaining the full subjecthood and enjoying state-supported benefits. The acceptance of the strategies of inducements meant the locals were obliged to follow them since “the obligation incurred by silence are not owed exclusively to the state but to society as well.” This context strongly resembles the colonial civic order in post-Ottoman Syria and Lebanon under the French mandate where only a limited number of the inhabitants profited from it.<sup>45</sup>

Military conscription in times of peace does not imply that every single male subject fit for military service was drafted because various types of restrictions, rescheduling and exemptions from military service were granted for numerous reasons, as scholars have previously shown. A distinction can be made between professional careers, the medically unsuitable, and those who were socially justified and whose goal it was to avoid excessive hardship on their families. The same could be motivated by educational or economic policies, thereby, making them

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<sup>41</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MID-PO 1914, R430, F14, D6, 14/358, #8016, 24.12.1914, Niš, MoI to the MoFA.

<sup>42</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MID-PO 1914, R420, F7-O4/4, D11, 7/555, #3384, 04.04.1914, Belgrade, MoW to the MoFA; VA/Belgrade, P3, K57, F1, 1/5, 16.07.1914, Skoplje, KTNO to the General Staff; *ibid*, 1/12, 25.07.1914, Niš, MoW to the Supreme Command and *Pravilo o rekrutovanju mladića za stalan kadar, upisu, ispisu i prevođenju u rezervu i oba poziva narodne vojske*, (Beograd: Štamparska radionica Ministarstva vojnog, 1900), §103-07.

<sup>43</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MID-PO 1914, R442, F25, D1, XXV/105, unnumbered, 14.12.1914, Priština, District Chief to the MoFA; *ibid*, #8917, 16.12.1914, Niš, Nikola Pašić to the Supreme Command; *ibid*, XXV/140, XXV/189, unnumbered, 22.12.1914, Kragujevac and Beograd, Pašić to the heir to the throne and Dimić and Borozan, *Jugoslovenska država i Albanci*, II, #790, 23.07.1920, Beograd, MoI to all district chiefs, 820-821.

<sup>44</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MPs-C, #9, 09.01.1915, Niš, Acting Supreme Mufti of Serbia, Mufti of Niš Mehmed Zeki to the MoEaCA; *ibid*, unnumbered, Niš, 21.01.1915, Mufti of Niš Mehmed Zeki to the unknown and AHG/Novi Pazar, Bećir Hodžić-Šećerović, *Istorija Novog Pazara (1389-1925)*, 38.

<sup>45</sup> Walzer, "Political Alienation and Military Service," 154-55 (citation). and Elizabeth Thompson, *Colonial Citizens: Republican Rights, Paternal Privilege, and Gender in French Syria and Lebanon* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000).

ideological or pragmatic.<sup>46</sup> In all cases, education prevailed over military service and offered a chance to either postpone or serve a shorter term. For example, in the Serbian case, one could serve a shortened term of twelve months because it consisted of a high percentage of non-commissioned or reserve officers, whereas college and university students could delay their active military service until age 25.<sup>47</sup> Their peers in the Ottoman religious educational institutions were excluded under the condition that they successfully passed exams within six years and afterwards, they would then be transferred to the reserve. Students of secular educational establishments and their teachers remained exempt as long as they could give proof of their degree by showing a certificate.<sup>48</sup>

However, what makes the Ottoman context so peculiar is not only the fact that granting exemptions facilitated the integration of certain populations or pursued a clientele policy but also that military service excluded entire regions, and did not bypass the borderlands under question.<sup>49</sup> This did not represent uncharted territory in the broader setting since the same could be encountered in pre-1914 Russia, for example.<sup>50</sup> Thus, alongside Greater Istanbul (until 1909), Mecca, Medina, certain Aegean islands, Lebanon, Crete, and the province of İşkodra (until 1909), the Muslim locals who lived in the areas of Taşlıca, Tırговиşte, Yeni Pazar, Seniçe, Mitroviça, Berane, Gusine, and Plava enjoyed certain privileges (*imtiyaz*) until 1910/11.<sup>51</sup> Since they had been part of the province of Bosnia prior to 1877, the inhabitants of the regions of Taşlıca, Yeni Pazar and Seniçe served only four instead of six years in the standing army and nine years in the reserve (*redif*), and did not need to serve nine years in the territorial militia (*müstahfiz*) (see Tables 1 and 3). This means that their military obligation amounted to only twelve instead of twenty years. The exception tax (*bedel-i nakdi*) was fixed at 25 rather than 50

<sup>46</sup> „Zakon o ustrojstvu vojske od 27.01.1901“, *SN*, god. LXVIII, 01.02.1901, br. 25, 101-109, §3; „Zakon o izmenama i dopunama u Zakonu o ustrojstvu vojske od 27.01.1901“, *SN*, god. LXIX, 19.04.1902, br. 85, 383; „Zakon o izmenama u Zakonu o ustrojstvu vojske“, *SN*, god. LXXXI, 10.06.1914, br. 126, 758; „Zakon o ustrojstvu vojske za Knjaževinu Crnu Goru od 29. aprila/12. maja 1910,“ §10-11, 13-18. *Zakon o ustrojstvu vojske i mornarice od 9. avgusta 1923*, §47, 49, 50-52. *Anâsır-ı Gayrimüslimenin Askerliği hakkında Nizâm-nâme-i Muvakkate ve Dersâdet ve Bilâd-ı Selase'de İcra Olunacak Ahz-ı Asker Muamelâtına dair Talimat*, 1-12. Amit Bein, "Politics, Military Conscription, and Religious Education in the Late Ottoman Empire," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 38, no. 2 (2006): 283-301. Hartmann, *Die Reichweite des Staates: Wehrpflicht und moderne Staatlichkeit im Osmanischen Reich 1860-1910*, 244, 99-334. Hacısalihioğlu, "Inclusion and Exclusion: Conscription in the Ottoman Empire," 268, 73, 75. and Beşikçi, "Topyekûn Savaş Çağında Askerî İşgücünü Seferber Etmek: Birinci Dünya Savaşı Öncesinde ve Esnasında Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Zorunlu Askerlik Hizmeti," 528-29.

<sup>47</sup> Benecke, *Militär, Reform und Gesellschaft im Zarenreich: Die Wehrpflicht in Russland 1874-1914*, 55-56. Wagner, "Die k. (u.) k. Armee: Gliederung und Aufgabenstellung," 491. and Krumeich, "Zur Entwicklung der "national armée" in Frankreich bis zum Ersten Weltkrieg," 143.

<sup>48</sup> Karatamu, *Türk Silahlı Kuvvetleri Tarihi (1908-1920)*, III/6, 1. Kitap, 233. Hartmann, *Die Reichweite des Staates: Wehrpflicht und moderne Staatlichkeit im Osmanischen Reich 1860-1910*, 320-21, 27.

<sup>49</sup> Hartmann, *Die Reichweite des Staates: Wehrpflicht und moderne Staatlichkeit im Osmanischen Reich 1860-1910*, 224. Hacısalihioğlu, "Inclusion and Exclusion: Conscription in the Ottoman Empire," 268. and Beşikçi, "Topyekûn Savaş Çağında Askerî İşgücünü Seferber Etmek: Birinci Dünya Savaşı Öncesinde ve Esnasında Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Zorunlu Askerlik Hizmeti," 528-29.

<sup>50</sup> Benecke, *Militär, Reform und Gesellschaft im Zarenreich: Die Wehrpflicht in Russland 1874-1914*, 52-60.

<sup>51</sup> BOA/Istanbul, DH.ID, 22/18, leff 1, 16/06/1327 [29/06/1911], MoI to the MoW and *ibid*, leff 5, 20 Kanun-i Sani 1327 [02/02/1912], MoI to the Grand Vizier and Hartmann, *Die Reichweite des Staates: Wehrpflicht und moderne Staatlichkeit im Osmanischen Reich 1860-1910*, 246-323.

gold liras and they further obtained the right to fulfill their duty within their home province, right which they enjoyed even after they were included into the province of Kosovo (1877).<sup>52</sup>

Aziz, Mehmet and other reserve soldiers from Taşlıca adhered to this privilege in their petitions and requested in mid-1911 to be sent to other Ottoman areas; however, this request was not granted since the post-1908 governing elites abolished the right in mid-1910.<sup>53</sup> Of course, in times of war, their units participated in conflict, such as in Thessaly during the Greek-Ottoman War of 1897, where they fought far from their homes.<sup>54</sup>

The Berane district was another case where the Muslim locals and muhajirs held special rights. Due to their low numbers (*kalil'ül-miktar*) and the strategical prominence of Berane (*ehemmiyet-i mevkiyyeye mebni*), they had been fully exempted from active military service, just as their peers in the Gusine and Plava regions had until 1911.<sup>55</sup> Ultimately, the privileges were a temporary interim solution. Since the 1850s the governing elites had been seeking to gain solid footing in Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Ottoman-Montenegrin borderlands where implementation of the draft stumbled across serious local competition.<sup>56</sup> The concessions then sought to integrate the inhabitants who had enjoyed broad autonomy for a long time and were ready to guard it. The government approach was not a weakness but rather a calculated policy aimed at mollifying the opposition by including them into the imperial paramilitary structure.<sup>57</sup> The locals and their brokers understood this and in addition to wielding the argument of living in the borderland surrounded by three polities (*hudud-ı salise ile muhat*), they adhered to the identitarian language of the ruling elites and outlined their economic issues in order to push them into negotiations.<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>52</sup> BOA/Istanbul, DH.ID, 22/18, leff 8, 18/07/1327 [23/07/1911], MoI to the MoW; *ibid*, leff 3, 25/07/1327 [07/08/1911], Kosova Valisi to the MoI; *ibid*, leff 10, 10 L 1330 [22/09/1912], Kosova Valisi to the MoI and Hartmann, *Die Reichweite des Staates: Wehrpflicht und moderne Staatlichkeit im Osmanischen Reich 1860-1910*, 286-87, 96-98.

<sup>53</sup> BOA/Istanbul, DH.ID, 22/18, leff 2, 08/06/1327 [13/06/1911], Kosova Valisi to the MoI; *ibid*, leff 1, 16/06/1327 [29/06/1911], MoI to the MoW; *ibid*, leff 4, 18/07/1327 [31/07/1911], MoW to the MoI; *ibid*, leff 10, 10 L 1330 [22/09/1912], Kosova Valisi to the MoI; *ibid*, leff 11, 29/09/1328 [29/10/1912], MoW to the MoI and *ibid*, MV, 143/6, 06/08/1328 [06/08/1912].

<sup>54</sup> BOA/Istanbul, Y. PRK.ASK, 133/45, 09 CA 1315 [06/10/1897], Ekrem Edhem Paşa to Yıldız Saray.

<sup>55</sup> BOA/Istanbul, DH.MKT, 2024/27, 03 CA 1310 [23/11/1892], MoI to the Serasker; *ibid*, DH.MKT, 70/23, leff 2, 30/05/1309 [11/06/1893], Serasker to the MoI; *ibid*, 06 Z 1310 [21/06/1893], MoI to the Serasker and *ibid*, DH.SYS, 59/6, leff 42, 07 Kanun-i Sani 1326 [20/02/1911], İpek Regional Governor to the MoI.

<sup>56</sup> Bedreddin, "Müslümanlar ve Bosna-Hersek'te Mükellefiyet-i Askeriye," *Mecmua-i Fünûn-i Askeriye* 28, no. 165 (1324): 2-33. Odile Moreau, "19. Yüzyılda Bosna'da Zorunlu Askerliğe Direniş," in *Devletin Silâhlanması: Ortadoğu'da ve Orta Asya'da Zorunlu Askerlik (1775-1925)*, ed. Erik Jan Zürcher (İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2003), 145-54. Grandits, *Multikonfesionalna Hercegovina: Vlast i lojalnost u kasnoosmanskom društvu*, Chapters 1, 5 and 6. Heinzelmann, *Cihaddan Vatan Savunmasına: Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Genel Askerlik Yükümlüğü 1826-1856*, 160-91. and Maurus Reinkowski, *Düzenin Şeyleri, Tanzimat'ın Kelimeleri: 19. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Reform Politikasının Karşılaştırmalı Bir Araştırması* (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2017).

<sup>57</sup> Hartmann, *Die Reichweite des Staates: Wehrpflicht und moderne Staatlichkeit im Osmanischen Reich 1860-1910*, 298. and Beşikçi, "Topyekün Savaş Çağında Askeri İşgücünü Seferber Etmek: Birinci Dünya Savaşı Öncesinde ve Esnasında Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Zorunlu Askerlik Hizmeti," 525.

<sup>58</sup> BOA/Istanbul, BEO, 3792/284372, leff 15, 11/03/1317 [24/03/1901], Mejlis of the Akova District; *ibid*, leff 16, 26/03/1317 [08/04/1901], Mejlis of the Kolaşin District; *ibid*, leff 13-1, 21/04/1317 [04/05/1901], Mejlis of the Yeni Pazar Region and DAS/Belgrade, MID-PP 1909, R740, #211, 05.07.1909, Carigrad, Gavrilović to the MoFA.

A governmental *ad-hoc*-abolition or granting of privileges at the expense of other communities forced the locals to defend their rights whereby they asked for the annulment of inequality (*mugayir-i adalet, adet-i müsavaat, mugayir-i müsavat ve muadelet* or *mugayir-i haklar*). When these talks failed, a revolt served as a last resort, as had happened before and after 1908.<sup>59</sup> This “ethnic reciprocity,” how Margaret Levi calls it, required the locals to cooperate with governmental demands but only on the condition that others also equally contributed.<sup>60</sup> Military service thus successfully mobilized the inhabitants against the governing elites, thereby constructing a field which gave the opportunity to local and foreign nationally-minded players to frame and encode these mutinies by following their own goals, similar to the post-1913 Serbian setting.<sup>61</sup> Here, it is already apparent how this process was both time-consuming and complex. But how did the draft look like?

### 2.1.1. State Effect #1: Drawing Census Records

At the heart of the draft lay the census records which roughly represented the starting point for drawing so-called recruitment rolls since the practice of counting subjects preceded its systematic application as a measure of statecraft.<sup>62</sup> The process should not be taken for granted; in Imperial Russia, for example, after the implementation of compulsory conscription, twenty three years passed before the first empire-wide census was conducted (1897).<sup>63</sup> In order to produce legible results and form a complex picture on the situation, the state authorities sought to know more about the locals, their locations, and their habits, thereby attempting to impose their simplifications.<sup>64</sup>

Here, it is evident how institutions envisioned who was reliable or harmful, which categories were used to describe the region’s inhabitants, and what the locals’ reaction was. Conducting a census in turn led to generating a highly politicized understanding of what a

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<sup>59</sup> BOA/Istanbul, BEO, 3792/284372, leff 18, 29/02/1901, İpek Regional Governor; *ibid.*, leff 22, 24 Z 1318 [14/04/1901], Commander of the Üsküp Redif Division to the 2<sup>nd</sup> Ordu; *ibid.*, leff 17, 05/05/1317 [18/05/1901], Priştine Regional Governor; *ibid.*, DH.MUİ, 21\_2/48, leff 1, 24/09/1909, MoI to the MoW; *ibid.*, DH.İD, 22/18, leff 2, 24 CA 1329 [23/05/1911], Kosova Valisi to the MoI; *ibid.*, leff 5, 08 Kanun-i Sani 1327 [21/01/1912], MoI.

<sup>60</sup> Levi, *Consent, Dissent, and Patriotism*, 23-25.

<sup>61</sup> BOA/Istanbul, DH.SYS, 59/6, leff 42, 07 Kanun-i Sani 1326 [20/02/1911], İpek Regional Governor to the MoI (...) Karadağ tarafından Gusinye ve Plava’da her türlü teşvikatın yapıldığı geçenlerde (...); *ibid.*, leff 37, 07 S 1329 [04/05/1911], MoW to the MoI (...) Dahili ve harici bir takım havenenin tesvilat ve teşvikatına kapılan cibâl halkından (...); Süleyman Külçe, *Osmanlı Tarihinde Arnavutluk* (İzmir: Ticaret Matbaası, 1944). Hasan Prishtina, *A Brief Memoir of the Albanian Rebellion of 1912* (Prishtina: Rrokullia, 2010). and Nader Sohrabi, "Reluctant Nationalists, Imperial Nation-State, and Neo-Ottomanism: Turks, Albanians, and the Antinomies of the End of Empire," *Social Science History* 42, no. 4 (2018): 835-70.

<sup>62</sup> Zürcher and Lucassen, "Giriş: Zorunlu Askerlik ve Direniş: Tarihî Çerçeve," 15. Hartmann, *Die Reichweite des Staates: Wehrpflicht und moderne Staatlichkeit im Osmanischen Reich 1860-1910*, 208. and Corinna R. Unger and Heinrich Hartmann, "Introduction: Counting, Constructing, and Controlling Populations: The History of Demography, Population Studies, and Family Planning in the Twentieth Century," in *A World of Populations: Transnational Perspectives on Demography in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Corinna R. Unger and Heinrich Hartmann (New York - Oxford: Berghahn, 2017), 1-15, here pp. 4.

<sup>63</sup> Benecke, *Militär, Reform und Gesellschaft im Zarenreich: Die Wehrpflicht in Russland 1874-1914*, 94.

<sup>64</sup> James C. Scott, *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Conditions Have Failed* (New Haven - London: Yale University Press, 1998), 2, 5, 57, 65, 77, 82-83.

population was, an idea which became commonplace worldwide long before the Balkan Wars.<sup>65</sup> Due to the lack of sources this cannot be illustrated in-depth; however, focusing on the Serbian setting offers a brief glimpse into how this would have appeared in the post-Ottoman territories.

Only five months after the war began, a census which was conducted by visiting each household was finished in most areas of the Serbian-occupied territories by mid-1913. For this reason, the civil authorities who were subordinated at the time to the military believed that it could be considered quite accurate.<sup>66</sup> In some places, the former turned to the Ottoman census books because they were extensive and seemingly accurate due to their fiscal conditions; however, not all of them were equally regarded. Minor errors were expected given the locals' tactic of hiding away their able-bodied male residents. In Debar, located in post-Ottoman Macedonia, this became a widespread issue when the locals discovered that the census preceded levying taxes and paved the way for recruitment. Thus, visiting each household was infeasible since the officials could not enter the locals' *hurz* (refuge or personal space for living) or *harem* with the goal of counting them "like the shepherd does in a sheepfold."<sup>67</sup>

Therefore, the census did not become part of the inhabitants' daily-life even though the first Ottoman census had been concluded in the 1830s.<sup>68</sup> However, in case of the areas of Taşlıca and Yeni Pazar areas, it is difficult to gauge the locals' reaction since the authorities did not mention them. In these areas, they had a rough picture by 1913 about how many inhabitants lived locally.<sup>69</sup> In this regard, a first phase of obtaining information on the population had been completed, meaning that the second phase, i.e. the census of all the young men between the ages of 20 to 25, could begin. The census was conducted in every municipality and thereby, was under the control of the civil authorities. It was carried out as the personal responsibility of municipal officials who composed and signed the recruiting rolls, thereby guaranteeing their

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<sup>65</sup> Unger and Hartmann, "Introduction: Counting, Constructing, and Controlling Populations: The History of Demography, Population Studies, and Family Planning in the Twentieth Century," 2, 4-6. Peter Holquist, "To Count, to Extract, and to Exterminate: Population Statistics and Population Politics in Late Imperial and Soviet Russia," in *A State of Nations: Empire and Nation-Making in the Age of Lenin and Stalin*, ed. Ronald Grigor Suny and Terry Martin (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 111-44, here pp. 12-15, 21, 23. İpek K. Yosmaoğlu, "Counting Bodies, Shaping Souls: The 1903 Census and National Identity in Ottoman Macedonia," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 38, no. 1 (2006): 55-77. and Mehmet Hacısalihoğlu, "Borders, Maps, and Censuses: The Politicization of Geography and Statistics in the Multi-Ethnic Ottoman Empire," in *Comparing Empires: Encounters and Transfers in the Long Nineteenth Century*, ed. Jörn Leonhard and Ulrike von Hirschhausen (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011), 171-210, here pp. 186-87.

<sup>66</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MUD-P 1913, F22/R1, #2583, 03.04.1913, Skoplje, Vujičić to the MoFA and Stefanović, "Prvo stupanje Južnosrbijanaca u srpsku vojsku 1914. godine," 49.

<sup>67</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MUD-ŠVK, K-2388, #18, 20.02.1913, Debar, District Chief to the Supreme Command. See also DAS/Belgrade, MID-PP 1914, R406, #972, 22.04.1914, Beograd, MoI to the MoFA.

<sup>68</sup> Kemal H. Karpat, *Osmanlı Nüfusu 1830-1914* (İstanbul: Timaş, 2010). and Hacısalihoğlu, "Borders, Maps, and Censuses: The Politicization of Geography and Statistics in the Multi-Ethnic Ottoman Empire," 173.

<sup>69</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MUD-ŠVK, K-2388, #349, 22.12.1912, Pljevlja, District Chief to the Police Department at the Supreme Command; *ibid*, MUD-P 1913, F22/R1, #7, 31.01.1913, Plevlje, District Chief and *ibid*, MUD-ŠVK-PO, K-2388, #16, 24.03.1913, Novi Pazar, District Chief to the Police Department at the Supreme Command.



accuracy.<sup>70</sup> As such it offers only limited insight into the number of able-bodied between 20 and 25; yet, this also illustrates the strong will of Serbia to immediately establish infrastructure power over the occupied territories (Table 4).

Table 4: The Number of Those between the Ages of 20 to 25 in the post-Ottoman Areas (1913)<sup>71</sup>

Age	Number
20-Year Olds	12.213
21-Year Olds	6.494
22-Year Olds	8.909
23-Year Olds	9.218
24-Year Olds	9.283
25-Year Olds	16.012
<b>In total</b>	<b>62.129</b>

Confession	Number
Orthodox Christians	30.486
Muslims	31.039
Catholics	417
Jews	187
<b>In total</b>	<b>62.129</b>

The ruling elites also tended to include all those who hailed originally from the borderlands but worked abroad, including those who were out of range of the new polity. For them, local municipal courts issued calls for the draft but did so without maintaining close interaction with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and its diplomatic representatives. As a result, this engendered an unnecessary correspondence between various governmental levels.<sup>72</sup> However, their far-reaching effect is aptly illustrated in the case of Slavic-speaking Orthodox Christians, Dimitrije A. Ristić and Milan D. Filića from the Prepole District, who were working in South Omaha, Nebraska, USA at the time. In their letters, which were forwarded by a Serbian New York consulate, both indicated that they received the call for recruitment; however, due to accrued debt (*borč*), they could not leave the United States right away. As soon as they paid off their debts and earned enough money, they would come back since they both emphasized that they would gladly join “our Serbian military” (*našu srpsku vojnu*).<sup>73</sup>

It is difficult to say what happened afterwards with Dimitrije and Milan. Both of them left their addresses, but by late 1913, the scope of the new governing elites encapsulated both the former Ottoman subjects and those on the other side of the ocean.<sup>74</sup> This was necessary

<sup>70</sup> VA/Belgrade, P2, K19, F1, 24/8, 29.05.1913, Skoplje, Supreme Command to Nikola Pašić.

<sup>71</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MUD-P 1913, F22/R1, #6784, 21.09.1913, Skoplje, M. Vujičić Štabu mačedonsko-kosovskih trupa.

<sup>72</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MUD-P 1914, F7/R115, #3115, 17.02.1914, Belgrade, MUD to all district chiefs; *Pravilo o rekrutovanju mladića za stalan kadar, upisu, ispisu i prevođenju u rezervu i oba poziva narodne vojske*, § 165, 270-71. and *Pravilo o rekrutovanju mladića za stalan kadar, upisu, ispisu i prevođenje u rezervu i oba poziva narodne vojske*, (Novi Sad: Štamparija Supek-Jovanović i Bogdanov, 1919), § 165, 274.

<sup>73</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MUD-P 1914, F26/R34, #10408, 24.06.1914, Beograd, MoI to the MoFA and *ibid*, #10407, 24.06.1914, Beograd, MoI to the MoFA.

<sup>74</sup> Jagodić, *Novi krajevi Srbije (1912-1915)*, 115-52.

because, as previously mentioned, in early 1914, the inhabitants were drafted and transported to their commands to fulfill their military duty.<sup>75</sup>

The whole process was not flawless, something which both military and civil powers were aware of. Despite their utmost commitment to enlist every subject, they knew that a certain percentage of young men did remain unlisted (especially in towns). However, they were convinced that these men could easily be found when the post-war period was established and after those who had hidden themselves in contested spaces (i.e. mountains) returned.<sup>76</sup> The authorities made further mistakes while recording the names of certain villages, which in turn led to them having additional fieldwork. Their superiors did not tolerate this since they were obsessed with the punctuality of gathered information and held the goal of familiarizing themselves with new spaces and subjects in an incredibly short time.<sup>77</sup> Once the peace came, the ruling elites planned to conduct a new census in early 1914. During this time, they ordered the authorities to not issue any passports to male subjects between the ages of 20 to 30. Following the outbreak of WWI this had to be suspended and the military had no other option but to work with the 1913 census.<sup>78</sup>

Census shortcomings emerged in late 1914 since the military believed that, compared with the pre-1913 territories, military obligation of the new subjects had not reached its peak. They believed this, this was mainly due to the 1913 census, and claimed that it had not allowed the state to call up all capable obligors under the banner.<sup>79</sup> In some areas, records needed for the draft (e.g. the priests' registries of births and deaths, census records, and copies of the recruiting rolls) could either not be found or included a false date. One such area was Tašlica after 1918 where the draft could not be conducted because no military authority had been established.<sup>80</sup> The direct outcome of the wars was the destruction of records and, for this reason, both ecclesiastical and civil powers could not conduct their parts of the work since they depended on each other. The only solution was to conduct a new general census of the entire population that would establish a basis for the future draft, thereby incorporating all men between the ages of 15 to 60. Both local clergymen and civil authorities had to keep their own registries, compile the recruiting rolls, and add the tax dates of the subjects.<sup>81</sup> In late 1920, the population and

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<sup>75</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MUD-P 1914, F26/R34, #2354, 04.02.1914, Beograd, MoI to the Kosovo District and Stefanović, "Prvo stupanje Južnosrbijanaca u srpsku vojsku 1914. godine," 48-53.

<sup>76</sup> VA/Belgrade, P2, K19, F1, 24/8, 29.05.1913, Skoplje, ŠVK Nikoli Pašiću; DAS/Belgrade, MUD-P 1913, F22/R1, Pov. Br. 2583, 03.04.1913, Skoplje, M. Vujičić MID and VA/Belgrade, P2, K21, F1, 17/1, Pov. Br. 9563, 30.07.1913, Skoplje, ŠVK MV.

<sup>77</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MUD-ŠVK 1912-1913, B-2387, #4180, 13.06.1913, Skoplje, Vujičić to all district chiefs.

<sup>78</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MUD-P 1914, F13/R18, #2612, 09.03.1914, Beograd, MoW to the MoI and *ibid*, 17.05.1914, #6208, Tetovo District Chief to the MoI.

<sup>79</sup> VA/Belgrade, P3, K73, F1, 2/37, #3164, 18.12.1914, Skoplje, KTNO to the MoW.

<sup>80</sup> VA/Belgrade, P3, K172, F9, 8/11, #41.218, 12.07.1919, Beograd, Supreme Command to the MoWN.

<sup>81</sup> VA/Belgrade, P4/2, K88, F6, 10/60, #681, 13.07.1919, Plevlja, 56<sup>th</sup> Regimental District Command to the KZDO.

livestock census, as well as the data on the obligors were sent, although the military still doubted the capacity of the actors involved. The former hoped to correct this by teaching the local powers how to be more thorough and accurate in their jobs.<sup>82</sup>

But again, those engaged in the process were capable of hindering it. For example, in the Vučitrn region, a president of the municipal court had intentionally concealed the number of conscripts (1919). Although the municipality consisted of 600 households, there were only a mere eight conscripts listed in the records (a new census calculated more than a hundred conscripts).<sup>83</sup> Near Mitroviča, village chiefs and members of the local council protested the collection of data because they no longer had people to surrender “since we have been giving them to the Ottomans, Serbs, Austrians and Bulgarians.”<sup>84</sup> These actors should not be directly labeled, as the SCS authorities had, along national and/or religious lines.<sup>85</sup> A similar case happened in the same area around 1900 when the population refused to pay taxes and offer up soldiers to the Ottoman authorities.<sup>86</sup> As an example, four months after WWI began, Serbian municipal officials in various municipalities failed to perform their duty fairly. Driven by either comradeship or self-interest, they concealed recruits, creating indignation and mistrust towards the state among the subjects. They caused considerable damage to the general cause, as well as the governmental esteem given the claim that the war burden was to be shared by all, something which was also noticeable in the post-1913 Berane area.<sup>87</sup> But, who participated in drawing the recruitment rolls? What were their duties? And what problems emerged?

### 2.1.2. State Effect #2: Conducting Recruitment

Dispatching the recruiting commissions on an annual basis, whose goal it was to gather new data and furnish the draft, represents a process in which various governmental procedures were intertwined and where a large number of actors and locals were engaged.<sup>88</sup> By focusing on its implementation, or at least on how it was envisioned, it is possible to comprehend how this yearly state action was supposed to run. In pre-1913 Serbia those involved classified the draft as a real and solid foundation not only for the army but also for the whole country, through

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<sup>82</sup> VA/Belgrade, P4/3, K63, F3, 2/68, #6079, 12.11.1920, Skoplje, KIIIAO to the Chief of General Staff and *Pravilo o rekrutovanju mladića za stalan kadar, upisu, ispisu i prevođenje u rezervu i oba poziva narodne vojske*, §46/2.

<sup>83</sup> VA/Belgrade, P4/3, K57, F7, 14/27, 15.07.1919, Bare, President of the Municipality Court to the Vučitrn County Chief.

<sup>84</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MUDuI, OP 1919, K1, #5333, 05.04.1919, Kijevo, Manager of the Kijev Municipality to the County Chief.

<sup>85</sup> VA/Belgrade, P6, K638, F4, 30/1, #389, 08.09.1919, Podgorica, Kolašinski bataljon KZDO; Dimić and Borozan, *Jugoslovenska država i Albanci*, II. #677, 31.05.1920, Priština, KKDO to the KIIIAO, 695-696; #741, 03.07.1920, 03.07.1920, Skoplje, KIIIAO to the MoWN, 785; #742, 03.07.1920, Skoplje, KIIIAO to the MoWN, 785-787 and #855, 12.08.1920, Peć, Major Branković to the KAP, 869-871.

<sup>86</sup> BOA/Istanbul, BEO 1519/113880, 19 Ra 1318 [17/07/1900], Vali of the Vilayet of Kosova to the Serasker and

<sup>87</sup> VA/Belgrade, P3, K75, F3, 12/32, 31.10.1914, Kragujevac, KMDO to the Supreme Command and DACG/Cetinje, MUD-UO, 1915/F166, #3081, br. 6776, 23.06.1915, Cetinje, MoI to the Berane District Chief.

<sup>88</sup> Heinrich Hartmann, *Der Volkskörper bei der Musterung: Militärstatistik und Demographie in Europa vor dem Ersten Weltkrieg* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2011), 102.

which governmental encroachments could only be solidified to the extent that it offered a chance to learn more about their subjects.<sup>89</sup>

By examining at the 1900 Serbian recruitment law, which represented the basis (albeit one with only minor advances) of the 1919 SCS regulation (until 1927), it becomes clear how pivotal the interactions and contact between various state bodies, brokers, locals, and their societal institutions were for the entire process.<sup>90</sup> During their involvement, these actors learned from one another how they could enhance or adjust their strategies and tactics, which the 1900 recruitment law aptly shows since more extensive than the law of 1891.<sup>91</sup> Each of the involved parties played a role in recording and keeping data on the able-bodied all, while evaluating and examining each case. They were made to run back-and-forth as one unified force insofar as by acting separately they could cover different (contested) physical spaces locally. Upon reading the recruitment law, it is clear how much care was taken in defining the procedure so that the state could not only establish loyalty with or create the impression of justice locally, but also the aim was to prevent abuses of any kind and present the range for responsibilities of every party, as in the Ottoman or Russian cases.<sup>92</sup>

At the outset of the enlistment both civil and ecclesiastical authorities had to work closely. Recruitment was based on a roll that the municipal authority, together with the municipal council, had to draw by leaning on the census record, birth certificates provided by a clergyman, and their own field survey. If the clergymen did not submit the certificates of all young men who should be drafted until April 15<sup>th</sup> of any given year or if they gave false data, the local authorities were held liable. Aside from keeping a copy of all these documents, both authorities had to check the roll in person and together, and, which the mayor, headmen, councilmen, and the municipal scribe all had to sign at the end. After finishing the cross-examination, the authorities summoned a headman of the multi-family households and town citizenry, so that they could verify the roll, which is available at the municipal court until May 15<sup>th</sup>. The authorities then notified the headman that the young men who were not home should return

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<sup>89</sup> F. Tajsčić, "Lekarsko rekrutovanje mladića za stajaću vojsku," *Ratnik: List za vojne nauke, novosti i književnost* 2, no. 2 (1880): 129-60. and Milan Necić, "Rekrutovanje u VII. beogradskom pukovskom okrugu 1901. godine," *Ratnik: List za vojne nauke, novosti i književnost* 24, no. 1 (1902): 104-29.

<sup>90</sup> VA/Belgrade, P3, K170, F3, 5/10, #35778, #70.969, 25.08.1919, Beograd, MoWN to various military units. *Pravilo o rekrutovanju mladića za stalan kadar, upisu, ispisu i prevođenju u rezervu i oba poziva narodne vojske. Uput za rekrutovanje mladića rođenih 1899. i 1900. godine, kao i starijih zaključno sa 1896. godinom, a koji do sada nisu bili rekrutovani*, vol. I (Beograd: Štamparska radionica Ministarstva vojnog i mornarice, 1919). *Uput za rekrutovanje mladića rođenih 1896., 1897. i 1898. godine i starijih*, vol. II (Beograd: Štamparska radionica Ministarstva vojnoga i mornarice, 1919). and *Pravilo o rekrutovanju i provođenju*, (Beograd: Izdavačka knjižarnica Gece Koca, 1927).

<sup>91</sup> *Pravila za rekrutovanje obveznika za stalan kadar, prevođenje u pozive i ispisi iz vojske*, (Beograd: Kralj.-srpska državna štamparija, 1891).

<sup>92</sup> Toma Jovanović, "Nešto o rekrutovanju naše stajaće vojske," *Ratnik: List za vojne nauke, novosti i književnost* 2, no. 4 (1880): 1314-22, here pp. 15. Hartmann, *Die Reichweite des Staates: Wehrpflicht und moderne Staatlichkeit im Osmanischen Reich 1860-1910*, 84, 207-08. and Benecke, *Militär, Reform und Gesellschaft im Zarenreich: Die Wehrpflicht in Russland 1874-1914*, 59-60, 97, 102.

before a recruiting commission arrived. They also had to issue a call for recruitment which either the able-bodied, their parents or their headman had to sign in person. Then, the civil authorities sent the roll via police authorities to a regimental district command together with all the original documents (until June 5<sup>th</sup>).<sup>93</sup>

The command was the first of three military instances where the roll, the certificates, and the census record had to pass a systematic inspection. If inconsistencies were discovered, the roll would be returned to the civil authorities (until June 15<sup>th</sup>), whereby the latter had to correct and re-send it (until June 25<sup>th</sup>). The command would then forward the roll to their superiors (September 15<sup>th</sup>), the commander of a division district, who after finding any errors dispatched the roll back to the commander of a regimental district (until October 1<sup>st</sup>). After getting the roll back, the commander of a division district would keep one copy and forward another copy to the Ministry of War (until September 25<sup>th</sup>).<sup>94</sup>

As the roll was evaluated by the military, the recruitment commission was already active on the ground, visiting municipalities within a given regimental district and scrutinizing the documents once again. It consisted of the commander (its president), adjutant of the regimental district, a military doctor, a county chief, two non-commissioned officers (NCOs), and two soldiers. While conducting recruitment in the municipality, the commission enlarged itself by including the mayor and the village headman.<sup>95</sup> The mayor, municipal scribe, headman, one half of the village councilmen, and the clergyman would bring the documents while the enlistment was being conducted between July 1<sup>st</sup> and August 31<sup>st</sup>. If the clergyman could come, he had to send the documents and as soon as he finished his job, he would join the others.<sup>96</sup>

Then, the commission summoned the young men who were gathered beforehand by the local powers to come forward. The young men were required to bring the military documents of the members of their multi-family households for inspection. After being categorized, they were informed about which military branch they would serve in based on their education and physical capabilities. For those who had not been inspected for various reasons, the commission ordered the president of the municipal court of where and when he would have to send them. Recruits for the infantry were sent to the army in February of the following year.<sup>97</sup> The infantry, which was viewed as the main branch of the army, demanded an exceptional character and

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<sup>93</sup> *Pravilo o rekrutovanju mladića za stalan kadar, upisu, ispisu i prevođenju u rezervu i oba poziva narodne vojske*, §4, 6, 7, 13, 17-19, 21.

<sup>94</sup> *Pravilo o rekrutovanju mladića za stalan kadar, upisu, ispisu i prevođenju u rezervu i oba poziva narodne vojske*, §23, 47, 52, 58.

<sup>95</sup> *Pravilo o rekrutovanju mladića za stalan kadar, upisu, ispisu i prevođenju u rezervu i oba poziva narodne vojske*, §1-2, 28.

<sup>96</sup> *Pravilo o rekrutovanju mladića za stalan kadar, upisu, ispisu i prevođenju u rezervu i oba poziva narodne vojske*, §2, 8, 36.

<sup>97</sup> *Pravilo o rekrutovanju mladića za stalan kadar, upisu, ispisu i prevođenju u rezervu i oba poziva narodne vojske*, §2, 8, 28-29, 30, 36, 38, 40, 65.

quality (*kakvoća*) from the recruits since their central aim was to obtain developed, healthy, and strong young men. Thus, so-called hospital candidates were avoided, meaning that in pre-1913 Serbia, (and also in France, Germany and Switzerland) the imagined recruit gained the status of a scientific object whose suitability was crucial and, therefore, became thereby a factor in the economic calculation of the state budget.<sup>98</sup> Then, the commander of a regimental district issued a call to each recruit at least 18 days before the day on which a recruit should report to the barracks. A president of the municipal court or a village headman had to gather the recruits and check who came and why others did not.<sup>99</sup> However, before the drafted are sent to the barracks, a super-audit commission, which was made up of another infantry commander, a medical officer, a doctor, and an officer from the division district, double-checked the newcomers. Upon arriving in the barracks, the recruits' regular service started to be calculated.<sup>100</sup>

This whole process was also visible in the Habsburg crown land Vorarlberg, in Germany, and in Russia, where the ruling elites needed a complex system of locally grounded powers which the conscription could rely upon. Their strong role stemmed not only from the goal to make the draft as transparent as possible, but it also reflected their will not to burden the well-being of local economies and public order.<sup>101</sup> The draft did not always function as the law suggested. Mountainous terrain and poor communication in Serbia's pre-1913 eastern provinces presented difficulties, whereas some officers complained that conscripts who did arrive on time nevertheless had a bad character. In addition to not taking care of their bodies, or being afraid to show them, (just as was the case with their French peers) they would not bring the necessary military documents of those who had previously served. This led to a loss of time and money for both themselves and authorities. For a medical officer, this hindered their self-imposed quota of managing 150 to 200 conscripts for eight hours of work.<sup>102</sup>

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<sup>98</sup> Tajsčić, "Lekarsko rekrutovanje mladića za stajaću vojsku," 132, 38, 42, 56. "O regrutovanju: vojno-higijenska studija," *Ratnik: List za vojne nauke, novosti i književnost* 13, no. 1 (1891): 1-17. *Pravilo o rekrutovanju mladića za stalan kadar, upisu, ispisu i prevođenju u rezervu i oba poziva narodne vojske*, §37. and Hartmann, *Der Volkskörper bei der Musterung: Militärstatistik und Demographie in Europa vor dem Ersten Weltkrieg*, 107, 09, 26-31.

<sup>99</sup> *Pravilo o rekrutovanju mladića za stalan kadar, upisu, ispisu i prevođenju u rezervu i oba poziva narodne vojske*, §40, 74, 77, 89.

<sup>100</sup> *Pravilo o rekrutovanju mladića za stalan kadar, upisu, ispisu i prevođenju u rezervu i oba poziva narodne vojske*, §59-63, 74, 77, 89-92 133-36, 47-54, 63-65.

<sup>101</sup> Christa Hämmerle, "Verhandelt und bestätigt - oder eben nicht? Gemeinde und Allgemeine Wehrpflicht in Österreich-Ungarn (1868-1914/18)," *Geschichte und Region/Storia e regione* 14, no. 2 (2005): 15-41, here pp. 22-23, 27. Benecke, *Militär, Reform und Gesellschaft im Zarenreich: Die Wehrpflicht in Russland 1874-1914*, 94-97, 101-02. and Hartmann, *Der Volkskörper bei der Musterung: Militärstatistik und Demographie in Europa vor dem Ersten Weltkrieg*, 103-06, 39, 44-46.

<sup>102</sup> VA/Belgrade, P14, K11, F1, 41/1, *Godišnji izveštaj o poslovanju Đeneralštabnog odeljenja Komande Timočke divizijske oblasti u 1899. godini*, 1-10, 26-27. Tajsčić, "Lekarsko rekrutovanje mladića za stajaću vojsku," 132-33. Necić, "Regrutovanje u VII. beogradskom pukovskom okrugu 1901. godine," 104-29, here pp. 04-05. and Hartmann, *Der Volkskörper bei der Musterung: Militärstatistik und Demographie in Europa vor dem Ersten Weltkrieg*, 148.

Just as certain pre-1913 Christian clergymen, their Muslim peers accepted money and provided false birth certificates to some conscripts in the post-1913 setting during WWI. Their actions caused confusion among the authorities and as a result they were advised to pay strict attention to birth certificates.<sup>103</sup> There have always been those who tried to fake (*stimulanti*) sickness or handicap in an attempt to avoid military service, something which one in Prussian Rhineland or in Egypt under the rule of Muhammad Ali had also tried.<sup>104</sup> The war also lowered the conditions which the military used to decide who was capable or was not capable of serving. This created a scenario in which a significant number of unfit recruits ended up in units, where they wasted precious state food, as some officers complained.<sup>105</sup> At the same time, those labeled as capable tried to evade their duty after finding out that they were about to be enlisted to the army, some conscripts would just flee.<sup>106</sup>

In brief, in both cases, the role of those involved hampered to a certain degree the drawing of census records and the conscription, whereby one notices that this obstacle is manifold: in addition to the insufficiency of spatial state capacities, the able-bodied could apply various techniques as a way to avoid military duty. Other hindrances stemmed from actors who were supposed to represent the state's interest or that of the locals, such as (village) headmen, notables, clergymen, mayors, and councilmen. Ascribing duties and waiting for them to be absorbed did not suffice; in order for them to take hold, obtain the upper hand, and enlist a sufficient number of able-bodied persons, the state had to utilize a wide variety of mobilization strategies.<sup>107</sup> Concerning the brokers, the governing elites had to give concessions, so that local headmen around post-1918 Yakova, for instance, could "assure the folk that [the polity] truly could help them."<sup>108</sup> If the state thus hoped to avoid unnecessary local challenges, negotiating with and investing in these actors represented an non-negotiable condition of state-building,

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<sup>103</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MPs-C, F5/R39, #1475, 1887, Kosmaj, County Chief to the Belgrade District Chief; *ibid*, #283, 20.03.1887, Belgrade, District Chief to the MoEaCA; *ibid*, #1771, 09.03.1887, Belgrade, Consistory to the MoEaCA; *ibid*, F3/R89, #747, 25.06.1914, Ohrid, Bishop of Debar and Veles to acting district archpriests and VA/Belgrade, P3, K72, F5, 22/6, 15.07.1915, Commander of 4<sup>th</sup> Battalion to the Commander of the 10<sup>th</sup> Infantry Regiment.

<sup>104</sup> Tajsčić, "Lekarsko regrutovanje mladića za stajaću vojsku," 133-37. Necić, "Regrutovanje u VII. beogradskom pukovskom okrugu 1901. godine," 110-11. Schmitt, *Armee und staatliche Integration: Preußen und die Habsburgermonarchie 1815-1866. Rekrutierungspolitik in den neuen Provinzen: Staatliches Handeln und Bevölkerung*, 190-92, 98-99, 202-03. and Fahmy, *Paşanın Adamları. Kavalalı Mehmed Ali Paşa, Ordu ve Modern Mısır*, 249-53.

<sup>105</sup> VA/Belgrade, P3, K75, F3, 12/7, 04.09.1914, Kragujevac, KRT to the Supreme Command and *ibid*, F4, 8/48, 07.02.1915, Niš, KNRT to the Supreme Command.

<sup>106</sup> VA/Belgrade, P3, K81, F3, 7/26, 12.09.1914, Niš, MoW to the Supreme Command; *ibid*, K75, F3, 12/31, 23.10.1914, Valjevo, Supreme Command various military institutions and *ibid*, 12/32, 31.10.1914, Kragujevac, KMDO to the Supreme Command.

<sup>107</sup> Nigel Young, "War Resistance, State and Society," in *War, State and Society*, ed. Martin Shaw (London: Macmillan Press, 1984), 95-116, here pp. 02. Evren Balta, "Military Success, State Capacity and Internal War-Making in Russia and Turkey" (PhD The City University of New York, 2007), 8-9, 21-24, 26, 29. and Ulrich Bröckling, *Disziplin: Askeri İtaat Üretiminin Sosyolojisi ve Tarihi* (İstanbul: Ayrıntı Yayınları, 2008), 27.

<sup>108</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MUDuI, OP 1919/K1, #233, 25.06.1919, Orahovac, County Chief to the Prizren District Chief.

whether it was it in the Habsburg Monarchy, Russia or the region itself.<sup>109</sup> They should not be viewed as simple bystanders or blind followers of orders simply because they were local officials. Therefore, an in-depth examination of their lifeworld is essential for forming a better understanding about the process of mobilization.

## 2.2. The Network of Interdependent Brokers

The following seven entrepreneurs: power-holders, clergymen, mukhtars, bandits, former rank and file, teachers, and tribal or kinship headmen reappear frequently throughout the study, thought in different periods. They are not the only ones who appear in the mobilization field because other brokers (e.g. sheiks), including (military-like) organizations, such as singing societies, hunting associations or town and village marksmen's clubs are also encountered. In these, locals, clergymen, teachers, officers, soldiers, bureaucrats, and notables met and fostered an ethnonational belonging and indirectly local mobilization but tracing their interaction is challenging due to the lack of sources.<sup>110</sup> Still, through all of them, the state aims to cover as much physical spaces and the male populations as possible. Boundaries among them were not fixed and they became a part of various state-backed media. The ruling elites through these actors often presented national and/or confessional narratives to the largely illiterate local communities, who, for example, could not speak Ottoman.<sup>111</sup> Oral propaganda therefore represented a crucial part of the state's mobilization efforts. It fostered socialization and communication in so-called face-to-face communities which should be understood here not as the transfer of information but rather as the process-based creation of meanings charged with various symbolic messages.<sup>112</sup>

### 2.2.1. Power-Holders/Notables

Since these entrepreneurs were noted in the records as *eşraf*, *seramedan*, *hanedan*, *vücu*h (Ottoman Empire), *plemić*, *prvak*, *viđena* or *uticajna osoba* (Serbia, Montenegro, the Kingdom

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<sup>109</sup> Hämmerle, "Verhandelt und bestätigt - oder eben nicht? Gemeinde und Allgemeine Wehrpflicht in Österreich-Ungarn (1868-1914/18)," 22-23, 25-26. Benecke, *Militär, Reform und Gesellschaft im Zarenreich: Die Wehrpflicht in Russland 1874-1914*, 94-95. and Franziska E. Davies, "Muslims in the Russian army, 1874-1917" (PhD Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität, 2016), 10, 36, 48, 107-08.

<sup>110</sup> VA/Belgrade, P14, K11, F1, 41/1, *Godišnji izveštaj o poslovima Đeneralštabnog odeljenja Komande Timočke divizijske oblasti u 1899. godini*, 7-8; *Pravila službe* vol. I (Beograd: Državna štamparija Kraljevine Srbije, 1913), 145. "Slike iz tetovske policije," *Policija* 5, no. 7 (1914): 214-15. Raif Virmića, *Kosova Tekkeleri, Türbeleri ve Kitabeli Mezar Taşları* (Istanbul: Sufi Kitap, 2010). and Ljubomir Petrović, *Istorija srpskog streljaštva* (Beograd: Institut za savremenu istoriju, 2011), 23-55.

<sup>111</sup> Şerif, *Arnavudluk'da, Sûriye'de, Trablusgarb'de Tanîn*, II, 69-70.

<sup>112</sup> Mann, *The Sources of Social Power*, 2: *The Rise of Classes and Nation States*, 28, 37-38, 40-41. Rudolf Schlögl, "Symbole in der Kommunikation. Zur Einführung," in *Die Wirklichkeit der Symbole: Grundlagen der Kommunikation in historischen und gegenwärtigen Gesellschaften*, ed. Rudolf Schlögl, Bernhard Giesen, and Jürgen Osterhammel (Konstanz: UVK, 2004), 9-38. Rudolf Schlögl, *Anwesende und Abwesende: Grundriss für eine Gesellschaftsgeschichte der Frühen Neuzeit* (Konstanz: Konstanz University Press, 2014). and Mehmet Beşikçi, "Domestic Aspects of Ottoman Jihad: The Role of Religious Motifs and Religious Agents in the Mobilization of the Ottoman Army," in *Jihad and Islam in World War I*, ed. Erik-Jan Zürcher (Leiden University Press: Leiden, 2016), 95-115.



of SCS) or *Notabeln* (Habsburg Monarchy), this study uses the terms power-holders and notables interchangeably.<sup>113</sup> It refers to those actors whose influence stemmed from various sources: In addition to owning large land holdings and obtaining the right to collect revenues, these bi- or multilingual brokers dealt with both regional (e.g. army suppliers) and long-distance trade (e.g. Ottoman Middle East, Serbia, Montenegro, Habsburg Monarchy, Italy), which in turn led to creating locally rooted networks that went far beyond their hometowns and the region itself. Since they belonged to high ranking families or been members of local councils and town municipalities, some of them drew supremacy from the horizontal (higher governmental authorities, ruling elites of foreign countries and their consuls) and/or vertical linkages (forging alliances with other notables).<sup>114</sup>

As such, they closely resembled their peers in Ottoman Syria and Palestine, whereas they differed from notables in nineteenth-century Algeria and Tunisia who locally claimed the status of saint, sufi, and scholar.<sup>115</sup> Their network was an advantage which could be employed in the face of emerging turmoil or transition and, in contrast to other brokers, they also possessed the title of pasha, bey, ağa or effendi. However, this practice what did not exclusively belong to them since clergymen could hold the same titles.<sup>116</sup> By 1912, addressing a corporal Christian broker with the title of ağa entered into linguistic use, at least around Taşlıca, even though the latter did not possess it.<sup>117</sup> As the case of post-Ottoman Bosnia-Herzegovina illustrates, holding a title included not only those who belonged to the ruling elites but also landowners, craftsmen,

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<sup>113</sup> BOA/Istanbul, Y.PRK.UM, 40/62, leff 6, 20 Teşrinievvel 1313 [01/11/1897] (...) umum sancak eşraf ve seramedanı hazır (...); *ibid*, TFR.I.KV, 33/3225, 3 CA 1321 [28/07/1903], Regional Governor of Taşlıca to the Inspectorate-General of Three Vilayets (...) Taşlıca eşraf ve hanedanından (...); VA/Belgrade, P14, K3, F5, 61/1, #32, 20.11.1898, Niš, Aleksa Bogosavljević, *Spisak viđenih lica i starešina plemenskih u Novopazarskom sandžaku i pečkoj nahiji* and ÖstA/HHStA/Vienna, PA I 977, 32k, Serbien, #23/616 B, Mitrovica, 09.06.1916, Zivilkommissär Vizekonsul Julius Ledinegg to the MdÄ. (...) durch häufigen Kontakt mit den Notabeln (...); Dimić and Borozan, *Jugoslovenska država i Albanci*, II, #707, 16.06.1920, Skoplje, KIII AO, 734. (...) sa naročitom pažnjom prema prvacima (...).

<sup>114</sup> Cvetić, *Novopazarski sandžak*, 26, 30. *Rad Narodne Skupštine otomanskih Srba*, (Skoplje: Izdanje Prve srpske štamparije "Vardar", 1910), 88. Mihailo Vojvodić, "Novi Pazar (1804-1912)," in *Novi Pazar i okolina*, ed. Mihailo Maletić (Beograd: Književne novine, 1969), 245-72, here pp. 65-67. Vukoman Šalipurović, *Kulturno-prosvetne i političke organizacije u Polimlju i Raškoj, 1903-1912* (Beograd: Opštinska zajednica obrazovanja Nova Varoš, 1972), 4-7, 10. Ali Hadri and Živko Avramovski, *Kosovska Mitrovica i okolina* (Kosovska Mitrovica: Institut za istoriju Kosova - Priština, 1979), 22, 76-77, 87-88, 98, 124. Varadi and Laki, *Novopazarski sandžak - Pljevlja: Crteži, pripovetke i putopisi o Novopazarskom sandžaku Turske od okupacije do aneksije*, 106, 17, 29, 34-35, 37, 39-40.

<sup>115</sup> Philip S. Khoury, *Urban Notables and Arab Nationalism: The Politics of Damascus 1860-1920* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983). Albert Hourani, "Ottoman Reform and the Politics of Notables," in *The Modern Middle East: A Reader*, ed. Albert Hourani, Philip S. Khoury, and Mary C. Wilson (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1993), 83-109, here pp. 95-05. Philip S. Khoury, "The Urban Notables Paradigm Revisited," *Revue des mondes musulmans et de la Méditerranée* 55-56, no. 1-2 (1990): 215-30, here pp. 15. Adel Manna, "Continuity and Change in the Socio-Political Elite in Palestine During the late Ottoman Period," in *The Syrian Land in the 18th and 19th Century*, ed. Thomas Philipp (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1992), 69-89. and Julia Clancy-Smith, *Rebel and Saint: Muslim Notables, Populist Protest, Colonial Encounters (Algeria and Tunisia, 1800-1904)* (Berkeley - Los Angeles - London: University of California Press, 1997), 2-3.

<sup>116</sup> Faruk Sümer, "Ağa," *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi* 1 (Ab-ı Hayat - Ahkamu'ş-Şeriyye) (1988): 451-52. Orhan F. Köprülü, "Bey," *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi* 6 (Beşir Ağa Camii - Cafer Paşa Tekkesi) (1992): 12-13. Orhan F. Köprülü, "Efendi," *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi* 10 (Dümetülcendel-Elbise) (1994): 455-56. Abdülkadir Özcan, "Paşa," *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi* 34 (Osmanpazar-Resuldar) (2007): 182-84. and Joseph Pomiankowski, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunun Çöküşü: 1914-1918 I. Dünya Savaşı* (İstanbul: Kayihan Yayınları, 2014), 23-24.

<sup>117</sup> Božović, *Kroz nekadanju tromeđu: putopisna proza o pljevaljskom kraju iz 1932. godine*, 43.

merchants, and ulema. Even following their downfall, some adhered to using titles for their symbolic capital.<sup>118</sup> In brief, the label of power-holders or notables does not envision these brokers as a fixed group.

Regardless of their differences, they shared common traits. Besides being included in recruitment councils, they were entangled with localities and the Ottoman state-building process, which increased their influence and whose echoes resonated after 1913.<sup>119</sup> Encouraging mobilization fell under their ascribed duties, meaning, they were expected to act thus because as long as they defended the Ottoman framework, their position locally would remain unchanged. Either they skillfully organized local Muslims to search for weapons among the subjects deemed as disloyal or they inspired the inhabitants to be ready for conflict, just as they did prior to the Balkan Wars.<sup>120</sup> Others even led paramilitary units before and during the 1912/13 wars and through this they became acquainted with what had to be provided in order to keep the able-bodied at bay. This is unsurprising since in some cases their kin members were Ottoman officers.<sup>121</sup> By acting within this context, these brokers also reified their authority locally insofar as they provided aid (*muhtac-ı muavenet*) to the families of those who served under the Ottoman banner or fought in times of war.<sup>122</sup> This enhanced their influence in the eyes of the locals vis-à-vis other notables, through which the lines of the imagined community and horizontal loyalty became further solidified.

The Ottoman ruling elites endorsed this order by appointing them as commanding officers so as to preserve the discipline and stability of the local units (*inzibat ve sebatlarını muhafaza maksadıyla*). For instance, during the Balkan Wars, Mehmed Pasha Bajrović from Tašlica headed a battalion of the active reservists who had other beys under his command (this was also

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<sup>118</sup> Husnija Kamberović, *Begovski zemljišni posjedi u Bosni i Hercegovini od 1878. do 1918. godine* (Sarajevo: Naučnoistraživački institut "Ibn Sina", 2005), 80-82, 108.

<sup>119</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MUD, ŠVK-PO 1912-1913, B-2388, unnumbered, 24.10.1912, Skoplje, Gavrilović to the Supreme Command; *ibid*, MUDuI, OJB 1919/K2, #5696, 08.05.1919, Beograd, MoI to the MoWN, 3; Ehud R. Toledano, "The Emergence of Ottoman-Local Elites (1700-1900): A Framework for Research," in *Middle Eastern Politics and Ideas: A History from Within*, ed. Ilan Pappé and Moshe Ma'oz (London - New York: Tauris Academic Studies, 1997), 145-62, here pp. 49, 54. Christoph K. Neumann, "Ottoman Provincial Towns from the Eighteenth to the Nineteenth Century: A Re-Assessment of their Place in the Transformation of the Empire," in *The Empire in the City: Arap Provincial Capitals in the late Ottoman Empire*, ed. Jens Hanssen, Thomas Philipp, and Stefan Weber (Beirut: Ergon Verlag Würzburg in Kommission, 2002), 131-44, here pp. 39, 40-41. Yaycıoğlu, "Provincial Power-Holders and the Empire in the Late Ottoman World: Conflict or Partnership?," 436-52, here pp. 41-42. Hartmann, *Die Reichweite des Staates: Wehrpflicht und moderne Staatlichkeit im Osmanischen Reich 1860-1910*, 210, 12-13, 15-17, 27-31. and Božović, *Kroz nekadanju tromeđu: putopisna proza o pljevaljskom kraju iz 1932. godine*, 23.

<sup>120</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MID-PO 1900, R225, F4, D5, IV/286-287, 28.01.1900, Berane, Petar Kastratović to the Javor Customs Office and *ibid*, KuP 1912, #1268, 13.08.1912, Priština, Consulate to the MoFA.

<sup>121</sup> Ippen, *Novibazar und Kosovo (Das alte Rascien): Eine Studie*, 37-38. Ljubomir Durković-Jakšić, *Pljevlja i manastir sv. Trojica: Borba protiv rasrbljivanja do oslobođenja od Turaka 1912* (Beograd: Štamparija Sprske pravoslavne crkve, 2012), 1160-61. and AJ/Belgrade, 63-4-6-22, #5671, 15.05.1922, Peć, District Chief to the MoJ.

<sup>122</sup> BOA/Istanbul, TFR.I.KV, 32/3164, CA 1321 [28/07/1903], Regional Governor of Tašlica to the Inspectorate-General; DACG/Cetinje, PPKŽ, F5, #16, 13.02.1910, Žabljak, Ristak Pavlović to the PPKŽ and Simon Joanović, "Novopazarski sandžak 1878-1900 (V nastavak)," *Novopazarski zbornik* 11 (1987): 117-43, here pp. 31-32.

evident in the Prepole area).<sup>123</sup> His peer Arif Komatina, a municipal president from Yeni Pazar, died fighting after he had organized the locals.<sup>124</sup> Power-holders selected the locals from among the local manpower for their units who tilled their lands. This mutual loyalty, as thematized elsewhere, served as a basis through which wealthier notables and their tenants protected each other as well as their holdings.<sup>125</sup> This mutual shielding was also palpable vis-à-vis the state and through it, they could enter directly into a dispute. In addition to criticizing the state's approach to the region's stability, the Taşlıca power-holders did not want to have a single reservist shipped outside of the district until it was clear that the troops, which were sent several months ago, would not return home.<sup>126</sup>

Rušid Effendi Spahović from Seniçe adhered to his duty during the Habsburg occupation and protected his Christian tenants.<sup>127</sup> Similar to their peers in Bosnia-Herzegovina, they acted as a grouping when their status was questioned. Because the governing elites had planned on increasing taxes, the Yeni Pazar power-holders convinced the locals not to comply, while their Taşlıca peers mobilized all of the town and village mukhtars, clergymen, and teachers, regardless of creed, and asked them to write petitions against the wrong taxes.<sup>128</sup> Therefore, their link with these formal and informal brokers (i.g. bandits) made them perfect suited for mobilization as they had participated in obstructing desertion together with clergymen (e.g. during the Greek-Ottoman War of 1897), just as their peers in the post-1914 Ottoman Empire did.<sup>129</sup>

Every post-1913 polity generally kept close relations with these brokers not only as a way to mobilize the able-bodied but also to legitimize a new order, which was not nearly as evident in either setting as it was in the Habsburg context (1916-1918). Why was this so? The 1912/13 and 1915/16 transitions shook the notables' stance, but the occupation offered a chance to

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<sup>123</sup> BOA/Istanbul, Y.PRK.UM, 37/113, leff 1, 25.05.1313 [06/06/1897] Governor of Kosova to Yıldız Saray (...) beher tabur ve bölükte mahalleri eşrafından dahi birer zatın münasib rütbelerle bulundurulması (...); NMCG-ABO/Cetinje, N. I, 1913/F66, #18, 15.03.1913, Turski poručnik novi Srbin Milan Milovanović, *Taşlıca 60. Alayı Nizamiye ve Redif Kıtaatı*, 3. (...) Taşlıca ihtiyat efradı bir taburdur. Tabur Kumandanı Mehmed Paşa idi. Tabur mevcudu 400'dür (...) Bölük kumandanları buranın beğlerinden idi. (...) and DAS/Belgrade, MID-PP 1911, R278, unnumbered, 22.01.1911, Prijepolje, unknown to GŠT.

<sup>124</sup> VA/Belgrade, P2, K104, F1, 1/1, 20.02.1913, Beograd, Mihail Živković, *Relacija o boju Ibarske vojske kod Novog Pazara od 6. do 10.10.1912. god*, 14, 20.

<sup>125</sup> Mrkonjić [Pejatović], "Srednje Polimlje i Potarje u Novopazarskom sandžaku: Antropogeografska ispitivanja," 225-356, here pp. 07, 10. Andrija Jovičević, "Plavsko-gusinjska oblast, Polimlje, Velika i Šekular," in *Naselja srpskih zemalja: Srpski etnografski zbornik*, 10/XXI (Beograd: Srpska kraljevska akademija, 1921), 384-587, here pp. 423, 526-27. and BOA/Istanbul, BEO, 4026/301905, 29 Mart 1328 [11/04/1912], Daire-i Sadaret Tahrirat Kalemî to the MoI.

<sup>126</sup> DACG/Cetinje, PPKŽ, F3, #49, 20.03.1909, Žabljak, PPKŽ to the MoFA and DAS/Belgrade, MID-PP 1911, R278, unnumbered, 22.01.1911, Prijepolje, unknown to GŠT.

<sup>127</sup> DAS/Belgrade, VGG, 17-315, #50 Res, 21.10.1917, Novi Pazar, District Command to the MGG/S.

<sup>128</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MID-PO 1900, R225, F4, D5, IV/304, #34, 27.07.1900, Raška, Customs Office to the MoFA; *ibid*, MID-PPO 1907/R93, unnumbered telegram, 25.02.1907, Mogra Gora, Customs Office to the MoFA; AS/Belgrade, MUDuI, OP 1919/K1, #233, 25.06.1919, Orahovac, County Chief to the Prizren District Chief and Kamberović, *Begovski zemljišni posjedi u Bosni i Hercegovini od 1878. do 1918. godine*, 89, 95-96.

<sup>129</sup> BOA/Istanbul, Y.PRK.UM, 40/62, leff 5, 22 Teşrinievvel 1313 [03/11/1897], Brokers from Yeni Pazar to the soldiers of the Yeni Pazar Redif Battalion and Mehmet Beşikçi, *Birinci Dünya Savaşı'nda Osmanlı Seferberliği* (Istanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası: Kültür Yayınları, 2015), 320.

regain it, not least because their holdings could be found locally.<sup>130</sup> Although the Monarchy occupied the region, their Ottoman ally exerted pressure through various actors with whom the Habsburg authorities were forced to wrestle over the brokers. Accordingly, the existence of multiple actors within an occupied territory who all had contradictory goals caused the task of occupation to become increasingly difficult.<sup>131</sup> During this interplay, the bilingual Muslim populations emerges as an imagined object that had to be mobilized but all involved actors underestimated the locals' tactics, as shown in the following pages. By restoring the Ottoman taxation system, the Habsburg authorities abolished the Serbian property levy which burdened the landowners who were charged based on the size of their properties. Salih Bey Rasovac and other notables from Yeni Pazar stated they had suffered injustices in this regard – and especially in confessional matters, their treatment was equal to their Christian neighbors.<sup>132</sup>

Both the Habsburg side and these brokers believed that the Serbian governing elites, by increasing the levy, pursued the policy of forcing the whole Muslim population to leave, which was not true. Their wealthy Christian peers also protested and some power-holders were exempted of paying certain taxes under Ottoman rule.<sup>133</sup> Just as in Ottoman times, the Habsburg authorities gave the right to collect revenues for the notables from Mitroviča, who also became members of a consortium which sold fodder to the authorities during the occupation.<sup>134</sup> These brokers also amassed their share from the land that their tenants tilled and who later ceased carrying out their agrarian duties regardless of their creed since they believed that their beys were finished after 1913. Ultimately, this means that ethnicizing the question is not always help in contrast to certain scholars.<sup>135</sup> Under Habsburg rule the notables compensated for this by demanding that their share to be given all at once for each year between 1912 and 1915.<sup>136</sup>

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<sup>130</sup> Nathalie Clayer, "The Albanian Students of the Mekteb-i Mülkiye: Social Networks and Trends of Thought," in *Late Ottoman Society: The Intellectual Legacy*, ed. Elisabeth Özdalga (London and New York: Routledge: Taylor and Francis Group, 2010), 291-311, here pp. 296-300.

<sup>131</sup> David M. Edelstein, *Occupational Hazards: Success and Failure in Military Occupation* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2008), 11, 14, 49-50.

<sup>132</sup> Köster, *Mit den Bulgaren: Kriegsberichte aus Serbien und Mazedonien*, 55. and Branko Pušica, "Jugozapadna Srbija pod austrougarskom okupacijom 1916-1918" (Master, Univerzitet u Beogradu Filozofski Fakultet, 2008), 23-25.

<sup>133</sup> BIIUCG/Podgorica, F21, #5, Protocol dated 22.11.1912 composed in the office of the Gusine District Chief, P. Vujisić and other Muslim brokers; IA/Užice, AMB 1914, #199, 21.02.1914, Nova Varoš, Milan Borisavljević to Aleksa and Mihail; *ibid.*, #200, 11.05.1914, Nova Varoš, Milan Borisavljević to Aleksa and Mihail; DAS/Belgrade, VGG, 18-737, Lajos Thallóczy, *Novi Pazar*, 8; Jagodić, *Novi krajevi Srbije (1912-1915)*, 437 and footnote #1063. Milić F. Petrović, *Pljevlja u dokumenatima 1918-1941* (Pljevlja: Književni klub "Dalma", 2004), #60, 203. and Božica Ž Slavković, "Političke, ekonomske i kulturne prilike na Kosovu i Metohiji 1929-1941" (Unpublished PhD Univerzitet u Beogradu, Filozofski fakultet, 2014), 22.

<sup>134</sup> DAS/Belgrade, VGG, 8-851, 20.11.1916, Lajos Thallóczy (Mitrovica), 2, 10 and Nadir Özbek, *İmparatorluğun Bedeli: Osmanlı'da Vergi, Siyaset ve Toplumsal Adalet (1839-1908)* (İstanbul: Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Yayinevi, 2015), 17-18, 31.

<sup>135</sup> Đoko D. Pejović, *Politika Crne Gore u Zatarju i Gornjem Polimlju 1878-1912* (Titograd: Istorijski institut u Titogradu, 1973). and Morrison and Roberts, *The Sandžak: A History*, 91.

<sup>136</sup> AHG/Novi Pazar, Bećir Hodžić-Šećerović, *Istorija Novog Pazar (1389-1925)*, 38; Omer-efendija Koničanin, *Efendijina sećanja i kazivanja*, ed. Miodrag Radović (Novi Pazar: Istorijski arhiv "Ras" - Muzej "Ras", 2007), 106. and Miodrag Radović, "Ubiranje četvrtine u Deževskom srezu za vreme Prvog i Drugog svetskog rata," *Novopazarški zbornik*, no. 22 (1998): 259-75.

Even though the post-1913 ruling elites ordered that these obligations were to be respected, there was only nominal support since village mukhtars worked more in the interest of the peasantry than in that of the notables, who got only a fraction of what they wanted. That is why those around Yeni Pazar spread the darkest propaganda (*najmračniju propagandu*) amidst WWI, hoping that Habsburg rule would offer them a framework to regain what they had lost. This is why in both filled petitions of the notables and chronicles.<sup>137</sup> With the 1919 Agrarian Reform, the SCS ruling elites destroyed their main income and this was euphemistically referred to as the democratization of large land possessions.<sup>138</sup>

Entrusting the monopoly for selling certain goods (e.g. grain alcohol, salt petroleum) represented another lucrative way in which these persons could enrich themselves since these products were always in demand. In Yeni Pazar, Riza Bey Muratbegović became a large distributor of salt all while, heading the office of town mayor. The consortium in Mitroviča enjoyed a similar privilege since a member, Nedjib Bey Draga, had a monopoly on petroleum. In Yeni Pazar, almost every Orthodox Christian merchant was ruined. Only certain persons from the Muslim and Jewish communities were making money from cattle trade and importing various industrial products which brought in considerable income.<sup>139</sup> That is why in İpek after 1918, their Christian peers told some Muslim traders that they had dealt enough with trade and did business exclusively until mid-1919.<sup>140</sup> The Habsburg authorities also fixed the price of buying livestock as reward for those who showed their loyalty. Besides preventing smuggling, the new purchasing tariff was in the interest of the Muslims who were deemed loyal and for whom livestock trade was their only source of subsistence.<sup>141</sup> 100,000 Kronas in notes was provided for bribing influential actors and gaining confidential agents, and from this 20,000

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<sup>137</sup> DACG/Cetinje, OuPlj, 1912-1915/F16, #1, br. 403, 1912, Pljevlja, Commander to the Supreme Command; DAS/Belgrade, MUD-P 1913, F22/R1, #2418, 11.07.1913, Pljevlje, County Chief to the Pljevlja District Chief; DACG/Cetinje, MUD-UO, 1913/F141, #3579, br. 155, 14.03.1913, Berane, Beys from İpek and Yakova to the the King's Adjutant; *ibid*, #3673(2), 03.12.1913, Berane, MoI to Labud Čukić; NMCG-ABO/Cetinje, N. I 1913/F67, #714/47, 15.06.1913, Pljevlja, Omer beg Bajrović to the King; Dimić and Borozan, *Jugoslovenska država i Albanci*, II, #734, 30.06.1920, Skoplje, KIIIAO to the MoWN, 775-776. AHG/Novi Pazar, Bećir Hodžić-Šećerović, *Istorija Novog Pazar (1389-1925)*, 38 and Koničanin, *Efendijina sećanja i kazivanja*, 102.

<sup>138</sup> Petrović, *Pljevlja u dokumentima 1918-1941*, #68, undated, Beograd, Oto Frangeš to the King, 209-11. Edvin Pezo, *Zwangsmigration in Friedenszeiten? Jugoslawische Migrationspolitik und die Auswanderung von Muslimen in die Türkei (1918 bis 1966)* (Oldenbourg: De Gruyter, 2013), 154. and Milovan Obradović, *Agrarna reforma i kolonizacija na Kosovu (1918-1941)* (Pristina, 1981), 23-105.

<sup>139</sup> DAS/Belgrade, VGG, 18-737, 18.11.1916, Lajos Thallóczy (Novi Pazar), 9; *ibid*, 20.11.1916, Lajos Thallóczy (Mitrovica), 10, 11; Koničanin, *Efendijina sećanja i kazivanja*, 110, 58. Pušica, "Jugozapadna Srbija pod austrougarskom okupacijom 1916-1918," 72. Hivzo Gološ, "Riza-beg Muratbegović, gradonačelnik Novog Pazar (1916-1918)," in *Okrugli sto "Sjencička konferencija, 1917-2017"*, ed. Bošnjačko nacionalno vijeće (Novi Pazar: Bošnjačko nacionalno vijeće, 2017), 18-21. and Hivzo Gološ, "Riza-beg Muratbegović," in *Sto godina Sjencičke konferencije (1917-2017): Međunarodna naučna konferencija "Društveno-politički, pravni i historijski značaj Sjencičke konferencije"*, Sjenica, 20-22. oktobar 2017, ed. Muhedin Fijuljanin and Redžep Škrijelj (Nova Varoš: Bošnjačko nacionalno vijeće, 2018), 315-40.

<sup>140</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MUDuI, OJB 1919/K2, #5696, 08.05.1919, Beograd, MoFA to the MoWN, 2.

<sup>141</sup> ÖStA/KA/Vienna, AOK Qu. Abt., 2447/1917, #64141/S, 09.05.1917, AOK to the MGG/S, *ibid*, 2448/1917, #64671/S, 05.06.1917, AOK to the MGG/S and MGG/M and *ibid*, #64671/S, No. 15047, Belgrade, 27.05.1917, MGG/S to the AOK.

Krones was separately invested in the areas of Mitroviča, Prepole and Yeni Pazar.<sup>142</sup> In addition to obtaining positions in local offices, these brokers also profited from Habsburg rule. However, after 1913 they enhanced their status began to decline and as a result, they actively supported the Habsburg draft. Because of these and other brokers, the Habsburg ruling elites sought to compensate for the shortage of their able-bodied manpower resulting from war developments. Performing acts of loyalty in public were closely related to the benefits and, judging by the official praise and recognition, the outcome in some areas was hugely positive.

For example, the Habsburg authorities openly applauded Hasan Bey Prishtina, Derviš Bey Omerović and the Draga brothers (Nedjib and Ferhad) in late 1916 for their loyal service in the Mitroviča region, where they proved their allegiance by recruiting the locals and supporting the Habsburg administration.<sup>143</sup> In the Yeni Pazar region, among the local ağas and beys Riza Bey stood out as the one who was the most involved in the draft. Even the local drafting committee was instituted and among their members was Salih Bey.<sup>144</sup> Ali Bey Hasanagić, Sulejman Effendy Šećeragić, Husejin Effendy Hasanagić, Adem Ağa Bajrović and Hurda Bey Hašimbegović were publicly cheered in the area of Prepole. They also supported the Habsburg local power with their constant selfless acts of loyalty (*ihre stets selbstlose loyale Tätigkeit*), for this reason, these men gained honorable recognition.<sup>145</sup> Their peers in Montenegro were also publicly celebrated.<sup>146</sup> In brief, as a high Habsburg officer stated, “our interests ran parallel with theirs.” Some Habsburg officers knew certain brokers personally since Mahmud Pasha from Tašlica and Rušid Effendi from Seniče had both been military contractors for the Habsburg garrisons under Ottoman rule.<sup>147</sup> They also legitimized Habsburg rule locally or supported its war efforts in other ways, such as by engaging with other brokers (e.g. clergymen) to open kitchens or schools financed by the Monarchy, celebrating the Emperor’s birthday, or giving money to the Habsburg war bonds.<sup>148</sup>

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<sup>142</sup> ÖStA/KA/Vienna, AOK Op. Abt. B-Gruppe, 509/1916, #29789, 08.10.1916, AOK to the MGG/S and DAS/Belgrade, VGG, 8-46, 17.09.1916, Belgrade, #13711, MGG/S to the Department 8.

<sup>143</sup> B. Antić, „Suđenje Ferad beg Dragi: Prvi dan suđenja u Kosovskoj Mitrovici“, in *Politika*, god. XXIII, 21.12.1926, br. 6703, 4.

<sup>144</sup> Koničanin, *Efendijina sećanja i kazivanja*, 111-12. and AJ/Belgrade, 14-4-14, Hearing Compiled 23.10.1920 at the MoI According to the Order of the MoI #1306, and on the Issue of Salih Rasovac, MP, Statemetn of the District Chief Živ. I. Šušića.

<sup>145</sup> ÖStA/KA/Vienna, FA NFA MGG/S, 1629/1914-18, MGG/S: Reservat-MGG-Befehl Nr. 91, Belgrad, am 14. Juli 1917, Pkt. 3. Präs. Nr. 13.716.

<sup>146</sup> ÖStA/HHStA/Vienna, PA XXXVIII/Kt. 385, Nr. 44, 20. Juni 1905, Mitrovica, Krauz to Gotuchowski; „Erzherzog Max in Cetinje,“ *Cetinjer Zeitung*, II. Jahrgang, 11.01.1917, Nr. 43, 3; The Archduke’s visit had a hidden meaning too. The trip had to show that the House of Habsburg was still intensively working on the concerns of the trustworthy-perceived Albanian-speaking population See Tamara Scheer, *Zwischen Front und Heimat: Österreich-Ungarns Militärverwaltungen im Ersten Weltkrieg* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang GmbH Internationaler Verlag der Wissenschaften, 2014), 95.

<sup>147</sup> Scheer, *„Minimale Kosten, absolut kein Blut“: Österreich-Ungarns Präsenz im Sandžak von Novipazar (1879-1908)*. and Tamara Scheer, „Habzburška okupaciona politika prema crnogorskim Albancima, Muslimanima i Turcima tokom Prvog svjetskog rata,“ in *Crna Gora u Prvom svjetskom ratu - Zbornik radova sa međunarodnog naučnog skupa Crna Gora u Prvom svjetskom ratu, Cetinje, 15. i 16. oktobar 2014*, ed. Dragan Radulović (Cetinje - Podgorica: Matica crnogorska, 2015), 85-109.

<sup>148</sup> „Die Kaiserfreier in Montenegro,“ *Cetinjer Zeitung*, I. Jhg, 27.08.1916, No. 4, 2; „Trauerkundgebung für den verblichenen Monarchen in Plevlje,“ *Cetinjer Zeitung*, I. Jhr, 30.11.1916, No. 31, 3; „Spendenausweis,“ *Cetinjer Zeitung*, I. Jhg, 24.12.1916,

Ultimately, what the interaction between these entrepreneurs and the able-bodied looked like remains a mystery. However, it is known that they were capable of using physical violence, as Halil and Bajram Bey from Yakova did when they controlled the gendarmeries and had the able-bodied detained. These new “volunteers” were then told in the barracks that they would be submitted to the Habsburg military and later ended up in Mostar.<sup>149</sup> Certain powerholders soon realized that the Habsburg framework could be effectively used to have local competitors removed from a locality. This was similar to the situation of their peers in post-Ottoman Bosnia-Herzegovina, where competition between various families took place at the local level.<sup>150</sup> It was mainly economic or political motives pushed that pushed these actors in this direction. This was also seen in the post-1918 context, when members of the ruling party misused the conscription powers by sending people who belonged to the opposing party to the barracks.<sup>151</sup>

However, in the war setting, this meant losses of life or spending time in POW camps located in the Monarchy. For instance, in Yeni Pazar, a tetrarchy consisting of notables was established at the beginning; members included Riza Bey (second municipal president), Salih Bey (third municipal president), Ahmet Ağa Koman (fourth municipal president), and Hamid Ağa Ćilerdžić, who acted as first municipal president. It is not clear why the Habsburg authorities sentenced Hamid Ağa to prison but there was a rumor being spread that Riza Bey had denounced him so a way to ingratiate himself (*dodvoriti*) to the new power, since he had just become a municipal president.<sup>152</sup> This alliance was subject to change because the authorities gradually realized that certain notables considered the draft simply as a business (*als Geschäft*) and their true motives were not fully understood by the Habsburg powers until the end of the occupation. Some even extorted money from those who wanted to avoid being drafted and those who did not pay were given up to recruitment commissions.<sup>153</sup>

The quality of those enlisted was also problematic since out of the 2600 Montenegrin “war volunteers” who were shipped to Mostar, no less than 420 were deemed unfit and had to be sent

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No. 38, 4; „Eröffnung der Volksküche in Plevlje,“ *Cetinjer Zeitung*, II. Jrg, 21.01.1917, No. 46, 3; „Zeichnung auf die V. Kriegsleihe in Montenegro,“ *Cetinjer Zeitung*, II. Jhg, 04.02.1917, No. 50, 2-3; „Plevlje,“ *Cetinjer Zeitung*, II. Jrg, 26.08.1917, No. 108, 2-3; „Die Geburtstagsfeier Ihrer Majestät in Plevlje und in Bijelopolje,“ *Cetinjer Zeitung*, II. Jhg, 17.05.1917, No. 79, 3 and “Anerkennungsdekrete,” *Wiener Zeitung*, 30.12.1917, Nr. 297, 9;

<sup>149</sup> ÖStA/KA/Vienna, AOK Op. Abt. B-Gruppe, 510/1916, #34433, Präs. Nr. 6840, 16.11.1916, Cetinje, MGG/M to the AOK, 1-2.

<sup>150</sup> Kamberović, *Begovski zemljišni posjedi u Bosni i Hercegovini od 1878. do 1918. godine*, 96.

<sup>151</sup> ÖStA/KA/Vienna, AOK Op. Abt. B-Gruppe, 510/1916, #34433, Präs. Nr. 6874, 15.11.1916, Cetinje, General Staff Chief of the MGG/M to the MGG/M, 4 and AJ/Belgrade, 14-229-817, #881, 10.08.1920, Beograd, MoI to all district chief within the borders of post-1913 Serbia.

<sup>152</sup> Koničanin, *Efendijina sećanja i kazivanja*, 108-09.

<sup>153</sup> ÖStA/KA/Vienna, AOK Op. Abt. B-Gruppe, 510/1916, #34433, Präs. Nr. 6874, 15.11.1916, Cetinje, General Staff Chief of the MGG/M to the MGG/M, 5 and ÖStA/HHStA/Vienna, PA I 1007, 50w, Albanien, #396, 14.01.1917, Belgrade, Proxy at the MGG/S to the MdÄ.

back, which the Habsburg authorities labeled as trickery (*Schwindel*).<sup>154</sup> This is why the reshaping of policy became evident in mid-1917, when the Habsburg authorities sought to gain more control over the distribution of food among the locals in Mitroviça, thereby competing with the power-holders.<sup>155</sup> The introduction of the new tax quickly followed and through this, the authorities planned to build a vertical linkage with larger groupings of the locals, thereby surpassing the brokers who knew to back fire, as shown in the chapters ahead.<sup>156</sup>

In short, the Monarchy was outsmarted by certain power-holders who had shielded their own interests, whereas others provided the result. Ultimately, this demonstrates how complex and multilayered relations actually were in this setting, and how many different actions could emerge locally given the context in which not only the Monarchy, their Ottoman ally, and power-holders acted, but also other brokers and the locals, who did not act as a single entity. Although some scholars, such as Ali Yaycıoğlu, have claimed that after 1913, notable Muslim families from the Balkans lost their role, wealth, and power, and migrated to Anatolia, as Riza Bey did after 1918, though some families did remain.<sup>157</sup> Within this context and to a certain degree, they did not differ from their peers in other post-Ottoman territories in the Balkans and Middle East who also sought to accommodate themselves and negotiate with the new/old ruling elites, thereby evolving into nationally-minded brokers.

### 2.2.2. Clergymen

Relying on their confessional belonging and status, these brokers were also named differently in sources. Examples include: *sveštenik*, (*h*)*odža*, *imam*, *hatip*, *mujezin*, *muderis*, *muftija* (Montenegro, Serbia, Kingdom of SCS), *Seelsorger*, *Pfarrer* (Habsburg Monarchy) or *müftü*, *müderre(i)s*, *mufti* and *rüesâ-ı ruhaniye* (Ottoman Empire).<sup>158</sup> Labeling them as

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<sup>154</sup> ÖStA/KA/Vienna, AOK Op. Abt. B-Gruppe, 510/1916, #34433, Präs. Nr. 6874, 15.11.1916, Cetinje, General Staff Chief of the MGG/M to the MGG/M, 3-4.

<sup>155</sup> ÖStA/HHStA/Vienna, PA I 977, 32k, Serbien, #Z. 33/P C, 16.05.1917, Belgrade, Proxy at the MGG/S to the MdÄ and ÖStA/KA/Vienna, FA NFA MGG/S, kt. 1645/1917, #1315, Z. 4623/GA, 22.07.1917, Belgrad, MGG/S to the Mitrovica District Command.

<sup>156</sup> ÖStA/KA/Vienna, FA NFA MGG/S, kt. 1645/1917, #4207, 22.08.1917, Belgrade, MGG/S to the Prijepolje, Novi Pazar and Mitrovica District Commands; *ibid*, AOK Qu. Abt., 2427/1917, #8465/S, 02.02.1917, AOK to various military units and *ibid*, 2478/1917, #163651/S, Präs. No. 30257, 26.10.1917, Belgrade, MGG to the AOK.

<sup>157</sup> Koničanin, *Efendijina sećanja i kazivanja*, 109. Yaycıoğlu, "Provincial Power-Holders and the Empire in the Late Ottoman World: Conflict or Partnership?," 450-51. Anila Habibi, "Politische Eliten und Klientelismus: Albanien in der Zwischenkriegszeit," in *Eliten in Südosteuropa: Rolle, Kontinuitäten, Brüche in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, ed. Wolfgang Höpken and Holm Sundhaussen (München: Südosteuropa-Gesellschaft, 1998), 143-73, here pp. 52-57. Köksal, *The Ottoman Empire in the Tanzimat Era: Provincial Perspectives from Ankara to Edirne*, 71, 73-75. Martin Strohmeier, "Abd Al-Rahman Pasha Al-Yusuf," in *Provincial Elites in the Ottoman Empire*, ed. Antōnēs Anastasopoulos (Rethymno: Crete University Press, 2005), 349-67. and Michael E. Meeker, *A Nation of Empire: The Ottoman Legacy of Turkish Modernity* (Berkeley / Los Angeles / London: University of California Press, 2001).

<sup>158</sup> BOA/Istanbul, Y.PRK.UM, 40/62, leff 4, 23 Teşrinievvel 1313 [08/11/1897], Dömeke cihetinde Ezdim Mevkiinde Otuzdokuzuncu Priştine Alayının Üçüncü Yeni Pazar ve Dördüncü Seniçe Redif Tabuları Efradına. (...) Seniçe Müftüsü; *ibid*, leff 5, 22 Teşrinievvel 1313 [03/11/1897], Dömeke'de İrmaz Palet Yeni Pazar Redif Taburu Binbaşılığı vasıtasıyla Tabur Merkumedeği Efrad-ı Şahaneye, (...) Müderres Ahmed Hamdi, Müfti Mehmed Eşref; *ibid*, DH.MKT, 659/54, leff 1, 28 ZA 1320 [26/02/1903], Kosova Valisi to the Mol. (...) müderris efendi (...); *ibid*, BEO, 3845/288327, leff 2, 20 Kanunievvel 1326 [02/01/1911], Şura-yı Devlet. (...) bazı rüesâ-yı ruhaniyeye bilvâsita vuku'bulan (...); NMCG-ABO/Cetinje, N. I 1912/F63,



clergymen or the clergy helps to avoid confusion in this study, whereby the phrase, also used after 1918, does not signify uniformity insofar as these actors could become notables, teachers, commanders, or members of (para-)military units.<sup>159</sup> Because they were engaged in composing the enlistment rolls and gathering conscripts, their role in the draft was thus institutionalized in every setting.<sup>160</sup>

In addition to framing and coding war experiences and ascribing new meanings, the clergymen and military also limited and legitimized war by working in unison. While creating a sense of an inclusive group, their interplay triggered an unconditional devotion and constructed the imagined victim community whose goal was to break down all the barriers of other social associations, thereby hierarchizing them. The context of mobilization provided these brokers a chance to arrange and define the canon and interpretation of authoritative texts, intentionally speaking for a certain creed, and this in turn led to claiming, projecting and exerting their religious authorities.<sup>161</sup> This is evident in the Balkan Wars and WWI on all belligerent sides. The participating states had an intimate and official alliance with clergymen and for this reason, the ruling elites soon declared the religious character of the conflicts which followed their inner and outer motives. This led to the consecration of the war, as scholars have aptly shown in detail.<sup>162</sup>

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#204, 19.12.1912, Plavljeni, Odža Ajro Balšić and odža Sado Musić to the King; DAS/Belgrade, MUD-ŠVK, K-2388, #5157, 14.11.1913, Plevlje, District Chief to the MoI. (...) gde će im veru i koran predavati hodža ili njihov učitelj na turskom jeziku (...); ÖStA/KA/Vienna, AOK Op. Abt. B-Gruppe, 510/1916, #34433, Präs. 6874, 16.11.1916, Cetinje, MGG/M to the AOK. (...) und Pfarrer Don Krasnici (...); DAS/Belgrade, VGG, 20-77, 28.07.1917, Novi Pazar, District Command to the Delegate for War Economics at the MGG/S, 11 (...) der Einfluss der Seelsorger sehr groß (...); DAS/Belgrade, MUDuI, OP 1919/K1, #233, 25.06.1919, Orahovac, County Chief to the Prizren District Chief. (...) odžama i sveštenim licima (...) and Dimić and Borozan, *Jugoslovenska država i Albanci*, II, #572, 26.02.1920, Beograd, MoCA to the Chief Mufti, 568.

<sup>159</sup> Boža J. Jokanović, *Krstom, perom i mačem: sveštenstvo u službi svome narodu* (Cetinje: Svetigora, 1999 [1941]), 115-19, 33, 39-43, 47-48, 84, 263-64, 66-69. AJ/Belgrade, 69-158-243, #2218, 27.11.1919, Skoplje, District Mufti to the MoCA; *ibid.*, 69-158-243, #66.960, 31.12.1921, Beograd, MoWN to the MoCA; *ibid.*, #12.169, 25.03.1922, Beograd, MoWN to the MoCA and *ibid.*, #15015, 30.12.1923, Beograd, MoWN to the MoCA.

<sup>160</sup> "Zakon o ustrojstvu vojske za Knjaževinu Crnu Goru od 29. aprila/12. maja 1910," 1052-100, see §32-36. and Hartmann, *Die Reichweite des Staates: Wehrpflicht und moderne Staatlichkeit im Osmanischen Reich 1860-1910*, 210, 12-13, 15-17, 27-31.

<sup>161</sup> Željko I. Poznanović, "Hrišćanstvo i vojska," in *Vojska i vera. Zbornik radova sa okruglog stola o temi "Regulisanje verskih pitanja u Vojsci Jugoslavije"*, ed. Borislav D. Grozdić and Slavoljub M. Marković (Beograd: NIC Vojska, 2001), 57-65. Angelika Dörfler-Dierken, "Militär und Religion," in *Handbuch Militär und Sozialwissenschaft (2., aktualisierte und erweiterte Auflage)*, ed. Sven Bernhard Gareis and Paul Klein (Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 2006), 539-50, here pp. 39-40. Gudrun Krämer and Sabine Schmidtke, "Introduction: Religious Authority and Religious Authorities in Muslim Societies. A Critical Overview," in *Speaking for Islam: Religious Authorities in Muslim Societies*, ed. Gudrun Krämer and Sabine Schmidtke (Leiden - Boston: Brill, 2006), 1-15, here pp. 1-6, 8-9. and Andreas Holzem, "Krieg und Christentum: Religiöse Gewalttheorien in der Kriegserfahrung des Westens. Einführung," in *Krieg und Christentum: Religiöse Gewalttheorien in der Kriegserfahrung des Westens*, ed. Andreas Holzem (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2007), 13-104, here pp. 16-19, 22-28, 56.

<sup>162</sup> Philip Jenkins, *The Great and Holy War: How World War I Became a Religious Crusade* (New York: Harper One, 2014). Stefan Rohdewald, "Religious Wars? Southern Slavs' Orthodox Memory of the Balkan and World Wars," in *The Balkan Wars from Contemporary Perception to Historic Memory*, ed. Katrin Boeckh and Sabine Rutar (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 249-73. Stephan Rosiny, "Der jihad. Historische und zeitgenössische Formen islamisch legitimierter Gewalt," in *Gerechter Krieg - gerechter Frieden: Religionen und friedensethische Legitimationen in aktuellen militärischen Konflikten*, ed. Ines-Jacqueline Werkner and Antonius Liedgeheuer (Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 2009), 225-44. Erik-Jan Zürcher, "Introduction: The Ottoman Jihad, the Geman Jihad and the Sacralization of War," in *Jihad and Islam in World War I*, ed. Erik-Jan Zürcher (Leiden University Press: Leiden, 2016), 13-28. and M. Şükrü Hanioglu, "Ottoman Jihad or Jihads: The

The instrumentalization of faith was embedded in the Ottoman discourse, for example, where Islamic themes and symbols constituted a common language aimed at drawing, conjuring and motivating the able-bodied. Given the low literacy rate and poor infrastructure, oral propaganda methods (e.g. sermons and religious memorial services) played an important role because the declaration of the Ottoman holy war was announced in mosques throughout the Empire.<sup>163</sup>

The living word (*živa reč*) of the clergyman could be of considerable influence, as a Christian clergyman claimed after 1918, while mentioning his peers from the Russian-Japanese War of 1905. This is why clergymen in the Montenegrin, Serbian and SCS settings were seen as being only one part of a larger education apparatus (they were state officials) whose common goal was to prepare young men for military service.<sup>164</sup> It was part of their duty to preach about the religious sacrifice, rulers, and the imagined homeland in church, school and in the barracks, therefore relying on their personal and governmental authority. In contrast to their Ottoman peers, they had to perform military service or training knew before they gained the title of clergymen and therefore, knew what should be said to the rank and file.<sup>165</sup> Hence, it was about mutuality insofar as they sought at the same time to reify their status and the *raison d'être* of the state locally, as had happened in Seniče in 1903. When twenty locals of Muslim and Christians joined the Ottoman gendarmery rank, in front of the latter, the civilian and military authorities, local notables, and the locals, a clergyman recited a reading (*tilâvet*) for the health and long life of the Sultan, upon which the regular soldiers uttered three times, “long live the Sultan.”<sup>166</sup>

Institutionalization of the religious authorities (which occurred differently worldwide) provided the clergymen with the chance to enhance their esteem and to homogenize the canon of religious forms, which they increasingly enforced locally since they supported by the governing elites. This led to the interdependent and parallel processes of state-building and

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Ottoman Shii Jihad, the Successful One," in *Jihad and Islam in World War I*, ed. Erik-Jan Zürcher (Leiden University Press: Leiden, 2016), 117-34.

<sup>163</sup> Mustafa Aksakal, "The Ottoman Proclamation of Jihad," in *Jihad and Islam in World War I: Studies on the Ottoman Jihad at the Centenary of Snouck Hurgronje's "Holy War Made in Germany"*, ed. Erik-Jan Zürcher (Leiden University Press: Leiden, 2016), 53-69. Beşikçi, "Domestic Aspects of Ottoman Jihad: The Role of Religious Motifs and Religious Agents in the Mobilization of the Ottoman Army," 95-115. and Meltem Kol, "Birinci Dünya Savaşı'nda Psikolojik Bir Operasyon Olarak Cihad-ı Ekber İlanı" (Master İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, 2017), chapters 2 and 3.

<sup>164</sup> Nikola M. Kostić, "Uticaj vojnog sveštenika na moral borbenih jedinica," *Ratnik: Mesečni vojni list* 38, no. 10 (1922): 105-15, here pp. 05, 07. See also Betsy C. Perabo, *Russian Orthodoxy and the Russo-Japanese War* (London: Bloomsbury, 2017).

<sup>165</sup> "Zakon o ustrojstvu vojske od 27.01.1901", *SN/Belgrade*, god. LXVIII, 01.02.1901, br. 25, §11, 2; "Zakon o ustrojstvu vojske za Knjaževinu Crnu Goru od 29. aprila/12. maja 1910," §18, 1057. *Zakon o ustrojstvu vojske i mornarice od 9. avgusta 1923*, §47. Petar Bojović, *Vaspitavanje vojnika* (Beograd: Štamparska radionica Vojnog ministarstva, 1907), 22-23, 26-31, 33-35. Dim. A. Pejović, *Vojnička čitančica za svakog vojnika* (Zaječar: "Đ. Jakšić" Nova štamparija M. Despotovića, 1911), 80-81, 87, 108-13. Kostić, "Uticaj vojnog sveštenika na moral borbenih jedinica," 107. Henrik Angell, *Herojski narod: Priče iz Crne Gore* (Nikšić: NVO Crnogorski međunarodni institut za štampu, 2018), 55, 111-13. and Bein, "Politics, Military Conscription, and Religious Education in the Late Ottoman Empire," 283-301.

<sup>166</sup> BOA/Istanbul, DH.MKT, 659/54, leff 2, 28 ZA 1320 [26/02/1903], Kosova Valisi to the MoI.

confessionalization, which went alongside stronger divisions of the religious communities from one another, while in certain nationalization of religion was evident.<sup>167</sup>

But where did their influence stem from? To illustrate, the Orthodox Christian church-school municipality (*crkveno-školska opština* or *ruhaniye meclisi*) under Ottoman rule represented an organization which was responsible for most clerical, educational, political and banking functions. It enjoyed esteem among the locals, who elected their members and with whom they interacted with. Apart from providing material and moral help, the municipalities spoke in the name of their members vis-à-vis the state by performing their assigned duties of collecting revenues, keeping birth certificates, cutting taxes equally, and wielding judicial power. Due to their large income, interactions between clergymen, merchants, teachers, craftsmen, mukhtars, and locals had not always been ideal since disputes and occasional brawls overtook the political and economic interests. Yet this context allowed Serafim Džarić, a monk from Tašlica, who was a member of a local church-education municipality, as well as the local mejlis, the local court, and a manager of a local monastery, to build a network that cut confessional boundaries and extended beyond the region, who was highly regarded in the 1930s. The monastery took care of both the impoverished Christians and Muslims under Ottoman rule and sought to shield them during the transitions. Besides maintaining contact with Serbian paramilitaries, for whom Serafim provided manpower for their units and helped smuggle firearms, some had also been in contact with Montenegrin, Serbian and Russian diplomatic representatives.<sup>168</sup>

In reference to service-providing, the church-school municipalities resembled endowments (*vakıf*) that also provided a setting in which Muslim clergymen could amass various forms of capital. In addition to being a major source of education, health care, and employment, these

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<sup>167</sup> Heiner Grunert, *Glauben im Hinterland: Die Serbisch-Orthodoxen in der habsburgischen Herzegowina, 1878-1918* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2016), 11-13, 19-22, 27-28, 30-31. and Niklas Luhmann, *Funktion der Religion* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1982), 34, 38, 49, 68-69, 274-75, 85-87. See also Heinz Schilling, "Das konfessionelle Europa: die Konfessionalisierung der europäischen Länder seit Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts und ihre Folgen für Kirche, Staat, Gesellschaft und Kultur," in *Konfessionalisierung in Ostmitteleuropa: Wirkungen des religiösen Wandels im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert in Staat, Gesellschaft und Kultur*, ed. Joachim Bahckle and Arno Strohmeier (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1999). Kemal H. Karpat, *The Politicization of Islam: Reconstructing Identity, State, Faith, and Community in the Late Ottoman State* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 8-10, 18, 155. Martin Schulze Wessel, "Die Nationalisierung der Religion und die Sakralisierung der Nation im östlichen Europa," in *Die Nationalisierung der Religion und die Sakralisierung der Nation im östlichen Europa*, ed. Martin Schulze Wessel (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2006), 7-14. Amit Bein, *Ottoman Ulema, Turkish Republic: Agents of Change and Guardians of Tradition* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2011). Clayer, "The Dimension of Confessionalisation in the Ottoman Balkans at the Time of Nationalisms," 89-109. and Bojan Aleksov, "The Serbian Orthodox Church," in *Orthodox Christianity and Nationalism in Nineteenth-Century Southeastern Europe*, ed. Lucian N. Leustean (New York: Fordham University Press, 2014), 65-100.

<sup>168</sup> Džarić, *Doživljaj igumana Serafima Džarića*, 51, 53-58, 75-80, 82-86. Petar Kostić, *Crkveni život pravoslavnih Srba u Prizrenu i njegovoj okolini u XIX veku (sa uspomenu pisca)* (Beograd: Grafički institut "Narodna misao" A. D., 1928), 106-15. Šalipurović, *Kulturno-prosvetne i političke organizacije u Polimlju i Raškoj, 1903-1912*, 150-85. Nedeljko Radosavljević, "Episkop, mirski sveštenik, monah: obeležja svakodnevnog života," in *Privatni život kod Srba u devetnaestom veku: od kraja XVIII veka do početka Prvog svetskog rata*, ed. Ana Stolić and Nenad Makuljević (Beograd: Clío, 2006), 711-36, here pp. 31-34, 36. Vukosavljević, *Istorija seljačkog društva: Seoske zajednice i oblici ponašanja u njima*, 5, 272, 80-82. and Božović, *Kroz nekadanju tromeđu: putopisna proza o pljevaljskom kraju iz 1932. godine*, 32-39.

foundations shaped towns, reduced the poverty, and played a crucial role in both rural and urban economies. Therefore, a dispute between various brokers over their control is hardly shocking.<sup>169</sup>

Those who interacted in this figuration had built their influence, were integrated, and ran back and forth between the locals, the state and various brokers. Their role was multifunctional, similar to their Catholic or Protestant peers in nineteenth-century Germany, where they acted as functionaries, supervisors, arbitrators, educators of the people, and preachers of nationalism and salvation.<sup>170</sup> While referring to the Christian clergymen in the Yeni Pazar area, the Habsburg authorities realized that there could be no question of pastoral care in the strict sense of the word; however, in political terms their influence and reputation (*Einfluss, Ansehen*), similar to their Muslim peers, could be very great because among the locals and especially in villages, they were the only ones who knew anything. This is why the suspicious and untrustworthy clergymen were interned because it was believed that they could undermine the Habsburg power.<sup>171</sup>

Their role became even more significant after 1908 when the Ottoman military service began including the Christian populations. Besides offering the birth certificates for the draft, these brokers, as members of the recruitment commissions, usually obstructed the conflict between the authorities and those who sought to avoid military service.<sup>172</sup> The Orthodox Christian Metropolitan of Raška and Prizren held jurisdiction over the Christian clergymen and teachers in the region and also cooperated with the Ecumenical Patriarchate, the Bulgarian Exarchate and the Armenian Patriarchate to try and enhance the status of Ottoman Christian

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<sup>169</sup> AJ/Belgrade, 69-182-287, 03.09.1919, Vučitrn, County Mufti to the MoCA; *ibid*, #204, 23.10.1925, Beograd, MoCA to the Head of the Raška oblast; John Robert Barnes, *An Introduction to Religious Foundations in the Ottoman Empire* (Leiden: Brill, 1987). Beshara Doumani, "Endowing Family: Waqf, Property Devolution, and Gender in Greater Syria, 1800 to 1860," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 40, no. 1 (1998): 3-41. Astrid Meier, "Waqf only in Name, not in Essence: Early Tanzimat Waqf Reforms in the Province of Damascus," in *The Empire in the City: Arap Provincial Capitals in the late Ottoman Empire*, ed. Jens Hanssen, Thomas Philipp, and Stefan Weber (Beirut: Ergon Verlag Würzburg in Kommission, 2002), 201-18. Ahmed Akgündüz, "The Ottoman Waqf Administration in the 19th and early-20th Centuries: Continuities and Discontinuities," *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 64, no. 1 (2011): 71-87. Pascale Ghazaleh, "Introduction. Pious Foundations: From Here to Eternity?," in *Held in Trust: Waqf in the Islamic World*, ed. Pascale Ghazaleh (Cairo - New York: American University in Cairo Press, 2011), 1-22. and Hacı Mehmet Günay, "Vakıf," *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi* 42 (Vekalet-Yusi) (2012): 479-86.

<sup>170</sup> Olaf Blasche, "Die Kolonialisierung der Laienwelt: Priester als Milieumanager und die Kanäle klerikaler Kuratel," in *Religion in Geschichte und Gesellschaft: Sozialhistorische Perspektiven für die vergleichende Erforschung religiöser Mentalitäten und Milieus*, ed. Olaf Blasche and Frank-Michael Kuhlemann (Gütersloh: Chr. Kaiser/Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1996), 93-135. Wolfgang J. Mommsen, "Die nationalgeschichtliche Umdeutung der christlichen Botschaft im Ersten Weltkrieg," in *"Gott mit uns". Nation, Religion und Gewalt im 19. und frühen 20. Jahrhundert*, ed. Gerd Krumeich and Hartmut Lehmann (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000), 249-61. and Wolfram Pyta, "Die Kanzel als Mittelpunkt des Dorflebens? Überlegungen zum Ansehen katholischer und evangelischer Landpfarrer in Deutschland 1800 bis 1850," in *Lokale Gesellschaften im historischen Vergleich: Europäische Erfahrungen im 19. Jahrhundert*, ed. Ruth Dörner, Norbert Franz, and Christine Mayr (Trier: Kliomedia, 2002), 399-417.

<sup>171</sup> DAS/Belgrade, VGG, 20-77, 28.07.1917, Novi Pazar, District Command to the Delegate for War Economics at the MGG/S, 11; *ibid*, 20-97, #30/2, Novi Pazar, 11.06.1918, Novi Pazar, District Command to the Delegate for War Economics at the MGG/S, 5 and Jakanović, *Krستم, perom i mačem: sveštenstvo u službi svome narodu*, 106-08.

<sup>172</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MID-PP 1909, R740, #983, 07.11.1909, Solun, Baludžić to N. Pašić and *ibid*, #990, 10.11.1909, Solun, Baludžić to M. Milovanović.

soldiers. The goal was to introduce Christian units, clergymen under the banner, religious holidays, places of worship, local vernaculars in service and forbid any conversion, all of which were only partly allowed.<sup>173</sup> In this regard, these brokers were part of in the broader imperial networks in which sovereignty was both layered and shared.<sup>174</sup> This does not mean that every clergymen in the region possessed influence, as contemporaries and scholarship (e.g. Ivo Banac) have claimed, because certain available sources reveal a different narrative.<sup>175</sup>

In the Vasojevići, and in other areas of pre-1913 Montenegro, these brokers had to earn their authority in war because interpretation of faith did not belong to them, but rather to every tribesman and their families. Because of this, many clergymen participated in the Balkan Wars and followed their kin even if they were not allowed to leave their parishes. Thus, although confessionalization and state-building ran congruently, their esteem did not automatically increase and for this reason, some scholars rightfully avoid the collective singular of (Serbian) orthodoxy and rather look at the lived and learned confession of these communities.<sup>176</sup> A large number of the Vasojevići along the Montenegrin-Ottoman state border had not been paying the church tax (*mirija*) to the Metropolitan for years. In response, the Metropolitan attempted to have them come forward by stating that he cared with all of his strength for the good of his people. Intervention of the Montenegrin authorities was needed since the Metropolitan envoy had spent a year trying to convince them to pay their levies.<sup>177</sup>

By relying on the governing elites and their fraternities, some in the Vasojevići had unified the offices of clergymen and headmen with civilian (teachers, tribal captain) or military (officer) titles, and thus, paved the way for the establishing of so-called priestly dynasties. They participated in the process of de- or retribalizing, which is witnessed in other settings as well.<sup>178</sup>

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<sup>173</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MID-PP 1909, R675, #1436, 15.05.1909, Beograd, Chief of the Political Department to the MoFA; *ibid.*, 1909/R740, #6142/Fasc. 3362, 20.08.1909, Istanbul, Ecumenical Patriarchate to the Metropolitan; *ibid.*, #1826, 27.12.1909, Skoplje, Consulate to the MoFA and *ibid.* 1911/R254, #679, 14.11.1911, Carigrad, Serbian Legation to the MoFA.

<sup>174</sup> Richard Antaramian, E., *Brokers of Faith, Brokers of Empire: Armenians and the Politics of Reform in the Ottoman Empire* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2020), 2-5, 8-12, 17-18, 20. See also Ohannes Kılıçdağı, "Social and Political Roles of the Armenian Clergy from the late Ottoman Era to the Turkish Republic," *Philosophy and Social Criticism* 43, no. 4-5 (2017): 539-47.

<sup>175</sup> Ivo Banac, *The National Question in Yugoslavia: Origins, History, Politics* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1984), 44, 75.

<sup>176</sup> Ilija M. Jelić, *Vasojevički zakon od dvanaest točaka* (Andrijevića [Beograd]: Komovi [Srpska kraljevska akademija], 2002 [1929]), §8/15, 71. Angell, *Herojski narod: Priče iz Crne Gore*, 19, 21. *Pedeset godina na prestolu Crne Gore, 1860-1910*, ed. Goran Sekulović and [Ministarski savjet] (Podgorica [Cetinje]: DOB Podgorica [Državna štamparija], 1998 [1910]), 93-116. Jokanović, *Krstom, perom i mačem: sveštenstvo u službi svome narodu*, 29, 31. Sreten V. Vukosavljević, *Istorija seljačkog društva: Seoske ustanove i uredbe*, vol. 4 (Beograd: Službeni glasnik, 2012), 321. Živko M. Andrijašević, *Crnogorska crkva 1852-1918: Studija sa zbirkom dokumenata o Pravoslavnoj crkvi u Knjaževini/Kraljevini Crnoj Gori* (Nikšić: Filozofski Fakultet, 2008), chapter 3. Pavle Kondić, "Mitropolija crnogorsko-primorska u drugoj polovini XIX i početkom XX veka (1851-1920)" (PhD Univerzitet u Istočnom Sarajevu Pravoslavno-bogoslovski fakultet, 2014), 412-17. and Grunert, *Glauben im Hinterland: Die Serbisch-Orthodoxen in der habsburgischen Herzegowina, 1878-1918*, 11, 64-91.

<sup>177</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MID, 1909/F168a, #814, 15.06.1909, Andrijevića, Unknown to the MoFA and *ibid.*, 1909/F169, #975, 02.08.1909, Andrijevića, Iğuman Maksim Pavićević to the MoFA.

<sup>178</sup> Jokanović, *Krstom, perom i mačem: sveštenstvo u službi svome narodu*, 115-19, 33, 39-43, 263-64, 66-69. Mohanna Haddad, "'Detribalizing" and "Retribalizing": The Double Role of Churches among Christian Arabs in Jordan," *The Muslim World* 82, no. 1-2 (1992): 67-89. and Paolo Maggiolini, "Understanding Life in the Ottoman-Montenegrin Borderlands of

As result, these clergymen possessed various sorts of capital needed for mobilizing their tribal kin and threatened those who would not join that they would not be buried in a church graveyard besides the remains of their ancestors.<sup>179</sup> A similar process occurred in Herzegovina and around Tašlica where members of the Šiljak family became clergymen, town councilmen, county or district chiefs under Montenegrin rule, thereby exerting their influence on the locals.<sup>180</sup> Their upward mobility overlapped with that of Murteza Karađuzević, a chief mufti in pre- and post-1913 Montenegro, who became a teacher, municipal scribe, qadi, manager of endowments in town of Bar, mufti, member of the State Council, MP and, during WWI, a commander of a Muslim battalion, who was also active in the post-1918 period as well.<sup>181</sup>



Photo 1: The Brokers in Action. By acting with the power-holders and other brokers (note the front line) during this social occasion, the clergymen from the town of Yeni Pazar legitimized the Habsburg and Ottoman recruitment of the Muslims during World War I, including the firearms. They pray together with the bilingual Muslim conscripts, among whom one notices a child as well. Their presence was supposed to confirm the correctness of the locals' decision and Habsburg order. Even if it is not clear who is who in this photo, one should find among the attended a mufti from Yeni Pazar who engaged in mobilization and thus accompanied the conscripts all the way to Istanbul and additionally, Riza Bey, a town mayor.<sup>182</sup>

In brief, by maintaining the status of these brokers (e.g. freed from military service, regular salary, the position of state official), confirming confessional or subjecthood rights, and

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Northern Albania during the Tanzimat Era: Catholic Mirdite Tribes, Missionaries and Ottoman Officials," *Middle Eastern Studies* 50, no. 2 (2014): 203-32.

<sup>179</sup> Bato Tomašević, *Life and Death in the Balkans: A Family Saga in a Century of Conflict (Kindle Edition)* (London: Hurst and Company, 2008), 548-53.

<sup>180</sup> Grunert, *Glauben im Hinterland: Die Serbisch-Orthodoxen in der habsburgischen Herzegowina, 1878-1918*, 443-48, 54-57. For the Šiljak family see DAS/Belgrade, MID-PP 1911, R17, #77, 16.03.1911, Prokopije Šiljak to the GŠT; DACG/Cetinje, MUD-UO, 1913/F136, #1894(8), br.1937, 30.06.1913, Pljevlja, S. F. Šiljak to the MoI; NMCG-ABO/Cetinje, N. I 1913/F67, #832/164<sup>a</sup>, 23.12.1913, Pljevlje, Lazo Đ. Popović to the King, 20-21; DACG/Cetinje, MUD-UO, 1914/F154, #4476(3), br. 589, 4.11.1914, Pljevlje, D. Vukotić to the MoI and AJ/Belgrade, 69-182-289, #221, 11.09.1919, Cetinje, Envoy of the Royal Government to the MoI.

<sup>181</sup> GHB/Sarajevo, A-644 B, #7995/1115, 01.09.1914, Cetinje, MoW to Karađuzoviću and Šerbo Rastoder, *Murteza Karađuzović (1865-1941): muftija crnogorskih muslimana* (Podgorica: Almanah, 2019), 96-101, 14-15, 18-19, 24-25, 42-45, 47.

<sup>182</sup> IAR/Novi Pazar, ZF 1912-1945, *Prayer of Turkish War Volunteers* (Novi Pazar, 1916); „Ferad beg Draga je i na ponovnom pretresu osuđen na 20 godina robije“, *Vreme*, god. 7, 17.05.1927, br. 1947, 5 and Giddens, *The Constitution of Society: Outline of the Theory of Structuration*, 71.

respecting their communities locally (e.g. taxation, building mosques, confessional or educational autonomy), the post-1913 governing elites, with their help, were able to (in)directly influence the attitudes of the locals. This was a previously tested strategy in the post-1878 and 1913 settings, as sources and scholarship on the topic have formerly illustrated, meaning that the post-1913 states were not eager to expel any specific religious community, as Justin McCarthy has claimed.<sup>183</sup> They were particularly interested in building loyalty with various clergymen, acting in this manner just as their French or British peers had in the colonial context. In turn, they would support their war efforts publicly, in churches or in mosques by relying on the authoritarian texts. This was necessary given the Ottoman holy war and the Serbian governing elites sought to thwart the negative outcomes in their post-Ottoman territories with the help of these actors.<sup>184</sup> The case in point is that of Ljurat Šećeragić, a mufti of the town of Preboy, whose speech that was given in front of the Serbian Muslim recruits in late 1914 was spoken at length as follows:

Dear brothers! You are the first recruits of the Muslim people from the newly liberated parts of the Kingdom of Serbia; you are the first who enthusiastically responded to the call of our military authorities and today entered the ranks under the Serbian flag to defend your dear homeland from our evil enemy. It has fallen to you, dear brothers, to be the first to step under the glorious flag of our dear homeland; you should be proud that you are going to serve your homeland, your King and the Supreme Commander because the King has issued an order that all subjects of the Kingdom of Serbia, regardless of faith and nation, are completely equal in all rights and duties, and who, with his ministers, take care of our good, day and night, making sure that justice is equally distributed to all of us and that no wrong is done wrong to anyone. Dear brothers, the law itself obliges you to bravely defend your homeland, which is in danger, to the last drop of your blood. As you know, the homeland means the place where we were born and where we live; it is better to die in the homeland than to live in another. Honor, honesty, and homeland, these are the three most important shrines in this world, so whoever betrays his homeland would lose all three. A man in whose country he was born is his true homeland, which must be protected and defended from all evil (binaenaleyh vataluni, sevmeyen imanumi Allah umida sevmez). [...] He who dies for the homeland, never dies in name (vatan uğrunda fedayı can edenin namı baki bakılır). Loving the homeland is linked with faith; thus, whoever does not love it does not love his faith either, said our prophet Muhammad (hubbü'l-vatan mine'l-iman).<sup>\*</sup> [...] Dear brothers, concluding this short speech before your departure, I have no doubt that you will bravely defend your homeland from the attack of the enemy, proving yourself worthy of your fathers and grandfathers who did not spare their lives whenever it came to defending their homeland. I trust in Almighty Allah, justice, and in the help of our great allies that with your strong muscles you will inflict the last mortal

<sup>183</sup> Justin McCarthy, *Death and exile: The Ethnic Cleansing of Ottoman Muslims, 1821 - 1922* (Princeton, N.J: Darwin Press, 1995). Nicole Immig, "The "New" Muslim Minorities in Greece: Between Emigration and Political Participation, 1881-1886," *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs* 29, no. 4 (2009): 511-22. Jagodić, *Novi krajevi Srbije (1912-1915)*, 479-514. Jovana D. Šaljić, "Od konfesije ka identitetu (Muslimansko pitanje u Srbiji 1878-1912)" (PhD Filološki Fakultet Univerziteta u Beogradu, 2015), 3-4, 46-50, 53, 58, 69-79, 83-84, 120, 29-32. Živko M. Andrijašević, *Crnogorska ideologija, 1860-1918: Državna ideologija Crne Gore u vrijeme vladavine Nikole I Petrovića Njegoša* (Cetinje: Državni arhiv Crne Gore, 2017), 518, 26-28. and Methodieva, *Between Empire and Nation: Muslim Reform in the Balkans*, 6-7, 35, 49-55.

<sup>184</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MPs-C, #9, 09.01.1915, Niš, Acting Supreme Mufti of Serbia, Mufti of Niš Mehmed Zeki to the MoEaCA; *ibid*, unnumbered, Niš, 21.01.1915, Mufti of Niš Mehmed Zeki to the unknown; David Motadel, "Islam and the European Empires," *The Historical Journal* 55, no. 3 (2012): 831-56. Felicitas Becker, "Islam and Imperialism in East Africa," in *Islam and the European Empires*, ed. David Motadel (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 112-28. and Julia Clancy-Smith, "Islam and the French-Empire in North Africa," in *Islam and the European Empires*, ed. David Motadel (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 90-111. See also Nathalie Clayer and Eric Germain, "From State Control to Foreign Policy," in *Islam in Inter-War Europe*, ed. Nathalie Clayer and Eric Germain (London: Hurst & Company, 2008), 216-28, here pp. 22-24, 26.

<sup>\*</sup> The three underlined sentences are written in original in Cyrillic script as follows *Vatan ulurunde gidaji džam idem namı baki kaljur; Hubi vatan iman dendur, binaen alejh vatalumi, sevmejean imanumi Alah umida sevmez and Habul vatani minel imam.*

blow on our age-old enemy. In that name I shout: Long live our favorite King Peter I, Supreme Commander Crown Prince Alexander! Long live the brave officers, long live our invincible brave army, long live our first recruits! [underlined by J.M.]<sup>185</sup>

In addition to interweaving honor, the imagined homeland and faith, which is thematized in chapters ahead, Ljurat openly legitimizes the draft by drawing on the Prophet's example, thus reinforcing his narrative with Turkish and Arabic sentences. This does not come as surprise except, for instance, the fact that the hadith, *hubbü'l-vatan mine'l-iman*, is actually a so-called *mevzû*, a term that expresses the words fabricated as hadith and that were widely used in times of war or occupation. In short, it did not belong to the Prophet.<sup>186</sup> The Preboy mufti was not the exemption since his Izmir peer resorted to the same strategy when Greek troops began to occupy the town and its vicinity in mid-1919. In response they attempted to galvanize the locals into defending the imagined homeland to the the very last drop of their blood.<sup>187</sup>

What makes this example so interesting is the fact was is used in Serbia during WWI and it was subsequently labeled as the enemy of Islam by the Ottoman ruling elites. Regardless of being a fabrication, the hadith served a purpose not least because in this regard, war was sacralized and nationalized since these brokers had to convince the locals that the war was intimately their own.<sup>188</sup> This in no way implies that relations between the Muslim clergy and the Serbian authorities were ideal because the latter followed the clergymen's movement closely, just as their Russian peers had.<sup>189</sup>

Still, mutuality was established in certain cases, for example, Jakup Lakot, a Slavic-speaking Muslim clergyman from the Seniçe area revealed who was in dispute with the county mufti in the post-1918 setting, since he had been close with the authorities and belonged to a different political fraction. Upon being relieved of duty, Jakup relied on the support of the state actors because, besides bringing money to Serbian teachers over the state border during Ottoman rule, he assisted the SCS authorities in eliminating bandits seen as disloyal, and also

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<sup>185</sup> VA/Belgrade, P3, K81, F4, 8/42, #3968, 21.01.1915, Skoplje, KTNO to the MoW. For the speech of the acting Supreme Mufti of Serbia see „Dnevne vesti: Zakletva regruta Muslimana“, *Srpski jug/Skoplje*, god. 2, 20.02.1915, br. 208, 2.

<sup>186</sup> M. Yaşar Kandemir, "Mevzû," *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi* 29 (Mekteb - Mısır Mevlevihanesi) (2004): 493-96. Saffet Sancaklı, "Günümüzde Zayıf ve Mevzû Hadislerin Sahih Hadislerle Karıştırılma Problemi," *Diyanet: İlmi Dergi* 37, no. 1 (2001): 39-60, here pp. 49. and Veli Atmaca, "Elmalılı Tefsiri'nde Mevzû Sayılan Rivâyetler ve Mevzû Hadis Meselesine Dair Bazı Mülahazalar," in *Elmalılı M. Hamdi Yazır Sempozyumu: Akdeniz Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi (2-4 Kasım 2012)*, ed. Ahmet Ögke and Rıfat Atay (Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 2015), 651-93, here pp. 59.

<sup>187</sup> Ali Sarıkoyuncu, *Milli Mücadelede Din Adamları*, vol. I (Ahmet Hulusi, Mehmet Rifat, Hacı Tevfik ve Abdurrahman Kamil Efendiler) (Ankara: Dinayet İşleri Başkanlığı Yayınları, 2012), 22.

<sup>188</sup> Jörn Leonhard, "Die Nationalisierung des Krieges und der Bellizismus der Nation: die Diskussion um Volks- und Nationalkrieg in Deutschland, Großbritannien und den Vereinigten Staaten seit den 1860er Jahren," in *Der Bürger als Soldat. Die Militarisierung europäischer Gesellschaften im langen 19. Jahrhundert: ein internationaler Vergleich*, ed. Jansen and Christian (Essen: Klartext Verlag, 2004), 83-105.

<sup>189</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MID-PO, 1915/R467, F20, D3, XX/155, 09.04.1915, Niš, MoI to the MoFA and Davies, "Muslims in the Russian army, 1874-1917," 90.



disarmed the Muslim populations on the ground. Hence, he was able to maintain his network.<sup>190</sup> Although these brokers were just a few of many various actors (meaning that they were not the most influential ones) their role should and cannot be downsized because they have a manifold function.

### 2.2.3. Mukhtars

Headmen of the villages, either called *muhtar* (Ottoman Empire) or *kmet* (Serbia, Montenegro and in some parts of the Kingdom of SCS), were an integral part of the draft and recruitment commissions. Under Ottoman rule, they headed a town quarter (*mahalle*) or a village municipality called a *yavta*, *yafta* or *kmetija*, which in some parts of the region could be constituted of one or numerous villages.<sup>191</sup> In addition to bringing the conscripts before the commissions or to the barracks, these brokers engaged in military check-ups and in the drawing of recruiting rolls; therefore, they were held accountable and had to provide an excuse when a recruit did not show up.<sup>192</sup> Their function in the Ottoman and Serbian context overlapped despite the claim that the *kmet* in Serbia had a judiciary power contrary to their peers in the Empire. In fact, they are so similar that these brokers and the Habsburg authorities used the titles *kmet* or *muftar* interchangeably, while in some areas after the 1912/13 war they still headed the same post.<sup>193</sup> After proving their allegiance to the Serbian ruling elites, they were appointed as officials, considering the number of the local Muslim population. The new powers absorbed those in Üsküp into its apparatus, having been labeled as the right hand of the police authorities.<sup>194</sup> Elsewhere, the locals still referred to them as *kodžabaša*, *knez* or *seoski starešina*. Around Iškodra, the Muslim and Catholic locals addressed their headman as *mukhtar*, *kocabaşı* or *plaku katunit*, whereas in the Vasojevići, they were referred to as *muftar*.<sup>195</sup> However, for the

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<sup>190</sup> AJ/Belgrade, 69-182-285, #296, 03.10.1920, Sjenica, County Chief to the District Chief; *ibid*, Hearing done on October 3rd, 1920 in the Office of the Sjenica Country Chief and Clayer and Germain, "Muslim Networks in Christian Lands," 22-30, here pp. 24-26.

<sup>191</sup> "Bosna nizamnamesi bakiyesidir", *Takvîm-i Vekâyi*, 6 Safer'ül-Hayr 1282, Defa 806 (...) Bosna'da ekseriya kazalar cemaatlara ve cemaatlar yaftalara ve yaftalar karyelere münkasım (...); Cvetić, *Novopazarški sandžak*, 29. (...) Najmanja administrativna jedinica sa kojom turske vlasti saobraćavaju jeste *jafta* ili *kmetija*; BIIUCG/Podgorica, F176/d, 27.08.1912, Nikšić, Simo J. Šiljak, *Pljevlja i okolina*. (...) Po svojoj političkoj podjeli Pljevlje sa okolinom podijeljeno je na 65 javti (opština); Viktor Dvorski, *Crnogorsko-turska granica od ušća Bojane do Tare* (Podgorica: CID, 2000), 169. Miroslav Svirčević, *Lokalna uprava i razvoj moderne srpske države: od knežinske do opštinske samouprave* (Beograd: Balkanološki Institut, 2011), 533. Ali Akyıldız, "Muhtar," *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi* 31 (Muhammediyye - Munazara) (2006): 51-53. and Ali Murat Yel and Mustafa Sabri Küçükaşçı, "Mahalle," *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi* 27 (2003): 323-26.

<sup>192</sup> Hartmann, *Die Reichweite des Staates: Wehrpflicht und moderne Staatlichkeit im Osmanischen Reich 1860-1910*, 210, 12-13, 15-17, 24, 27-30. and *Pravilo o rekrutovanju mladića za stalan kadar, upisu, ispisu i prevođenju u rezervu i oba poziva narodne vojske*, §4, 8, 36.

<sup>193</sup> ÖStA/KA/Vienna, FA NFA MGG/M, kt. 1702/1917, §938, 11.12.1916, Bijelopolje, Meho Pućurica. (...) Kmet (muftar) Sado Pućurica i medžlis Demo Ibro (...); *ibid*, FA NFA MGG/S, 1667/1918, #691, Res. Nr. 678, 07.09.1918, Prijepolje, District Command to the MGG/S (...) wurde der Kmet (...) Slavenko Terzić, "Pljevlja na putu u novo doba (1804-1913)," in *Istorija Pljevlja*, ed. Milorad S. Vasović and et (Pljevalja: Opština Pljevlja, 2009), 177-275, here pp. 73.

<sup>194</sup> VA/Belgrade, P2, K18, F1, 2/3, 11.11.1912, Skoplje, Supreme Command to various units and M. M. Đ., "Mahalski kmetovi: desna ruka policijskih vlasti u novim krajevima," *Policija* 5, no. 7 (1914): 209-11.

<sup>195</sup> DACG/Cetinje, PPKŽ, F5, #14(45), 07.03.1910, Ograđenica, Džambasanović to the PPKŽ. (...) po naredenju vlasti, kodžabaše i muftari skoro u svima opštinama podnijeli su spiskove učumatu (...); BIIUCG/Podgorica, F176/d, 27.08.1912,

sake of clarity, this study adheres to the term mukhtars. Their importance stemmed from being one of the first actors whom the state authorities addressed in reference not only to the draft, but also in other matters since they were entitled to act on behalf of their villages vis-à-vis the state (e.g. military tax).<sup>196</sup>

A village organization was not a clearly defined body. In a village consisting of more than twenty households, there could be two mukhtars serving at the same time under Ottoman rule, depending on the locals' faith; while one represented the Muslims' interests, another one spoke for the Orthodox Christians.<sup>197</sup> The last two jointly supervised a village with the village council (*ihitiyar meclisi*) that was established for each religious community and consisted of a maximum of twelve, or a minimum of three persons. Clergymen of either faiths could be found in these councils and therefore, they were expected to work together. Their duties were shared equal and could range from collecting levies and taking care of sanitation to facilitating agricultural work, arranging communal lands, and maintaining law and order locally, similar to their pre-1913 Montenegrin peers. This was crucial since a village was considered as a separate unit which was collectively responsible for providing taxes and jointly was held jointly accountable in the eyes of the state and locals when it came to crimes or, in some areas, blood feud.<sup>198</sup> This close cooperation between the clergymen and the mukhtars was also needed in a town or a village church(-school) municipality.<sup>199</sup> Again, local differences were obvious given that not every village housed a religious building, for example, it was seen around Taşlıca that every *yavta* had a mukhtar and two deputies called *medžlis*. However, a mukhtar was responsible for presiding over a guardian (*bekçi*), ranger (*korucu*) and the village police (*zabıta*) separately from the council.<sup>200</sup>

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Nikšić, Simo J. Šiljak, *Pljevlja i okolina*. (...) Svaka javta ima svoga kodžabašu (muftara) (...); VA/Belgrade, P4/2, K88, F5, 10/21, #1270, 19.04.1919, Sarajevo, KIIAO to various military and civil authorities (...) a uz pripomoć kneza/muktara/ (...); Mihačević, *Durch Albanien: Reise-Eindrücke*, 11. Cemović, *Vasojevići: Istorijska istraživanja*, 60. and Vukosavljević, *Istorija seljačkog društva: Seoske zajednice i oblici ponašanja u njima*, 5, 149.

<sup>196</sup> See the case from Taşlıca, Yeni Pazar and Priştina BOA/Istanbul, TFR.I.ŞKT 96/9579, 28 B 1324 [17/09/1906], Brokers to the Inspectorate-General of Three Vilayets; *ibid*, TFR.I.KV, 189/18874, leff 2, 14 M 1326 [17/02/1908], Kosova Valisi to the Inspectorate-General and *ibid*, leff 10, undated, Priştine Regional Governor to the Inspectorate-General.

<sup>197</sup> "Bosna nizamnamesi bakiyesidir", *Takvîm-i Vekâyi*, 28 Muharrem'ül-Haram 1282, Defa 805, §58 and BIIUCG/Podgorica, F176/d, 27.08.1912, Nikšić, Simo J. Šiljak, *Pljevlja i okolina*.

<sup>198</sup> "Bosna nizamnamesi bakiyesidir", *Takvîm-i Vekâyi*, 28 Muharrem'ül-Haram 1282, Defa 805, §62 and 63; DACG/Cetinje, MUD-UO, 1909/F90, #3005(2), br. 2190, 02.07.1909, Kolašin, District Chief to the MoI; *ibid*, 1911/F110, #599/1, br. 2412, 21.12.1911, Andrijevića, An order of Serdar J. Vukotić; Ilija M. Jelić, *Krvna osveta i umir u Crnoj Gori i Severnoj Arbaniji: Istorijsko-pravna studija*, Biblioteka Arhiva za arbansku starinu, jezik i etnologiju, (Beograd: Geca Kon, 1926), 45-47, 78, 84-85, 122-23. Mübahat S. Kütiškoğlu, *Osmanlı'nın Sosyo-Kültürel ve İktisâdî Yapısı* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2018), 313. Vukosavljević, *Istorija seljačkog društva: Seoske ustanove i uredbe*, 4, 35-37. and Özbek, *İmparatorluğun Bedeli: Osmanlı'da Vergi, Siyaset ve Toplumsal Adalet (1839-1908)*, 31-32.

<sup>199</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MID-PP 1910/R435I, unnumbered, 23.01.1910, Plav, Credential. Members of the Church Municipality: Priest Radosav Popović from Brezavice in resignation, Mihajlo Novičević, priest and parish of Plav-Brezavica, Pero B. Rajković mukhtar, Mihajlo O. Bulatović mukhtar and Staniša Milonjin Turković, and Šalipurović, *Kulturno-prosvetne i političke organizacije u Polimlju i Raškoj, 1903-1912*, 154-55.

<sup>200</sup> "Bosna nizamnamesi bakiyesidir", *Takvîm-i Vekâyi*, 28 Muharrem'ül-Haram 1282, Defa 805, §61; BIIUCG/Podgorica, F176/d, 27.08.1912, Nikšić, Simo J. Šiljak, *Pljevlja i okolina* and Vukosavljević, *Istorija seljačkog društva: Seoske zajednice i oblici ponašanja u njima*, 5, 149-50.

According to a contemporary, these brokers, along with the clergyman, were the best agents and organizers because they were in regular contact with other adjacent mukhtars nearby and they could easily connect different villages, which were poorly connected in certain parts of the region.<sup>201</sup> Their network was not confined to the local setting but went beyond it, including actors on the other side of the political border as well. The mukhtar of Plava would write a letter of recommendation to the Christians who intended to travel to Serbia, claiming “with their signature and seal” that the latter were “excellent Serbs, people and honest hosts.”<sup>202</sup> They could mitigate the draft or alter one’s personal trajectory. The mukhtars in the area around the Zonguldak coalfields, on the Black Sea Coast, determined who mined and who served under the banner. By declaring the status of a young man to be that of a miner, they actually protect them from going to Yemen, for example, from where few recruits ever returned. This does not mean that mining was an easier occupation since it lasted actually longer than serving under the banner.<sup>203</sup> Due to the absence of the mukhtar in Gusine, a recruiting counsel could not be constituted which resulted in a failed recruitment, whereby they were warned by the military power.<sup>204</sup>

After the compulsory military service had incorporated the Christians subjects, their role became even more indispensable. Following the declaration of the sultan’s ferman in Berane, the authorities summoned all young men between the ages of 21 to 26 to come forward, via the mukhtars, and gave them thereby eight days to do so. Otherwise, the authorities would do their part (*vlasti će učiniti svoje*), which implied that the mukhtars were responsible for the behavior of the conscripts. How this *would-do-their-part* might look in practice is illustrated in an example which occurred around Tašlica. On this occasion, the military broke into the house of a mukhtar, pulled his son out of the home, and enlisted him with the others.<sup>205</sup> Even after 1913, they remained some of the most important actors in the Ottoman Empire for the implementation of mobilization in towns and in the countryside. Thus, they held fast to their duty, which implied that the locals, whose interests were supposed to be represented by these brokers, began to consider them simply as an extension of the government, something which was also evident in

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<sup>201</sup> Vukosavljević, *Istorija seljačkog društva: Seoske zajednice i oblici ponašanja u njima*, 5, 108-09, 49. and Cemović, *Vasojevići: Istorijska istraživanja*, 60, 65.

<sup>202</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MID-PP 1910/R435I, unnumbered, 23.01.1910, Plav, Credential. Members of the Church Municipality: Priest Radosav Popović from Brezavice in resignation, Mihajlo Novičević, priest and parish of Plav-Brezavica, Pero B. Rajković mukhtar, Mihajlo O. Bulatović mukhtar and Staniša Milonjin Turković.

<sup>203</sup> Donald Quataert, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Madencilik ve Devlet: Zonguldak Kömür Havzası, 1822-1920* (İstanbul: Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2009), 225-28.

<sup>204</sup> BOA/Istanbul, DH.İD, 21.1/59, leff 2, 15.05.1328 [28/05/1912], MoW to the MoI.

<sup>205</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MID-PP 1911/R365, #868, 15.04.1910, Skoplje, Consul to the MoFA; DACG/Cetinje, PPKŽ, F7, #8, 28.12.1910, Prenčani, Đ. Korać to Vule Knežević and *ibid*, #25, 07.02.1911, Bobovo, Goran Pupović, Risto Jakovović and Vukić Tomić to Vulu Kneževiću.

the Russian context.<sup>206</sup> This mutuality in witnessed in the case of a Muslim mukhtar from Taşlıca, who in 1905 offered local authorities his paramilitaries consisting of the locals so that the former could quell the revolt of persons who planned to steal their livestock.<sup>207</sup>

But where exactly did their strength come from? Understanding how mukhtars obtained various forms of capital necessitates going back to the Ottoman times and explaining the election of the latter in a given village. Every year, subjects older than 16 who paid a direct tax of fifty *kuruş* chose a new mukhtar and members of the council who, in addition to paying an annual direct levy of hundred *kuruş*, had to be at least 30 years old. Still, the practice was different because Nikola Radak, a Slavic-speaking Orthodox Christian around Prepole, was chosen to be a new one while being only 24-year-old after the death of his father, who had also been a mukhtar. Neither the authorities, the clergymen, or anyone interfered and Radak was informed about his new duty while tilling the land. His fellow village residents had voted for him without his consent, but he accepted this obligation after consulting with his ağa. By allowing this, the Ottoman ruling elites sought actually to determine the collective responsibility of the village not least because it was *the village* that elected the mukhtar, not the state. Therefore, by the time of the new election, no one could not complain about Nikola or his work.<sup>208</sup> The authorities supported Nikola when necessary so that he could fulfill his assigned duties, and this allowed him to obtain some influence inasmuch as the residents would listen to him given his duties. However, the state's stimulus was not enough, and this meant that Nikola had always to think of himself as a tenant who did not possess his own land. Ultimately, Nikola could not separate himself socially, economically, and culturally from his peers because at the end, after concluding this duty, he remained in the village.<sup>209</sup>

In the tribal-based fabric, however, it was a different story because a mukhtar could not act without the support of the tribal headmen. Having been perceived as an administrative body of the state, one was not supposed to accept the office because no one would grant them the right to seniority. Thus, in this manner, the headmen locally mitigated the encroachment of the state locally. They knowingly suggested weaker peoples (*slabiji ljudi*), albeit ones who would remain honest and faithful to the village and his tribe, to be chosen for mukhtars. In doing so, the

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<sup>206</sup> Beşikçi, *Birinci Dünya Savaşı'nda Osmanlı Seferberliği*, 133-34. and Benecke, *Militär, Reform und Gesellschaft im Zarenreich: Die Wehrpflicht in Russland 1874-1914*, 117.

<sup>207</sup> ÖStA/HHStA/Vienna, Diplomatie und Außenpolitik 1848-1918 KsA Plevlje 3, #18, *Die Unruhen im Herbst 1905, Nächste Plevlje und im Frühsommer 1906 in Donji Kolašin (Mit 6 Skizzen)*. Vortrag gehalten im militär-wissenschaftlichen Verein in Plevlje von Hauptkamm des Generalstabskorps Wolfgang Heller im März 1907, 9.

<sup>208</sup> "Bosna nizamnamesi bakiyesidir", *Takvim-i Vekâyi*, 28 Muharrem'ül-Haram 1282, Defa 805, §66-70; Vukosavljević, *Istorija seljačkog društva: Seoske ustanove i uredbe*, 4, 40. and Vukosavljević, *Istorija seljačkog društva: Seoske zajednice i oblici ponašanja u njima*, 5, 149-51.

<sup>209</sup> Vukosavljević, *Istorija seljačkog društva: Seoske ustanove i uredbe*, 4, 40. and Vukosavljević, *Istorija seljačkog društva: Seoske zajednice i oblici ponašanja u njima*, 5, 111, 13, 49.

headmen sought to force the state to first take care of the tribal interests because when problems arose, the mukhtar would ask for the tribal assistance. In some parts of Ottoman Macedonia, for instance, locals would choose a man for the mukhtar who would willingly endure beating for the entire village.<sup>210</sup> The tribal headmen gradually overtook the duties of the mukhtar, and this led to a merging of the electoral and the hereditary rights within a given family and/or fraternity, and by relying on them, these actors underpinned their strength. This was possible around Berane because the locals owned the land which afforded them more possibilities to act.<sup>211</sup>

In this regard, they shared similarities with the “kindred circle” of village mayors in Habsburg Cieszyn Silesia who acted as a kind of oligarchy, where wealthy peasant families assumed the position of the village head and all had connections to one another.<sup>212</sup> Thus, when the state’s support is added in, it becomes then clear that only certain mukhtars owned various forms of capital. In the urban setting, a town mukhtar, who was at the same time a trader and craftsman could rely on his guild or teachers. In contrast, some gained symbolic capital by heading the office for more than 33 years in a row.<sup>213</sup> However, in the case of the latter two it is difficult to follow their interaction in the mobilization field.

The 1912/13 or 1915/16 transitions may have influenced the stance of the mukhtars who depended on their fraternities, but their networks endured and since they were older than the new authorities, the latter might contact them because the new power knew about the mukhtars even before they occupied the region.<sup>214</sup> If these brokers also came forward then the mutuality was established because this opened doors to other players who were also their kin (e.g. tribal headmen or bandits). Their former military expertise should not be overlooked here. For example, the Habsburg power realized in late 1916 that mukhtars could become one of the factors that would enhance mobilization among the Albanian-speaking Muslims since the latter were loyal to their elected village headmen and their community leaders. Thus, it was necessary to gain their allegiance to the Habsburg cause in lieu of providing these brokers certain benefits.<sup>215</sup>

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<sup>210</sup> Cemović, *Vasojevići: Istorijaska istraživanja*, 61, 66. and Vukosavljević, *Istorija seljačkog društva: Seoske zajednice i oblici ponašanja u njima*, 5, 140.

<sup>211</sup> Sreten V. Vukosavljević, *Istorija seljačkog društva: Organizovanje seljačke zemljišne svojine*, vol. 1 (Beograd: Službeni glasnik, 2012), 305. Vukosavljević, *Istorija seljačkog društva: Seoske ustanove i uredbe*, 4, 40. Vukosavljević, *Istorija seljačkog društva: Seoske zajednice i oblici ponašanja u njima*, 5, 52, 105, 11, 18. Cemović, *Vasojevići: Istorijaska istraživanja*, 61. and Lalević and Protić, "Vasojevići u turskoj granici," 694-733, here pp. 698.

<sup>212</sup> Morys-Twarowski, "The 'Kindred Circle' of Village Mayors in the Habsburg Monarchy and the Example of Cieszyn Silesia, 1864-1918," *Acta Poloniae Historica* 121, Local Elites in the Habsburg Monarchy (2020): 27-41.

<sup>213</sup> Šalipurović, *Kulturno-prosvetne i političke organizacije u Polimlju i Raškoj, 1903-1912*, 157. and Vukosavljević, *Istorija seljačkog društva: Seoske zajednice i oblici ponašanja u njima*, 5, 214.

<sup>214</sup> BIIUCG/Podgorica, F176/đ, 27.08.1912, Nikšić, Simo J. Šiljak, *Pljevlja i okolina*.

<sup>215</sup> ÖStA/KA/Vienna, AOK Op. Abt. B-Gruppe, 510/1916, #33751, Präs. Nr. 6197/47, 04.11.1916, Cetinje, MGG/M to the AOK.

In other areas, such as Akova, they filed petitions concerning the acquittal of Muslims from Habsburg POW camps. In doing so, their status actually might be further reinforced since the POWs were wielded as a tool for convincing others to join the Habsburg military or the mukhtars informed their kin that they were entitled to aid while their male family members were at the front.<sup>216</sup> These brokers also escorted the volunteers to the barracks, as was the case for those shipped to Lebring, Graz, or to Mostar, where they arbitrated between the latter and the authorities. As an example of their influence, a Habsburg officer from Montenegro stated that a volunteer, who had stolen bread from his peer, hung himself in the barracks in Mostar because his leader had ordered him to.<sup>217</sup> At the same time, the mukhtars were capable of unleashing negative influence on the volunteers, which might lead to excesses during transportation.<sup>218</sup> In brief, they were merely a handful among many brokers who accelerated mobilization yet, an actor who was active even after 1918 in the Vasojevići and with whom the state had to negotiate.<sup>219</sup>

#### 2.2.4. Bandits

By incorporating bandits, who were an integral part of the state-building process, the state legitimized these actors locally but also consolidated their policies among the subjects at their expense (i.g. over vast rural spaces). Bandits' actions were not a one-way process but rather, a form of negotiation that paved the way to rewards, privileges and social capital. The more prizes and status they obtained, the more they got accustomed to taking care of the state's interests since it created the setting in which they could enhance their position. Through co-option and bargaining, the state incorporated them into their structures and maneuvered the newly emerging competitors by playing off different groupings and curtailing their spaces of influence, while at the same time, making them reliant on their status. If they risked not having enough soldiers, the ruling elites might seek help from bandits; this move was not a weakness but a strength, which was supported by a calculated policy resulting from global and inner pressures.<sup>220</sup> Banditry is a complex social phenomenon and thus, this section looks beyond the dichotomy of social bandits and proto-national fighters.<sup>221</sup> Bandits could become prominent

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<sup>216</sup> ÖStA/KA/Vienna, FA NFA MGG/M, kt. 1702/1917, #938, 23.08.1916, Bijelo Polje, Murat Crnovršanin from Jasena, a mukhtar and *ibid*, #938, Exh. Nr. 464, 10.03.1917, Bjelo Polje, MGG/M to the Gendarmerie Post.

<sup>217</sup> ÖStA/HHStA/Vienna, PA I 1007, 50w, Albanien, 03.11.1916, Kg. Lager Lebring, Replacement Battalion of the BH IF Regiment #2 to the Graz Military Command; ÖStA/KA/Vienna, AOK Op. Abt. B-Gruppe, 510/1916, #34433, Präs. Nr. 6874, 15.11.1916, General Staff Officer of the MGG/M to the MGG/M, 3; *ibid*, #6840, 16.11.1916, Cetinje, MGG/M to the AOK, 4.

<sup>218</sup> ÖStA/KA/Vienna, AOK Op. Abt. B-Gruppe, 510/1916, #34433, Präs. Nr. 6874, 15.11.1916, Cetinje, General Staff Officer of the MGG/M to the MGG/M, 3.

<sup>219</sup> Vukosavljević, *Istorija seljačkog društva: Seoske zajednice i oblici ponašanja u njima*, 5, 188-89.

<sup>220</sup> Karen Barkey, *Bandits and Bureaucrats: The Ottoman Route to State Centralization* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1994), 1-2, 8, 11, 13, 16, 18, 25, 27, 191-92, 200.

<sup>221</sup> Eric J. Hobsbawm, *Bandits* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1981). Anton Block, "The Peasant and the Brigand: Social Banditry Reconsidered," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 14, no. 4 (1972): 494-503. Biljana Marković, "The

power-holders who were able to challenge the Empire's monopoly on symbols, loyalty and moral authority, drawing both Muslims and Christians under their banners, as the case of Kara Feyzi aptly shows. His raids have offered an ideal excuse for (former) bureaucrats to ensure their footing in the Balkan provinces because some of them not only joined Kara Feyzi but they also participated in plundering the locals, blurring the boundaries between the state and these actors.<sup>222</sup>

The policy of absorbing the bandits is therefore not a unique case. The Draga family's influence in Mitroviča and its surrounding areas began when Ali Draga, acting as a bandit leader, obtained control of several villages around the town in the 1860s, became a gendarmerie and border officer, and even gained the title of pasha.<sup>223</sup> Prior to the Balkan Wars, one detects similar trajectories were detected in the region. For example, Orle Kaljić, along with his men from Kolašin-i Zîr, used physical violence against the Christians while disarming the locals in the name of the Empire, which the Serbian and Montenegrin brokers immediately labelled along the national and/or religious lines.<sup>224</sup> This provides a telling example of how roles between the brokers were fluid, meaning that it was not always possible to draw clear lines between Ottoman subjects, bandits and brokers. Orle's gang stemmed from his fraternity which was the most powerful and most numerous in all of Kolašin-i Zîr with the firepower of up to 500 men whose members were also landowners and who held sway in local councils.<sup>225</sup>

However, in the post-1913 setting, fearing that her husband would be killed Orle's wife fraternalized with a tribesman from the neighboring Vasojevići, who had fought on the Montenegrin side and whose brother was one of the main tribal headmen. He protected Orle who was labelled as hero (*junak*), meaning that they managed to preserve their network to a certain degree.<sup>226</sup> Around Seniče and Tašlica, both authorities and powerholders formed flying counter-bandit units whose members had a military background, for example, those with the

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Popular Image of Hajduks in Serbia" (MA Thesis Universiteit van Amsterdam, 2014). Stevan Bozanic, "Masculinity and Mobilised Folklore: The Image of the Hajduk in the Creation of the Modern Serbian Warrior" (MA Thesis University of Victoria, 2017). and Vakalis, "Tanzimat in the Province: Nationalist Sedition (Fesat), Banditry (Eşkiya) and Local Councils in the Ottoman Southern Balkans (1840s to 1860s)," 203-04, 29-31.

<sup>222</sup> Esmer, "Economies of Violence, Banditry and Governance in the Ottoman Empire Around 1800," 163-99. See also Tolga U. Esmer, "The Precarious Intimacy of Honor in Late Ottoman Accounts of Para-militarism and Banditry," *European Journal of Turkish Studies* 18, no. 1-16 (2014): 1-16.

<sup>223</sup> ASANU/Belgrade, 13316/103, *Ferad-beg Ali Draga: Prvak albanskog Kosovskog komiteta, turski, italijanski i nemački špijun i jugoslovenski političar*, 3; ÖStA/HHStA/Vienna, PA XXXVIII/Kt. 385, #34, 7. Mai 1905, Mitrovica, Zambaur an Gotuchowski and Ippen, *Novibazar und Kossovo (Das alte Rascien): Eine Studie*, 115-16.

<sup>224</sup> DACG/Cetinje, PPKŽ, F5, #177, 05.06.1909, Dovolje, Mih. Kurtović to the PPKŽ; *ibid*, F6, #309, 08.11.1910, Poščana, Miloica to the PPKŽ; *ibid*, F5, #170, br. 865, 13.06.1910, Ogradenica, Džambasanović to the PPKŽ; *ibid*, F7, #12, br. 60, 17.01.1911, Žabljak, PPKŽ to the MoFA and

<sup>225</sup> AMV/Kolašin, *Petar Bošković o Kljajićima*, 15-16; ÖStA/HHStA/Vienna, PA XXXVIII/Kt. 385, #69, 02.10.1904, Mitrovica, Zambaur to Gotuchowski; *ibid*, #21, 22.03.1905, Mitrovica, Zambaur to Gotuchowski; Dučić, "Kolašin, prijedjel i pleme u Hercegovini," 142-58, here pp. 44-45. Mrkonjić [Pejatović], "Srednje Polimlje i Potarje u Novopazarskom sandžaku: Antropogeografska ispitivanja," 225-356, here pp. 284-85. and Vakalis, "Tanzimat in the Province: Nationalist Sedition (Fesat), Banditry (Eşkiya) and Local Councils in the Ottoman Southern Balkans (1840s to 1860s)," 229.

<sup>226</sup> Cemović, *Vasojevići: Istorijaska istraživanja*, 51.

title sergeant (*çavuş*) or corporal (*onbaşı*).<sup>227</sup> Their goal was to fight against bandits who had come from the other side of the political border since the Užice region was a breeding ground for bandits during the long 19<sup>th</sup> century and where Serbia's monopoly on violence had always been contested.<sup>228</sup> They sometimes trespassed the political border under the pretext of a false patriotic narrative and to avenge Kosovo, looting both Ottoman Christian and Muslim subjects, which in turn discredited Serbian authorities in the eyes of the former.<sup>229</sup>

Allowing banished locals to return was wielded as a strategy for approaching these actors whose gang members had remained locally. This was expected to pacify them, as had happened in late 1910 in the region of Plava-Gusine, where, by becoming members of the newly established border units, they obtained the title of corporals, trumpets and sergeants, and received arms, munition, salary, and food.<sup>230</sup> Similar to Ottoman Epirus, locals were forced to pay a protection racket system (*deruhdecilik*) or fee (*muhâfiz ücreti*) and the local officials tolerated this to a certain degree, thereby increasing the capital of these brokers. When the locals could no longer endure being robbed, they turned to bandits and asked for protection. As the bandits gradually increased the fee, they began to consider a village as their own right. In this way, they built an informal governance which occasionally resulted in fights over control of the villages between the various bandits. If they could not harm their protectors, their opponents could surely harm their villages and in this regard, they dispossessed them of their economic foundation. There was also another type of informal governance called *bekçilik* (guardian's duty) in which the locals hired a guardian from a certain strong fraternity and when necessary, the locals relied on the armed assistance of this guardian.<sup>231</sup> Maintaining connections with the bandits was not unusual in the Ottoman context because as each subsequent polity had their own bandits since the governing elites learned how to instrumentalize their violent practices and helped maintain in this manner and way of life despite the transitions.<sup>232</sup>

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<sup>227</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MID-PP 1903/I-8, #151, 11.08.1903, Javor, Customs Office to the MoFA; *ibid*, MID-PPO 1911/R17, #77, 16.03.1911, Pljevlja, Prokopije Šiljak to the GŠT; *ibid*, MID-PPO 1912/R92I, #479, 01.12.1911, Javor, Customs Office to the MoFA; *ibid*, MID-PPO 1912/R105, unnumbered, 28.08.1912, Javor, Milan Đ. Đurić to Boža Jankovića and *ibid*, MID-PPO 1912/R43, unnumbered, 03.06.1912, Javor, Sreten V. Vukosavljević to the MoFA.

<sup>228</sup> ÖStA/HHStA/Vienna, PA XXXVIII/Kt. 385, #3, 27.03.1904, Mitrovica, Zambaur to Gotuchowski; *ibid*, #20, 16.03.1904, Mitrovica, Zambaur to Gotuchowski; *ibid*, #34, Mitrovica, 07.05.1905, Zambaur to Gotuchowski; *ibid*, #42, 12.05.1905, Mitrovica, Krauz to Gotuchowski and Milisav R. Đenić, *Zločini u ime pravde: Zlatiborska hajdučija* (Beograd: Beogradska knjiga, 2005).

<sup>229</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MID-PP 1904, R14, #10, 23.01.1904, Javor, Customs Office to the MoFA.

<sup>230</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MID, 1910/F186, #2286, 16.12.1910, Velika, Janko Vukotić to the MoFA.

<sup>231</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MID-PP 1912/R43, unnumbered, 03.06.1912, Javor, Sreten V. Vukosavljević to the MoFA; Gawrych, *The Crescent and the Eagle: Ottoman Rule, Islam and the Albanians, 1874-1913*, 134, 62. Frantz, *Gewalt und Koexistenz: Muslime und Christen im spätosmanischen Kosovo (1870-1913)*. Spiros Tsoutsoumpis, "Land of the Kapedani: Brigandage, Paramilitarism and Nation-building in 20th Century Greece," *Balkan Studies* 51 (2016): 35-67, here pp. 41-42. and Vukosavljević, *Istorija seljačkog društva: Organizovanje seljačke zemljišne svojine*, 1, 310, 12-13.

<sup>232</sup> Xavier Bougarel, "The "Revenge of the Countryside" Between Sociological Reality and Nationalist Myth," *East European Quarterly* 33, no. 2 (1999): 157-75.



In the Montenegrin context, it was Petar (H)Azanac acted as a specific nuisance for both Ottoman and Montenegrin border officials due to his raids and targeting his victims which included beys, locals and Ottoman soldiers. As a result, he was placed in a Montenegrin jail since at the time, his actions went against the interest of the ruling elites and they were keen to preserve order and peace at the borderlands with powerholders from Plava and Gusine, who subsequently exported cattle via Montenegro.<sup>233</sup> “How the Turks kept retaliating over my kin, I could not look at it with calm eyes and folded hands” because “I had to. I think, Mr. Minister, that I have not done anything ugly to date, which could make me blush. I am Serb and as such, I could not stand that my enemy [*dušman*] writhe and torture my brothers.” In addition to applying the identitarian language to justify his crimes, Petar also took on the name of the Montenegrin ruling dynasty as his own family name. The context is crucial due to the fact that the authorities prohibited him from conducting any raids in the Empire which left his family starved of any food.<sup>234</sup> However, a district chief from Kolašin endorsed his actor and asked that he be employed as a gendarme since he knew him to be a young man (*valjani momak*) and who, on expected occasions, could be useful to them (*koji bi u očekivanim prilikama mogao i trebati nama*). After being acquitted, he became active once again as a bandit leader in the region prior to the 1912/13 wars.<sup>235</sup>

Under Serbian rule, certain district chiefs turned to private actors who identified themselves as paramilitaries, hoping to compensate for the lack of gendarmes on the ground. Still, their engagement was useless since they blackmailed people and committed robberies, especially during searches and seizures of weapons, which in turn forced the higher powers to ban them in early 1913.<sup>236</sup> Amidst the Habsburg occupation of the Mitroviča region, flying counter-bandit units were made up of robberies (*harami*), and among them, some had been freed from jail in lieu of joining. Although their duty was to fight against any armed grouping, they also took part in plundering and ended up among those who joined the Habsburg military in Mostar.<sup>237</sup> Nevertheless, the Habsburg power employed them since banditry was part of the

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<sup>233</sup> ÖStA/HHStA/Vienna, PA XXXVIII/Kt. 385, #73, 16.10.1904, Mitrovica, Zambaur to Gotuchowski; DACG/Cetinje, MID, 1908/F155a, #2113, br. 617, 30.06.1908, Andrijevića, Protić to the MoFA; *ibid*, 1908/F157, #2766, br. 511, 28.08.1908, Kolašin, Nikčević to the MoFA; *ibid*, MUD-UO, 1911/F109, #271(2), br. 2412, 30.01.1911, Podgorica. Vučinić to the MoI; *ibid*, MUD-UO, 1911/F116, #3373(2), 02.08.1911, Cetinje, Petar Hazanac–Petrović to the MoI; *ibid*, 1911/F118, #4291, br. 437, 26.10.1911, Andrijevića, Vešović to the MoI; *ibid*, 1911/F121, #5394/1, 14.12.1911, Andrijevića, Drecun to the MoI and Bašmakov, *Preko Crne Gore u zemlju Gega*, 19.

<sup>234</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MUD-UO, 1911/F116, #3373(2), 02.08.1911, Cetinje, Petar Hazanac–Petrović to the MoI.

<sup>235</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MUD-UO, 1910/F96, #515(2), br. 4789, 04.02.1910, Kolašin, District Chief to the MoI (citation); *ibid*, 1911/F121, #5394/1, br. 613, 14.12.1911, Andrijevića, Secretary to the MoI and Šalipurović, *Kulturno-prosvetne i političke organizacije u Polimlju i Raškoj, 1903-1912*, 360-61.

<sup>236</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MUD, ŠVK-PO 1912-1913, B-2387, #2042, 29.03.1913, Skoplje, Police Inspectorate to all district chiefs.

<sup>237</sup> ÖStA/KA/Vienna, AOK Op. Abt. B-Gruppe, 510/1916, #34433, Präs. Nr. 6874, 15.11.1916, Cetinje, General Staff Officer of the MGG/M to the MGG/M, 6 and „Drugi dan pretresa Ferad beg Dragi, bivšem vodi džemijeta“, *Vreme*, god. VI, 22.12.1926, br. 1800, 5.

locally established institutions given their close nexus with the locals' presence in some areas (although they planned to abolish it bit by bit through rigorous austerities).<sup>238</sup> A similar process is evident in the post-1918 context, when in mid-1919 the authorities in Yeni Pazar formed and maintained a flying counter-bandit unit consisting of five confidential persons and their peers in the area of Akova did the same in late 1921.<sup>239</sup>

Why would the governing elites seek to utilize these actors, if they were so problematic? The answer lies in what these brokers brought with themselves and what the state spared in using them, since also in the post-1918 setting, they were also a significant factor (*značajan faktor*) in which the authorities wasted a large part of their energy working against them.<sup>240</sup> This is why the latter formed flying gendarmerie squads consisting of the locals from both faiths, whose goal was to destroy the bandits. However, they were not highly effective since many from the gendarmes had tribesman or kin among these actors and the state could not ask them to kill one of their relatives. In fact, they together they committed robberies, which created numerous problems on the spot since other locals could not differentiate who the state and who the bandits were.<sup>241</sup>

Through their bilinear kinships, they were able to preserve a horizontal network with notables, clergymen or with other members of the local security apparatus, regardless of confessional belonging.<sup>242</sup> For some in the Ćpek area, war represented a craft whose end meant the loss of their merit as leaders, as the Habsburg authorities had noticed.<sup>243</sup> Employing them also helped prevent new issues from arising. Therefore, drawing them under the banner was crucial for a number of reasons: First, the state had people who could exert influence on their own companions since they already knew how the recruitment functioned, given their military background; in certain cases, they had been deserters or state officials.<sup>244</sup> Second, in doing so, indirect rule over the countryside was implemented because it was cheaper to maintain this

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<sup>238</sup> ÖStA/HHStA/Vienna, PA I 998, 49g, Montenegro, #90/R, 12.11.1916, Cetinje, Civil Proxy at the MGG/M to the MdÄ and Michael R. Palaret, *The Balkan Economies c. 1800-1914: Evolution Without Development* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 147-50, 212.

<sup>239</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MUDuI, OP 1919/K1, #131, 07.05.1919, Novi Pazar, District Chief to the MoI and AJ/Belgrade, 14-179-662, #421, 16.08.1921, Bijelo Polje, District Chief to the MoI-DPS.

<sup>240</sup> VA/Belgrade, P6, K644, F4, 11/4, #3906, 07.10.1919, Cetinje, KZDO to the KIIAO.

<sup>241</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MUDuI, OJB 1919-1920/K3, #6866, Novembar 1919, Beograd, KCŽ to the MoI and Dimić and Borozan, *Jugoslovenska država i Albanci*, II, #677, 31.05.1920, Priština, KKDO to the KIIAO, 695-696.

<sup>242</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MUDuI, OP 1919/K1, #233, 25.06.1919, Orahovac, County Chief to the Prizren District Chief; AJ/Belgrade, 69-182-289, #221, 11.09.1919, Beograd, MoI to the Royal Government in Cetinje; *ibid*, 14-184-680, #2259, 08.05.1920, Berane, District Chief to the MoI-DPS. For the Akova context and Montenegro in general see VA/Belgrade, P3, K177, F8, 8/93, #40.177, 05.06.1919, Beograd, Supreme Command to the Chief of the Adjutant's Department and DAS/Belgrade, MUDuI, OJB 1919/K2, #163, 01.09.1919, Bijelo Polje, District Chief to the MoI and.

<sup>243</sup> ÖStA/HHStA/Vienna, PA I 998, 49g, Montenegro, #825/Res, 10.08.1916, Schkodra, Proxy of the MdÄ in post-1913 Albania to the MdÄ.

<sup>244</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MUDuI, OJB 1919/K2, #158, 04.09.1919, Pljevlja, District Chief to the MoI.

rather than a regular army. This was regardless of their wrongdoings, which could be a state-sponsored crime, meaning that the line between paramilitaries and bandits was also blurred.<sup>245</sup>

By employing some brokers and pitting them against one another, the governing elites longed for their mutual weakening so that at the end it would be easier to extend total control over territory. Ultimately, tapping into the network of these brokers led to other entrepreneurs (e.g. powerholders, clergymen, tribal headmen), which in turn constructed a formal-cum-informal-governance in order to archive a denser grid locally.

#### 2.2.5. Former Rank and File

A duty of the discharged soldier consists of many things because people learn, while serving, a lot of things that they did not know before. They understand the value of military service, the greatness of the homeland. As soon as they go to their birthplace, they must explain this to all fellow countrymen; teach them what a man owes to his nation; endear military service to everyone; eliminate fear of some ignorant [persons] who are afraid of military service; clarify for the young and elderly what their duties are in case of war; imbue this into everyone's mind. They should try never to forget what they have learned, always be loyal to the government and sultan; be a servant [*kul bende*] of the homeland's safety and run without losing a minute when they are again called to military service, dragging together others as themselves.<sup>246</sup>

In this manner Hüseyin Arif, an Ottoman infantryman teacher (*muallim*), educator, and trainer (*mürebbi*), precisely discusses how discharged or demobilized soldiers should behave upon serving out their duty. Besides being expected to perform their role as a state agent and illuminator, they were also required, among other things, to accelerate the mobilization efforts vertically. In this regard, Hüseyin does not differ from his Serbian peers or brokers, who also believed that the former rank and file should adhere to their duties while at home or in the reserve since they could then become now other young men's educators, trainers, and NCOs to recruits.<sup>247</sup> These optimistic expectations were mainly based on the assumption that every soldier left the military with a positive impression. However, this was not always the case. For instance, Ranko Kojadinović, a Slavic-speaking Orthodox Christian from the Seniče region, fled to Bosnia-Herzegovina even before he was drafted after hearing repeatedly from the discharged soldiers about how new draftees were being treated in the barracks.<sup>248</sup> Ultimately, the former did not always act as they had wished, implying that, in certain situations, the ruling elites had to persuade these brokers to promote their cause locally. Existing evidence suggests that not only did former Ottoman soldiers, NCOs, and gendarmerie officers act as the military

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<sup>245</sup> Tsoutsoumpis, "Land of the Kapedani: Brigandage, Paramilitarism and Nation-building in 20th Century Greece," 38. and Uğur Ümit Üngör, *Paramilitarism: Mass Violence in the Shadow of the State* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), 7, 62.

<sup>246</sup> Arif, *Piyade Neferi*, 216-17.

<sup>247</sup> Jovanović, "Nešto o regrutovanju naše stajaće vojske," 1316, 19. Bojović, *Vaspitavanje vojnika*, 53, 158-67. Sretenović, *Potrebna znanja za vojnika stalnog kadra, vojne obveznike od njihove 18.-50. godine, za opštinske vlasti i za građane u opšte u njihovim odnosima prema vojnoj službi i prema vojnim vlastima s bukvarom za samouke*, 62. Kosta Jokić, *Kaplar* (Beograd: Štampano u Državnoj štampariji Kraljevine Srbije, 1911), 5. and Pejović, *Vojnička čitančica za svakog vojnika*, 3, 10, 20, 21, 26, 28-29, 139.

<sup>248</sup> ABH/Sarajevo, ZVS 1912, 20-47, #4617, Protocol compiled at the Višegrad County Office, dated 20.05.1912. Subject: *an Ottoman military deserter Ranko Kojadinović*.

entrepreneurs of the Empire but they also adhered to this task even in the Serbian and Habsburg settings as well.

It is not clear whether by allowing a financial aid (1913) to be given to the families of the Ottoman bureaucrats and officers who suffered from lack of food and money, that the Serbian Ministry of War intended to coax them under their banner while they were being held as POWs.<sup>249</sup> However, when it became obvious that a war with their Bulgarian ally was inevitable, the higher military powers were prepared to welcome (on a voluntary basis) the former bilingual Ottoman soldiers and officers who were bilingual Muslims. They offered them food, clothing, and a monthly salary which was determined by their rank.<sup>250</sup>

It is apparent that this policy yielded results when it is kept in mind that these former rank and file, along with their families, could not support themselves. Pavle Blažarić, an Ottoman-era Serbian paramilitary member and an officer of one of the four battalions made up of the former Ottoman soldiers, recalled that some units had at least three reserve Ottoman officers.<sup>251</sup> Because they were deprived of people who could speak Albanian or Turkish during WWI, Serbian commanders also turned to these actors in order to form consistent units that were capable of fulfilling their duty on the front. The military thought that by choosing from within these new NCOs or confirming their older titles would help strengthen the training not only of the recruits who only spoke Albanian or Turkish, but also of the Slavic-speaking Muslims. As such, they could accurately describe military actions, which helped enhanced the bond between the inexperienced draftees and the military. Overall, their mutual communication was perceived as one of the most prominent issues.<sup>252</sup>

Along with many former Ottoman soldiers who joined the Habsburg military, the authorities also recognized a group of the Ottoman NCOs and a handful of officers who enjoyed a great influence on the locals in late 1916. After being assigned to commands, they could render an enormous service (*unschätzbare Dienste*) so the Habsburg units could function properly. Apart from being an Ottoman ally in WWI, a welfare policy nurtured by the Monarchy facilitated their inclusion and also ensured their livelihood and that of their kin. It was suggested, for example, that the NCOs would receive 150 Crones as allowance.<sup>253</sup> In addition to enhancing

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<sup>249</sup> VA/Belgrade, P2, K102, F1, 31/1, #34, 10.01.1913, Nova Varoš, Local Commander to the Commander of Javor Brigade and *ibid*, K18, F1, 22/5, 21.02.1913, Beograde, MoW to the Supreme Command.

<sup>250</sup> VA/Belgrade, P2, K15, F1, 15/7, 15.05.1913 and *ibid*, 15/6, 18.05.1913, Skoplje, Supreme Command to the MoW.

<sup>251</sup> Blažarić, *Memoari*, 173-82.

<sup>252</sup> VA/Belgrade, P3, K81, F4, 8/44, #10741, 02.01.1915, Kragujevac, Supreme Command to the KNRT; *ibid*, K72, F5, 22/9, 24.04.1915, Kragujevac, Supreme Command to the KOB; *ibid*, K81, F4, 8/91, 20.05.1915, #3540, Topčidersko brdo, KKO to the KOB and *ibid*, K72, F5, 22/6, #23, 05.06.1915, Kumodraž, Commander of the 4<sup>th</sup> Battalion to the Commandner of the 19<sup>th</sup> Infantry Regiment.

<sup>253</sup> ÖStA/KA/Vienna, AOK Op. Abt. B-Gruppe, 510/1916, #33434, Präs. Nr. 17775, 29.10.1916, Belgrade, MGG/S to the AOK and *ibid*, FA NFA MGG/S, 1669/1918, #1548, 02.10.1918, Belgrade, MGG/S to the GIS.

their economic status and allowing some to deal in trade, the Habsburg power, just as their Ottoman and Serbian predecessors sought to improve their symbolic capital locally, by honoring them with rewards such as medals and military titles.<sup>254</sup> This was not done without purpose insofar as other entrepreneurs and inhabitants had cheered the veterans (*guzat-ı asker-i şahâne*) who had sacrificed their bodies for the sake of the state and the faith (*gazâda cihad ve din ve devlet uğrunda bezl-i vücüt*), as had happened Taşlıca or Seniçe during the Greek-Ottoman War of 1897.<sup>255</sup> In contrast to other cases, an eyewitness from Yeni Pazar offers a glimpse into how these brokers communicated with the able-bodied as follows:

With a few Muslims, [Rizo Murtezić] traveled to Belgrade with a recommendation letter from the Yeni Pazar District Commander. There he spoke with the [Habsburg] Military General Governor of Serbia, from whom he was given a permit to gather volunteers for the Habsburg army. Afterwards, Riza came back to Yeni Pazar and actively worked on gathering the volunteers. He was introducing himself as an Ottoman officer and was wearing an Ottoman uniform; he had put on his fez with the marks of the Ottoman Empire, a crescent and a star, and together with the Ottoman flag, proceeded through nearby towns and villages, inviting the locals to join the Habsburg army. He did everything under the phrase “Who is a Turk, enlist in volunteers.” When the first volunteers signed up, Rizo gathered them, took davul and whistle, and with slogans and music advanced through the town accompanied by volunteers and a bunch of town-dwellers whose number was gradually getting bigger. In Yeni Pazar alone, over 300 volunteers were raised, while in total the number of recruited town-based Muslims and the [neighboring] Dežev County amounted to over 2,000 men.<sup>256</sup>

Together with Riza Beg Muratbegović, Rizo was labeled as one of the most active brokers locally and by relying on his social network, he incited the locals to assist the Ottoman Empire against Russia on the Galicia front; however, what Rizo failed to tell them was that some of them would end up in the Habsburg military.<sup>257</sup> The same applied to Derviš Bey Omerović from Mitroviča, who was a former cavalry captain of the Ottoman gendarmerie. He informed the able-bodied that they would serve in gendarmerie or police units in occupied Romania or within the Ottoman army, and in early 1917 he persuaded around 200 Albanian-speaking Muslims to enlist. However, after being divided into different Habsburg units, they were shipped to the inner parts of the Habsburg Monarchy, which produced serious consequences in only a short time since those who had been deceived could backfire with their non-violent tactics.<sup>258</sup> Thus, in this context, they helped strengthen the Habsburg authority on the ground, similar to their peers in the pre-1914 Habsburg Cisleithania and Germany.<sup>259</sup>

<sup>254</sup> BOA/Istanbul, HR.SYS, 2319/4, leff 35/1, 04.04.1917, Belgrade, Ottoman Proxy to the MoFA.

<sup>255</sup> BOA/Istanbul, Y.PRK.UM, 40/62, leff 6, 20 Teşrinievvel 1313 [01/11/1897], Various brokers from Seniçe to soldiers of the Yeni Şehir redif battalions deployed on the Thessaly front and Joanović, "Novopazarski sandžak 1878-1900 (V nastavak)," 117-43, here pp. 32.

<sup>256</sup> Koničanin, *Efendijina sećanja i kazivanja*, 111.

<sup>257</sup> Koničanin, *Efendijina sećanja i kazivanja*, 111-12.

<sup>258</sup> BOA/Istanbul, HR.SYS, 2319/4, leff 37/1, 04.04.1917, Belgrade, Ottoman Proxy to the MoFA.

<sup>259</sup> Laurence Cole, "Military Veterans and Popular Patriotism in Imperial Austria, 1870-1914," in *The Limits of Loyalty: Imperial Symbolism, Popular Allegiances, and State Patriotism in the Late Habsburg Monarchy*, ed. Laurence Cole and Daniel L. Unowsky (New York: Berghahn Books, 2009), 36-61. Laurence Cole, *Military Culture and Popular Patriotism in Late Imperial Austria* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014). and Thomas Rohkrämer, *Der Militarismus der "kleinen Leute": Die Kreigervereine im Deutschen Kaiserreich, 1871-1914* (München: R. Oldenbourg, 1990).



Photo 2: Rizo Murtezić (most likely) Holding a Speech in Yeni Pazar (1917). For Ottoman NCOs and soldiers, it should be understood that communication was not simply as the transfer of information, but rather as a stabilization of social meanings, occurring in certain physical spaces. It was generated through ascribing certain attributions (e.g. *who is a Turk, enlist in volunteers*), whereby patterns of a certain political order were reified in communicative operations. His body donned in uniforms, which symbolizes a state organization, and his personal strength is reinforced with medals and a saber, he positions himself publicly, which are not just spaces of perception. By turning and moving around in such a manner he created the space that became their environment, while his body is involved in the formation of a “we-situation.” By holding speeches before the Habsburg authorities and the gathered locals, Rizo actively participated in staging an atmosphere whose goal was to engulf and conjure the able-bodied to enter into military. Playing music and decorating the streets with flags and flowers just represented a constative part of these strategies.<sup>260</sup>

However, reducing their function only to this one would have been a mistake because within the military itself, these actors were quite indispensable. This matter is exemplified in the case of Derviš Bey, who was required to exert his personal influence in order to discipline the battalion crews.<sup>261</sup> Derviš Bey is a revealing example of how a former Ottoman officer endured the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire and Serbia, though he was very close with the authorities of the latter. He was deployed as a captain in the region from 1907, had also built a house in Mitroviça, and gotten married, thereby creating a network and enjoying a good reputation among the Serbian authorities. The retreating Serbian power even appointed him to oversee the Mitroviça municipality (late 1915).<sup>262</sup>

During Habsburg rule, his strength only kept increasing, and it is here where one notices the main difference between Derviš Bey and other locally rooted notables: the latter expended their influence on the previously established authority and were provided by their family networks, with whom Derviš Bey did not have good relations. His secret opponents were Hasan Bey Priština and the Draga brothers since each of them secretly hoped to be dominant locally.

<sup>260</sup> IAR/Novi Pazar, ZF, 1912-1945, *Muhamedanci ratni dobrovoljci* (Novi Pazar 1917) and Rudolf Schlögl, "Kommunikation und Vergesellschaftung unter Anwesenden. Formen des Sozialen und ihre Transformation in der Frühen Neuzeit," *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 34, no. 2 (2008): 155-224.

<sup>261</sup> ÖStA/KA/Vienna, FA NFA MGG/S, 1666/1918, #219, 06.03.1918, Belgrade, MGG/S to the GIS.

<sup>262</sup> „Ferad-beg Draga je osuđen na dvadeset godina robije u lakom okovu“, *Pravda*, god. XXII, 24.12.1926, br. 352, 4.

Everything that Derviš Bey obtained was due to his capabilities and influence which remained unchanged during the 1915/16 transition since the new power had incorporated him into the category of the most prominent personalities in Mitroviça. By shielding the locals as much as possible, his reputation grew locally.<sup>263</sup> He was, in his own way, an ideal person for conducting mobilization given also to his social capital that included other former Ottoman officers beyond Mitroviça, which the Habsburg authorities gathered by sponsoring Derviš Bey's local economic and political ascendance.

His principal power base was entrenched in collecting taxes (shared with the Draga brothers) and office-holding (a president of the Mitroviça District's Central Township Representative Body).<sup>264</sup> At age 39, Derviš Bey also became a commanding officer of the local volunteering battalion called *Mitrovica* (1917) and gained the title of major; under his command were other Ottoman gendarmerie officers (Lieutenants Kadri, Izzet, Kazım and Mustafa Effendy) who acted as company commanders. At the beginning, these officers wore only the Ottoman uniform but this was later prohibited.<sup>265</sup> Having been employed during the Ottoman era as gendarmerie officers in Mitroviça, Vulçitrın, Yeni Pazar and Prepole as well as being labelled politically reliable under Habsburg rule, they therefore possessed local knowledge, which was significantly expanded between 1916 and 1918. This expertise was a useful tool (*ein brauchbares Mittel*) for fighting against local bandits and paramilitaries but also because it facilitated the draft of the locals into the Habsburg rank with whom these had served together with under the Ottoman or Serbian banner.<sup>266</sup>

However, the Habsburg authorities sometimes overlooked their less than professional manner in order to reach their goal, which was obvious in the case of Derviš Bey. Regardless of his authority, the Habsburg local authorities regarded him as being unsuitable as a leading officer of the unit due to his lack of experience and energy since physically, he was less efficient. Yet, they were well aware that Derviš Bey's preservation, both as a commander of the battalion and as an inspector locally, was desirable for political reasons.<sup>267</sup>

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<sup>263</sup> DAS/Belgrade, VGG, 8-874, #3741, 04.03.1917, Belgrade, Department 8 of the MGG/S to the AOK.

<sup>264</sup> DAS/Belgrade, VGG, 8-851, Lajos Thallóczy, Kreis Mitrovica, 8, 10 and ÖStA/KA/Vienna, FA NFA MGG/S, 1670/1918, #2070, Na. Nr. 3100/res, 10.10.1918, Belgrade, Intelligence Department of the MGG/S.

<sup>265</sup> ÖStA/KA/Vienna, AOK Op. Abt. B-Gruppe, 1916/510, #33434, 29.10.1916, AOK; *ibid*, 07.11.1916, AOK to the KM, MGG/S, and MGG/M; *ibid*, AOK Qu.Abt., 1917/2479, #163852/S, Res. Nr. 1351, 28.10.1917, Inspection-Station and GIS to the MGG/S and *ibid*, FA NFA MGG/S, 1667/1918, #691, Op. Nr. 185, 11.06.1918, Mitrovica, GIS to the Mitrovica District Commande.

<sup>266</sup> ÖStA/KA/Vienna, FA NFA MGG/S, 1667/1918, #691, Op. Nr. 185, 11.06.1918, Mitrovica, GIS to the Mitrovica District Command and *ibid*, AOK Qu.Abt., 1917/2479, #163852/S, Res. Nr. 1351, 28.10.1917, Inspection-Station Požega and GIS to the MGG/S.

<sup>267</sup> ÖStA/KA/Vienna, AOK Qu.Abt., 1917/2479, #163852/S, Res. Nr. 1351, 28.10.1917, Inspection-Station Požega and GIS to the MGG/S.

Mutual benefits are thus palpable; whereas the Habsburg power gained access to their horizontal and vertical networks and in an attempt to compensate for their lack of armed power, Derviš, Kadri, Izzet, Kazım, and Mustafa enhanced their various forms of capital. They also accompanied the drafted to the barracks in the Monarchy as Kadri Effendy had, who was labelled as a very vigorous, efficient and ambitious man. He once guided around 1200 Albanian-speaking volunteers to Lebring, near Graz.<sup>268</sup> Compared to others who, in the course of the occupation might cease supporting the Habsburg powers for numerous personal and contextual reasons, Derviš Bey backed them until the very end, even when a large number of the battalion crew (with the exception of the officers and around 40 other men) fled during the first fight against the approaching Serbian (para)military in late 1918. This is why the Habsburg authorities dissolved the battalions and released the officers of their duty.<sup>269</sup> It is within this context that Derviš Bey stated that he would shoot himself if the last men escaped, implying that he was convinced that there is no chance of re-establishing vertical loyalty with the new/old ruling elites, since he been too publicly compromised by aligning with the enemy.<sup>270</sup>

#### 2.2.6. Teachers

Teachers fell under many labels such as those of prominent peoples (*viđeni ljudi*), national activists (*nacionalni radnici*) and people's representatives of the people (*narodni ljudi*) who also had to promote the draft among the illiterate inhabitants with the spoken word. These brokers were only in the Serbian and Montenegrin settings, which should not come as a surprise since they acted as crucial pillars for the networks of schools in the Empire. The centralizing schooling grid in both towns and in the countryside placed teachers who were scattered throughout the borderlands in more than forty elementary and high schools all under one roof.<sup>271</sup> These "professional propagandists," as Bernard Lory refers to them, established contact with young men in the classrooms and therefore, they could easily turn into sergeant-recruiters for the national cause. Some of their activities included coercing pupils into getting involved in militaristic gymnastic organization where teachers were active, or encouraging children to

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<sup>268</sup> ÖStA/KA/Vienna, AOK Op. Abt. B-Gruppe, 1916/510, #33434, 29.10.1916, AOK Q. A. Feldpost 51 and *ibid*, AOK Qu.Abt., 1917/2479, #163852/S, Res. Nr. 1351, 28.10.1917, Inspection-Station Požega and GIS to the MGG/S.

<sup>269</sup> ÖStA/KA/Vienna, FA NFA MGG/S, 1670/1918, #2147, 10.10.1918, Belgrade, MGG/S to various Habsburg institutions.

<sup>270</sup> ÖStA/KA/Vienna, FA NFA MGG/S, 1670/1918, #2070, Na. Nr. 3100/res, 10.10.1918, Belgrade, MGG/S: Situation Report dated 09.10.1918 and ÖStA/HHStA/Vienna, PA I 1007, 50w, Albanien, #11409, 31.10.1917, Baden, Proxy at the AOK to the MdÄ.

<sup>271</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MUD-P 1913, F22/R1, #3531, 19.05.1913, Skoplje, M. Vujičić to all district chiefs; Andrija Jovičević, *Domaće negovanje i vaspitanje djece u Crnoj Gori* (Cetinje: Knjaževsko crnogorska državna štamparija, 1901), 40. Šalipurović, *Kulturno-prosvetne i političke organizacije u Polimlju i Raškoj, 1903-1912*, 13-15. Pejović, *Politika Crne Gore u Zatarju i Gornjem Polimlju 1878-1912*. Biljana Vučetić, *Naša stvar u Osmanskom carstvu* (Beograd: Istorijski institut, 2012). and Aleksandra Ž. Novakov, "Srednje srpske škole u Osmanskom carstvu (1878-1912)" (PhD Univerzitet u Novom Sadu Filozofski Fakultet, 2015).



approach a certain paramilitary unit with whom teachers maintained contact.<sup>272</sup> A local from Yeni Varoş, who wanted to attend a Serbian high school in Üsküp wrote that the learning environment was better in Selanik rather in Üsküp because the goal was focused on propaganda by instead of on education.<sup>273</sup> In pre-1913 Serbia and Montenegro teachers nurtured the civilizing and upbringing of the soul, mind and body of future soldiers, thereby acting in unison with parents, clergymen and other state actors.<sup>274</sup>

Some supported, as one Montenegrin teacher did, the formation of paramilitaries since the post-1908 ruling elites were incapable of maintaining rule of law and guaranteeing freedom. Elsewhere, they would join forces with mukhtars and clergymen to fight against armed units and as a result, they spread or impeded unrest locally. In this context, they then acted now as paramilitary leaders who could have several hundred locals under their command, as was the case of Sreten Vukosavljević from the area of Prepole.<sup>275</sup> An example from Prešova fittingly shows how the close bond with their pupils lasted in some cases, even after the latter had entered into the Ottoman army. After deserting and reaching Italy, where they were kept imprisoned, seven Slavic-speaking Orthodox Christians wrote to their teacher in early 1912, asking him to state their plea in relevant places in Serbia so they could be freed from this misery since the Italian authorities believed them to be spies.<sup>276</sup> In some pre-1913 Montenegrin areas, most of the clergymen were teachers, officers, or NCOs, which aptly demonstrates once again how the boundaries between the brokers was often blurred. In times of both peace and war, they were supposed to act as role models since they were not only educators, but they were also leaders of military units and an important link in bonding soldiers.<sup>277</sup>

Similar to their peers in nineteenth-century France, Luxembourg, and Germany, they ran to and fro between various locally grounded and governmental powers, which led them to be

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<sup>272</sup> Bernard Lory, "Schools for the Destruction of Society: School Propaganda in Bitola 1860-1912," in *Conflicting Loyalties in the Balkans: the Great Powers, the Ottoman Empire and Nation-Building*, ed. Hannes Grandits, Nathalie Clayer, and Robert Pichler (London-New York: I. B. Tauris, 2011), 46-63, here pp. 59-60, 63. Aleksandra Ilić, *Udžbenici i nacionalno vaspitanje u Srbiji 1878-1918* (Beograd: Univerzitet u Beogradu Filozofski Fakultet, 2010), 201, 42. and Šalipurović, *Kulturno-prosvetne i političke organizacije u Polimlju i Raškoj, 1903-1912*, 232-38.

<sup>273</sup> IA/Užice, AMB 1899, #173, 15.11.1899, Skoplje, Milan Borisavljević to his brothers.

<sup>274</sup> Sava Grujić, *Vojna organizacija Srbije s kritičkim pregledom vojne organizacije starih i novih naroda* (Kragujevac: Kragujevačka društvena štamparija, 1874), 132-34. Jovan Mišković, "O razvijanju vrlina u našem narodu," *Ratnik: List za vojne nauke, novosti i književnost* XI, no. 20 (1889): 113-22. Bojović, *Vaspitavanje vojnika*, 23, 27-33, 35. Jovićević, *Domaće negovanje i vaspitanje djece u Crnoj Gori*, 40, 52, 54. Arsen Đurović, *Modernizacija obrazovanja u Kraljevini Srbiji 1905-1914* (Beograd: Istorijski institut, 2004), 402-03, 07. and Ilić, *Udžbenici i nacionalno vaspitanje u Srbiji 1878-1918*, 34-35, 39.

<sup>275</sup> DACG/Cetinje, PPKŽ, F6, #360, 11.12.1910, Ograđebica, Džambasanović to Vule Knežević; Todor Mihailović, *Raonička buna* (Beograd: "Litopapir", Čačak, 1970), 5-6. Bogumil Hrabak and Dragoslav Janković, *Zapisnici sednica Ministarskog saveta Srbije, 1915-1918* (Beograd: Arhiv Srbije, 1976), 91. Šalipurović, *Kulturno-prosvetne i političke organizacije u Polimlju i Raškoj, 1903-1912*, 343-49, 53, 65. Theodora Dragostinova, "Continuity vs. Radical Break: National Homogenization Campaigns in the Greek-Bulgarian Borderlands before and after the Balkan Wars," *Journal of Genocide Research* 18, Ethnic Homogenizing in Southeastern Europe, no. 4 (2016): 405-26, here pp. 07. and Dmitar Tasić, *Paramilitarism in the Balkans: Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, and Albania, 1917-1924*, The Greater War, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), 15.

<sup>276</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MID-PP 1912/R119, unnumbered, 03.02.1912, Ristovac, Commisariat of Police to the Chief.

<sup>277</sup> Angell, *Herojski narod: Priče iz Crne Gore*, 104, 06, 11.

involved in a network of relationships both inside and outside their villages. But where did their sway come from? By marrying into an esteemed family, they built ties with the locals and thus, became part of the local networks, where they obtained an official job, for instance, in the administration or were included in parties and served as candidates for the Ottoman Parliament after 1908, thereby solidifying their position. This in turn sustained their everyday life and offered a chance in the extracurricular field to represent the locals' interest in various settings, such as vis-à-vis other governmental actors in reference to paying levies, writing petitions, surveying their fields or in mediating conflicts within or outside of a given village.<sup>278</sup> This was also evident in the context of WWII, for instance, in Greece. Given their authority among the locals, many of whom had been their students, these entrepreneurs might put those who needed recruits in contact with the students since they were considered to be well-informed. Thus, they were more than just simply teachers.<sup>279</sup> This is why losing them represented such a serious blow, as had happened in late 1909 when several teachers from were recruited, because, in the words of an Ottoman journalist, teachers and clergymen had the utmost spiritual (*manevi*) control over the Slavic-speaking Christians.<sup>280</sup>

Teacher's networks crossed various boundaries even if they sometimes found themselves caught between certain powers with whom they did not share good relations or disputed over control of town and village church-school municipalities, e.g. with locals, consuls, Ottoman authorities, and particularly clergymen. Their influence expanded over the region itself by becoming members of the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP) or maintaining close relations with Serbian officers or local notables before 1912.<sup>281</sup> A Montenegrin teacher in the Plava-Gusine area, for example, was a fellow tribesman of the Vasojevići who was located on the other side of the political border.<sup>282</sup> Their network could yield results, as shown in the case

<sup>278</sup> Petrović, "Dokumenti o Raškoj oblasti, 1900-1912," #60, 30.08.1905, Pljevlja, Stevan Samardžić to the MoFA, 96; #101, 10.06. Pljevlja, Nikola Minić to the MoFA, 130-131; #155, 109.09.09, Pljevlja, High School Principal to the GŠT, 243-244. Mihailović, *Raonička buna*, 22-24, 28, 32, 42-43. Eugen Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France, 1870-1914* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1976), 303, 05, 18, 27. Christine Mayr, "Zwischen allen Stühlen: Elementarschullehrer im 19. Jahrhundert im Spannungsfeld zwischen lokalen und staatlichen Machteinflüssen. Das Großherzogthum Luxemburg, Rheinpreußen, die bayerische Pfalz und das Département Meuse im Vergleich," in *Lokale Gesellschaften im historischen Vergleich: Europäische Erfahrungen im 19. Jahrhundert*, ed. Ruth Dörner, Norbert Franz, and Christine Mayr (Trier: Kliomedia, 2002), 379-98. Đurović, *Modernizacija obrazovanja u Kraljevini Srbiji 1905-1914*, 402-03. Šaljić, "Od konfesije ka identitetu (Muslimansko pitanje u Srbiji 1878-1912)," 138-47. and Šalipurović, *Kulturno-prosvetne i političke organizacije u Polimlju i Raškoj, 1903-1912*, 53-54.

<sup>279</sup> Spiros Tsoutsoumpis, *A History of the Greek Resistance in the Second World War: The People's Armies* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016), 33.

<sup>280</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MID-PP 1909/R740, #226, 28.09.1909, Javor, Customs Office to the MoFA; *ibid*, #680, 02.10.1909, Priština, Vice-Consul to the MoFA; *ibid*, #777, 29.10.1909, Priština, Vice-Consul to the MoFA and Šerif, *Arnavudluk'da, Süriye'de, Trablusgarb'de Tanîn*, II, 49.

<sup>281</sup> DACG/Cetinje, PPKŽ, F5, #177, 05.06.1909, Dovolja, Mih. Kurtović to the PPKŽ; DAS/Belgrade, MID-PP 1909/R17, #161, 30.09.1909, Pljevlja, Petar R. Kosović to the GŠT; DACG/Cetinje, PPKŽ, F5, 45; 1/1910, br. 14 (45), 07.03.1910, Ograđenica, Džambasanović V. Kneževiću. and Šalipurović, *Kulturno-prosvetne i političke organizacije u Polimlju i Raškoj, 1903-1912*, 17-18, 56-58, 249-50, 346, 53, 66, 69-70.

<sup>282</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MID, 1910/F185, #2205, 02.12.1910, Brezo(je)vica, Miloš R. Popović to the Andrijevića Tribal Captain and *ibid*, MID 1911/F199, #3376, 19.11.1911, Brezo(je)vica, Miloš R. Popović to R. Vešović.

of Omer Bey, a landowner and trader from Tašlica, aptly shows who supported the Balkan allies at the start of the 1912/13 war and in whose detachment over a thousand Slavic-speaking Muslims entered.<sup>283</sup> Some parents in pre-1913 Montenegro even asked teachers to beat their children or considered, like their peers in France or in Ottoman Macedonia, both the teacher and the school to be something sublime, which would provide the upward mobility of their kin.<sup>284</sup> During the Balkan Wars, in the Serbian context, they would take care of the families whose male members were mobilized or assisted the Red Cross, thereby developing feelings of friendliness, solidarity, and mutual cooperation.<sup>285</sup>

Already in late 1913, teachers had been instructed how to head the posts of municipal presidents, scribes, mukhtars, and town councilmen, since they were labelled as unquestionably loyal to the Serbian cause and as people who enjoyed the respect of the new subjects.<sup>286</sup> By possessing the local knowledge and influence, they fit perfectly into the plans to consolidate new government institutions. With their appointment, „even in remote places one would feel the hand of the authorities,“ whereas „the central government would have accurate reports on the local situation and everything what is happening in the interior.“<sup>287</sup> That is why they obtained jobs at municipalities.<sup>288</sup> When their services were needed, they were at their disposal, as had occurred in the Prištine region in mid-1913, when locals did not immediately responded to the call to join the Serbian army shortly before the start of the Second Balkan Wars. By exerting influence together with other brokers, they participated in imploring the locals to enlist into the bilingual and multi-confessional volunteering units of the Serbian army. They explained to them that it is their civic duty to respond to the call of the state, whereby more than 4,600 men joined up, out of whom around 3000 were Muslims.<sup>289</sup> During WWI, they were also seen as those who could offer a significant number of NCOs for the Serbian army.<sup>290</sup> Even though 1901 Serbian military law, by adhering to the *Zeitgeist*, imposed compulsory military

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<sup>283</sup> Subsequently this paid off because under Montenegrin rule he gained the title of major, became a member of the municipality court and supplier of the Montenegrin garrison. See DACG/Cetinje, MUD-UO, 1914/F155, #4863, 26.05.1914, Pljevlje, District Chief to the MoI; *ibid*, MUD-IK, 1914/F5, #1, 19.09.1914, Pljevlja, Serafim Džarić to the Commission of Inquiry; Rastoder, *Bošnjaci/Muslimani Crne Gore: između prošlosti i sadašnjosti*, 54. Božović, *Kroz nekadanju tromeđu: putopisna proza o pljevaljskom kraju iz 1932. godine*, 174-76. and Šalipurović, *Kulturno-prosvetne i političke organizacije u Polimlju i Raškoj, 1903-1912*, 349.

<sup>284</sup> Jovičević, *Domaće negovanje i vaspitanje djece u Crnoj Gori*, 74-75, 81, 83. Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France, 1870-1914*, 303, 27. and Stefan Sotiris Papaioannou, "Balkan Wars between the Lines: Violence and Civilians in Macedonia, 1912-1918" (PhD University of Maryland, 2012), 2.

<sup>285</sup> Ilić, *Udžbenici i nacionalno vaspitanje u Srbiji 1878-1918*, 237-38.

<sup>286</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MUD, ŠVK-PO 1912-1913, B-2387, #44, 25.09.1912, Skoplje, Supreme Command to the chiefs of various districts.

<sup>287</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MUD, ŠVK-PO 1912-1913, B-2387, unnumbered, 24.12.1912, Skoplje, Gavrilović to the Police Inspectorate at the Supreme Command.

<sup>288</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MUD, ŠVK-PO 1912-1913, B-2387, #371, 01.02.1913 and *ibid*, #57, 09.01.1913, Novi Pazar, District Chief to the Supreme Command.

<sup>289</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MUD, ŠVK-PO 1912-1913, B-2388, unnumbered, 03.06.1913, Priština, District Chief to the Police Inspectorate at the Supreme Command.

<sup>290</sup> VA/Belgrade, P3, K73, F1, 2/23, 04.09.1914, Skoplje, KTNO to the Supreme Command.

drills (beginning in the 3<sup>rd</sup> grades) arranged by the teachers, available sources show that this was not put into practice.<sup>291</sup> Also, it is not clear what the role of female teachers consisted of in this process since they were occasionally exposed to the double suspicion of the locals.<sup>292</sup>

#### 2.2.7. Tribal/Kinship/Family Fabrics

The Vasojevići tribe, which functions as a case study here, is conceptualized as a kinship alliance that had segmentary, egalitarian and decentralized structures, in which endogamy, contrary to the tribes in the Ottoman eastern provinces, was not preferred. They represented a territorial unit which leaned on real or alleged common ancestry with a distinguishing inner fabric that becomes obvious when looking from the bottom up since only then does the role of kinship become central.<sup>293</sup> Patrilineage and descent both represented crucial structure-building elements since celebrating and remembering their ancestry increased the awareness among tribe members who believed in such a community of descent. What distinguishes kinship federations from tribes is the fact that the first were organized on the principle of bilinear descent. Family and kinship are not treated here as two separated entities because what family is, or where it ends – it could include non-kin as well – and where kinship bonds begin is difficult to tell; thus, both terms remain flexible here. Kinship meant the preservation of alliance and security in moments of upheaval.<sup>294</sup>

This is evident in the Vasojevići case, among whom the tradition of tribal ties was strongly and clearly preserved both during and after Ottoman rule. Their members (*Vasojva djeca* or *od Vasove krvi*), who originated from their common ancestor, Vaso, were divided into *bratstva* (fraternities, brotherhoods or clans) and were led by five headmen referred to in sources as *prvak*, *glavari* or *rüesâ*. However, not every Slavic-speaking Christian who lived within the imagined tribal territory belonged to their kin and they were mockingly called *Srblijaci*. They gradually merged into the tribal fabric, just as those around Plava and Gusine, but this process of tribal genesis was far from being finished even after 1918. The Vasojevići headmen chose a

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<sup>291</sup> “Zakon o ustrojstvu vojske od 27.01.1901”, *SN/Belgrade*, god. LXVIII, 01.02.1901, br. 25, §84, 8-9; Bojović, *Vaspitavanje vojnika*, 31. Hartmann, *Der Volkskörper bei der Musterung: Militärstatistik und Demographie in Europa vor dem Ersten Weltkrieg*, 167, 92-93. and Sanem Yamak Ateş, *Asker Evlatlar Yetiştirmek: II. Meşrutiyet Dönemi'nde Beden Terbiyesi, Askerî Talim ve Paramiliter Gençlik Örgütleri* (İstanbul: İletişim, 2012), 99-101, 19-22, 212.

<sup>292</sup> Jovičević, *Domaće negovanje i vaspitanje djece u Crnoj Gori*, 85-86. and Đurović, *Modernizacija obrazovanja u Kraljevini Srbiji 1905-1914*, 409.

<sup>293</sup> Karl Kaser, *Hirten, Kämpfer, Stammeshelden: Ursprünge und Gegenwart des balkanischen Patriarchats* (Wien: Böhlau, 1992), 28-29, 31, 198, 259. Bruinessen, *Agha, Shaikh and State: The Social and Political Structures of Kurdistan*, 50-51. Köksal, "Coercion and Mediation: Centralization and Sedentarization of Tribes in the Ottoman Empire," 469-91, here pp. 70.

<sup>294</sup> Kaser, *Hirten, Kämpfer, Stammeshelden: Ursprünge und Gegenwart des balkanischen Patriarchats*, 28, 32-33. Karl Kaser, *Patriarchy after Patriarchy: Gender Relations in Turkey and in the Balkans, 1500 - 2000* (Wien: Lit Verlag, 2008), 36-37, 50-51. Robert Paring and Linda Stone, "General Introduction," in *Kinship and Family: An Anthropological Reader*, ed. Robert Paring and Linda Stone (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2004), 1-23, here pp. 1-4. and Robert H. Lowie, "Unilateral Descent Groups," in *Kinship and Family: An Anthropological Reader*, ed. Robert Paring and Linda Stone (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2004), 43-61, here pp. 43.

sixth headman from the *Srbljaci*, who sought in unison to maintain balance for self-defense, whereby the Vasojevići headmen had the last say and thereby, working to reify the imagined tribal boundaries.<sup>295</sup> The same goes for the older tribe of Šekular (see Map #3), who too, were blurred among the Vasojevići and whose members they dubbed as *Mezgaljini*, meaning those who are annoying or babbling. This was necessary because of their communal lands which had started to be suppressed by the inhabitants of neighboring Rugova over the course of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Thus, appropriating the Vasojevići kinship functioned as a crucial factor in legitimizing one's actions not only against other locals or vis-à-vis the state, but also within the tribe, which was not a monolithic block.<sup>296</sup>

Given the economic dimension of pasture farming, protection of livestock and communal lands enhanced mutual loyalty because these were regarded as the only source of wealth. Their survival revolved around the efficient use of meadows which in this setting, and in contrast to the past, were located only a few hours away. Hence, the Vasojevići members had existed in a constant tension with Rugova, Plava, Gusine, the Kelmendi, the Kuči, and the the Kaljić from Kolašin-i Zîr (see Map #2) who all believed they held the rights to the same grasslands. Thus, the considerable range of exogamy urged the establishment of extensive and complex kinship organizations because they served as a method for building defensive, not offensive, alliances. A fraternity usually offered refuge than a tribe; in addition to blood ties, it was a tribesman's neighborhood, economic and military unite that also embodied glory and shame.<sup>297</sup> As a result of economic change, the nuclear family became commonplace locally by 1912. Thus, the locals

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<sup>295</sup> BOA/Istanbul, HR.TH, 218/47, leff 2, 21 Eylül 1314 [03/10/1898], Berane Kumandanlığı, (...) şimdi kaza kaykamakamı Hristiyan rüesâ ve muhtarlarını cem' ile Venika ve civar karyelere gitmek (...); DACG/Cetinje, MID, 1909/F167, #537, 19.04.1909, Andrijevića, Protić to the MoFA (...) pozovem nekoliko glavara i prvaka iz velike i polimlja (...) Jelić, *Vasojevički zakon od dvanaest točaka*, §11/27, 127-30. Pavel Apolonovič Rovinski, *Crna Gora u prošlosti i sadašnjosti*, vol. II: Etnografija (Beograd: Obod, 2004), 90, 96-97. Cemović, *Vasojevići: Istorijska istraživanja*, 58-60. Vasa Čubrilović, *Terminologija plemenskog društva u Crnoj Gori* (Beograd: Srpska akademija nauka, 1959). and Vukosavljević, *Istorija seljačkog društva: Seoske ustanove i uredbe*, 4, 328-29.

<sup>296</sup> Lalević and Protić, "Vasojevići u crnogorskoj granici," 514-610, here pp. 596-97. Dvorski, *Crnogorsko-turska granica od ušća Bojane do Tare*, 155. Mirko Barjaktarović, *Šekular: Etnološka studija*, ed. Đorđe Borozan, Odjeljenje humanističkih nauka, (Podgorica: Crnogorska akademija nauka i umjetnosti, 2014), 7, 10-12, 118-19. Rovinski, *Crna Gora u prošlosti i sadašnjosti*, II: Etnografija, 96. Vešović, *Pleme Vasojevići u vezi sa istorijom Crne Gore i plemenskim životom susjednih Brda*, 20. Hannes Grandits, "Kinship and the Welfare State in Croatia's Twentieth-Century Transition," in *Household and Family in the Balkans: Two Decades of Historical Family Research at University of Graz*, ed. Karl Kaser (Berlin: Lit Verlag, 2012), 453-78. Richard Tapper, "Anthropologists, Historians, and Tribespeople on Tribe and State Formation in the Middle East," in *Tribes and State Formation in the Middle East*, ed. Philip S. Khoury and Joseph Kostiner (Berkeley / Los Angeles / Oxford: University of California Press, 1990), 48-73, here pp. 56, 68. and Milan Brajević, *Iz narodnih govora Crne Gore: Zbirka zaboravljenih ili manje upotrebljivanih riječi* (Podgorica: Nova pobjeda, 2018), entry "mezgati".

<sup>297</sup> Dvorski, *Crnogorsko-turska granica od ušća Bojane do Tare*, 42-43, 154-55. Vljako Vlahović, "Etnografija i folklor: Međuplemenski odnosi u Brdima (1)," *Zapisi* 12, no. 22/2 (1939): 122-26. Vljako Vlahović, "Etnografija i folklor: Međuplemenski odnosi u Brdima (2)," *Zapisi* 12, no. 22/3 (1939): 184-89. Vešović, *Pleme Vasojevići u vezi sa istorijom Crne Gore i plemenskim životom susjednih Brda*, 72, 349-50. Kaser, *Hirten, Kämpfer, Stammeshelden: Ursprünge und Gegenwart des balkanischen Patriarchats*, 60, 106, 44. Kaser, "Pastoral Economy and Family in the Dinaric and Pindus Mountain (14th-early 20th Centuries)," 289-303, here pp. 290. Sreten V. Vukosavljević, *Istorija seljačkog društva: Sociologija seljačkih radova*, vol. 3 (Beograd: Službeni glasnik, 2012), 398. Vukosavljević, *Istorija seljačkog društva: Seoske ustanove i uredbe*, 4, 243-44, 57, 85, 312. and Vukosavljević, *Istorija seljačkog društva: Seoske zajednice i oblici ponašanja u njima*, 5, 52, 104-05, 88-89.

were sedentary and into peasants, thereby becoming tenants; still, this process was never fully completed since, just as their peers in Rugova or in Ottoman Anatolia, they were one of the mobility-in-stasis communities. The state border of 1880 only empowered the tribal fabric and mutual loyalty between their real and imagined members.<sup>298</sup>

Before and after 1880, the tribe was divided into the Lower (*Donji*) and Upper Vasojevići (*Gornji Vasojevići*), whereby the former stayed within the Ottoman Empire, while the latter eventually became part of Montenegro. The Lower Vasojevići (*Lower Nahija* or simply *Naija*) consisted of 126 fraternities around 1905, they were mainly of Orthodox Christian creed but there were also two Muslim fraternities, while only one was mixed. They remained in close blood, spiritual, brotherly, and tribal bonds with their kin in post-1878 Montenegro. According to their official, these ties surpassed all other brotherhoods and tribes in the adjacent area precisely because of the political situation in the borderlands. With the help of their fellow kin, the Lower Vasojevići intensified relations with the Montenegrin authorities.<sup>299</sup> This was among the public too, as a traveler found it both “remarkable” and “astonishing” that one could buy the Montenegrin national cap in Berane, namely on the main street, concluding that “it does not take one long to see that the Christian population is heart and soul with the [Montenegrin] Prince.”<sup>300</sup>

Before wearing the cap with the initials of the Prince found at the top, the locals were usually donning a fez, turban, or white or black clothes, just as their Muslim and Catholic peers in a broader area, with whom the Vasojevići shared not only the same dress but also their real or alleged common ancestors (e.g. Hoti and Krasniqi). This process of remodeling facilitated the reification of new ethnonational and religious lines on the ground, which were cemented through dances (*kolo*) that the prince himself had composed for each tribe and which soon became part of their festivities. One notices a similar process towards the new bilingual

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<sup>298</sup> Vešović, *Pleme Vasojevići u vezi sa istorijom Crne Gore i plemenskim životom susjednih Brda*, 67, 111-14, 361. Cemović, *Vasojevići: Istorijska istraživanja*, 50, 57-58, 78. Hannes Grandits and Siegfried Gruber, "The Dissolution of the Large Complex Households in the Balkans: Was the Ultimate Reason Structural or Cultural?," in *Household and Family in the Balkans: Two Decades of Historical Family Research at University of Graz*, ed. Karl Kaser (Berlin: Lit Verlag, 2012), 387-406. Reşat Kasaba, "Do States Always Favor Stasis? The Changing Status of Tribes in the Ottoman Empire," in *Boundaries and Belonging: States and Societies in the Struggle to Shape Identities and Local Practices*, ed. Joel S. Migdal (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 27-48, here pp. 39-44. and Reşat Kasaba, *A Moveable Empire: Ottoman Nomads, Migrants, and Refugees* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 2009). On sedentarization and peasantization in the (post-)Ottoman world see Cengiz Orhonlu, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Aşiretleri İskan Teşebbüsü* (İstanbul: Edebiyat Fakültesi Basımevi, 1963). Cengiz Orhonlu, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Aşiretlerin İskamı* (İstanbul: Eren, 1987). Lisa Anderson, *The State and Social Transformation in Tunisia and Libya, 1830-1980* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1986), 28-30. Köksal, "Coercion and Mediation: Centralization and Sedentarization of Tribes in the Ottoman Empire," 469, 87. and Köksal, *The Ottoman Empire in the Tanzimat Era: Provincial Perspectives from Ankara to Edirne*, 85-90.

<sup>299</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MID-PC, 1909/F21, #390, br. 1620, 07.09.1909, Cetinje, MoFA to the Istanbul Legation; Lalević and Protić, "Vasojevići u turskoj granici," 698, 703. Dvorski, *Crnogorsko-turska granica od ušća Bojane do Tare*, 13. and Vešović, *Pleme Vasojevići u vezi sa istorijom Crne Gore i plemenskim životom susjednih Brda*, 17-18.

<sup>300</sup> Durham, *Through the Lands of the Serb*, 287 (citation), 95-96.

Montenegrin subjects of Muslim creed as well.<sup>301</sup> The Ottoman authorities sought to hinder this by banning the cap or demanding that the sultan's initials or crescent and star were to be displayed. Sometimes, coercive methods were wielded as happened in 1909 when an Ottoman gendarme saw traces of the prince's initials on a tribesman's cap and in response he began to beat the man with a rifle, while treading on the cap and referring the prince in harsh terms.<sup>302</sup> Thus, the tribe and the state were not separate entities and were not mutually exclusive, as contemporaries and scholars (e.g. Karl Kaser, Robert Elsie) have claimed, but rather they existed within each other and their boundaries are blurred.<sup>303</sup>

This was not a one-dimensional process insofar as the Lower Vasojevići had enjoyed autonomy until 1908 and were perceived as a state within a state. The headmen had to overlook the state border, collect levies in lieu of receiving salaries, and enforce peace locally, whereas the Ottoman authorities rarely interfered in the conflicts over the mountains or disarmed the locals. Rather than dealing directly with people, it was easier in this context for the state to manage smaller units simultaneously with the headmen.<sup>304</sup> Thus, the headmen's volatility is evident because they wore the Montenegrin cap and performed their loyalty in public but did not stop negotiating with the Ottoman polity. This framework allowed Avro Cemović, a *primus inter pares* among the headmen prior and after 1913, to expand his network and become a tax gatherer (*tahsildar*) of the Prištine Orthodox Metropolitan and a member of the local council in Berane. Besides striving to become an Ottoman district governor, he maintained close relations with the multilingual Mahmudbegović/Begolli family from Āpek, whose members had holdings in the Lower Vasojevići, and whose relative, Zejnil Bey, became a commander of the Ottoman border units against Montenegro (1910). At the same time, the Serbian governing elites

<sup>301</sup> Lalević and Protić, "Vasojevići u crnogorskoj granici," 550, 52. Mitar S. Vlahović, "Muška nošnja u Vasojevićima,"  *Glasnik Etnografskog muzeja u Beogradu* 8 (1933): 72-83, here pp. 79. Vešović, *Pleme Vasojevići u vezi sa istorijom Crne Gore i plemenskim životom susjednih Brda*, 381-82. Vlahović, "Etnografija i folklor: Međuplemenski odnosi u Brdima (2)," 187. Rovinski, *Crna Gora u prošlosti i sadašnjosti*, II: Etnografija, 97. Branislav Đurđev, *Postanak i razvitak brdskih, crnogorskih i hercegovačkih plemena* (Titograd: Crnogorska akademija nauka i umetnosti, 1984), 52, 101-02. Elsie, *The Tribes of Albania: History, Society and Culture*, 2-3, 9. Ljiljana Đurišić, Tatjana Rajković, and Blažo Markuš, *Narodne nošnje Crne Gore, XIX - XX vijek* (Cetinje: Narodni muzej Crne Gore, 2017), 56-65, 90, 100-02, 13-14, 23-25. and Andrijašević, *Crnogorska ideologija, 1860-1918: Državna ideologija Crne Gore u vrijeme vladavine Nikole I Petrovića Njegoša*, 518-19, 21-22. See also Binasa Mušović, "Fes kao odevni predmet," *Novopazarski zbornik*, no. 22 (1998): 207-17.

<sup>302</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MID, 1908/F157, #2701, br. 262, 22.08.1908, Andrijevića, Protić to the MoFA and *ibid*, 1909/F168a, #872, 12.06.1909, Berane, Avro Cemović to Lakić Vojvodić; Milan Šćekić, "Neki izvještaji o osmanskim nasiljima u prekograničnim krajevima uoči Balkanskih ratova (1908-1912)," *CANU Glasnik Odjeljenja humanističkih nauka*, no. 3 (2016): 241-75, here pp. 50, 52. and Pejović, *Politika Crne Gore u Zatarju i Gornjem Polimlju 1878-1912*, 105. See also Steffen K. Herrmann, "Beleidigung," in *Gewalt. Ein interdisziplinäres Handbuch*, ed. Christian Gudehus and Michaela Christ (Stuttgart-Weimar: Verlag J. B. Metzler, 2013), 110-15.

<sup>303</sup> Richard Tapper, "Introduction," in *The Conflict of Tribe and State in Iran and Afghanistan* ed. Richard Tapper (London / Canberra / New York: Croom Helm / St. Martin's Press, 1983), 1-82, here pp. 50, 72. Dimitrije Tucović, *Srbija i Arbanija: jedan prilog kritici zavojevačke politike srpske buržoazije* (Zemun [Beograd], 2011 [1914]), 13-14, 25, 32. and Kaser, *Hirten, Kämpfer, Stammeshelden: Ursprünge und Gegenwart des balkanischen Patriarchats*, 375.

<sup>304</sup> Novica Rakočević, "Stanje na crnogorsko-turskoj granici uoči Balkanskog rata (1908-1912)," *Istorijski zapisi: Organ Istorijskog instituta SR Crne Gore i Društva istoričara SR Crne Gore* XV, no. XIX (1962): 485-515, here pp. 486-87, 93-94, 98, 502, 07. Vukosavljević, *Istorija seljačkog društva: Seoske ustanove i uredbe*, 4, 291, 303-04, 07-08, 11-13. and Vukosavljević, *Istorija seljačkog društva: Seoske zajednice i oblici ponašanja u njima*, 5, 189.

financially supported Avro and tried to establish contact through him with the Āpek notables. They even financed the education of his son in a Serbian high school, whereas his brother, Milovan, was a Serbian teacher, who became a Serbian vice-consul in the Empire.<sup>305</sup> In the period after 1913, he supported and armed different actors of Muslim creed or Albanian-speaking headmen from the Ottoman era, who were seen by others as villains, thieves or bandits. For this reason, the Montenegrin governing elites held serious doubts about where Avro's loyalty lies.<sup>306</sup>

In doing so, Avro Cemović did not neglect his locality and acted alongside other headmen, which empowered the mutual loyalty between themselves and their authority, not least because they could enter into a dispute with the Ottoman authorities when necessary. They were capable of fending off other headmen, who sought to take over their positions by wielding various political, economic and ideological tools through which they upheld local control.<sup>307</sup> Besides being corporate actors vis-à-vis the state or other headmen, these brokers also knew how to use tribal symbols as a way to synthesize the locals' ethos and to cement their influence, which was dependent on their moral strength, self-sacrifice and the might of their fraternities. They sometimes even took over the role of clergymen by not receiving any money in return for their corporate duties and looking after their kin's interests concerning the regular usage of communal rights. They also absorbed military affairs amidst conflict. In this regard, disobedience was something which was not tolerated; it was regarded as treason and might lead to the deprivation of one's personal honor. This entailed political rights, public duties, the loss of the right to bear arms, marry a woman, and even expulsion, which was no small punishment because it meant being deprived of any protection. A man who did not carry a weapon was not considered a man at all and could not attend any public gathering where people would meet. This is why the punishment meant nothing more than the complete moral death. In brief, by

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<sup>305</sup> DAS/Beograd, MID-PPO 1901/R38, unnumbered 04.03.1901, Petrovgrad, Marko Pantov Cemović to Stojan Novaković; *ibid*, 1904/R696, unnumbered, 13.06.1904, Berane, Avro Cemović to Nikola Pašić; *ibid*, #258, 17.06.1904, Javor, Customs Office to the MoFA; *ibid*, 1904/R1352, #405, 06.12.1904, Javor, Customs Office to the MoFA; *ibid*, MID-PPO 1905/P304, #525, 04.02.1905, Beograd, MoFA to the Skoplje General Consulate and Priština Vice Consulate; ÖStA/HHStA/Vienna, PA XXXVIII/Kt. 385, #45, 27.06.1905, Mitrovica, Krauz to Gotuchowski; DACG/Cetinje, MID, 1910/F175, #42, br. 531, 30.02.1910, Andrijevića, Avro Cemović to the MoI; *ibid*, MUD-UO, 1913/F141, #3579, br. 155, 14.03.1913, Berane, Beys from Āpek and Yakova to the the King's Adjutant; *ibid*, #3673(2), 03.12.1913, Berane, MoI to Labud Āukić and Cemović, *Vasojevići: Istorijaska istraživanja*, 65.

<sup>306</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MV-KMV 1913, F8, #1231, 23.06.1913, Rožaje, M. Dabetić to the Akova District Chief; *ibid*, #810, br. 1264/B-1913-157, 05.07.1913, Rožaje, Dabetić to the Akova District Chief and Batrić Marjanović, *Vasojevićski glavari: Nekoliko portreta* (Podgorica: Štamparija i knjigoveznica Zeta, 1929), 95.

<sup>307</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MID, 1909/F170a, #1233, 154/1909, 03.12.1909, Trepća, Brokers to M. Radonjić; *ibid*, MUD-UO, 1911/F111, #848/2, 21.02.1911, Andrijevića, Simo A. Jukić to the MoI and Timothy Earle, "The Evolution of Chiefdoms," in *Chiefdoms: Power, Economy, and Ideology*, ed. Timothy Earler (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 1-15, here pp. 1-7, 10-11.



adhering to their duties, the headmen could encourage others to follow their direction and mobilize them.<sup>308</sup>

Their role was subject to broader interacting policies through which, these brokers had to abandon their volatility and temporarily stick to one side.<sup>309</sup> From the 1880s, tribal autonomy had been circumscribed and so, they turned first to negotiations and, when these failed, resorted to riots which occurred locally more than once, leaving behind memories that could be utilized for the tribal mobilization.<sup>310</sup> The Ottoman governing elites sought to enhance the state's presence in these barely accessible spaces and gradually relied on the imagined Albanian and bilingual kinship fabrics from Rugova, Plava and Gusine at the expense of the Lower Vasojevići. Their notables saw a material goal in this endeavor (e.g. defending their own communal properties and obtaining new ones) but were also influenced by practices of what Maurus Reinkowski refers to as ethnic fostering (*ethnische Hegung*), which was furthered by the authorities. They were envisioned to be a figurative iron barrier (*sedd-i ahenin*) against both potential external and internal enemies.<sup>311</sup> Stressing Islamic orientation made some sense domestically because belonging to the same creed served as a cohesive and identifying factor which not only established state loyalty but also normalized the confessional identification.<sup>312</sup>

In 1910, the headmen and a large number of their kin found refuge on the other side of the political border and in the process, they were radicalized. Avro's narrative now differed as he had to adjust to the new setting, in which Montenegro emerged as a protective actor. Avro claimed that he had only been faithful and loyal (*vjerno i odano*) to the Montenegrin ruler and government, suffering and spilling blood with his strong tribe (*jakim plemenom*), and so he

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<sup>308</sup> Jelić, *Vasojevički zakon od dvanaest točaka*, §3/6, 49; §6/11, 65-66 and §11/25, 26, 125-26. Vešović, *Pleme Vasojevići u vezi sa istorijom Crne Gore i plemenskim životom susjednih Brda*, 314, 18, 25, 28. Cemović, *Vasojevići: Istorijska istraživanja*, 54, 60, 73, 84, 91. Marjanović, *Vasojevički glavari: Nekoliko portreta*, 95, 121. Vukosavljević, *Istorija seljačkog društva: Seoske ustanove i uredbe*, 4, 52, 104, 06, 09, 15-16, 85, 88-90, 205, 85-86, 88, 311, 16, 21-22. Vukosavljević, *Istorija seljačkog društva: Seoske zajednice i oblici ponašanja u njima*, 5, 106, 88. Kaser, *Hirten, Kämpfer, Stammeshelden: Ursprünge und Gegenwart des balkanischen Patriarchats*, 113, 74-75, 96. and Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays by Clifford Geertz*, 89.

<sup>309</sup> Earle, "The Evolution of Chiefdoms," 13-14.

<sup>310</sup> ÖNb/Vienna, POR, WK1/KS/Serbien\_Belgrad/14/139/VI/3, 06.01.1914, Berane, Bračo, ... (...) Ova je oblast bila od vjkada na mrtvoj straži, uvijek izložena nasrtajima divljih neprijatelja, i uzimala aktivna učešća u svima pokretima za oslobođenje. Godine 1854, 1862, 1875, 1898. i 1912. prije rata napisane su u istoriji beranske oblasti crnim slovima. Nije ostalo kuće, koja nije po nekoliko puta paljena, a da ne redemo žrtve u životima, proganjanja i mučenja. (...) and Vešović, *Pleme Vasojevići u vezi sa istorijom Crne Gore i plemenskim životom susjednih Brda*, 314-15.

<sup>311</sup> Gawrych, *The Crescent and the Eagle: Ottoman Rule, Islam and the Albanians, 1874-1913*, 2, 22-23, 29, 38, 74-75, 77-78, 81-86, 95, 108, 33. Reinkowski, "Double Struggle, No Income: Ottoman Borderlands in Northern Albania," 239-53. Maurus Reinkowski, "The Imperial Idea and Realpolitik: Reform Policy and Nationalism in the Ottoman Empire," in *Comparing Empires: Encounters and Transfers in the Long Nineteenth Century*, ed. Jörn Leonhard and Ulrike von Hirschhausen (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011), 453-71, here pp. 63-66, 70. and Reinkowski, *Düzenin Şeyleri, Tanzimat'ın Kelimeleri: 19. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Reform Politikasının Karşılaştırmalı Bir Araştırması*.

<sup>312</sup> Selim Deringil, *The Well-Protected Domains: Ideology and the Legitimation of Power in the Ottoman Empire 1876-1909* (London-New York: I. B. Tauris 1999), chapters I and III. Gawrych, *The Crescent and the Eagle: Ottoman Rule, Islam and the Albanians, 1874-1913*, 78, 80. Darin N. Stephanov, *Ruler Visibility and Popular Belonging in the Ottoman Empire, 1808-1908* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2019), chapter IV. and Clayer, "The Dimension of Confessionalisation in the Ottoman Balkans at the Time of Nationalisms," 89-109.

asked to be appointed a state official in the borderland.<sup>313</sup> In order to exert pressure, he was keen to incite his fellow tribesmen to make raids over the border, which was against the state's interest at the time and their elites appointed him as a confidential person.<sup>314</sup>

Photo 3: Grandson and Grandfather. In the Montenegrin army a patriarchal hierarchy was still dominant, where a grandson would make coffee for the elderly kin, while the latter clearly makes a pose as he is holding his revolver, a constituent part of the cloths. Although the scene is probably prearranged, it nonetheless illustrates that the tribal/kinship organization represented a type of the social network on which the Montenegrin army depended, having known how to utilize this for its own purposes, similar to the British army during WWI (so-called Pals Battalions). This does not mean that officers, among whom a certain number were educated abroad, did not possess influence. Still, sources indicate that they had to negotiate often with their soldiers than they did with their peers in other (neighboring) armies.<sup>315</sup>



Mutuality between the involved actors was once again evident. Prior to the Balkan Wars, the Montenegrin army organized the Lower Vasojevići into one brigade (3,200 men) with their headmen as battalion commanders. They received a military education, titles, salaries, and after the war regained their communal lands. The former fostered the tribal-based military organization as a way to maximize its cohesiveness; the Lower Vasojevići soldiers fought side-by-side with their fellow tribesmen from the Upper Vasojevići. Increasing their communal lands represented a constitutional part of this policy, whereby the governing elites did not intend to establish fully centralized rule. Rather, by leaving a certain level of autonomy, they sought to combine and gradually build new tribes along ethnonational lines (*ethnische Hegung*), pitting

<sup>313</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MUD-UO, 1910/F108, #5129(2), 15.12.1910, Cetinje, Avro P. Cemović to the MoI.

<sup>314</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MUD-UO, 1910/F100, #1927(6), 25.05.1910, Kolašin, District Chief to the MoI and *ibid*, 1911/F111, #899(2), br. 2192 28.12.1910, Cetinje, Avro P. Cemović to the MoI.

<sup>315</sup> ÖStA/HHStA/Vienna, PA I 824-1-389, 1912-1913, <https://www.archivinformationssystem.at/detail.aspx?id=4020383> accessed 30/11/2020; Andrija P. Jovičević, *Dnevnik iz Balkanskih ratova* (Beograd: Službeni list SRJ, 1996), 110, 24-27. Batričević, "Crnogorska vojska uoči Balkanskih ratova 1910-1912. Ustrojstvo, naoružanje, finansije (između tradicije i modernosti)," 75. On the British regiment system and the Pals Battalions see David French, *Military Identities: The Regimental System, the British Army, and the British People, c. 1870-2000* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005). and Alexander Watson, *Enduring the Great War: Combat, Morale and Collapse in the German and British Armies, 1914-1918* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 53, 64.

certain headmen against the others, something which was seen in the Ottoman eastern provinces as well.<sup>316</sup>

That fact that this policy yielded results is exemplified by the Habsburg military attaché from Montenegro who witnessed the performance of the army during the Balkan Wars. Its advantage relied on natural solidarity and kinship, while differences between the officer corps and soldiers were essentially nonexistent since they were friends and companions in the broadest sense. They shared brotherly joy and sorrow, ate from the same bowl, and sat next to each other by the campfire; still, the officers' reputation was only conditional, meaning that they had to prove their skills in battle.<sup>317</sup> The same was noted by former Ottoman officers, writing in the post-Ottoman period.<sup>318</sup>

This meant in practice that a grandson fights with his grandfather, a father fights with his son or cousins are located in the same battalion.<sup>319</sup> It was the army held together and mobilized through tribe/kinship linkages, within which one's brother would not flinch from using a rifle in order to spill someone's guts (*ko mi dirne braću sad ću mu crijeva prosut*) if he dares to touch his close kin.<sup>320</sup> However, one should be mindful of not falling into the trap of romanticizing these linkages since it also manifested problems. The Habsburg military attaché has noticed that this setting represses the feeling of military superiority and subordination. Thus, they would "rather agreed on something, whereby a very exact compliance with such agreements may not be expected."<sup>321</sup> In short, it was not a perfect tool for mobilization but could nevertheless boost it locally, particularly if it is wielded in unison with the grid of brokers.

### 2.3. Whose Security? Public Law and Order, Mobilization, and *Spaces of Security*

A few days ago, a proxy of the *İškodra* provincial governor sent the Kastrati *bölükbaşı* to the tribe so that he could collect a tithe for the past year. The Kastrati denied any payment of the tribute,

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<sup>316</sup> BIIUCG/Podgorica, Fond Vukašina Božovića, F13, #18, 01.05.1920, Ljubomir Vešović to Vukašin Božović, *Lista podataka borbe-boja sa Turcima oko Berana od 26.09. do 03.10.1912. godine*; Vlahović, "Etnografija i folklor: Međuplemenski odnosi u Brdima (2)," 188-89. Vešović, *Pleme Vasojevići u vezi sa istorijom Crne Gore i plemenskim životom susjednih Brda*, 314-15, 18, 24-25. Rakočević, "Stanje na crnogorsko-turskoj granici uoči Balkanskog rata (1908-1912)," Footnote #14, 491. Miomir Dašić, *Šekular i Šekularci od pomena do 1941. godine*, ed. Zoran Lakić, *Odjeljenje društvenih nauka*, (Podgorica: Crnogorska akademija nauka i umjetnosti, 2006), 522-5230. Miodrag S. Joksimović, *Narodna vojska Vasojevića (1858-1918)* (Andrijević: Stupovi, 1997), 213-46. Beşikçi, "Topyekün Savaş Çağında Askeri İşgücünü Seferber Etmek: Birinci Dünya Savaşı Öncesinde ve Esnasında Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Zorunlu Askerlik Hizmeti," 523-56, here pp. 35, 38. and Klein, *Hamidiye Alayları: İmparatorluğun Sınır Boyları ve Kürt Aşiretleri*, 31-33, 37, 89-92, 142-43, 58-61.

<sup>317</sup> ÖStA/KA/Vienna, AhOB GSt Militärattachés Cetinje 60 G-Akten Geheime Berichte, *Eindrücke und Erfahrungen auf dem montenegrinisch-türkischen Kriegsschauplatze 1912/13 vom k.u.k. Militärattaché in Cetinje*, Hauptmann des Generalstabkorps Gustav Hubka, 19, 48.

<sup>318</sup> Tümg. Abdurrahman Nafiz and Tuğg. Kiramettin, *1912-1913 Balkan Savaşı'nda İškodra Savunması*, ed. Mehmet Özdemir, S. Selin Özmen, and Kerime Şahiner, vol. I. ve II. (Ankara: Genelkurmay Askeri Tarih ve Stratejik Etüt Başkanlığı Yayınları, 2007), 61.

<sup>319</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MV-VS, 1914/F11, #39, 08.12.1914, The guilt of Miloš Miretića and others due to their flee from the army; *ibid*, 1914/F10, #22, 37, 30.01. 1915, The guilt of Kojice Sekulića and Petra Furtule with their buddies due to their flee from army and *ibid*, 1914/F11, #94, 12.10.1914. Pr. 28.X.914-24, Protocol about the flee of Osman Koznović and others.

<sup>320</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MV-VS, 1915/F14, #50, The guilt of Miloš, Dragiša and Milan Bakić for making a mess, etc.

<sup>321</sup> ÖStA/KA/Vienna, AhOB GSt Militärattachés Cetinje 60 G-Akten Geheime Berichte, *Eindrücke und Erfahrungen auf dem montenegrinisch-türkischen Kriegsschauplatze 1912/13 vom k.u.k. Militärattaché in Cetinje*, Hauptmann des Generalstabkorps Gustav Hubka, 19. See also Jovičević, *Domaće negovanje i vaspitanje djece u Crnoj Gori*, 88-89.

emphasizing that they would only pay it, when *order* and *security* were established. “To whom should we give tribute?” they said, “To the *imperial* and *İškodra authorities* who are *unable to secure* our passage to the city without *danger of being beaten* on the roads by the muhajirs and the Krajina Turks [emphasized J. M].”<sup>322</sup>

In practice, providing security was one of the main factors that could either hamper or boost mobilization insofar that if strategies of inducement were to succeed (thematized in the following chapter), obtaining the upper hand and maintaining security locally represented indispensable conditions. Coping with this issue was closely related with the ascribed state’s esteem and self-image among the populations. Otherwise, as the quoted example indicates, it triggered the locals to start questioning governmental legitimacy and thereby, not only its claim on the monopoly of violence but also their prescribed duties. In this regard, the Kastrati were not any exception because a Montenegrin teacher asked the same when he wrote that “under the guise of ostensible freedom and equality” nothing had changed after 1908. Supporters of the dethroned sultan were being attacked, gangs continued robbing and killing, and the locals were almost entirely materially devastated from accumulated levies.<sup>323</sup>

The new authorities picked from the new constitution only what was convenient for themselves, including the military obligation. However, at the same time, they ignored the fact that “in other constitutional countries the life and property of every subject is secured without distinction of religion and nationality.”<sup>324</sup> Rumors about arming only their Muslim subjects and segregating their Christian ones, were firmly rejected by the Ottoman authorities because “regardless of belonging to any community [*cemiyet*] or confession [*mehzep*], the state always treated its subjects with the same degree of equality [*müsavat*].”<sup>325</sup> The Ottoman ruling elites and others emphasized this narrative during the Tanzimat and the post-1908 period as well.<sup>326</sup> However, this had to be demonstrated in practice and some post-1913 polities recognized this as one of the first expectations of the locals which could pave the way for the future state-building and establishing mutuality.

Not only did the Serbian authorities claim that they would bring about freedom, brotherhood, equality (sic!) but they also sought to bring the desired peace and prosperity for all inhabitants of the region.<sup>327</sup> Before entering into the Ottoman territories, the Serbian military had been instructed to safeguard the lives of peaceful men, women, and children “everywhere

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<sup>322</sup> DACG/Cetinje MID, 1908/F150a, #595, br 85, 10.02.1908, Skadar, Consulate to the MoI.

<sup>323</sup> DACG/Cetinje, PPKŽ, F5, #177, 05.06.1909, Dovolja, Mihilo Kurtović to Vule Knežević.

<sup>324</sup> DACG/Cetinje, PPKŽ, F7, #46, 20.02.1911, Prenčani, „Peštarski“ to Vule Knežević.

<sup>325</sup> BOA/Istanbul, BEO, 3952/296367, leff 2, 29 L 1329 [24/10/1911], MoI to the Saderatpenahi.

<sup>326</sup> Maurus Reinkowski, "The State's Security and the Subjects' Prosperity: Notions of Order in Ottoman Bureaucratic Correspondence (19th Century)," in *Legitimizing the Order: The Ottoman Rhetoric of State Power*, ed. Maurus Reinkowski Hakan T. Karateke (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2005), 195-212. and Şerif, *Arnavudluk'da, Sûriye'de, Trablusgarb'de Tanîn*, II, 7-9, 12, 14, 22, 25, 34, 40, 43, 57, 60.

<sup>327</sup> SN, god. LXXIX, 06.10.1912, br. 226, 1-2.

and with the most care,” except those who acted and fought against the army.<sup>328</sup> The soldiers were told that no one was to commit any violence or start riots because, would someone dare to act contrarily, they would be punished most severely. “As a regular army,” they had to respect the rights of others as their own.<sup>329</sup>

Having taken place among “the most enlightened states” thanks to “the king’s work and effort,” the Montenegrin rank and file were advised that they should not fight to plunder or commit violence. Rather, they would bring about order and law, thereby ensuring “everyone honor, freedom and property who falls under the protection of the king” because they had come to liberate them and show the locals “how to live freely [sic!]”<sup>330</sup> The Habsburg power pushed the same narrative, knowing that some Muslim locals perceived them as allies and liberators from what they called the Serbian and Montenegrin yoke.<sup>331</sup> The new/old post-1918 governing elites also strived to convince the newly “liberated” populations that every citizen was equal before the law. This was pivotal because the “main task of the state is to make every subject, without division of confession and nationality, happy and content, and that his life and property is secured, so that he may feel equality and justice.”<sup>332</sup>

Requests for protection and security is echoed in submitted petitions in which it is clearly evident that the inhabitants, by underlining poor security conditions on the ground, knowingly linked security with state loyalty, prosperity, and peace. In doing so, they often legitimized their appeal, as the following petition filed by the citizenry of the town of Seniče in late 1912 aptly illustrates. The first person who signed the petition was the above-mentioned Rušid Spahović, a town mayor under Serbian rule, and it was written by the most prominent people in the town, who in this context, do not speak for everyone but rather try to further their own narrative:

We, the citizens of the town of Seniče, dare to present to His Majesty the King in full submissive humility and loyalty (...) We declare happiness and satisfaction that providence wanted the sun of true freedom of equality and equity to shine on us under the auspices of His Majesty the King. Until now, our happiness and satisfaction have not been seriously disturbed by anything. On the contrary, in the humane and unique exemplary attitude and behavior of the proud and brave army of His Majesty, as well as of all his administrative and police authorities we see a serious pledge and guarantee for the durability of our greater happiness, well-being, and prosperity, both in cultural and in every other respect. We are only troubled by the attitude and behavior of mischievous natives of both faiths who are filled with mutual intolerance from the past and are therefore unable to extract all the teachings from their previous personal behavior. They indulge in all sorts of crimes and criminal acts that spare neither life nor honor nor property.<sup>333</sup>

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<sup>328</sup> VA/Belgrade, P2, K18, F1, 2/1, 4/10/1912, Belgrade, MoW to the Supreme Command.

<sup>329</sup> VA/Belgrade, P2, K102, F1, 11/2, 11/10/1912, Lupoglav, Order dated October 11th, 1912.

<sup>330</sup> BIIUCG/Podgorica, K85, unnumbered, 13.10.1912, Rugova, Janko Vukotić vojnicima and *ibid*, unnumbered, 26.09.1912, Štitarice, Janko Vukotić Opštu naredbu oficirima i vojnicima.

<sup>331</sup> ÖStA/HHStA/Vienna, PA I 977, 32k, Serbien, #23/616 B, 09.06.1916, Mitrovica, Julius Ledinegg to the MdÄ and *ibid*, PA I 975, 32g Serbien, #1<sup>a</sup>, 24.09.1916, Vienna, Evidenzbüro to the AOK, 1.

<sup>332</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MUDuI, OJB 1919/K2, #4872, 09.09.1919, Beograd, MoI to various district chiefs.

<sup>333</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MID-PO 1912, R372, F5, D5, IV/546, #787, 19.11.1912, Sjenica, Citizenry of Sjenica to the King.

These calls occurred namely in times of emerging upheaval and uncertainty what the future might bring and when other options were not available. This is illustrated in the case of a Swiss officer who reached the Mitroviča region while escorting Habsburg and German troops in their campaigns against Serbia and Montenegro. The Muslim brokers greeted the Habsburg arrival “with great rejoicing and requested the protection by sending a deputation,” who beforehand had prettified their town with black and yellow flags, conveying a clear message to how they are loyal now.<sup>334</sup> In Yeni Pazar, however, Christmas trees had been planted in front of the municipality building in honor of a German army general when German troops had first stepped into the town.<sup>335</sup> Although their Orthodox Christian peers harbored fears that they would be deprived of legal protection under Habsburg rule, they gradually began to look at the latter with growing confidence.<sup>336</sup> Sending delegations was carried out after 1918 with the goal of minimizing the effect of a new transition and to impede post-war violence. A Taşlica municipality president who was accompanied by other fellow citizens and “with tears in his eyes” presented the situation in the town and its vicinity to a Serbian commanding officer. The authorities did not exist, there was no order, anarchy raged to the fullest extent, and Montenegrin bandits devastated their fellow townsmen of Muslim faith and plundered Orthodox Christians as well.<sup>337</sup> In short, they wanted security for everyone, just as their peers from Berane, Tirgovište and Yeni Pazar did and who had also begged for protection from the new/old authorities.<sup>338</sup>

The examples clearly indicate that the locals were aware that the state should provide security given its self-prescribed duty and the narrative that it was a modern state, to use the labels of a Serbian MP who demanded that authorities guarantee public security since this was the main and basic concern of any organized state.<sup>339</sup> In contrast, being incapable of fulfilling these goals could lead to the ‘liberated’ reconsidering what the much-praised liberation had brought them. The citizens of Akova reminded the Montenegrin king in their filed petition “we thought we got rid of the great oppression and tyranny we endured under the Ottomans.

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<sup>334</sup> BAR/Bern, E27#1000/721#12663\*, Oberst i./Gst. Karl Egli, *Bericht über meine Mission nach Serbien (November-Dezember 1915)*, 63, 69-70.

<sup>335</sup> Köster, *Mit den Bulgaren: Kriegsberichte aus Serbien und Mazedonien*, 52.

<sup>336</sup> DAS/Belgrade, VGG, 20-97, #30/2, 11.06.1918, Novi Pazar, District Command to the Delegate of War Economy at the MGG/S, 9.

<sup>337</sup> VA/Belgrade, P7, K86, F9, 9/1, 21.10.1918, Plevlja, District Physician Zarubica to David Loinčarević and *ibid*, 9/12, #198, 20.10.1918, Prijepolje, Commander of Novi Pazar Detachment to the KIIA.

<sup>338</sup> VA/Belgrade, P4/3, K57, F5, 10/8, #19.330, 01.03.1919, Beograd, MoWN to the KIIIAO and *ibid*, P3, K177, F7, 8/46, #19.771, 07.03.1919, Beograd, MoWN to the Supreme Command.

<sup>339</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MID-PO, R418, F5, D6, V/569, 20.03.1914, Beograd, The President of the National Assembly to the Prime Minister and the MoI; Živ. A. Lazić, "Poljska žandarmerija u novoj Srbiji," *Policija* 5, no. 1 (1914): 4-9. and Tihomir K. Denić, "O dužnostima jednog sreskog načelnika," *Policija* 5, no. 12-13 (1914): 374-81.

However, we bear the higher evil now than in the Ottoman times.”<sup>340</sup> The self-ascribed mantra *we are better than the others*, kept running like a golden thread through the period examined.<sup>341</sup>

The occupying powers were quite familiar with the security duty not least because they clearly comprehended that providing security could function as an actual deed in order to enhance their “reputation and trust among [the] new subjects,” as Serbian officials perceived this question.<sup>342</sup> Thus, they aimed to build and consolidate state loyalty with the inhabitants, which in turn would further mobilization. This means that the notion of security was seen as one of the tools needed for state-building inasmuch as (re-)constructing security in urban and rural spaces required various actors and through them the state sought to penetrate into farthest corners of the region. For example, under Serbian rule, every patrol was commanded to notify a municipality president and/or a mukhtar about their whereabouts. They had to enter in their register books the day and hour when the patrol came and left, and to record how public security was on that particular day.<sup>343</sup> This was not a unique case since village mukhtars were in charge of security as under Ottoman rule, where the majority of the able-bodied used to live. Together with other brokers they took part in collecting firearms, for which they could be threatened or robbed by other players.<sup>344</sup>

Fighting against petty outlaws and/or renegades was crucial not only as a strategy for safeguarding the brokers but also because, as the post-1918 examples exhibit, they would openly agitate among the locals not to respond to the calls to serve under the banner. Successful skirmishes against them also had a positive effect on the natives whose support the SCS

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<sup>340</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MUD-UO, 1914/F156, #4715, 25.12.1914, Bijelo Polje, The Citizens of Akova to the King.

<sup>341</sup> VA/Beograd, P2, K18, F1, 2/2, 31.10.1912, Mitrovica, Nešković to the Supreme Command (...) Razlika između Ibarske i crnogorske vojske (...) varvarsko ponašanje (...); DAS/Belgrade, MPs-C, F2/R1, unnumbered, 07.05.1914, Beograd, M. R. Delić to the President of the Waqf Committee. (...) pokažemo svakome da smo od Austrijanaca nesrazmerno kulturniji, čovečniji i uzvišeniji (...); ÖStA/HHStA/Vienna, PA I 998, Liasse Krieg 49e, Montenegro, #266, 17.03.1916, Cetinje, MGG/M to the AOK, 1, 10; ÖStA/HHStA/Vienna, PA I 975, 32g Serbien, #1<sup>a</sup>, 24.09.1916, Vienna, Evidenzbüro to the AOK, 1 and AJ/Belgrade, 14-181-672, #98, 18.01.1920, Cetinje, Poverenik MUD-u, (...) nikada ranije nije imala: pravičnosti, zakonitosti, koliko je moguće, jednakog postupanja prema svima građanima koji nisu protivu države bez razlike njihovog mišljenja i režim rada i navikavanja na rad (...)

<sup>342</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MID-PO 1915, R458, F12, D4, XII/267, #833, 01.08.1915, Niš, MoI to the MoFA.

<sup>343</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MUD-ŠVK 1912-1913, B-2388, #187, 13.01.1913, Pljevlja, County Chief to the Police Department.

<sup>344</sup> “Bosna nizamnamesi bakiyesidir”, *Takvîm-i Vekâyi*, 28 Muharrem’ül-Haram 1282, Defa 805, art. 61; VA/Beograd, P2, K19, F1, 12/2, 15.12.1912, Sjenica, Anđelković to the Supreme Command; ÖStA/KA/Vienna, FA NFA MGG/S, 1667/1918, #691, Res. Nr. 678, 07.09.1918, Prijepolje, District Command to the MGG/S; DAS/Belgrade, MUDuI, OJB 1919-1920, K3, #7108, 25.10.1919, Cetinje, Envoy of the Royal Government to various district chief; AJ/Belgrade, 14-179-662, #278, 06.07.1921, Pljevlje, District Chief to the MoI-DPS and CH-BAR/Bern, E2300#1000-716#69#1#7, Miscellaneous No. 1 (1921), *Report on Political Conditions in Montenegro. Memorandum on the Situation in Montenegro* by Major H. Temperley, 2-3. On the disarmament policy in the region see Babić, *Politika Crne Gore u novooslobođenim krajevima 1912-1914*, chapter 5. Dmtar Tasić, “Vojno odgovor Kraljevine SHS na komitske, kačačke i druge gerilske akcije na prostoru Južne i Stare Srbije 1919-20,” in *Guerrilla in the Balkans: Freedom Fighters, Rebels or Bandits - Researching the Guerrilla and Paramilitary Forces in the Balkans*, ed. Momčilo Pavlović, Tetsuya Sahara, and Predgrad J. Marković (Tokyo - Belgrade University Meiji, Institute for Disarmament and Peace Studies, Tokyo / Institute of Contemporary History, Belgrade / Faculty for Security Studies, Belgrade, 2007), 137-52, here pp. 45-46. Tasić, *Rat posle rata: Vojska Kraljevine Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca na Kosovu i Metohiji i u Makedoniji 1918-1920*, and Vladan Jovanović, *Jugoslovenska država i Južna Srbija 1918-1929: Makedonija, Sandžak, Kosovo i Metohija u Kraljevini SHS* (Beograd: Institut za noviju istoriju Srbije, 2002), 184-87.

governing elites sought to win over.<sup>345</sup> Dispossessing various armed groupings of their abilities to wield physical violence was a necessity if they intended to gain the upper hand and placate the populations. Residents who were armed and not trusted had to be disarmed if the proper functioning of the state institutions was desired. Until this was settled, recruiting could not be accomplished since the draft had to be completed quickly and effectively.<sup>346</sup> This process took time since not only were the capable authorities lacking but also, the gendarmeries made up of the locals were not so eager to fight against the outlaws, since some of them were kin, as discussed earlier.<sup>347</sup> Since it was unfeasible to destroy or incorporate all the bandits, the Ottoman, Habsburg, and SCS authorities turned to the known strategy of conscripting them into the army and sending them to perform military service far from their localities.<sup>348</sup>

By showing that the state looked after their notion of security, the ruling elites at the same time demonstrated, being concerned with their fears. Consequently, both concepts would merge into one and hence, mutuality would be built upon it. People might not be fighting for the state but rather for their communities or neighborhoods. However, when local goals and interests fell in line with the state's purpose, this combination generated a powerful motivating force, which is seen in the context of the eastern parts of North Carolina during the American Civil War. Even though the residents were pro-Southern, their locally rooted sense of belonging was prevailed, which their (military) leaders fully understood.<sup>349</sup> Similar to the concept of loyalty, both sides had to invest into this so-called tacit security contract because if one ceased take care of the other, the established network would deteriorate. This mutuality stemmed from different motives and were asymmetrical insofar as various locals and the polities were motivated differently. Besides trying to keep their networks unchanged, the natives were also interested in augmenting other forms of capital under new rule without having to lose their previous status.<sup>350</sup>

At the same time, the state authorities worldwide were not only driven by what Charles Maier calls "the impulse of territoriality" but also by a civilizing mission.<sup>351</sup> In the eyes of the

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<sup>345</sup> AJ/Belgrade, 14-181-672, #161, 12.12.1919, Bijelo Polje, 11<sup>th</sup> Company to its Commander and DAS/Belgrade, MUDuI, OJB 1919/K2, #158, 04.09.1919, Pljevlja, District Chief to the MoI and AJ/Belgrade, 14-179-662, #53, 06.02.1922, Bijelo Polje, District Chief to the MoI-DPS.

<sup>346</sup> VA/Belgrade, P4/3, K57, F7, 14/27, 15.07.1919, Bare, President of the Municipal Court to the Vučitrn County Chief; *ibid.*, 14/48, #5784, 11.11.1919, Skoplje, KIIAO to the MoWN; *ibid.*, P4/2, K88, F6, 10/60, #900, 20.07.1919, Nikšić, 59<sup>th</sup> Nikšić Regiment District Command to the KZDO; *ibid.*, P6, K644, F4, 11/4, #3906, 07.10.1919, Cetinje, KZDO to the KIIAO and AJ/Belgrade, 14-177-653, #1107, 17.07.1922, Peć, District Chief of the Commissioner-Inspector.

<sup>347</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MUDuI, OP 1919/K1, #212, 26.12.1919, Novi Pazar, District Chief to the MoI.

<sup>348</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MID, 1911/F199, #3361, br 4600, 02.11.1911, Andrijevic, Vešović to the MoFA; DAS/Belgrade, VGG, 18-737, Lajos Thallóczy, Kreis Novipazar, 7-8 and VA/Belgrade, P3, K177, F7, 8/40, #36643, 05.03.1919, Sarajevo, KIIAO to the Supreme Command.

<sup>349</sup> Browning, *Shifting Loyalties: The Union Occupation of Eastern North Carolina*, 35.

<sup>350</sup> Bourdieu, "Ökonomisches Kapital, kulturelles Kapital, soziales Kapital," 183-98, here pp. 97.

<sup>351</sup> Elias, *The Civilizing Process: Sociogenetic and Psychogenetic Investigations*, xiii, 5-7, 47-52, 268-70. Maier, *Once within Borders: Territories of Power, Wealth, and Belonging since 1500*, 2-3, 138, 45, 90. Papaioannou, "Balkan Wars between the



new elites, *all* locals did not possess a sense of duty towards the state, which was graded depending on their (ascribed) national and/or religious belonging because “not all differences are equally problematic.”<sup>352</sup> Having viewed this as one of the central issues, a Serbian district chief of Yeni Pazar labeled it as follows:

The local people have a very poorly developed civic awareness and legal sense of the state's tasks. They are so unaccustomed to government regulations that any work and order seems very difficult and unbearable to them. Their mentality is such that regarding many simple tasks of the state, it cannot grasp why and wherefore certain things concern the state. The cause of this phenomenon is quite clearly a long life without any authorities or only completely under bad authorities. That is why the people in this area have a deep-rooted habit of obtaining pleasure for themselves. What is more, for the most serious law violations, as for murders, it is considered here disgraceful to seek the help of the authorities, and to obtain though them legal redress. That is why blood feuding is developed here and the authorities have a hard time finding crimes [...] The people still have a deep-rooted distrust of the government that it sincerely could investigate a certain crime, and hence their persistence in discovering anything about such acts. This popular distrust can only be cured by time [...] Through sufficient education of the people [...] I am certain that, in doing so, we get in these people one element that in many good qualities will be better than the one in [pre-1913 Serbia].<sup>353</sup>

This cultural conquest (*kulturno osvajanje*), as the official referred to it, also reveals another overarching goal: the battle for the monopoly on violence which could be built differently from that in the imagined West, as the Italian case exhibits.<sup>354</sup> The same narrative emerged amidst the Habsburg occupation (or after 1918), when some equated their job with that of a missionary.<sup>355</sup> What is described here was not uncharted territory because a similar process was noticeable in the case of Britain, Prussia/Germany and the United States, in which the military played a role.<sup>356</sup> This was a global phenomenon that scholars labeled as colonization of the countryside or inner colonization, which did not bypass the region and within which the locals, the brokers, local gendarmeries, and police forces actively participated. The latter two, at least in theory, had to ensure that the state fulfilled their part of the bargain on the ground and were entitled to domesticate the populations by imbuing the state's notion of crime or what the national territory meant into the locals. They constituted just one of many elements in this process that facilitated the state's encroachment and colonization of its rural

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Lines: Violence and Civilians in Macedonia, 1912-1918," 17-18. and James Walter Frusetta, "Bulgaria's Macedonia: Nation-Building and State-Building, Centralization and Autonomy in Pirin Macedonia, 1903-1952" (PhD University of Maryland, 2006), 9, 183.

<sup>352</sup> Ayşe Gül Altınay, *The Myth of the Military-Nation: Militarism, Gender, and Education in Turkey* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 74-75.

<sup>353</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MUD-P 1913, F15/R41, #2041, 18.05.1913, Novi Pazar, District Chief to the Police Department at the Supreme Command.

<sup>354</sup> Christian Jansen, "Eine Tradition der Rebellion gegen das staatliche Gewaltmonopol. Italien, 1848-1980," in *Rückkehr der Condottieri? Krieg und Militär zwischen staatlichem Monopol und Privatisierung: Von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart*, ed. Christian Jansen Stig Förster, Günther Kronenbitter (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2010), 189-204.

<sup>355</sup> AJ/Belgrade, 14-181-672, #14, 22.01.1920, Novi Pazar, District Chief to the MoI; *ibid*, 14-178-630, #181, 01.06.1921, Prijepolje, County Chief to the MoI; *ibid*, 14-179-662, #53, 06.02.1922, Bijelo Polje, District Chief to the MoI and Dimić and Borozan, *Jugoslovenska država i Albanci*, II, #879, 13.08.1920, Novi Pazar, District Chief to the MoI, 872-873.

<sup>356</sup> Wolfgang Knöbl, *Polizei und Herrschaft im Modernisierungsprozeß: Staatsbildung und innere Sicherheit in Preußen, England und Amerika 1700-1914* (Frankfurt/New York: Campus, 1995).

spaces, where most of the ignorant (*cahil*) locals dwelt and which were also acted as safe havens for law breakers.<sup>357</sup>

Because civilization signifies a specific transformation of human behavior, by taming the inhabitants, the state aspired to achieve manifold goals: it would convince them that only the state that had the right to use monopoly on violence; by disarming the locals and establishing control through the brokers in towns and rural areas, they would obtain the upper hand, and through the planned education, it would teach the locals that the state's security came first because without that, the lives of the locals were meaningless. In order to establish affective, political and economic bonds, the governing elites linked, as shown below, their own and the soldier's fate to that of their family, meaning that as long as the state was protected, the recruit could focus on the war.<sup>358</sup> In a word, they longed to envelop the local micro-solidarity by overtaking and remodeling a soldier's microcosm which was defined by intimacy, familiarity, and deep emotional and moral attachment in contrast to the far and faceless government institutions.<sup>359</sup>

Security, prosperity, state-building, mobilization, and loyalty closely intersected because if one was lacking, then the goal of drawing in the able-bodied populations might not succeed. For instance, the muhajirs who dwelt around Yeni Varoş began to migrate to Bosnia-Herzegovina as a result of physical violence and looting committed by the locals and Serbian soldiers in late 1912. A Serbian commanding officer suggested that "by all means, the migration should be stopped because the muhajirs will provide an excellent military element."<sup>360</sup> Preserving peace overlapped with the military goal of obtaining material from the occupied territories. During WWI, keeping recruits motivated forced the Serbian military to consider the security of those families whose male members were enlisted since the change in behavior among their soldiers was palpable as soon as rumors reached them that their families had fallen

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<sup>357</sup> Şerif, *Arnavudluk'da, Sûriye'de, Trablusgarb'de Tanîn*, II, 5, 7, 12, 23-24, 31, 55, 40, 49, 69. Hechter, *Internal Colonialism: The Celtic Fringe in British National Development, 1536-1966*. Clive Emsley, "Peasants, Gendarmes and State Formation," in *National Histories and European History*, ed. Mary Fulbrook (London: UCL Press, 1994), 69-93, here pp. 84, 87-88. Clive Emsley, *Gendarmes and the State in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999). Stephen P. Frank, *Crime, Cultural Conflict, and Justice in Rural Russia, 1856-1914* (Berkeley - Los Angeles - Oxford: The Regents of the University of California, 1999). Iordachi, "Internal Colonialism: The Expansion of Romania's Frontier into Northern Dobrogea after 1878," 77-105. Jovanović, "Državna vlast i pojedinac," 54-88, here pp. 80-88. Nadir Özbek, "Policing the Countryside: Gendarmes of the Late 19th Century Ottoman Empire," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 40 (2008): 47-67. and Nadir Özbek, "Osmanlı Taşrasında Denetim: Son Dönem Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Jandarma (1876-1908)," in *Türkiye'de Ordu, Devlet ve Güvenlik Siyaseti*, ed. Evren Balta Paker and İsmet Akça (İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2010), 47-78.

<sup>358</sup> Elias, *The Civilizing Process: Sociogenetic and Psychogenetic Investigations*, 47-52. and Elias, *What is Sociology?*, 133-40.

<sup>359</sup> Malešević, "The Foundations of Statehood: Empires and Nation-States in the Longue Durée," 145-61. and Malešević, *Grounded Nationalisms: A Sociological Analysis*, 84.

<sup>360</sup> VA/Belgrade, P2, K102, F1, 13/1, OBr. 1191, 22.11.1912, Sjenica, KJB Vrhovnoj komandi.

victim to the enemy soldiers or paramilitaries.<sup>361</sup> The Habsburg authorities understood the power of offering security as a way to dispel fears about the post-war developments. Pillaging committed by certain detachments of the retreating Serbian army and local gangs in late 1915 not only resulted in the eruption of skirmishes in diverse areas but also pushed Muslims to align themselves with the advancing Habsburg army, which the authorities did not forget.<sup>362</sup> This is why they believed that the Monarchy was morally obliged towards the populations which was practically proven by giving financial and food contributions to the families of those who decided to stay in various Habsburg formations, such as in Austrian Landwehr, royal Hungarian Honvéd, Landsturm, working units and in logistics.<sup>363</sup>

The Habsburg authorities in Montenegro emphasized that it was the duty of the Monarchy to ensure the protection of the war volunteers against possible postwar prosecutions, who frequently discredited themselves in public which in turn was not meant to be overlooked.<sup>364</sup> Believing that this decision would stimulate (*aneifern*) their entrance into the army, an optional settling in Bosnia-Herzegovina was offered in late 1916 to those who came from the Taşlıca, İpek, Prepole, Yeni Pazar and Mitroviça districts. Therefore, the aim was to protect them and their families from any possible Montenegrin and Serbian post-war persecutions.<sup>365</sup> This seemingly included the brokers as well, who, in addition to various practical benefits, stood under the Habsburg security in case of a retreat. Mahmud Pasha Bajrović was assured that the Monarchy would never betray the allegiant Muslims; however, this could not fully reassure Bajrović and his fellow townsmen, given that no practical guarantees were offered for the future.<sup>366</sup>

Thus, actual deeds gradually turned into actual words. What this meant in practice, is illustrated in an example from Yeni Varoş in which the Slavic-speaking Muslims and Sulejman Effendi are portrayed as follows:

The Slavic-speaking Muslims have been seeking for some time a grace of their Orthodox Christian neighbors. Muslim women and girls take part in the Serbian *sijelo* [sit-in or gathering at home], while the Serbian girls are invited to the Turkish *sijelo*. Volunteers cannot be recruited, not even for internal service, because they are unreliable. Šećeragić congratulated the Slavic-speaking Orthodox

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<sup>361</sup> VA/Belgrade, P3, K55, F3, 6/29, #7363, 08.11.1914, Niš, Nikola Pašić to the Supreme Command; *ibid*, #934, 10.11.1914, Kragujevac, Supreme Command to various military units; *ibid*, P7, K25, F1, 10/7, #4904, 19.10.1915, KOB to various military units; *ibid*, 6/4, #2828, 07.11.1915, Commander of the Morava Division of 2nd Levy to the KTNO and *ibid*, P6, K509, F2, 6/14, #1161, 12.11.1915, Sedlari, Commander of the 3rd Regiment of 2nd Levy to the Commander of the Morava Division of 2nd Levy.

<sup>362</sup> ÖStA/HHStA/Vienna, PA I 975, 32g Serbien, #I<sup>a</sup>, 24.09.1916, Vienna, Evidenzbureau to the AOK, 1 and Danilo Šarenac, "Golgotha: the Retreat of the Serbian Army and Civilians in 1915-16," in *Europe on the Move: Refugees in the Era of the Great War*, ed. Peter Gatrell and Liubov Zhvanko (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2017), 236-59, here pp. 42.

<sup>363</sup> DAS/Belgrade, VGG, 8-46, #13.711, 17.09.1916, Belgrade, MGG/S to its Department 8 and ÖStA/KA/Vienna, AOK Qu. Abt, 2469/1917, #133.833/S, 28.09.1917, AOK to the KM.

<sup>364</sup> ÖStA/HHStA/Vienna, PA I 998, 49g, Montenegro, #93/P, 17.11.1916, Cetinje, Proxy at the MGG/M to the MdÄ.

<sup>365</sup> ÖStA/KA/Vienna, AOK Qu. Abt, 2420/1916, #117.764/S, 29.12.1916, AOK to the Operation Department.

<sup>366</sup> ÖStA/HHStA/Vienna, PA I 976, 32k, Serbien, #21/8 A-G, 07.04.1918, Belgrade, Proxy at the MGG/S to the MdÄ.

Christians on their New Year. In any case, I [a Habsburg commander] will do everything I can for *our* security/safety [italic added by J. M] [...] The *sijelo* should be banned generally.<sup>367</sup>

The locals understood that the Habsburg power could no longer provide security and so they worked towards (re)establishing contact with their Christian neighbors by using the local institution of *sijelo*, through which mutual loyalty might be (re)constructed. They expected to minimize fear of becoming victims in the new setting, which in turn raised doubts among the Habsburg authorities and they began to question their allegiance. The able-bodied Muslims were no longer mobilized because they became unpredictable, for this reason the local power began to think only of *its* security. But the locals had at their disposal the means to thwart the notion of uncertainty which engulfed them at the time. The example resembles the social institution of blood-brotherhood, applied in the preceding centuries in the three-way frontier between the Venetian Republic, the Habsburg Monarchy and the Ottoman Empire. As stated earlier, this was not a novelty in the region.<sup>368</sup>

This context could push local actors to armed self-mobilization, which aptly demonstrates that they were also able to do the same by wielding their bilinear based kinship networks or other societal institutions. When the state authorities were incapable of adhering to their part of the tacit security contract, the inhabitants might also turn to coercive methods, as happened in 1904 in Ottoman Gusine. They chased away judicial officers from the *konak* which they even sought to set ablaze since in their eyes, they felt they had not countered to Montenegrin raiding parties vigorously enough.<sup>369</sup> By analyzing the speech-act, one comes across the imagined Montenegrin as a security issue in all the areas along the Montenegrin-Ottoman borderlands, thus functioning as a legitimizing tool not only in negotiation vis-à-vis the Empire but also for their actions.<sup>370</sup> At the suggestion of Hasan Ağa Ferović, one of the most influential power-holders in Plava-Gusine, bilingual notables from Plava, Gusine, Āpek and Yakova gathered in Āpek where they held a two-day meeting in 1905 together with ten local *bayraktars*, thereby concluding *besa* against Montenegro. This was necessary because wide layers of the locals wanted to protect their livestock and pastures from Montenegrin seizure. They met again, but

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<sup>367</sup> ÖStA/KA/Vienna, FA NFA MGG/S, 1666/1918, #182, Res. Nr. 28, 14.02.1918, Nova Varoš, County Command to the Prijepolje District Command.

<sup>368</sup> Wendy Bracewell, "Frontier Blood-Brotherhood and the Triplex Confinium," in *Constructing Border Societies on the Triplex Confinium. International Project Conference Papers 2 "Plan and Practice. How to Construct a Border Society? The Triplex Confinium c. 1700-1750"* (Graz, December 9-12, 1998), ed. Drago Roksandić and Nataša Štefanec (Budapest: Central European University, 2000), 29-45. and Cemović, *Vasojevići: Istorijaska istraživanja*, 51.

<sup>369</sup> ÖStA/HHStA/Vienna, PA XXXVIII/Kt. 385, #50, 28.07.1904, Mitrovica, Zambaur to Gotuchowski.

<sup>370</sup> BOA/Istanbul, BEO, 3792/284372, leff 15, 11/03/1317 [24/03/1901], Mejlis of the Akova District (...) Bundan başka kazamıza Karadağ ile muttasıl olup her iki unsur, yekdiğerinin kanına susamışçasına haris bulunduklarından (...); *ibid*, leff 13-1, 21/04/1317 [04/05/1901], Mejlis of the Yeni Pazar Region (...) bu havali hudud-ı salise ile muhat hususiyetle Karadağ'a hem-hudud olduğundan ahalisi Devlet-i Aliyye ve vatan uğrunda her an feda-yı cāna bir asker olduğu (...); DACG/Cetinje, PPKŽ, F5, #16, br. 7, 12.02.1910, Ograđenica, M. Džambasanović to Knežević and *ibid*, MID 1911/F199, #3378, 12.10.1911, Lubnice, Milutin Dabetić to R. Vešović.

allegedly this time 200 clan chiefs and notables from the areas agreed, among other things, on the joint defense and alliance against Montenegro and Serbia-backed paramilitaries in order to protect the Gusine and Plava residents who were the most exposed given the close vicinity to the state border.<sup>371</sup>

However, hinging on this context, the perception of the enemy changed insofar as, just as this grouping was established against the local and/or outsider threat, so too could this protection pact be easily directed against the Ottoman state in cases when the notables' interests were not respected.<sup>372</sup> The alliance represented a foundation on which the state conducted mobilization, as had happened several weeks earlier and during the 1912/13 war, as the Rugova, Yakova and Ćpek volunteers helped the Plava and Gusine inhabitants to defend their homes against the Montenegrin army and Vasojevići, thereby fulfilling their *besa*.<sup>373</sup>

Self-mobilization was evident in the town of Tašlica and its vicinity at the start and end of WWI, yet it contained an important nuance; it was directed towards the protection of the life and property of *all* townspeople in the wake of the dissolving state monopoly. The first self-mobilization occurred in August 1914 when the Montenegrin military left the town after being forced to retreat by the approaching Habsburg army. Mahmud Pasha and other peers initiated this process by inviting the prominent Christians to participate in a citizens' assembly (*građanski sabor*), among them Serafim Džarić was to present. The Pasha knew Serafim personally from the Ottoman era, during which time he served as a corporate actor, as stated earlier. Since they were no authority in the town, Mahmud Pasha suggested that they have to set up a temporary committee by themselves whose goal would be to “take care of law and order in the town,” so that no “evil things” would occur. The assembly adopted the proposal and chose the same Pasha as the chairman of the committee, thereby electing prominent people of the Muslim and Christian faiths as its members, including Serafim himself. The Pasha established an armed formation whose members were gendarmes and other “honest persons,” and armed with the agreement of the committee, so that they could guard the state buildings and maintain strict order. In doing so, Mahmud Pasha uttered that:

*We must guard ourselves mutually and whoever comes to us, we are obedient to him; now the Austrian army [sic] is coming, and the Montenegrin one can come shortly. We do not know whose authority will be [here]. Only we can keep ourselves safe until whatever authority comes. (...) We do not know when the Austrian army will come, but, in any case, we have to be ready to welcome it because the elder's will is to obey; today we are welcoming the Austrian army, soon we can greet the Montenegrin or Serbian military – whoever comes, we obey [italic added by J. M].*<sup>374</sup>

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<sup>371</sup> ÖStA/HHStA/Vienna, PA XXXVIII/Kt. 385, Nr. 48, 08.07.1905, Mitrovica, Krauz to Gotuchowski.

<sup>372</sup> DAS/Belgrade, KuP 1912, #663, 20.05.1912, Priština, Consulate to the MoFA.

<sup>373</sup> DAS/Belgrade, KuP 1912, unnumbered 24.07.1912, Belo Polje, Aleksa Popović to Serbian Consulate in Priština.

<sup>374</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MUD-IK, 1914/F5, #1, 19.09.1914, Pljevlja, Hieromonk Serafim Džarić to the Commission of Inquiry.

As the Muslim poor began robbing people, the Pasha immediately ordered the gendarmes to shoot, which they did and then, they seized the stolen goods. After using a stick to hit three Muslims and a poor woman (*bula*) who partook in looting, Mahmud Pasha ordered guards to be put in front of the state buildings. Other prominent Muslims, including Derviš Šećerkadić, a town mufti, protected their neighbors and Christian peers from any danger. The result was that there were no Christian victims in the town and its surrounding areas during this transition period. When it was clear that the Habsburg army would withdraw, only two weeks after occupying the town, all citizens gathered again and re-elected the committee that would once again take care of order until the Montenegrin army arrived. By re-establishing the gendarmes, the committee whose member had just become Serafim put order back in the town and urged mukhtars of the nearby villages to do the same.<sup>375</sup>

What makes the case of Tašlica so interesting is that despite of being occupied precisely six times between 1912 and 1918, at the end of the second Habsburg occupation (late 1918), the prominent town citizens once again self-organized and were then, led by a district physician Zarubica. The latter, after becoming the municipal president, took all necessary measures to ensure personal and property security for all. However, once Montenegrin bandits entered the town, the previously established public law and order was disturbed, for which reason the town residents became an easy target and had no influence whatsoever on the former.<sup>376</sup> This was the reason why Zarubica, “with tears in his eyes,” demanded protection from the regular Serbian army.<sup>377</sup> In brief, the Tašlica case aptly shows how a local notion of security can be powerful in building a “we-group,” as one can see in the Pasha’s speech. This *we* is neither national, nor religious, nor ethnically colored, but rather the notion of fellow neighbor/citizens or *šehirli* whose loyalty prevails. Certainly, their close experience with peacetime recruitment helped them understanding how to mobilize the locals and maintain the necessary order.

However, although not everyone could profit from these local figurations in the region, this does not mean that others could not wield various tactics that could hamper their notion of uncertainty. One of the most employed tactics was utilizing physical spaces that had always remained contested by the state. Similar to the Tašlica context, running to the mountains became dominant in the moment when it was apparent that the state-backed security was beginning to disappear or when word about the approaching new army arrived. The preparations made to flee among the Muslim population of Mitroviča was so obvious in late

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<sup>375</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MUD-IK, 1914/F5, #1, 19.09.1914, Pljevlja, Hieromonk Serafim Džarić to the Commission of Inquiry and *ibid*, MV-VS, 1914/F11, #74, Hearing of Lazo Popović, dated 18.08.1914, 26.

<sup>376</sup> VA/Belgrade, P7, K86, F9, 9/1, 21.10.1918, Plevlja, District Physician Zarubica to David Loinčarević.

<sup>377</sup> VA/Belgrade, P7, K86, 9/12, #198, 20.10.1918, Prijepolje, Command of the Novi Pazar Detachment to the KIIA.

1918 that the Habsburg authorities could not help but take notice.<sup>378</sup> In adjacent Yeni Pazar, the able-bodied Christian and Muslim males sought refuge in the nearby forests where they subsequently organized armed gangs, taking along cattle and horses with them too.<sup>379</sup> Not only did these exacerbate the already worsened public law and order in the eyes of the Habsburg authorities, but they would also challenge the formation of the SCS security in years to come, since they were also active in the early 1920s.<sup>380</sup>

Arming them was possible inasmuch as most of the local Muslims had been assigned to the Habsburg gendarmerie posts. Despite receiving aid and food for their families, the feelings of uncertainty prevailed, for which reason they left their duties and even sold their uniforms.<sup>381</sup> In the case of the able-bodied Christians it was the fear of being interned by the Habsburg authorities that forced them to flee.<sup>382</sup> However, those who resided in the countryside actually sought protection in urban spaces, which is unsurprising since they became targets of various armed groupings, which formed at an astonishing rate and intensity at the end of WWI and in the post-war period. Inhabitants of the villages around Taşlica, for example, were still residing in the town throughout 1919; this was not only because they were afraid but due to the fact that the local SCS authorities did not offer them protection. Others, mainly Muslim peasants, tried to find spaces of security in Akova, Prepol, Yeni Pazar, and other towns, where they wandered through urban spaces without any shelter or food.<sup>383</sup>

In brief, the locals knew not only how to utilize the physical spaces that surrounded them but were also capable of mitigating their fears by benefiting from locally grounded societal institutions and kinship. Others, as thematized in pages ahead, sought security by nurturing close relationships with influential actors who, regardless of the transition, were able to maintain their networks. Thus, they were skilled enough to establish spaces of security without applying for governmental assistance, which, despite the narrative that everyone was equal, this did not fit with the picture on the ground. Given the momentary context, it was difficult for the government to adhere to its own self-proclaimed principles of legitimacy. The governing elites

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<sup>378</sup> ÖStA/KA/Vienna, FA NFA MGG/S, kt. 1668/1918, #2191, 01.10.1918, Belgrade, Situation Report on October 1<sup>st</sup>, 1918.

<sup>379</sup> ÖStA/KA/Vienna, FA NFA MGG/S, 1670/1918, #2070, 1433 Res, 09.10.1918, Novi Pazar, District Command to the MGG/S and *ibid*, #2147, Na. Nr. 3103, 11.10.1918, Belgrade, Situation Report on October 11<sup>th</sup>, 1918.

<sup>380</sup> ÖStA/AdR/Vienna, AA Gesandtschaft Belgrad/Kt. 1, #57/Pol/1921, 29.04.1920, Belgrade, Hoffinger to the MoFA; *ibid*, #164/Pol/1920, 27.05.1920, Belgrade, Hoffinger to the MoFA; *ibid*, AA NPA/Kt. 652, #225/Pol, 28.07.1920, Belgrade, Hoffinger to the MoFA; *ibid*, AA NPA/Kt. 639, #129/Pol, 28.08.1921, Belgrade, Hoffinger to the MoFA and PA AA/Berlin, RZ 206, R 73152, #70/J. Nr. 258, 30.06.1924, Sarajevo, Consul to the Ambassador in Belgrade.

<sup>381</sup> ÖStA/KA/Vienna, FA NFA MGG/S, 1670/1918, #2070, 1433 Res, 09.10.1918, Novi Pazar, District Command to the MGG/S and *ibid*, #3100/res, 10.10.1918, Belgrade, Situation Report dated October 9<sup>th</sup>, 1918.

<sup>382</sup> ÖStA/KA/Vienna, FA NFA MGG/S, 1670/1918, #2272, Na. Nr. 2080/Res, 10.10.1918, Belgrade, Monthly Report (September 1-30, 1918).

<sup>383</sup> VA/Belgrade, P4/3, K57, F5, 10/11, #20158, 12.03.1919, Beograd, MoWN to the KIII AO; DAS/Belgrade, MUDuI-OP 1919/K1, #4978, 21.08.1919, Beograd, Lj. M. Davidović to the Mol and *ibid*, MUDuI-OJB 1919/K2, #194, 27.11.1919, Pljevlja, District Chief to the Mol.

had ability and resources to provide security to every subject but they were driven by the notion of providing for those who wanted to mobilize and/or those who could foster mobilization. Thus, they discarded the claim that everyone would benefit from their rule. By fostering the strategies of inducement, they sought at the same time to maintain legitimacy and, when necessary, relied on a combination of coercion, consent, and reward.<sup>384</sup> Who profited from this setting is thematized in the following chapter.

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<sup>384</sup> Bendix, "Introduction," 2-23, here pp. 2, 4, 6-7, 9-12. and "Aspects of Legitimacy: Introduction," in *State and Society: A Reader in Comparative Political Sociology*, ed. Reinhard Bendix (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1968), 352-54.



### 3 Chasing the Mood of the Locals, Paramilitaries, and Local Cleavages in Wartime

Obtaining the brokers' support did not mean that mobilization would run smoothly. Persuading the locals who possessed the lower forms of capital was equally vital because they constituted a large part of the armies. Luring in these locals therefore represented another overarching goal of the ruling elites whereby one must consider the viewpoint of the rural fabrics and understand what they and their families received in exchange for joining the military.<sup>1</sup> How did the governing elites approach the wider segments of the people? What strategies did they wield in order to win over both their hearts and minds? Did these policies pay off? Concentrating on the locals' issues in the first subchapter implies that authorities had to convince them of their good intentions based on their behavior and tangible acts. These must occur in an environment that is stable and secure enough so that these strategies were not overshadowed by the pressure of subduing unrest and restoring order. Beneath the intention of generating an ideal picture of the state stood practical and concrete political aspirations which sometimes coupled with coercive methods to yield the desired result.<sup>2</sup>

The tendency alone to claim that "the defense of the homeland is the duty of all of us; everyone must perform that duty, be the money assistance or not," as a Montenegrin MP stressed after the Balkan Wars, was not sufficient. Former soldiers and their families demanded something in return for shedding blood for the imagined community. This meant that selling national projects remained disjointed if the material side of things was not addressed, which in turn could hinder the state's mobilization efforts.<sup>3</sup> These strategies of inducement (David M. Edelstein) or actual deeds (Michael S. Kugelmann) aimed at buying and underpinning the locals' compliance and loyalty, all while improving and maintaining their well-being not only during, but also prior to and after the war was pivotal. By drawing from the scholarship that deals with the welfare-warfare nexus in the global setting, the goal is to illustrate this close tie

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<sup>1</sup> Elias Kolovos, "Introduction: Bringing the Peasants Back in?," in *Ottoman Rural Societies and Economies. Halcyon Days in Crete VIII A Symposium Held in Rethymno 13-15 January 2012*, ed. Elias Kolovos (Rethymno: Crete University Press, 2015), ix-xxiii, here pp. xiv. Donald Quataert, "The Age of Reforms, 1812-1914," in *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire*, ed. Bruce McGowan Suraiya Faroqhi, Donald Quataert, and Şevket Pamuk (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 761-943, here pp. 876. and Arthur Marwick, "Problems and Consequences of Organizing Society for Total War," in *Mobilization for Total War: The Canadian, American and British Experience, 1914-1918, 1939-1945*, ed. N. F. Dreisziger (Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1981), 3-21, here pp. 9, 15-18.

<sup>2</sup> Günther Kronenbitter, Markus Pöhlmann, and Dierk Walter, "Einleitung," in *Besatzung: Funktion und Gestalt militärischer Fremdherrschaft von Antike bis zum 20. Jahrhundert*, ed. Günther Kronenbitter, Markus Pöhlmann, and Dierk Walter (Paderborn - München - Wien - Zürich: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2006), 11-21, here pp. 16. Scheer, *Zwischen Front und Heimat: Österreich-Ungarns Militärverwaltungen im Ersten Weltkrieg*, 90, 92. and Michael S. Kugelmann, "Winning Hearts and Minds through "Actual Deeds": U. S. Public Diplomacy in Comparison with the American Involvement in Iraq Today" (Unpublished MA Thesis The Fletcher School, 2005), 3, 5, 8, 10, 26, 30.

<sup>3</sup> *Stenografske bilješke o radu crnogorske Narodne Skupštine sazvane u redovan saziv 15. januara 1914. god. (I i II prethodni sastanak i I-XXX redov. sjednica)*, 19.02.1914, XIII redovna sjednica, 349-350 and 21.02.14, XV redovna sjednica, 428-429 (citation). Jacques Donzelot, "The Mobilization of Society," in *Studies in Governmentality: With two Lectures by and an Interview with Michel Foucault*, ed. Colin Gordon and Peter Miller Graham Burchell (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1991), 169-79, here pp. 69, 71-74, 77. and Richard M. Titmuss, *Essays on "the Welfare State"* (Bristol: Policy Press, 2018), 45-47, 49-53.

locally, meaning that not every actual deed was argued in detail but should rather be understood as an introduction to others that appear throughout the study.<sup>4</sup>

Given the specific regional and governmental idiosyncrasies, which are of crucial importance for welfare development, emphasis is placed on the land issue, revenue systems, debt policies, and social welfare programs.<sup>5</sup> They are methodologically viewed in close relation to legitimacy, by which the ruling elites often reinforced mutuality by keeping the locals and their kin content and making them believe that they had to obey.<sup>6</sup> Similar to their peers in the British, Habsburg, Ottoman, or Russian empires, the Serbian and Montenegrin dynasties did not differ in this regard, whereby every post-1913 polity (not forgetting the pre-1913 subjects as well) against the backdrop of their brief presence, had to invest more in order to legitimize their liberation narratives. Thus, it was not only about nationalizing empires but also about imperializing nation-states.<sup>7</sup> Having been conceptualized as part of the governmental rationality, these strategies must be regarded as “a form of activity aiming to shape, guide or affect the conduct of some persons.”<sup>8</sup> The goal is not to speak about the post-1918 Agrarian

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<sup>4</sup> Edelstein, *Occupational Hazards: Success and Failure in Military Occupation*, 14, 51-52. Kugelmann, "Winning Hearts and Minds through "Actual Deeds": U. S. Public Diplomacy in Comparison with the American Involvement in Iraq Today," 3, 5, 8, 10, 26, 30. Klaus Petersen Herbert Obinger, "Mass Warfare and the Welfare State: Causal Mechanisms and Effects," *British Journal of Political Science* 47, no. 1 (2017): 203-27. and Klaus Petersen and Peter Starke Herbert Obinger, "Introduction: Studying the Warfare-Welfare Nexus," in *Warfare and Welfare: Military Conflict and Welfare State Development in Western Countries*, ed. Herbert Obinger, Klaus Petersen, and Peter Starke (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 1-35. Herbert Obinger, "'Vorsorgende Wohlfahrtsarbeit am Volkskörper': Militär als Impulsgeber Staatlicher Sozialpolitik," *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte [APuZ]* 70, Militär, no. 16-17 (14. April 2020): 11-17. and Herbert Obinger, "Conscription, the Military, and Welfare State Development: An Introduction," *Historical Social Research / Historische Sozialforschung* 45, Military and Welfare State: Conscription, Military Interests, and Western Welfare States in the Age of Industrialized Mass Warfare, no. 2 (2020): 7-26.

<sup>5</sup> Franz-Haver Kaufmann, *Varianten des Wohlfahrtsstaats* (Frankfurt am Main: Edition Suhrkamp, 2003), 9, 11-12, 25-37, 47. Herbert Obinger and Manfred G. Schmidt, "Einleitung," in *Handbuch Sozialpolitik*, ed. Manfred G. Schmidt Herbert Obinger (Wiesbaden: Springer VS, 2019), 1-5. Asa Briggs, "The Welfare State in Historical Perspective," *European Journal of Sociology* 2, On the Welfare State, no. 2 (1961): 221-58, here pp. 28-31. See also François Ewald, *Der Vorsorgestaats* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 2015), 16, 20-21, 23-26, 59-60, 242.

<sup>6</sup> Reinkowski, "Introduction," 1-11, here pp. 1, 3-4. Karateke, "Legitimizing the Ottoman Sultanate: A Framework for Historical Analysis," 13-52. Michael Bonner, "Introduction," 1-9. Singer, "Special Issue Introduction," 227-38. Höpken, "Inszenierungen des Imperiums. Imperiale Herrschaftslegitimierung in Österreich-Ungarn, Russland und im Osmanischen Reich 1850 bis 1914," 455-501. Herbert Obinger and Sonja Kovacevic, "Soziale Kriegsrüstung. Militär, militärische Interessen und die Anfänge des Wohlfahrtsstaates in der k.u.k. Monarchie," *PVS Politische Vierteljahresschrift* 57, no. 1 (2016): 116-46, here pp. 22.

<sup>7</sup> Jörn Leonhard, "Wie legitimierten sich multiethnische Empires im langen 19. Jahrhundert?," in *Die Legitimation von Imperien: Strategien und Motive im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, ed. Herfried Münckler and Eva Marlene Hausteiner (Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 2012), 70-93. Leonhard and von Hirschhausen, *Empires and Nationalstaaten*, 107. Berger and Miller, "Introduction: Building Nations in and with Empires - A Reassessment," 1-30. and Živko M. Andrijašević, "Politička osnova vladarskog kulta Knjaza Nikole krajem 19. i početkom 20. vijeka," *Istorijski zapisi* LXXXV, no. 1-2 (2002): 91-112.

<sup>8</sup> Colin Gordon, "Governmental Rationality: An Introduction," in *Studies in Governmentality: With two Lectures by and an Interview with Michel Foucault*, ed. Colin Gordon and Peter Miller Graham Burchell (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1991), 1-51, here pp. 2 (citation). and Michel Foucault, "Governmentality," in *Studies in Governmentality: With two Lectures by and an Interview with Michel Foucault*, ed. Graham Burchell, Colin Gordon, and Peter Miller (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1991), 87-104, here pp. 91. See Nadir Özbek, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Sosyal Devlet: Siyaset, İktidar ve Meşruiyet* (İstanbul: İletişim 2002), 15-16, 18-22. and Nadir Özbek, "Imperial Gifts and Sultanic Legitimation during the Late Ottoman Empire, 1876-1909," in *Poverty and Charity in Middle Eastern Contexts*, ed. Mine Ener Michael Bonner, Amy Singer (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2003), 203-20.

Reform and colonization policies in the context of the Kingdom of SCS which has already been the topic of detailed examination in the scholarship.<sup>9</sup>

As highlighted earlier, some areas in the region under Ottoman rule were exempted from regular military service but were still included in the imperial paramilitary units, which had a multifold mission and served as auxiliary troops, thereby existing alongside the standing army.<sup>10</sup> Thus the linear military development that separates regular warfare from irregular warfare and considers the use of the latter as antiquated and belonging only to the Balkan states, is not helpful here.<sup>11</sup> Which paramilitary units were established in the region? What exactly did the ruling elites expect from them? Who joined these troops? And what did their inner fabric look like? These questions belong to the second subchapter which focuses on two paramilitary units from the Ottoman and Habsburg period which serve as case studies. Serbian and SCS paramilitaries are left out of the study since they have already been addressed in detail.<sup>12</sup>

Scholars have touched upon the Habsburg paramilitary activities; however, this subchapter goes a step further, analyzing a hybrid character of these units, where it sometimes utterly difficult to draw a sharp line between regular and irregular warfare.<sup>13</sup> Here, hybrid warfare refers to a “conflict involving a combination of conventional military forces and irregulars, which

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<sup>9</sup> A. Urošević, "Agrarna reforma i naseljavanje," in *Spomenica dvadesetpetogodišnjice oslobođenja Južne Srbije 1912-1937*, ed. Aleksa Jovanović (Skopje: Štamparija "Južna Srbija", 1937), 819-33. Ifor L. Evans, "Agrarian Reform in the Danubian Countries: I. Historical Introduction," *The Slavonic and East European Review* 7, no. 21 (1929): 604-20. Obradović, *Agrarna reforma i kolonizacija na Kosovu (1918-1941)*. Pezo, *Zwangsmigration in Friedenszeiten? Jugoslawische Migrationspolitik und die Auswanderung von Muslimen in die Türkei (1918 bis 1966)*. and Oliver Jens Schmitt, *Der Balkan im 20. Jahrhundert: Eine postimperiale Geschichte* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer Verlag, 2019), 109-17.

<sup>10</sup> Hartmann, *Die Reichweite des Staates: Wehrpflicht und moderne Staatlichkeit im Osmanischen Reich 1860-1910*, 298.

<sup>11</sup> John A. Lynn, "The Evolution of Army Style in the Modern West, 800-2000," *The International History Review* 18, no. 3 (1996): 505-45, here pp. 07-10, 14. Zürcher, "Giriş: Askere Alımlarda ve Askerî İstihdamda Dünyadaki Değişiklikleri Anlamak," 11-40, here pp. 15-16. Mehmet Beşikçi, "Başbozuk Savaşçıdan 'Makbul' Tebaaya: 1877-1878 Osmanlı-Rus Savaşı'nda Osmanlı Ordusunda Çerkez Muhacirler," *Hacettepe Üniversitesi Türkiyat Araştırmaları Enstitüsü* Güz, no. 23 (2015): 85-123, here pp. 88-89. Diane E. Davis, "Contemporary Challenges and Historical Reflections on the Study of Militaries, States, and Politics," in *Irregular Armed Forces and their Role and State Formation*, ed. Diane E. Davis and Anthony W. Pereira (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 3-34, here pp. 10-13. and Üngör, *Paramilitarism: Mass Violence in the Shadow of the State*, 27.

<sup>12</sup> For instance, see Vojislav Subotić, "Prvi balkanski rat u Staroj Srbiji prema kazivanju Borisavljevića i dopisnika," in *Oblasti Stare Raške krajem XIX i početkom XX veka: Zbornik radova sa naučnog skupa povodom osamdesetogodišnjice oslobođenja mileševskog kraja od turske vlasti* (Prijeplje: Ustanova za kulturu i obrazovanje "Dom revolucije" Prijeplje, 1994), 235-52. Uroš Šešum, "Srpska četnička organizacija u Staroj Srbiji 1903-1908. Terenska organizacija," *Srpske studije* 2 (2011): 239-58. Uroš Šešum, "Četnici u Prvom balkanskom ratu 1912," *Srpske studije* 3 (2012): 63-82. Uroš Šešum, *Srpska četnička akcija (1897-1908): Oružana diplomatija* (Novi Sad Matica srpska, 2019). Vladimir Ilić, *Srpska četnička akcija 1903-1912* (Beograd: Ecolibri, 2006). Predrag Pejić, *Četnički pokret u Kraljevini Srbiji, 1903-1918* (Kragujevac: Pogledi, 2007). Milić J. Milićević, "Četnička akcija neposredno pre objave i tokom prvih dana srpsko-turskog rata 1912. godine," in *Prvi balkanski rat 1912/13. godine: Društveni i civilizacijski smisao (međunarodni tematski zbornik)*, ed. Aleksandar Rastović (Niš: Univerzitet u Nišu Filozofski fakultet, 2013), 221-34. Aleksej Timofeev, "Srpska gerila u Balkanskim ratovima: Kulturne, društvene i političke tradicije četničkog rata u Srbiji," in *Balkanski ratovi 1912/1913: Nova viđenja i tumačenja*, ed. Srđan Rudić and Miljan Milkić (Beograd: Istorijski institut / Institut za strategijska istraživanja, 2013), 94-110. Alexey Timofeev, "Serbian Chetniks: Traditions of Irregular Warfare," in *The Wars of Yesterday: The Balkan Wars and the Emergence of Modern Military Conflict, 1912-13*, ed. Katrin Boeckh and Sabine Rutar (New York; Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2018), 260-84. and Tasić, *Paramilitarism in the Balkans: Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, and Albania, 1917-1924*.

<sup>13</sup> Ferenc Pollmann, "Albanian Irregulars in the Austro-Hungarian Army during World War I," in *Regular and Irregular Warfare: Experiences of Historical and Contemporary Armed Conflicts*, ed. Jr Harold E. Raugh, Dalibor Denda, and Jovanka Šaranović (Belgrade: Institute for Strategic Research, 2012), 63-68. and Höpken, "Performing Violence: Soldiers, Paramilitaries and Civilians in the Twentieth-Century Balkan Wars," 211-49, here pp. 44-48.

could include both state and non-state actors, aimed at achieving a common political purpose.” This does not change the nature of war, but merely the way defines the way in which forces engage in its conduct.<sup>14</sup>

This concept coincides with that of imperial wars whose features included the civilization-barbarism dichotomy, sharp asymmetries, the impossibility of strictly delimiting war and peace, paramilitarism, the extension, totality, and brutality of warfare.<sup>15</sup> The methodological goal is not to compare but rather to integrate various paramilitary units relying on *histoire croisée*, or entangled history. The region enabled the setting in which the historical transfer process took place between ideas, institutions and peoples, and in which various actors learned from one other.<sup>16</sup> In brief, the focus is on the bearers, character of warfare, and learning from imperial wars with the goal of looking beyond the weak vs. strong state paradigm that still dominates in the scholarship.<sup>17</sup> For instance, the Ottoman governance in Eastern Anatolia deliberately played with the image of the powerless state but beneath it stood the capability of wielding control and physical violence.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> Peter R. Mansoor, "Introduction: Hybrid Warfare in History," in *Hybrid Warfare: Fighting Complex Opponents from the Ancient World to the Present*, ed. Williamson Murray and Peter R. Mansoor (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 2012), 1-17, here pp. 2 (citation), 3. See also Gültekin Yıldız, "Hibrit Savaş Ne Kadar Post-moderndir? Avrasya Askeri Tarihine Yeniden Bakış," in *Savaşın Değişen Modeli: Hibrit Savaş*, ed. Yücel Özel and Ertan İnaltekin (Istanbul: Milli Savunma Bakanlığı Milli Savunma Üniversitesi, 2018), 21-27.

<sup>15</sup> Dierk Walter, "Imperialkriege: Begriff, Erkenntnisinteresse, Aktualität (Einleitung)," in *Imperialkriege von 1500 bis heute: Strukturen - Akteure - Lernprozesse*, ed. Tanja Bühler, Christian Stachelbeck, and Dierk Walter (Paderborn - München - Wien - Zürich: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2011), 1-29, here pp. 9-10. Birthe Kundrus and Dierk Walter, "Anpassung und Lernen in transkulturellen Erstkonflikten: Fragen - Hintergründe - Befunden," in *Waffen Wissen Wandel: Anpassung und Lernen in transkulturellen Erstkonflikten*, ed. Birthe Kundrus and Dierk Walter (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2012), 7-33, here pp. 17-19. and Heiko Brendel, "Die österreichisch-ungarische Besetzung Montenegros im Ersten Weltkrieg als habsburgischer Imperialkrieg," in *Imperialkriege von 1500 bis heute: Strukturen - Akteure - Lernprozesse*, ed. Tanja Bühler, Christian Stachelbeck, and Dierk Walter (Paderborn - München - Wien - Zürich: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2011), 129-47. See also Dierk Walter, "Imperialkrieg: Asymmetrische, transkulturelle kleine Kriege im Dienste der Expansion und Konsolidierung der Weltherrschaft des Westens (1500-2000)," *Militär und Gesellschaft in der Frühen Neuzeit (Arbeitskreis Militär und Gesellschaft in der Frühen Neuzeit e. V.)* 12, no. 1 (2008): 67-71.

<sup>16</sup> See also Diana Mishkova and Roumen Daskalov, "'Forms Without Substance': Debates on the Transfer of Western Models to the Balkans," in *Entangled Histories of the Balkans*, ed. Roumen Daskalov and Diana Mishkova (Leiden - Boston: Brill, 2004), 1-97.

<sup>17</sup> Tanja Bühler, "Charakter der Kriegführung: Einführung," in *Imperialkriege von 1500 bis heute: Strukturen - Akteure - Lernprozesse*, ed. Tanja Bühler, Christian Stachelbeck, and Dierk Walter (Paderborn - München - Wien - Zürich: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2011), 150-53, here pp. 51. Tanja Bühler and Dierk Walter, "Träger der Kriegführung: Einführung," in *Imperialkriege von 1500 bis heute: Strukturen - Akteure - Lernprozesse*, ed. Tanja Bühler, Christian Stachelbeck, and Dierk Walter (Paderborn - München - Wien - Zürich: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2011), 302-05, here pp. 03. and Christian Stachelbeck, "Lernen aus Imperialkriegen: Einführung," in *Imperialkriege von 1500 bis heute: Strukturen - Akteure - Lernprozesse*, ed. Tanja Bühler, Christian Stachelbeck, and Dierk Walter (Paderborn - München - Wien - Zürich: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2011), 418-24, here pp. 20-22. On the weak vs. strong-state argument, for instance, see Lothar Höbelt, "Der Berliner Kongress als Prototyp internationaler Konfliktregelung," in *Am Rande Europas? Der Balkan - Raum und Bevölkerung als Wirkungsfelder militärischer Gewalt*, ed. Bernhard Chiari and Gerhard P. Groß (München R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 2009), 47-53, here pp 52-53. and Momčilo Pavlović and Predrag J. Marković, "Guerrilla in the Balkans: Historical Conditions and Developments," in *Guerrilla in the Balkans: Freedom Fighters, Rebels or Bandits - Researching the Guerrilla and Paramilitary Forces in the Balkans*, ed. Momčilo Pavlović, Tetsuya Sahara, and Predrag J. Marković (Tokyo - Belgrade University Meiji, Institute for Disarmament and Peace Studies, Tokyo / Institute of Contemporary History, Belgrade / Faculty for Security Studies, Belgrade, 2007), 21-30, here pp. 24.

<sup>18</sup> Hartmann, "The Central State in the Borderlands: Ottoman Eastern Anatolia in the Late Nineteenth Century," 168-86, here pp. 76, 79.

As Uğur Ümit Üngör aptly states, “the fact that paramilitarism can be deeply rooted and paramilitary violence spectacular and influential, should not lead us to the facile conclusion that the state therefore must be weak.”<sup>19</sup> One does deal here with pragmatic elites which knowingly used paramilitaries in order to penetrate into contested spaces, a process which was not completed even after 1918, and with whose help they built their statehoods and maintained their authority locally.<sup>20</sup> This close interaction with paramilitaries convinced many that the ruling elites were behind every violent act which occurred during the Balkan Wars.<sup>21</sup> Yet, these scholars not only viewed the Balkan Wars as a fixed analytical object but also failed to recognize the agency of the locals, thereby nurturing an over-ethnicized view of the social world. This in turn led to the indiscriminate adoption of categories of ethnopolitical practices as their categories for social analysis.<sup>22</sup>

This established the risk of overlooking local empirical material since the argument of ethnically motivated violence was established mainly around what this or that war correspondent wrote, or on the reports of foreign consuls who had their own agendas and publics. This represents a serious quandary since a many of them were not present when the violence occurred.<sup>23</sup> This enhanced the argument of systematic ethnic cleansings furthered by the Balkan imperializing nation states, which was not seen in the region in 1912/13. This certainly does not mean that the latter did not occur in other parts of the Balkans before and during the war, nor is the claim that violence was not a part of the nation-building process in the region; however, local constellations play an important role and deserve an explanation.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> Üngör, *Paramilitarism: Mass Violence in the Shadow of the State*, 120 (citation), 21, 80.

<sup>20</sup> Üngör, *Paramilitarism: Mass Violence in the Shadow of the State*, 139. and Grandits, Judson, and Rolf, "Towards a New Quality of Statehood: Bureaucratization and State-Building in Empires and Nation States before 1914," 41-116, here pp. 44-45, 66, 99.

<sup>21</sup> For instance, see Mark Biondich, "Eastern Borderlands and Prospective Shatter Zones: Identity and Conflict in East Central and Southeastern Europe on the Eve of the First World War," in *Legacies of Violence: Eastern Europe's First World War*, ed. Jochen Böhrer, Borodziej Włodzimierz, and Joachim von Puttkamer (München: Oldebourg Verlag, 2014), 25-50. Mark Biondich, "The Balkan Wars: Violence and Nation-Building in the Balkans, 1912-13," *Journal of Genocide Research* 18, Ethnic Homogenizing in Southeastern Europe, no. 4 (2016): 389-404. and Igor Despot, "The Balkan Wars: An Expected Opportunity for Ethnic Cleansing," *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs* 39, no. 3 (2019): 343-55.

<sup>22</sup> Rogers Brubaker, *Ethnicity without Groups* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2004), 9-10, 13.

<sup>23</sup> Florian Keisinger, *Unzivilisierte Kriege im zivilisierten Europa? Die Balkankriege und die öffentliche Meinung in Deutschland, England und Irland, 1876-1913* (Paderborn - München - Wien - Zürich: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2008), 9, 13-15, 21-26, 28, 37-44, 46-47, 109-15, 17, 20-21, 23-29, 73-75. See also Florian Keisinger, "Uncivilised Wars in Civilised Europe? The Perception of the Balkan Wars 1912-1913 in English, German and Irish Newspapers and Journals," in *The Wars before the Great War: Conflict and International Politics before the Outbreak of the First World War*, ed. Andreas Rose, Dominik Geppert, and William Mulligan (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 343-58; Günther Sandner, "Deviationist Perceptions of the Balkan Wars: Leon Trotsky and Otto Neurath," in *The Balkan Wars from Contemporary Perception to Historic Memory*, ed. Sabine Rutar and Katrin Boeckh (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 197-215.

<sup>24</sup> Banac, *The National Question in Yugoslavia: Origins, History, Politics*, 295-97. Alexander Korb, "Homogenizing Southeastern Europe, 1912-99: Ethnic Cleansing in the Balkans Revisited," *Journal of Genocide Research* 18, no. 4 (2016): 377-87. M. Hakan Yavuz and Hakan Erdagöz, "The Tragedy of the Ottomans: Muslims in the Balkans and Armenians in Anatolia," *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs* 39, no. 3 (2019): 273-81; Mehmet Arısan, "Violence as a Means of Nation-Building: the Case of the Balkans (1890-1913)," *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs* 39, no. 3 (2019): 395-410. Mark Biondich, *The Balkans: Revolution, War, and Political Violence since 1878* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 1, 5, 7-10, 51-52, 62-75, 78. and Schmitt, *Der Balkan im 20. Jahrhundert: Eine postimperiale Geschichte*, 8, 10, 16, 31, 38. On the political violence see Dimitris Livanios, "'Conquering the Souls': Nationalism and Greek Guerrilla Warfare in Ottoman Macedonia,

This narrative, by relying on the still-dominant center-periphery paradigm, encodes local actors simply as recipients of central players, according to whom, the former are dependent, subservient beings of the central government, who do not possess consciousness or the agency.<sup>25</sup> In short, it is about important nuances. The case in point is the Berane-Plava-Gusine-Rugova regions which serves here as a case study of the third subchapter and where, during the Balkan Wars, great physical violence, torture, and forceful conversion from Catholicism and Islam to Orthodox Christianity occurred.<sup>26</sup> Why then, did similar events not take place in Akova, Taşlıca, Yeni Pazar, or Prepole? What is so unique about these areas? Whose violence was this? Who were the actors of these violent episodes? What was the stance of the governing elites? And, ultimately, why was this episode pivotal for the subject under scrutiny?

It is crucial to address these questions is crucial because the case reveals that there was no established alliance between supra-local and local actors. One must therefore pay heed to local constellations, thereby linking the pre-war with the wartime and post-war period, implying that these three phases essentially became blurred together.<sup>27</sup> In doing so, the goal is avoid the rigid chronological boundary of 1912, which still serves as a point of departure for nationally-minded scholars who, while writing about the events in the Berane-Plava-Gusine-Rugova region, overlooked the fact that “yesterday’s victims may turn into tomorrow’s victimizers and vice versa.”<sup>28</sup> By adhering to the boundary of time and the narrative of competitive victimhood, these scholars knowingly interlink the 1912/13 episodes with the events of the 1990s in the former Yugoslavia. In this manner, they attempt to provide proof of a series of committed genocides over the imagined community, whereby the ethnicization of history plays an important role. They disregard the local context and the zeitgeist of the time, claiming that the 1912/13 violence came out of nowhere and whose victims were only innocent people and had suffered more than anyone else in the Balkans.<sup>29</sup>

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1904-1908," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 23, no. 1 (1999): 195-221. Tetsuya Sahara, "Paramilitaries in the Balkan Wars: The Case of Macedonian Adrianople Volunteers," in *War and Nationalism: The Balkan Wars, 1912-1913, and their Sociopolitical Implications*, ed. M. Hakan Yavuz and Isa Blumi (The University of Utah Press: 2013), 399-419; İpek K. Yosmaoğlu, *Blood Ties: Religion, Violence, and the Politics of Nationhood in Ottoman Macedonia, 1878-1908* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2014). and Panagiotis Delis, "Violence and Civilians during the Balkan Wars (1912-1913)," *Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies* 20, no. 6 (2018): 547-63.

<sup>25</sup> Stathis N. Kalyvas, "The Ontology of "Political Violence": Action and Identity in Civil Wars," *Perspectives on Politics* 1, no. 3 (2003): 475-94, here pp. 81-83. Stathis N. Kalyvas, *The Logic of Violence in Civil War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 10-11. and Boyar, *Ottomans, Turks and the Balkans: Empire Lost, Relations Altered*, 57-59.

<sup>26</sup> Felix Schnell, *Gewalt und Gewaltforschung*, 2014. Version: 1.0, in: *Docupedia-Zeitgeschichte*, 08.11.2014 DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.14765/zzf.dok.2.589.v1> (accessed 06.08.2020). and Thomas Lindenberger and Alf Lütke, "Einleitung: Physische Gewalt - eine Kontinuität der Moderne," in *Physische Gewalt: Studien zur Geschichte der Neuzeit*, ed. Lindenberger and Alf Lütke (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1995), 7-38.

<sup>27</sup> Kalyvas, "The Ontology of "Political Violence": Action and Identity in Civil Wars," 486-87. and Kalyvas, *The Logic of Violence in Civil War*, 21-23.

<sup>28</sup> Rastoder, *Bošnjaci/Muslimani Crne Gore: između prošlosti i sadašnjosti*, 11-14. and Kalyvas, *The Logic of Violence in Civil War*, 21 (citation), 22.

<sup>29</sup> Christian Axboe Nielsen, "Collective and Competitive Victimhood as Identity in the Former Yugoslavia," in *Understanding the Age of Transitional Justice: Crimes, Courts, Commissions, and Chronicling*, ed. Nanci Adler (New Brunswick: Rutgers

Here, in contrast, the goal is not to describe, but to *explain* the violence by paying particular attention to motives, actors, situations, and constellations, and placing the latter within the concept of tribal wars which offers a possible answer for why these episodes happened in one part of the region and not in another.<sup>30</sup> In a word, the subchapter is concerned with the intentional and situational factors that enabled one side to retaliate for past deeds and which held strong tribal and confessional overtones. The combination of the various factors of arguments ultimately led to the dynamics of destruction.<sup>31</sup>

### 3.1. Launching the Strategies of Inducements

#### 3.1.1. Land Issue and the Military

The Ottomans use the [1908] constitution [as follows] which they find useful for them, they do that immediately, accurately and correctly. So now they have discovered that the constitution dictates that every subject of the Ottoman Empire must serve in the army as it is done in other constitutional states. And yet they do not know how in other constitutional countries the life and property of every subject is secured regardless of faith or nationality. And what will happen to us who have neither land to till nor house nor hearth? (...) the Serbian folk are already an illegal slave of various aĝas and beys, so we do not have our own land, but we are servants and slaves who cultivate the aĝas' farms for a very small reward. And, this is only temporarily because the aĝa, given his whim [*ćef*], can dislodge many Serbian poor families. So, where would families go, then die of starvation. Yet the same aĝa relying on his whim would settle the others, and particularly the muhajirs from Bosnia. Is that right? Well, in that regard and since we do not have land or hearth, then we do not have even a homeland [*otadžbina*]. And since we do not have a homeland, then why would we serve someone else's homeland? (...) These days (...) some Serbian peasants [that met me] mourned with eyes full of tears how [the Ottoman authorities] drafted their sons into the military [to serve] in Macedonia, and now the aĝas are dislodging them from their farms to run from pillar to post, not knowing the father for the son nor the son for the father.

A teacher from the Taşlıca region (1911).<sup>32</sup>

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University Press, 2018), 175-93. and Šerbo Rastoder, "Sto godina kasnije. Recepcija Balkanskih ratova u očima savremenika," *Almanah: časopis za proučavanje, prezentaciju i zaštitu kulturno-istorijske baštine Bošnjaka/Muslimana* 55-56, Naučni skup: Vakati zuluma, Plav-Gusinje 1912/13 (Plav-Gusinje, 09.03.2013) (2013): 13-60, here pp. 26-27. For example, see Hajdarpašić, *Sandžak od 1912. - 1929.*, 35, 38, 40, 42, 45-46, 86, 161-63. Memić, *Gusinjsko-plavska krajina u vrtlogu historije*, 67-68, 80, 85; Mustafa Memić, *Pojave prozilitizma u plavsko-gusinjskom kraju 1913. i 1919. godine* (Sarajevo: Grafičko-izdavačka kuća OKO, 2004), 28, 107, 29, 31-36, 39-41, 210. Alija Matović, *Rožaje i okolina, ljudi i događaji (1912-1945): Prilozi historiji Bošnjaka* (Rožaje Centar za bošnjačke studije - Rožaje, 2009), 19-28. Rusmir Mahmutćehajić, "Teološki i filozofski vidici pravde i praštanja. Uz stotu godišnjicu nasilnog pokršćavanja plavskih i gusinjskih muslimana," *Almanah: časopis za proučavanje, prezentaciju i zaštitu kulturno-istorijske baštine Bošnjaka/Muslimana* 55-56 (2013): 61-104, here pp. 61, 65, 82. and Borislav Cimeša, "Smisao pokršćavanja muslimana u Prvom balkanskom ratu 1912/13," *Almanah: časopis za proučavanje, prezentaciju i zaštitu kulturno-istorijske baštine Bošnjaka/Muslimana* 55-56 (2013): 155-242, here pp. 156, 79, 86, 212-14. On the ethnization of history see Christian Gerlach, *Extremely Violent Societies: Mass Violence in the Twentieth-Century World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 255-61.

<sup>30</sup> Felix Schnell, *Räume des Schreckens: Gewalträume und Gruppenmilitanz in der Ukraine, 1905-1933* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2012). Thomas Hoebel and Wolfgang Knöbl, *Gewalt erklären! Plädoyer für eine entdeckende Prozesssoziologie (Kindle Edition)* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2019). Jürg Helbling, *Tribale Kriege: Konflikte in Gesellschaften ohne Zentralgewalt* (Frankfurt/New York: Campus Verlag, 2006); Jürg Helbling, "Tribale Kriege und expandierende Staaten," in *Waffen Wissen Wandel: Anpassung und Lernen in transkulturellen Erstkonflikten*, ed. Birthe Kundrus and Dierk Walter (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2012), 50-75. See also Wilhelm Heitmeyer and Hans-Georg Soeffner, in *Gewalt: Entwicklungen, Strukturen, Analyseprobleme*, ed. Wilhelm Heitmeyer and Hans-Georg Soeffner (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 2004), 11-16.

<sup>31</sup> Daniel Hohrath and Sönke Neitzel, "Entfesselte Kampf oder gezähnte Kriegführung? Gedanken zur regelwidrigen Gewalt im Krieg," in *Kriegsgreuel: Die Entgrenzung der Gewalt in kriegerischen Konflikten vom Mittelalter bis ins 20. Jahrhundert*, ed. Daniel Hohrath and Sönke Neitzel (Paderborn - München - Wien - Zürich: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2007), 9-37, here pp. 12-13. and Christian Gerlach, "Extremely Violent Societies: An Alternative to the Concept of Genocide," *Journal of Genocide Research* 8, no. 4 (2006): 455-71, here pp. 56-57.

<sup>32</sup> DACG/Cetinje, PPKŽ, F7, #46, 20.02.1911, Prenčani, unknown to Vule Knežević.

Not possessing a piece of land represented a significant issue for both the Orthodox and Muslim able-bodied and their families. For the peasantry this symbolized not only the land they tilled and the crops they harvested but also their hearts and family members whom the male farmers were obliged to shield from the imagined intruders, viz. the muhajirs.<sup>33</sup> Not dealing with their plea directly led to questioning about whether they should serve in the army and defend the Ottoman homeland. Thus, legitimacy of the Empire began to deteriorate inasmuch as carrying out justice or maintaining order represented “the idiom that attributed to the state the role of perpetuating the eternal order.”<sup>34</sup> If this was not confirmed in practice, it drove the latter to doubt where their horizontal loyalty rested and why they had to fulfill the enforced duties. This also referred to the landowning elites since their mutual loyalty was at risk too. Thus, the land issue constructed a field within which tenants, authorities, notables, outside players, and mujahirs “confronted each other to negotiate and contest and in so doing cast and recast the very terms of domination and subjugation.”<sup>35</sup>

But, where did this loyalty between the tenants and the notables stem from? It was based on the so-called *Safer Nizamnamesi* (1859) which represented a codification of the existing popular customs concerning the obligations and rights of the tenants, and of the landlords.<sup>36</sup> The Ottoman governance tended to enhance the standing of farmers, thereby making their position vis-à-vis the landowning elites somewhat tolerable, which provided them with a legitimate basis for defense.<sup>37</sup> The peasants were compelled to deliver to their landlords – depending on local conditions and the quality of arable land – between one-third and one-half (known as *hak*) of their gain every autumn. Providing one-third or one-fourth of a crop was even applied in the Taşlıca region around 1913, while yielding one-fourth was practice in the areas around Yeni

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<sup>33</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MID-PP 1912, R105, unnumbered document, 28.08.1912, Javor, Milan Đ. Đurić to Boža Janković.

<sup>34</sup> Huri İslamoğlu-Inan, *State and Peasant in the Ottoman Empire: Agrarian Power Relations and Regional Economic Development in Ottoman Anatolia during the Sixteenth Century* (Leiden - New York - Köln: Brill, 1997), xiv (citation), 4-6, 10-12, 17-18.

<sup>35</sup> Islamoglu, "Property as a Contested Domain: A Reevaluation of the Ottoman Land Code of 1858," 3-61, here pp. 8, 11-13, citation 11.

<sup>36</sup> "Bosna Eyaletiyle Hersek Sancağı Çiftlikâtına Cârî Olan Yarıcılık ve Üçleme ve Dörtleme ve Beşleme Usûllerinde Eshâb-ı Alâka ile Müste'cirler beyninde Cereyan Eden Müzâraa Muammelatında bu defa İcra Olunan Ta'dilâtı Mutazammın Nizamnâmedir, [14 Safer 1276/12 Eylül 1859]," *Düstûr* Tertip I, Cilt I (1289): 765-71. Ahmet Uzun Tevfik Güran, "Bosna-Hersek'te Toprak Rejimi: Eshâb-ı Alâka ve Çiftçiler Arasındaki İlişkiler (1840-1875)," *Belleten* 70, no. 259 (2006): 807-901. Jozo Tomasevich, *Peasants, Politics, and Economic Change in Yugoslavia* (London, Stanford: Oxford University Press - Stanford University Press 1955), 105. and Grandits, *Multikonfesionalna Hercegovina: Vlast i lojalnost u kasnoosmanskom društvu*, 210-16. See also Bruce McGowan, *Economic Life in Ottoman Europe: Taxation, Trade and the Struggle for Land, 1600-1800* (Cambridge - Paris: Cambridge University Press - Editions de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, 1981). and Avdo Sućeska, "O nastanku čifluka u našim zemljama," *Godišnjak Društva istoričara Bosne i Hercegovine* 26 (1965): 37-57.

<sup>37</sup> Vukosavljević, *Istorija seljačkog društva: Organizovanje seljačke zemljišne svojine*, 1, 314-15, 22-23.



Pazar.<sup>38</sup> The latter could not be so easily dislodged except in cases where the land was not cultivated, damage was caused on the property or a contract was not respected.<sup>39</sup>

Another issue was land needed for tending to animal husbandry, which, depending on local circumstances, could be the main, additional or adjacent source of income.<sup>40</sup> For the authorities, it was crucial that the farmers did not move abroad. Any possible population loss could restrict their income not least because around 1900 the region had more than 200,000 residents and the density varied between 20-30 inhabitants per km<sup>2</sup>, meaning that the Ottoman agrarian policy needed the peasantry to till the land, so that the state revenues were not damaged.<sup>41</sup> They did not personally belong to anyone, so they were not serfs but given their bond to the land they were implicitly attached to the latter. By having the right to transfer their plots to their children, and in some instances to other farmers as well, the tenants obtained the right to acquire land as private property.<sup>42</sup> Of course, not everyone in the region was a tenant. In mid-1913, it was almost entirely Slavic-speaking Orthodox Christians who held that status, while the majority of their Muslims peers around Seniče were free. Up to 90 percent of those living in/around Mitroviča were also free, while the Muslims in the Yeni Pazar region were namely tenants since just one-fifth of them remained free.<sup>43</sup> In the Akova area, they also cultivated 80% of the land.<sup>44</sup> Around Taşlıca, there were only a few free farmers who had their own piece of land since all

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<sup>38</sup> "Bosna Eyaletiyle Hersek Sancağı Çiftlikâtına Cârî Olan Yarıcılık ve Üçleme ve Dörtleme ve Beşleme Usûllerinde Eshâb-ı Alâka ile Müste'cirler beyninde Cereyan Eden Müzâraa Muammelatında bu defa İcra Olunan Ta'dilâtı Mutazammın Nizamnamedir, [14 Safer 1276/12 Eylül 1859]," §5, 6 and 7, pp. 767-68. Petrović, "Dokumenti o Raškoj oblasti, 1900-1912," #190, 25.11.1910, Pljevlja, Upravitelj osnovnih škola GŠT-u, 281-283. DACG/Cetinje, MUD-UO, 1913/F136, #1894(8), br. 1937, 30.06.1913, Pljevlja, Šiljak to the MoI and *ibid*, #1894(1), 28.06. 1913, Pljevlja, Šiljak to the MoI.

<sup>39</sup> "Bosna Eyaletiyle Hersek Sancağı Çiftlikâtına Cârî Olan Yarıcılık ve Üçleme ve Dörtleme ve Beşleme Usûllerinde Eshâb-ı Alâka ile Müste'cirler beyninde Cereyan Eden Müzâraa Muammelatında bu defa İcra Olunan Ta'dilâtı Mutazammın Nizamnamedir, [14 Safer 1276/12 Eylül 1859]," §8, 10, 12 and 13, pp. 769-71. DACG/Cetinje, MUD-UO, 1913/F136, #1894(8), br. 1937, 30.06.1913, Pljevlja, S Šiljak to the MoI and *ibid*, #1894(1), 28.06. 1913, Pljevlja, Šiljak to the MoI.

<sup>40</sup> Vukosavljević, *Istorija seljačkog društva: Organizovanje seljačke zemljišne svojine*, 1, 314.

<sup>41</sup> Simon Joanović, "Novopazarski sandžak 1878-1900. godine (III poglavlje - treći nastavak)," *Novopazarski zbornik* 9 (1985): 127-46, here pp. 28. Vukosavljević, *Istorija seljačkog društva: Organizovanje seljačke zemljišne svojine*, 1, 318. Vukosavljević, *Istorija seljačkog društva: Seoske ustanove i uredbe*, 4, 58. and Özbek, *İmparatorluğun Bedeli: Osmanlı'da Vergi, Siyaset ve Toplumsal Adalet (1839-1908)*, 103-05. See also Avdića, "Opšti pogled na migraciona kretanja muslimanskog stanovništva na Balkanu od kraja XIX veka do zaključenja jugoslovensko-turske konvencije (11. jula 1938. god.)," *Novopazarski zbornik* 9 (1985): 147-66. and Roumen Daskalov, "Agrarian Ideologies and Peasant Movements in the Balkans," in *Entangled Histories of the Balkans*, ed. Roumen Daskalov and Diana Mishkova (Leiden - Boston: Brill, 2004), 281-353.

<sup>42</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MUD-UO, 1913/F136, #1894(8), br. 1937, 30.06.1913, Pljevlja, Šiljak to the MoI; Kolovos, "Introduction: Bringing the Peasants Back in?," Footnote #11, xvi, xv-xvi. Suraiya Faroqhi, "Introduction," in *New Approaches to State and Peasant in Ottoman History*, ed. Halil Berktaş and Suraiya Faroqhi (London: Frank Cass, 1992), 3-17, here pp. 3; Milan Komadinić, *Agrarno-pravni odnosi Nove Srbije: Jedan pokušaj njihovog rešenja* (Beograd: Štamparija "Dositej Obradović", 1914), 82. and Vukosavljević, *Istorija seljačkog društva: Organizovanje seljačke zemljišne svojine*, 1, 315.

<sup>43</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MUD-P 1913, F15, R41, #2041, 18.05.1913, Novi Pazar, District Chief to the Police Department at the Supreme Command and *Rad Narodne Skupštine otomanskih Srba*, 83.

<sup>44</sup> Sead İbrić, "XIX. Yüzyılda Yeni Pazar Sancağı" (Yayımlanmamış Yüksek Lisans Tezi Selçuk Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, 2004), 69.

arable grounds were in the hands of the local aḡas and beys. Contemporaries depict the Lower Vasojevići to be the only area which was in a better position than all others.<sup>45</sup>

Accessible Serbian and Montenegrin sources refer to the Muslim landholders as the only ones who inflicted abuses upon their tenants, which exacerbating their status.<sup>46</sup> The argument supported by the ruling elites and brokers interpreted any socio-economic conflict along the national/confessional line, whose goal was to frame and encode these clashes or simply just nationalize them. Within this framework, the notables always emerged as the other, an outsider, or a usurper who acted exclusively as a collective and against their tenants, while the peasants' support was vital for the national cause.<sup>47</sup> It depicts their relations exclusively in the master vs. slave paradigm, which the post-1913 politics adhered to as well.<sup>48</sup> However, they fail to see that their interrelation was driven by horizontal loyalty; not only did a tenant have numerous duties towards his aḡa, but the latter must also perform his part. A contemporary depicts this mutuality in 1902 as follows:

The aḡa's duty towards the sharecropper is to protect him everywhere, both in court and on the road, to come to his aid when the latter needs it, whether materially or morally. If e.g. the sharecropper lacks grain, [it is the aḡa's duty] to lend some from his barn; if the sharecropper needs money to pay state taxes, [it is the aḡa's duty] to borrow some and etc. Aḡa is obliged to make the house to the sharecropper. If the latter builds it himself, the aḡa should pay for it when the sharecroppers decide to leave his *çiftlik*. He cannot dislodge the sharecroppers from his *çiftlik* without having a good reason; but even if he can, he has to let him know, at least half a year before.<sup>49</sup>

The tenants themselves addressed their aḡas and asked them for advice when they were not sure how to act in particular situations or who would provide support and/or join their actions against the state if needed.<sup>50</sup> This mutual shielding played an important role in impeding any possible physical violence. Sometimes, even free peasants tactically asked the powerholders or tribal headmen to become their aḡa/bey in an attempt to find protection their kin and personal

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<sup>45</sup> Mrkonjić [Pejatović], "Srednje Polimlje i Potarje u Novopazarskom sandžaku: Antropogeografska ispitivanja," 225-356, here pp. 07. and Marko P. Cemović, *Agrarno pitanje: Referat Pravničkog udruženja* (Beograd: Štamparija "Dositej Obradović", 1914), 4.

<sup>46</sup> Milić Petrović, "O čifčijskom pitanju u Staroj Raškoj, (Sandžaku) uoči Balkanskih ratova sa osvrtom na mileševski kraj," in *Oblasti Stare Raške krajem XIX i početkom XX veka: Zbornik radova sa naučnog skupa povodom osamdesetogodišnjice oslobođenja mileševskog kraja od turske vlasti* (Prijepolje: Ustanova za kulturu i obrazovanje "Dom revolucije" Prijepolje, 1994), 45-80. and Branko Peruničić, *Zulumi aga i begova nad srpskim narodom u Kosovskom vilajetu 1878-1913* (Beograd: BIGZ, 1989). See also Vukosavljević, *Istorija seljačkog društva: Organizovanje seljačke zemljišne svojine*, 1, 316.

<sup>47</sup> Holm Sundhaussen, ""Wir haben nur Missverständnisse geklärt". Die Krisenregion Balkan," in *Am Rande Europas? Der Balkan - Raum und Bevölkerung als Wirkungsfelder militärischer Gewalt*, ed. Bernhard Chiari und Gerhard P. Groß (München: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 2009), 27-45, here pp. 35. Brubaker, *Ethnicity without Groups*, 14, 16-17. and *Rad Narodne Skupštine otomanskih Srba*, 91-92.

<sup>48</sup> Vukosavljević, *Istorija seljačkog društva: Sociologija seljačkih radova*, 3, 80, 418. and DACG/Cetinje, MUD-UO, 1913/F135, #1535(1), br. 1298, 01.05.1913, Pljevlje, Šijak to the Mol.

<sup>49</sup> Mrkonjić [Pejatović], "Srednje Polimlje i Potarje u Novopazarskom sandžaku: Antropogeografska ispitivanja," 310.

<sup>50</sup> Vukosavljević, *Istorija seljačkog društva: Seoske zajednice i oblici ponašanja u njima*, 5, 149-51. and Mihailović, *Raonička buna*, 78.

property.<sup>51</sup> To what extent this protection sufficed was determined by one's economic background and network since the wealthier the notable was, the more engaged they would be in offering protection. Those whose income and esteem were low were more interested in economic exploitation.<sup>52</sup> This horizontal loyalty resonates in pre- and post-1913 petitions filed by the landowning elites in order to legitimize their claim over property, meaning that not every landholder was malevolent (something that either other brokers or their Christian tenants might confirm).<sup>53</sup>

The claim here is not to romanticize these relations because the powerholders nurtured closer ties with the state authorities than with their farmers. They were viewed as brokers for various local issues for whom the Ottoman framework was suitable.<sup>54</sup> At times, they used this against their tenants. Complaining about the powerholders to local municipalities could not yield the desired result in some cases not only because the notables' esteem could suppress tenants' petitions, but these brokers were in some cases the municipality officials.<sup>55</sup> But, why, then, would the notables disregard this horizontal loyalty in some areas during the last years of the Ottoman Empire? The answer lies partly at the junction of the inner and outer context which engulfed the region particularly after 1908.

Given the development of the capitalist economy, they needed more revenue from the farms than before, which greatly increased pressure on the peasants. The land became more densely populated particularly around Taşlıca, Prepol and Yeni Varoş, due to the influx of the muhajirs from Bosnia and Hercegovina (about 450 families), meaning the notables could always find another peasant. The farmers could easily be devicted, implying that their position gradually worsened.<sup>56</sup> The post-1908 Ottoman ruling elites supported the settling of the muhajirs which was seen locally as a "cruel blow" (*zli udar*) since the Christian locals, together with their nationally minded brokers, branded them as a new menace (*napast*). In their eyes, this represented an integral part of the Young Turk inner colonization policy which was aimed at

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<sup>51</sup> Borisavljević, *Agrarna reforma u Novo-Pazarskom Sandžaku (Staroj Rasiji - "Raškoj")*, 4, 7. AMV/Kolašin, Petar Bošković o Kljajčićima, 29; Vukosavljević, *Istorija seljačkog društva: Organizovanje seljačke zemljišne svojine*, 1, 309-12. and Jovičević, "Plavsko-gusinjska oblast, Polimlje, Velika i Šekular," 384-587, here pp. 26-27.

<sup>52</sup> Mrkonjić [Pejatović], "Srednje Polimlje i Potarje u Novopazarskom sandžaku: Antropogeografska ispitivanja," 310.

<sup>53</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MID, 1909/F170a, #1233, 04.11.1909, Kolašin, Abdul Ardić and Obrad Ćorić to the District Chief and DAS/Belgrade, MUD-ŠVK, K-2388, unnumbered document, 30.04.1913, Skoplje, Šesunar-beg Čavić and Jusuf-beg Tahirbegović to the Supreme Command.

<sup>54</sup> Vukosavljević, *Istorija seljačkog društva: Organizovanje seljačke zemljišne svojine*, 1, 314.

<sup>55</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MID 1911/F189a, #635, 23.02.1911, Ograđenica, Milan Džambasanović to the MoFA; Vukoman Šalipurović, *Popis stanovništva sjeničke kaze 1912* (Beograd: Izdavačko-štamarsko preduzeće PTT, 1971), 4-5. *Rad Narodne Skupštine otomanskih Srba*, 92. and Vukosavljević, *Istorija seljačkog društva: Organizovanje seljačke zemljišne svojine*, 1, 316.

<sup>56</sup> Vukosavljević, *Istorija seljačkog društva: Organizovanje seljačke zemljišne svojine*, 1, 315-16. Vukosavljević, *Istorija seljačkog društva: Sociologija seljačkih radova*, 3, 80. Vukosavljević, *Istorija seljačkog društva: Seoske ustanove i uredbe*, 4, 33, 69-70. and DAS/Belgrade, MID-PP 1912, R92I, #1199, 27.12.1911, Priština, Consulate to the MoF and Gravje, *Novopazarski sandžak*, 11-12. See also Uroš Šešum, "Uticao seobe muhadžira na promenu etničke i verske strukture naselja severne i zapadne Stare Srbije (1878-1910)," *Srpske studije* 5 (2014): 79-135, here pp. 32-34.

transforming the social fabric and enlarging the productive capacity of the borderlands, which was evident in Ottoman Transjordan and Cilicia long before 1908.<sup>57</sup>

They believed that the new ruling elites would establish some relative order concerning the land issue.<sup>58</sup> This does not imply that fundamental transformation was expected but rather the claim was that the new power would alleviate their position (e.g. grant the right to buy the land they tilled), which their brokers also anticipated by backing the CUP in the post-1908 elections. However, their status gradually deteriorated before 1912.<sup>59</sup> Ultimately, it remains unclear whether this was a policy that was planned by the post-1908 authorities. Wielding newcomers as a tool was evident around Berane as well. There, the authorities informed the tribesmen who fled to Montenegro that if they did not come back before a set deadline, the local court would settle the muhajirs on their properties.<sup>60</sup> This polarization did not exclusively run along the national/confessional lines since in some areas, local Muslims were also reluctant about the influx of the newcomers, which was also evident in the context of Ottoman Transjordanian.<sup>61</sup> After being asked by a Serbian officer who and what kind of people the muhajirs were, a bilingual Muslim barber from Seniče replied “Kırk Boşnak, bir adam” meaning, forty Bosniaks are worth as much as one decent man.<sup>62</sup> Although the Ottoman authorities sought to gain the support of all notables, in some places the latter backed their tenants because the muhajirs also occupied their properties.<sup>63</sup>

Still, some people promoted this policy. They were not followers of the Young Turk movement and so, they sought to situate themselves in the new setting because the retreat of Habsburg troops, which occurred as a result of the Annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (1908), represented a major economic blow for them. They had been the major suppliers to the Habsburg garrisons, buyers of Habsburg goods, and were forced to participate in the boycott

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<sup>57</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MID-PP 1909, R17, unnumbered document, 20.06.1909, Pljevlja, the unknown to the GŠT; DACG/Cetinje, MID 1911/F189a, #635, 23.02.1911, Ograđenica, Milan Džambasanović to the MoF; *ibid*, 1913/F133, #585, br. 604, 23.02.1913, Plevlja, Šiljak to the MoI; *ibid*, 1913/F136, #1894(8), br. 1937, 30.06.1913, Pljevlja, Šiljak to the MoI; Eugene L. Rogan, *Frontiers of the State in the Late Ottoman Empire: Transjordan, 1850-1921* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 69, 81-82. and Christopher Gratien, ""The Mountains Are Ours": Ecology and Settlement in Late Ottoman and Early Republican Cilicia, 1856-1956" (Unpublished PhD Georgetown University, 2015), 320-21. On the Young Turk settlement policy, yet in the post-1913 setting, see Fuat Dündar, *İttihat ve Terakki'nin Müslümanları İskân Politikası (1913-1918)* (İstanbul: İletişim, 2001); Fuat Dündar, *Modern Türkiye'nin Şifresi: İttihat ve Terakki'nin Etnisite Mühendisliği (1913-1918)* (İstanbul: İletişim, 2008).

<sup>58</sup> Džarić, *Doživljaj igumana Serafima Džarića*, 80-81. Šalipurović, *Popis stanovništva sjeničke kaze 1912*, 4. and *Rad Narodne Skupštine otomanskih Srba*, 17-18, 20-21, 23-24, 31-33, 61, 79, 82-83, 86-88.

<sup>59</sup> *Rad Narodne Skupštine otomanskih Srba*, 90-94. and Petrović, "Dokumenti o Raškoj oblasti, 1900-1912," #101, 10.1906, Pljevlja, Nikola Minić to the MoF, 131; #155, 19.09.09, Plevlja, Principal of the Classical High School to the MoF, 244 and #156, 09, Pljevlja, Manager of Serbian Elementary Schools to the Javor Customs Office, 246.

<sup>60</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MID, 1910/F180a, #1055, 69/1910, br. 30, 01.07.1910, Andrijevića, PPK to the MoFA.

<sup>61</sup> Rogan, *Frontiers of the State in the Late Ottoman Empire: Transjordan, 1850-1921*, 75-76.

<sup>62</sup> Šikoparija, *Sećanja srpskog oficira (1900-1918)*, 107.

<sup>63</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MID-PP 1909, R17, #161, 30.09.1909, Pljevlja, Petar R. Kosović to the GŠT; Miloš Jagodić, *Srpsko-albanski odnosi u Kosovskom vilajetu (1878-1912)* (Beograd: Zavod za udžbenike i nastavna sredstva, 2009), 170-71. and Petrović, "Dokumenti o Raškoj oblasti, 1900-1912," #221, 27.08.1911, Priština, Consulate to the MoF.

campaigns against the Monarchy.<sup>64</sup> Thus, backing the colonization policy directly exacerbated the horizontal loyalty, whereby physical force was occasionally employed in order to devict the farmers from their farms.<sup>65</sup> Similar to Ottoman Anatolia or Transjordan, the arrival of the muhajirs marked a new phase in the struggle over land.<sup>66</sup>

The muhajirs occupied the communal ground needed for pastures for the cattle to graze on, as well as that of local monasteries, which only exacerbated the situation because the locals were excluded from enjoying the latter.<sup>67</sup> By establishing separate villages in the immediate vicinity of the natives, they made it impossible for the locals to keep any livestock, thus forcing them to leave. The locals and their brokers amplified voices and complained to the authorities, without any success.<sup>68</sup> The muhajirs were given pastures and forests that they gradually began to cultivate in order to make new arable land.<sup>69</sup> The amount of families who were forced to leave the farms or their properties gradually rose, even though in certain cases the locals possessed regular title deeds; however, this was not sufficient and was seen thus as land looting.<sup>70</sup> This was presented in pre-1913 Serbia and Montenegro as a catastrophe, and for this reason some scholars contend that this colonizing policy should be seen as a factor that led to the 1912/13 Balkan Wars.<sup>71</sup> Certain muhajirs were armed just as those in other Ottoman borderlands and committed violence against the Orthodox Christians, dispossessing them from livestock.<sup>72</sup> Yet, “settlers did not bring violence; rather, *violence was part and parcel of settlement*,” as Gratien aptly concluded in the context of late Ottoman Cilicia.<sup>73</sup>

All of this made the locals begin to think that this method was more dangerous than killings since behind it veiled a plan to maintain public order in the countryside, whereby the

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<sup>64</sup> NMCG-ABO/Cetinje, N. I 1908/F54, #6, 28.08.1908, Žabljak, Marko P. Nikolić to the Prince; DACG/Cetinje, PPKŽ, F5, #177, 05.06.1909, Dovolje, Mih. Kurtović to Knežević; *ibid*, 158, 03.06.1910, Ograđenica, Džambasanović to Knežević and *Rad Narodne Skupštine otomanskih Srba*, 88.

<sup>65</sup> DACG/Cetinje, PPKŽ, F2, #315, 11.1908, Bobovo, Aleks. Bojović to Vule Knežević; *ibid*, F5, #16, 13.02.1910, Žabljak, Ristak Pavlović to Knežević and *ibid*, F7, #50; 3/1911, 1911, without place, Unknown to Knežević and Mihailović, *Raonička buna*, 40-41. and Šalipurović, *Popis stanovništva sjeničke kaze 1912*, 21.

<sup>66</sup> Rogan, *Frontiers of the State in the Late Ottoman Empire: Transjordan, 1850-1921*, 67-69, 74-76. Ellinor Morack, *The Dowry of the State? The Politics of Abandoned Property and the Population Exchange in Turkey, 1921-1945* (Bamberg: University of Bamberg Press, 2017), 59-61, 64-67. Yücel Terzibaşoğlu, "Landlords, Refugees, and Nomads: Struggles for Land around Late-Nineteenth-Century Ayvalık," *New Perspectives on Turkey* 24 (2001): 51-82. and Yücel Terzibaşoğlu, "Land Disputes and Ethno-Politics: Northwestern Anatolia, 1877-1912," in *Land Rights, Ethno-Nationality and Sovereignty in History*, ed. Jacob Metzger Stanley Engeman (London and New York: Routledge: Taylor and Francis Group, 2004), 153-80.

<sup>67</sup> Vukosavljević, *Istorija seljačkog društva: Organizovanje seljačke zemljišne svojine*, 1, 93-94.

<sup>68</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MID-PP 1909, R17, unnumbered document, 20.06.1909, Pljevlja, unknown to the GŠT; DACG/Cetinje, PPKŽ, F7, #96, br. 383, 19.04.1911, Žabljak, Vule Knežević to the MoF and Petrović, "Dokumenti o Raškoj oblasti, 1900-1912," #147, 20.06.1909, Pljevlja, School Manager to the MoF.

<sup>69</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MID-PP 1912, R92I, #479, 01.12.1911, Javor, Customs Officer to the MoI.

<sup>70</sup> DACG/Cetinje, PPKŽ, F8, #276, br. 1140, 06.11.1911, Žabljak, Vule Knežević MID-u and DAS/Belgrade, MID-PP 1912, R92I, #479, 01.12.1911, Javor, Customs Office to the MoF.

<sup>71</sup> Dündar, *Modern Türkiye'nin Şifresi: İttihat ve Terakki'nin Etnisite Mühendisliği (1913-1918)*, 177.

<sup>72</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MID-PP 1911, R17, #77, 16.03.1911, Pljevlja, Šiljak to the GŠT; DACG/Cetinje, PPKŽ, F6, #360, 11.12.1910, Ograđenica, Džambasanović to PPK and Rogan, *Frontiers of the State in the Late Ottoman Empire: Transjordan, 1850-1921*, 67.

<sup>73</sup> Gratien, "The Mountains Are Ours": Ecology and Settlement in Late Ottoman and Early Republican Cilicia, 1856-1956," 315-16.

colonization tended to create “a barrier stronger than iron chains” between Serbia and Montenegro. This would bind the rest of the disloyal population to the Empire, thereby forcing them “to unconditional obedience and submission.”<sup>74</sup> What infuriated the evicted tenants was the fact that some local notables would rather accept the muhajirs in their place. They were also identified by Serbian-backed brokers as rapists of not only young women, but also of animals, which illustrates the shocking manner in which they were perceived.<sup>75</sup>

The muhajirs further obtained the right to purchase the land on the aĝas’ farms that the former had cultivated “for centuries.” Some locals who had been radicalized during this process knowingly turned to the Serbian border officials and asked for weapons to defend themselves and their families because they could not count on the post-1908 authorities; this happened just several months prior to the war in 1912/13.<sup>76</sup> In the first month of the Balkan Wars, the muhajirs also formed paramilitary units. The locals who moved to Serbia prior to 1912 returned as members of (para-)military troops, were more prone to plunder, while other tenants focused on the notables’ property.<sup>77</sup> It therefore comes as no surprise that among the locals (who had attacked the newcomers during the war) burned down their houses and stole their cattle, in some situations both Christian and Muslims perpetrators could be found.<sup>78</sup>

But why was this issue important for the military? Environmental history offers an answer; one must pay heed on the impact and mobilization capabilities that this bond between humans and nature can unleash, which could be framed and encoded before or in times of war.<sup>79</sup> This does not only revolve around possessing arable land or fulfilling agrarian obligations but also referred in certain areas to the right to enjoy communal grasslands or forest, which was pivotal for the livelihood of those dealing with animal husbandry.<sup>80</sup> The mountain was viewed in the legal and economic sense, and as a regime in which its economy and administration was organized down to the last detail and belonged entirely to the locals. It was not only used for

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<sup>74</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MID-PP 1912, R92i, #479, 01.12.1911, Javor, Customs Office to the MoF and DAS/Belgrade, MID-PP 1912, R105, unnumbered document, 28.08.1912, Javor, Milan Đ. Đurić to Boža Janković.

<sup>75</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MID 1911/F189a, #635, 23.02.1911, Ograđenica, Milan Džambasanović to the MoF and DAS/Belgrade, MID-PP 1912, R105, unnumbered document, 28.08.1912, Javor, Milan Đ. Đurić to Boža Janković.

<sup>76</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MID 1911/F189a, #635, 23.02.1911, Ograđenica, Milan Džambasanović to the MoF; *ibid*, PPK Žabljak, F7, #12, br. 60, 17.01.1911, Žabljak, Knežević to the MoF; DAS/Belgrade, MID-PP 1912, R105, unnumbered document, 28.08.1912, Javor, Milan Đ. Đurić to Boža Janković.

<sup>77</sup> VA/Belgrade, P2, K101, F1, 3/1, *Relacija Javorske brigade o Sjeničkom boju sa priložima*, 5-6; *ibid*, K104, F1, 1/1, 20.02.1913, Beograd, đeneral Mih. Živković, *Relacija o boju Ibarske vojske kod Novog Pazara od 6. do 10. oktobra 1912. godine*, 7; *ibid*, K20, F1, 23/1, 11.11.1912, Mitrovica, Živković to the Supreme Command; Mihailović, *Raonička buna*, 79. Subotić, "Prvi balkanski rat u Staroj Srbiji prema kazivanju Borisavljevića i dopisnika," 235-52, here pp 45. and Jagodić, *Novi krajevi Srbije (1912-1915)*, 328.

<sup>78</sup> VA/Belgrade, P2, K102, F1, 13/1, #1191, 22.11.1912, Sjenica, KJB Vrhovnoj komandi and DAS/Belgrade, MUD-ŠVK 1912-1913, B-2388, #187, 13/01/1913, Pljevlja, County Chief to the Police Department. *The Monthly Report on Crime Trends in November and December 1912*, Section: the Robberies.

<sup>79</sup> Herberg, "Ostmitteleuropa im Blick: Umweltgeschichte zwischen Global- und Regionalgeschichte," 7-29, here pp. 10-12, 28-29. and McNeill, *The Mountains of the Mediterranean World: An Environmental History*.

<sup>80</sup> Kaser, *Hirten, Kämpfer, Stammeshelden: Ursprünge und Gegenwart des balkanischen Patriarchats*, 106-10.

firewood but also offered food for herds and locals who determined its management and outlined sanctions against those who disrespected them. In the Vasojevići, all tribesmen would stand up decisively against those who would climb the mountain, thereby disrespecting the others' right. Any possible alternation could change the way of cattle breeding and of farming, meaning that variations, including the right to use water necessary for irrigation or watering the cattle, could influence their lifeworld.<sup>81</sup>

This interaction was also palpable in the southern United States before the American Civil War (1861-1865), in which the people saw the woodlands as an endlessly renewable resource.<sup>82</sup> The locals knew which grass, roots, and tree barks should be mixed with cheese or milk to make medicine for treating various ailments and diseases. Not to mention the graves of their ancestors which were located nearby.<sup>83</sup> This is why the redrawing of new state borders (e.g. before and after 1878) and colonization policies facilitated painful modifications of the tribal/communal fabrics, thereby the locals were ready for an armed conflict if a compromise was not met.<sup>84</sup> Local conflicts did not result from a lack of land; refusal to defend the tribal/communal land implied that they had to seek support from the state, which in turn might lead to the loss of their autonomy.<sup>85</sup>

In addition to proclaiming equality, prosperity and security for everyone, the Serbian king related military service with the agrarian situation in the Ottoman Empire in his speech. The question was seen as the embodiment of medieval feudalism which made the lives of their imagined brethren difficult; the locals understood this as the destruction of the Ottoman agrarian system.<sup>86</sup> In some areas prior to the war, Serbian-backed agitators went a step further; they convinced them the political "liberation" included the emancipation from everything (e.g. yielding the aḡas' share and even paying taxes) and that the property they tilled would become theirs.<sup>87</sup> Of course, this was not true, however, the land policy was meant "to create one of the most important agreements for our further work" because without the latter "any investment cannot be justified."<sup>88</sup>

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<sup>81</sup> Vukosavljević, *Istorija seljačkog društva: Seoske ustanove i uredbe*, 4, 43, 50-52, 185, 88-90, 243-44, 86, 89. and Margaret Hasluck, *The Unwritten Law in Albania*, ed. J. H. Hutton (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1954), 2-5, 11, 95-103.

<sup>82</sup> Cashin, *War Stuff: The Struggle for Human and Environmental Resources in the American Civil War*, 19-25.

<sup>83</sup> Barjaktarović, "Rugova," 165-241, here pp. 14-16. and Barjaktarović, *Šekular: Etnološka studija*, 138-46.

<sup>84</sup> Ivan Tepavčević, "Stanje na crnogorsko-turskoj granici od 1908. do 1912. godine" (Univerzitet Crne Gore/Filozofski fakultet Nikšić), 12. Pejović, *Politika Crne Gore u Zatarju i Gornjem Polimlju 1878-1912*, 14. Jovičević, "Plavsko-gusinjska oblast, Polimlje, Velika i Šekular," 390-96, 98-403. Vukosavljević, *Istorija seljačkog društva: Seoske ustanove i uredbe*, 4, 287-88. and Helbling, *Tribale Kriege: Konflikte in Gesellschaften ohne Zentralgewalt*, 29.

<sup>85</sup> Helbling, *Tribale Kriege: Konflikte in Gesellschaften ohne Zentralgewalt*, 205-06, 20, 39.

<sup>86</sup> *SN*, god. LXXIX, 06.10.1912, br. 226, 1-2 and Komadinić, *Agrarno-pravni odnosi Nove Srbije: Jedan pokušaj njihovog rešenja*, 105.

<sup>87</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MUD-P 1913, F22, R1, #2418, 11.07.1913, Plevlje, County Chief to the Plevlje District Chief.

<sup>88</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MUD-P 1913, F15, R41, #2041, 18.05.1913, Novi Pazar, District Chief to the Police Department of the Supreme Command.

Resolving this problem in the tenants' favor was seen as a powerful effort through which their permanent binding with the new state would be achieved. The narrative of the liberating, civilizing, or humanitarian state in this sense or in reference to other economic and financial branches, was directly interlinked with the state- or nation-building project.<sup>89</sup> That is why the IMRO in Ottoman Macedonia sought to draw the peasants into their ranks by making declarations about radical land reform. Another example was the post-1918 Polish ruling elites, who, at the moment the Red Army approached Warsaw, unanimously passed a comprehensive land reform which incited masses of landless peasants to join the army.<sup>90</sup> This approach would further facilitate the peasantry to perform their taxation duties towards the state because "every subject, who has certain rights in the state, should also have certain duties; one does not go without the other," as a Montenegrin envoy in the region wrote.<sup>91</sup>

This is why the Serbian authorities supported the tenants to the detriment of the power-holders despite signing the 1914 Peace Treaty according to which they were themselves compelled to respect one's property right. After all, it would be the farmers who would form the ranks of the military and not the landowning elites. Whether the colonizing actions under Serbian rule encapsulated the region is not clear because the literature has focused solely on post-Ottoman Macedonia.<sup>92</sup> Both Montenegrin and Serbian powers supported the policy of respecting the *Safer* Regulation and allowed the tenants to buy or simply take the land from their landholders but because of the WWI-proclamation, this practice was ceased when the moratorium on real estate transactions was announced.<sup>93</sup>

The peasants themselves, another social player on the ground, understood what the year of 1912 signified because they believed that the beys were finished (*da je begovima odzonilo*). Inspired by the immediate post-war changes, the peasants simply ceased performing their agrarian duties towards the beys regardless of whether they were of the Orthodox or Muslim

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<sup>89</sup> Jagodić, *Novi krajevi Srbije (1912-1915)*, 329. and Komadinić, *Agrarno-pravni odnosi Nove Srbije: Jedan pokušaj njihovog rešenja*, 86, 105-10. Rad. A. Nešića, "Izveštaj o stanju zemljoradnje u novooslobođenim krajevima s mišljenjem o merama za unapređenje," in *Narodna privreda u prisajedinjenim oblastima: Izveštaji komisija Ministarstva narodne privrede*, ed. Ministarstvo narodne privrede (Beograd: Ministarstvo narodne privrede, 1914), 139-228, here pp. 141, 213-18, 28. and Milivoje Savić, "Zanatstvo, kućevna zanatska radinost i industrija," in *Narodna privreda u prisajedinjenim oblastima: Izveštaji komisija Ministarstva narodne privrede*, ed. Ministarstvo narodne privrede (Beograd: Ministarstvo narodne privrede, 1914), 61-94, here pp. 67.

<sup>90</sup> Tasos Kastopoulos, "'Land to the Tiller'. On the Neglected Agrarian Component of the Macedonian Revolutionary Movement, 1893-1912," *Turkish Historical Review* 7, no. 2 (2016): 134-66. and Jochen Böhrer, *Civil War in Central Europe, 1918-1921: The Reconstruction of Poland* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 6, 22-23, 56, 131, 35.

<sup>91</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MUD-UO, 1913/F135, #1535(1), br. 1298, 01.05.1913, Pljevlje, District Chief to the MoI and NMCG-ABO/Cetinje, N. I 1913/F67, #832/164<sup>a</sup>, 23.12.1913, Pljevlje, Lazo Đ. Popović to the King.

<sup>92</sup> Jagodić, *Novi krajevi Srbije (1912-1915)*, 327, 30, 38-39. and Boeckh, *Von den Balkankriegen zum Ersten Weltkrieg: Kleinstaatenpolitik und ethnische Selbstbestimmung auf dem Balkan*, 90, 150-51. On the colonization after 1913 in the Serbian context see Boeckh, *Von den Balkankriegen zum Ersten Weltkrieg: Kleinstaatenpolitik und ethnische Selbstbestimmung auf dem Balkan*, 152-56. and Jagodić, *Novi krajevi Srbije (1912-1915)*, 308-18.

<sup>93</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MUD-UO, 1914/F150, #3307(3), br. 2651-66, 09.07.1914, Pljevlje, District Chief to the MoI; *ibid.*, 1913/F136, #1894(8), br.1937, 30.06.1913, Pljevlja, Šiljak to the MoI; DAS/Belgrade, MUD-P 1913, F31/R76, #16835, 10.12.1913, Belgrade, MoI to the Sençe County Chief and Jagodić, *Novi krajevi Srbije (1912-1915)*, 330, 37.



faith. They stopped giving up the share that belonged to the notables and as a result, they were assisted by the local traders who were rivals of the landowning elites and who felt that the peasants' purchasing power was increasing which overlapped with their interests.<sup>94</sup> Tenants would also spread rumors about armed groupings, and this served as an effective tactic for intimidating the landowning elites and kept them from coming around to collect a quarter of the harvest.<sup>95</sup>

This actual deed paid off in early 1915 when around roughly 15,000 able-bodied Muslims from the Yeni Pazar, Seniçe, and Prepole areas were conscripted into the Serbian army without any objection or problems, aside from one recruit from the Yeni Pazar region who got drunk and protested that he was over the military age but, after spending some time in prison, he too was transported to his command.<sup>96</sup> By relying on the 1914 Peace Treaty, the local powerholders skillfully obstructed all measures by the Serbian actors and invested all they could in order to persuade the locals not to respond to the military call.<sup>97</sup> A similar case was evident in the post-1918 setting as well, when the notables refused to cooperate with the SCS authorities, believing that they had usurped their power. Thus, they encouraged their former tenants to rebel.<sup>98</sup> In order to hamper such swindling (*trikovi*), the Serbian actors conducted a subjecthood survey and almost all local Muslims received Serbian subjecthood, thus making them eligible to serve.<sup>99</sup> This certainly does not mean that the relationship was perfect because when necessary, the state was capable of wielding coercive measures in order to seize the abled-bodied, which happened in late 1915 when a joint invasion of the Center Powers was apparent. For example, the military surrounded and tied up certain fit Shala tribesmen from the Mitroviça area and drove them to the front trenches without having them passed the necessary drills or even shooting lessons.<sup>100</sup>

The Montenegrin ruling elites used the land issue as leverage as early as the 1860s in order to trigger a rebellion among the Lower Vasojevići against the İpek, Yakova, Plava and Gusine notables and against Ottoman rule in general.<sup>101</sup> This was further fostered during the period in

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<sup>94</sup> AHG/Novi Pazar, Bećir Hodžić-Šećerović, *Istorija Novog Pazara (1389-1925)*, 38.

<sup>95</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MUD-ŠVK, K-2388, #5157, 14.11.1913, Plevlje, District Chief to the MoI.

<sup>96</sup> VA/Belgrade, P3, K81, F4, 8/42, #3968, 21.01.1915, Skoplje, Commander of Troops from the New Areas to the MoW; AHG/Novi Pazar, Bećir Hodžić-Šećerović, *Istorija Novog Pazara (1389-1925)*, 38 and Koničanin, *Efendijina sećanja i kazivanja*, 104.

<sup>97</sup> AHG/Novi Pazar, Bećir Hodžić-Šećerović, *Istorija Novog Pazara (1389-1925)*, 38 and Koničanin, *Efendijina sećanja i kazivanja*, 104.

<sup>98</sup> Dimić and Borozan, *Jugoslovenska država i Albanci*, II, #705, 14.06.1920, Mitrovica, Zapisnik sa konferencije, 727. For the similar argument see Borisavljević, *Agrarna reforma u Novo-Pazarском Sandžaku (Staroj Rasiji - "Raškoj")*, 17.

<sup>99</sup> AHG/Novi Pazar, Bećir Hodžić-Šećerović, *Istorija Novog Pazara (1389-1925)*, 38.

<sup>100</sup> Roda Roda, *Serbisches Tagebuch* (Berlin-Wien: Verlag Ullstein & Co., 1918), 68-69. See also Ayşe Özkan, "I. Dünya Savaşı'nda Sırbistan'ın Müslümanlara Karşı Tutumu," *Gazi Akademik Bakış* 7, no. 14 (2014): 49-70.

<sup>101</sup> Cevdet Paşa, *Tezâkir 13-20*, ed. Cavid Baysun (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1960), 169-70, 79. See also Helbling, *Tribale Kriege: Konflikte in Gesellschaften ohne Zentralgewalt*, 538-39.

question because they did not have the means to force them to fulfill their agrarian duties towards the notables.<sup>102</sup> Any territorial enlargement at the expense of the Empire helped to widen the tribal/communal territories needed by the bilingual tribes of Montenegro for arable land and tending cattle.<sup>103</sup> In early 1914, even though the authorities announced that building the state upon tribal foundations was over, enough sources contradict this, namely because relying on the tribal/kinship fabric eased colonization in the post-Ottoman territories, as had also happened in the post-1878 setting.<sup>104</sup>

After the moratorium law on debt and the social welfare program, this represented the third key issue in Montenegro. This means that understanding colonization in the region was interlinked with the inner state context. Just as in earlier decades, here too lies the mutuality of the ruling elites and the tribal populations, where the later had already seized certain properties without asking the former, just as the Vasojevići and others did around Berane and Āpek.<sup>105</sup> The state only transformed and hardened the new tribal and kinship fabrics by means of colonization because villages were connected based on the latter, which locally had a state and nation-building function. Their residents were farmers and soldiers whose duty it was to oversee the new Albanian-Montenegrin border and, according to battalion, were also supposed to gain arable and communal lands.<sup>106</sup> Evidently, only pre-1913 Montenegrin subjects and some from the Lower Vasojevići benefited from this. They gained arable and communal land around Akova, Berane, Gusine, Plava, Tašlica, Āpek and Yakova, whereby climatic conditions were taken into consideration in order to assist their adaptation to the new environmental settings.<sup>107</sup>

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<sup>102</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MUD-UO, 1913/F141, #3579, br. 155, 14.03.1913, Berane, Āpek and Yakova Beys to the King's Adjutant and *ibid*, #3673(2), 03.12.1913, Cetinje, MoI to the Berane District Chief.

<sup>103</sup> Dvorski, *Crnogorsko-turska granica od ušća Bojane do Tare*, 81-82, 154-56, 74, 90.

<sup>104</sup> *Stenografske bilješke o radu crnogorske Narodne Skupštine sazvane u redovan saziv 15. januara 1914. god. (I i II prethodni sastanak i I-XXX redov. sjednica)*, II redovna sjednica, 31.01.1914, 48-49. Babić, *Politika Crne Gore u novooslobođenim krajevima 1912-1914*, 273-74; Žarko Bulajić, *Agrarni odnosi u Crnoj Gori (1878-1912)* (Titograd: Istorijski institut NR Crne Gore, 1959), 27. On the settlement law see "Zakon o naseljavanju novooslobođenih djelova Crne Gore od 27.02/12.03.1914," in *Crnogorski zakonic: Pravni izvori i politički akti od značaja za istoriju državnosti Crne Gore*, ed. Branko Pavićević and Radoslav Raspopović (Podgorica: Istorijski institut, 1998), 609-16.

<sup>105</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MUD-UO, 1913/F134, #1211(1), br. 285, 21.05.1913, Peć, Vešović to the MoI; *ibid*, MUD-UO, 1914/F147, #2237/1, 18.05.1914, Berane, Marko Petrović to the MoI; *Stenografske bilješke o radu crnogorske Narodne Skupštine sazvane u redovan saziv 15. januara 1914. god. (I i II prethodni sastanak i I-XXX redov. sjednica)*, IV redovna sjednica, 03.02.1914, 127; XV redovna sjednica, 21.02.14, 438. and Đoko D. Pejović, "Agrarna politika crnogorske vlade u krajevima oslobođenim u Balkanskom ratu 1912. godine " *Istorijski zapisi: Organ Istorijskog instituta SR Crne Gore i Društva istoričara SR Crne Gore* 1-2 (1955): 215-42, here pp. 16-17.

<sup>106</sup> *Stenografske bilješke o radu crnogorske Narodne Skupštine sazvane u redovan saziv 15. januara 1914. god. (I i II prethodni sastanak i I-XXX redov. sjednica)*, XV redovna sjednica, 21.02.1914, 434-435, 442, 448-449. Pejović, "Agrarna politika crnogorske vlade u krajevima oslobođenim u Balkanskom ratu 1912. godine " 218. and Babić, *Politika Crne Gore u novooslobođenim krajevima 1912-1914*, 251. On the agrarian reform in post-1878 Montenegro see Bulajić, *Agrarni odnosi u Crnoj Gori (1878-1912)*, 37-50, 52, 56-58, 64-76, 77.

<sup>107</sup> *Stenografske bilješke o radu crnogorske Narodne Skupštine sazvane u redovan saziv 15. januara 1914. god. (I i II prethodni sastanak i I-XXX redov. sjednica)*, XV redovna sjednica, 21.02.1914, 454-456, 458-460. DAS/Belgrade, MUDuI, OJB 1919, K2, #5696, 08.05.1919, Beograd, MoI to the MoWaN, 1; AJ/Belgrade, 14-179-662, #278, 06.07.1921, Pljevlje, District to the MoI-DPS; *ibid*, #620, 12.11.1921, Bijelo Polje, District Chief to the MoI-DPS; *ibid*, #53, 06.02.1922, Bijelo Polje, District Chief to the MoI-DPS.

In addition to providing fiscal benefits, the state authorities contributed grain, cattle, and money for building huts.<sup>108</sup> It is not clear how many families were sent; however, a source indicates that 5,000 from out of around 50,000 that lived in pre-1913 Montenegro at the time, were ready for colonization. After the the Balkan Wars, almost 11,000 households applied to obtain land, what summarizes the importance of the land issue in pre-1913 Montenegro.<sup>109</sup> Since the war had brought significant and abundant gains (as the king and others saw things), the new territories provided vast lands for settlement which, “in order to return lands again (sic!) to their people,” had to be nationalized because pre-1913 subjects were deprived of land.<sup>110</sup> Making ethnicity a determining factor for property rights shows that this action was both discursive and material, as had happened in post-Ottoman Turkey, where in both cases the policy of abandoned property was employed.<sup>111</sup> Colonization was meant to halt the migration of the pre-1913 subjects – namely to the USA – and to change the inner picture in the region by means of instigating “those centuries-old silenced Serb hearths.” Or as a broker stated, these territories were annexed, but they did not belong to Montenegro, at least not in the national sense yet. The endeavor was supposed to become the bulwark and boundary of the expanded homeland whereby economic development, enlargement of arable lands and increase in revenues were expected.<sup>112</sup>

This post-1913 Montenegrin policy was therefore shaped by the notion of territoriality, according to which in a limited geographical space not only material resources and common allegiance became significant but also the idea of what is happening within the borders.<sup>113</sup> The Montenegrin context strongly resembles the Ottoman or Germanization attempts in Prussian

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<sup>108</sup> Pejović, "Agrarna politika crnogorske vlade u krajevima oslobođenim u Balkanskom ratu 1912. godine " 221-22, 24. and Babić, *Politika Crne Gore u novooslobođenim krajevima 1912-1914*, 274.

<sup>109</sup> *Stenografske bilješke o radu crnogorske Narodne Skupštine sazvane u redovan saziv 15. januara 1914. god. (I i II prethodni sastanak i I-XXX redov. sjednica)*, XV redovna sjednica, 21.02.1914, 434, 454. and Bulajić, *Agrarni odnosi u Crnoj Gori (1878-1912)*, 201-03. Around Yakova there were 500 families. See Babić, *Politika Crne Gore u novooslobođenim krajevima 1912-1914*, 269.

<sup>110</sup> *Stenografske bilješke o radu crnogorske Narodne Skupštine sazvane u redovan saziv 15. januara 1914. god. (I i II prethodni sastanak i I-XXX redov. sjednica)*, I redovna sjednica, 29.01.1914, 37 and II redovna sjednica, 31.01.14, 49 (citation). and Babić, *Politika Crne Gore u novooslobođenim krajevima 1912-1914*, 267-68.

<sup>111</sup> Stanley Engeman, Metzger, Jabo, "Some Considerations of Ethno-Nationality (and Other Distinctions), Property Rights in Land, and Territorial Sovereignty," in *Land Rights, Ethno-Nationality and Sovereignty in History*, ed. Jacob Metzger Stanley Engeman (London and New York: Routledge: Taylor and Francis Group, 2004), 7-28. Morack, *The Dowry of the State? The Politics of Abandoned Property and the Population Exchange in Turkey, 1921-1945*, 4, 27-28, 41-43, 45. Dietmar Müller, "Die Gouvernementalität des Bodeneigentums im östlichen Europa," *Comparativ* 16, Entgrenzung des Eigentums in modernen Gesellschaften und Rechtskulturen, no. 5/6 (2006): 112-29, here pp. 13, 16, 25. and Pejović, "Agrarna politika crnogorske vlade u krajevima oslobođenim u Balkanskom ratu 1912. godine " 236.

<sup>112</sup> *Stenografske bilješke o radu crnogorske Narodne Skupštine sazvane u redovan saziv 15. januara 1914. god. (I i II prethodni sastanak i I-XXX redov. sjednica)*, XV redovna sjednica, 21.02.1914, 434 (citation), 458-459.

<sup>113</sup> Maier, "Consigning the Twentieth Century to History: Alternative Narratives for the Modern Era " 807-31, here pp. 08, 14, 16, 18. and Maier, *Once within Borders: Territories of Power, Wealth, and Belonging since 1500*, 2-3, 6, 134, 38, 41, 44-45, 76.

Poland.<sup>114</sup> The building of roads was meant to facilitate colonization whereby the British colonial policies in Australia, Canada, and South Africa were cited as a model since these colonies had “prospered only because the state paid special attention to raising traffic network.”<sup>115</sup> Yet, due to lack of funds and the outbreak of WWI not even a single meter of road between the old and new territories was paved.<sup>116</sup>

Although among the ruling elites there were those who believed that the Ottoman landowning elites tortured the imagined brethren until they were driven away from their “beautiful” property, not every powerholder had to live in fear. Of those, were the multilingual Mahmudbegovićs from Āpek.<sup>117</sup> Both the pre-1913 subjects and their ruling elites waited to celebrate in the liberated areas given their sacrifices in blood.<sup>118</sup> Even before the war, the king assured his subjects of the improvements in these areas, meaning that the latter were already, in a way, prepared for the upcoming colonization. By giving arable parcels to the most influential headmen and peasants in pre-1913 Montenegro, the king sought to expand his influence and gain authority, thereby seeking to bind them all personally to himself. However, when the fund was depleted, he turned away from actual deeds to making mere promises of how the land would be bestowed as soon as it was available. After a certain time, he gave orders to the state treasury to pay a value of the land that had not yet been given, which corresponded to the net yield that the arable area could bring annually.<sup>119</sup>

The post-1878 context offered the king and the ruling elites a chance to reward some of the soldiers and their families at the expense of former Muslim estates, which meant that the hunger for land hunger did not disappear. Thus, the balance between land and population had exacerbated the inner pre-1913 setting, whereby the subjects, who were not following their own needs, openly urged the ruling elites for continued expansionism. It is for this reason that the

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<sup>114</sup> Scott M. Eddie, "Ethno-Nationality and Property Rights in Land in Prussian Poland, 1886-1918: Buying the Land from under the Poles' Feet?," in *Land Rights, Ethno-Nationality and Sovereignty in History*, ed. Jacob Metzger Stanley Engeman (London and New York: Routledge: Taylor and Francis Group, 2004), 56-86, here pp. 56-58, 61.

<sup>115</sup> *Stenografske bilješke o radu crnogorske Narodne Skupštine sazvane u redovan saziv 15. januara 1914. god. (I i II prethodni sastanak i I-XXX redov. sjednica)*, XV redovna sjednica, 21.02.1914, 441 (citation). and Maier, *Once within Borders: Territories of Power, Wealth, and Belonging since 1500*, 190.

<sup>116</sup> Živko M. Andrijašević, "O nekim osobenostima crnogorskog društva 1914. godine," in *Crna Gora u Prvom svjetskom ratu - Zbornik radova sa međunarodnog naučnog skupa Crna Gora u Prvom svjetskom ratu, Cetinje, 15. i 16. oktobar 2014*, ed. Dragan Radulović (Cetinje - Podgorica: Matica crnogorska, 2015), 16-17.

<sup>117</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MID-PO 1913, R399, F12, D8, XII/904, 25.04.1913, Prizren, Janković to the Supreme Command; *Stenografske bilješke o radu crnogorske Narodne Skupštine sazvane u redovan saziv 15. januara 1914. god. (I i II prethodni sastanak i I-XXX redov. sjednica)*, XV redovna sjednica, 21.02.1914, 438 (citation). Pejović, "Agrarna politika crnogorske vlade u krajevima oslobođenim u Balkanskom ratu 1912. godine " 239. and Babić, *Politika Crne Gore u novooslobođenim krajevima 1912-1914*, 254-55.

<sup>118</sup> *Stenografske bilješke o radu crnogorske Narodne Skupštine sazvane u redovan saziv 15. januara 1914. god. (I i II prethodni sastanak i I-XXX redov. sjednica)*. I redovna sjednica, 29.01.1914, 37; II redovna sjednica, 31.01.1914, 41 (citation), 44; III redovna sjednica, 01.02.1914, 57 and IV redovna sjednica, 03.02.1914, 127; V redovna sjednica, 08.02.1914, 141; VI redovna sjednica, 10.02.1914, 154; IX redovna sjednica, 12.02.1914, 232; XV redovna sjednica, 21.02.1914, 437, 447, 462 and XX redovna sjednica, 28.02.1914, 607.

<sup>119</sup> Bulajić, *Agrarni odnosi u Crnoj Gori (1878-1912)*, 140-41. Babić, *Politika Crne Gore u novooslobođenim krajevima 1912-1914*, 274. and Andrijašević, "Politička osnova vladarskog kulta Knjaza Nikole krajem 19. i početkom 20. vijeka," 93-98, 112.

latter became imperialistic.<sup>120</sup> This narrative was just colored as one of liberation. Still, the “liberated” – regardless of creed – gradually began to view this freedom differently. In Tašlica, after being regularly asked to give loans to certain Montenegrin officials, a Christian native stated that Montenegrins had not even put down roots (*zasjeli*) and yet they had already started begging and extorting money.<sup>121</sup>

The consequences of backing the newcomers were far-reaching since the relations between the newcomers and the locals had weakened. By adhering to this policy, it seems that the authorities discarded the military prowess of the Muslim populations, which was used mostly for logistics. Even though the King’s adjutant, Bahri Bey Mahmudbegović, expressed in mid-1913 that the bilingual Muslim locals from Berane and Tırgovište were keen to fight for the King and their new homeland, no reply was made to him.<sup>122</sup> The new authorities in Ćpek even arrested a dozen Orthodox Christians for standing up against their policy.<sup>123</sup> The answer for this can be found in the land policy because the “liberator” did not profoundly alter the relationship between the landowning elites and their tenants even among the Lower Vasojevići.<sup>124</sup> Under Habsburg rule, both the Muslims and Orthodox Christians in and around Ćpek disliked the tribesmen because they “acted as masters, were poor and lived at the expense of the native population.” That is why the former asked the post-1916 authorities not be governed according to Montenegrin laws because they did not want to have anything in common or even be mentioned in the same breath with them.<sup>125</sup>

The narrative of the newcomers was not different; they regarded both Albanian and Turkish-speaking Muslims as “people of an alien faith” and their enemies.<sup>126</sup> This antagonism, as the SCS military labeled it, kept occurring after WWI since the lines between the newcomers and locals prevailed regardless of creed.<sup>127</sup> Even if the Habsburg civil power realized that the land question offered the best pretext through which authorities could gain a foothold among the Muslim populations, they nevertheless decided to rely more on the notables.<sup>128</sup> Therefore, they tended to draw in the locals by launching other kind of actual deeds, as discussed below.

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<sup>120</sup> Palairret, *The Balkan Economies c. 1800-1914: Evolution Without Development*, 212, 14, 38-39. and Jovićević, *Domaće negovanje i vaspitanje djece u Crnoj Gori*, 102, 04.

<sup>121</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MUD-UO, 1914/F155, #4863, 26.05.1914, Pljevlje, District Chief to the MoI.

<sup>122</sup> NMCG-ABO/Cetinje, N. I 1913/F67, #759, 26.07.1913, Berane, Bahri beg Mahmutbegović to the King.

<sup>123</sup> VA/Belgrade, P2, K54, F1, 16/8, #23, 29.03.1913, Istok, Country Chief to the Prizren District Chief.

<sup>124</sup> Pejović, "Agrarna politika crnogorske vlade u krajevima oslobođenim u Balkanskom ratu 1912. godine " 237-38. and DACG/Cetinje, MUD-UO, 1914/F150, #3335(21), 25.06.1914, Berane, Various Headmen to the District Chief.

<sup>125</sup> ÖStA/HHStA/Vienna, PA I 998/49g, #825/Res, 10.08.1916, Schkodra, Proxy to the MdÄ (citation) and *ibid*, PA I 999/49h, #6677, 05.05.1917, MGG/M to the AOK.

<sup>126</sup> Tomašević, *Life and Death in the Balkans: A Family Saga in a Century of Conflict (Kindle Edition)*, 180.

<sup>127</sup> Ljubodrag Dimić and Đorđe Borozan, *Jugoslovenska država i Albanci*, vol. I (Beograd: Službeni list SRJ/Arhiv Jugoslavije/Vojno-istorijski institut, 1998), #227, 31.12.1918, Mitrovica, JD to the KIIA, 224 and #238, 24.01.19, Peć, Local Commander to the KIDO, 232.

<sup>128</sup> ÖStA/HHStA/Vienna, PA I 998/49g, #93/P, 17.11.1916, Cetinje, Proxy to the MdÄ.

### 3.1.2. Taxation, Debt Policy, and the Military

The revenue system represented another field where the ruling elites could win the local sympathies and also where one notices a myriad of different players being involved. It was one of the most crucial questions in the lives of the locals because for a mukhtar the most difficult job before the state was the collecting of taxes.<sup>129</sup> Similar to the land issue, the taxation policy could also mobilize the locals. The fact that this issue was a burden for the latter is fittingly illustrated in the statement of a Serbian recruit who deserted to Bosnia Herzegovina. He stated that in Užice civilians had claimed that under the previous king (King Alexander, who was assassinated in 1903) life was better because the taxes were less than in mid-1912.<sup>130</sup> There is widespread belief both in the sources and literature that the Ottoman peasants were not eager to pay their taxes without protest, or even a struggle, which cannot be accepted and again represents the interpretation of this issue along national/religious lines.<sup>131</sup>

Paying the basic taxes (e.g. a tithe or an eighth) was not the issue, as the Habsburg authorities noticed, because it was payment-in-kind. This offered extraordinary advantages in terms of amassing necessary raw materials (e.g. grain, maize, hay) for the military, whereas the locals in the Yeni Pazar area did not perceive the eighth as an impediment but rather as a toll to the state that had to be paid.<sup>132</sup> Thus, the locals were ready to fulfill their levy duties but the main problem was not only with the *iltizam* system (buying the rights to collect various taxes in which certain powerholders were involved) but also the burden of paying certain (non-)state taxes in cash. This refers to the payment of protection fees (e.g. *deruhdecilik*, *bekçilik*, *diş parası*) to other (non-)state-supported bandits. This situation engendered the context within which one could not always distinguish who acted as regular and irregular elements of taxation since they sometimes they behaved as allies.<sup>133</sup> That is why a Serbian consul asked under what right the

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<sup>129</sup> Vukosavljević, *Istorija seljačkog društva: Seoske zajednice i oblici ponašanja u njima*, 5, 149.

<sup>130</sup> ABH/Sarajevo, ZVS 1912, 20-47, #214, Srebrenica, Protocol compiled in the Srebrenica County Office, dated 19.06.1912. Subject: *a Serbian military deserter Jevrem Simeunović from Rasište, Užice District. (...) Mi preko našeg vladara nemamo ništa govoriti, čujemo od civili da govore da je priješnjog kralja bolje bilo jer bilo manje poreza.*

<sup>131</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MUD-UO, 1913/F141, #3707(2), br. 134, 17.12.1913, Berane, District Chief to the MoI; M. Todorović, "Spoljašnja trgovina prisajedinjenih oblasti," in *Narodna privreda u prisajedinjenim oblastima: Izveštaji komisija Ministarstva narodne privrede*, ed. Ministarstvo narodne privrede (Beograd: Ministarstvo narodne privrede, 1914), 3-60, here pp. 8. and Kolovos, "Introduction: Bringing the Peasants Back in?," xvi. On the taxes under Ottoman rule see Kütükoğlu, *Osmanlı'nın Sosyo-Kültürel ve İktisadî Yapısı*, 301-15. and Murat Özyüksel, *Feodalite ve Osmanlı Toplumunu* (İstanbul: Derin Yayınları, 2007), 176-79.

<sup>132</sup> Petrović, "Dokumenti o Raškoj oblasti, 1900-1912," #67, 17.09.1905, Pljevlja, Vasilije Petrović to the MoFA, 102. and DAS/Belgrade, VGG, 20-77, 28.07.1917, Novi Pazar, District Command to Seyfert, *Der Bericht über Kriegswirtschaft*, 8. See also DAS/Beograd, MID-PPO 1904, R139, #76, 04.03.1904, Javor, Customs Office to the MoFA.

<sup>133</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MID-PP 1905, R353, #1440, 19.12.1905, Priština, Consul to the MoFA; *ibid.*, #924, 12.11.1904, Priština, Consul to the MoFA; Petrović, "Dokumenti o Raškoj oblasti, 1900-1912." #60, 30.08.1905, Pljevlja, Stevan Samardžić to the MoFA, 96; #70, 31.09.1905, Pljevlja, Unknown to Lazar Bajić, 104; #71, 09.10.1905, Priština, Consulate to the MoFA, 104 and #101, October 1906, Pljevlja, Nikola Minić to the MoFA, 130-131; Mihailović, *Raonička buna*, 23-24, 28, 34, 39-40. *Rad Narodne Skupštine otomanskih Srba*, 31-32, 82, 87-88, 93-94. Vukosavljević, *Istorija seljačkog društva: Organizovanje seljačke zemljišne svojine*, 1, 312-13, 15-16. Tsoutsoumpis, "Land of the Kapedani: Brigandage, Paramilitarism and Nation-building in 20th Century Greece," 41-42. Rogan, *Frontiers of the State in the Late Ottoman Empire: Transjordan, 1850-1921*,

government had demanded the people to pay new levies when they had no protection, either personally nor for their property. It therefore comes as no surprise that farmers in the post-1913 period did not want to pay the tithe to the contractors.<sup>134</sup>

Here, if one adds the several tax raises which were put into practice several years prior to the Balkan Wars, including the share to the powerholders, the situation can be conceptualized locally.<sup>135</sup> One of the challenges was represented in the collection of the military exemption tax which was paid in cash. Between 1904 and 1909 it had to be paid by 100 people in the amount of 50 Piasters.<sup>136</sup> This forced the Christians to voice their desire to serve under the Ottoman banner since not everyone was able to pay. A broker asked the Ottoman power not only to reduce the added sum for the military exemption tax but also, “to provide completely every right to Christians [too, and] let them serve in the army as the Muslims do.”<sup>137</sup> Advocating was necessary insofar as the brokers had to justify their *raison d'etre* in the eyes of the tenants who did not suffer equally and whose role the farmers could put into question. The locals thus sought to conceal the number of males in their households in an attempt to avoid paying taxes, which was only discovered after 1908 when the voter registration lists were drawn up.<sup>138</sup> In such a system, it is clear that the state could not establish a face-to-face relationship with its subjects not least because the brokers were the ones who levied the tax obligations, which in turn led to a decline of state revenues since this made committing abuses much easier. Social dissatisfaction and the questioning of legitimacy were hence evident and might absorb political and national tones in the Ottoman provinces, but not always, as Nadir Özbek assumes.<sup>139</sup>

To illustrate, although it is apparent that nationally minded entrepreneurs tended to encode, frame or keep these frustrations at bay, the picture on the ground was different. The farmers intimidated the former for not defending their status vis-à-vis the state since they were involved in the very process of levying taxes, charging too much, and not sharing the burden equally. By

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181, 85. and Özbek, *İmparatorluğun Bedeli: Osmanlı'da Vergi, Siyaset ve Toplumsal Adalet (1839-1908)*, 26, 34, 40, 42-43, 91-93, 96-99.

<sup>134</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MID-PP 1905, R353, #1440, 19.12.1905, Priština, Consul to the MoFA; *ibid*, MUD-P 1913, unnumbered, 15.08.1913, Pljevlja, Hajdar Tanović to the MoI; *ibid*, 15.08.1913, Pljevlja Muhamed Trkulj Tanović to the MoI; VA/Belgrade, P2, K18, F1, 10/2, 13.12.1912, Sjenica, Anđelković to the Supreme Command and *ibid*, P2, K23, F1, 36/1, 19.06.1913, Mitrovica, Commander of the Ibar Army to the Supreme Command.

<sup>135</sup> Özbek, *İmparatorluğun Bedeli: Osmanlı'da Vergi, Siyaset ve Toplumsal Adalet (1839-1908)*, 30, 32, 113-14, 39, 47-48. *Rad Narodne Skupštine otomanskih Srba*, 87-88. Petrović, "Dokumenti o Raškoj oblasti, 1900-1912," #107, 09.01.1907, Skoplje, Vice-Consul to the MoFA, 142. and ÖStA/HHStA/Vienna, KsA Plevlje 3, Gtsb. Nr. 18, *Die Unruhen im Herbst 1905, Nächste Plevlje und im Frühsommer 1906 in Donji Kolašin (Mit 6 Skizzen)*. Vortrag gehalten im militär-wissenschaftlichen Verein in Plevlje von Hauptkamm des Generalstabskorps Wolfgang Heller im März 1907, 2.

<sup>136</sup> Ufuk Gülsoy, *Osmanlı Gayrimüslimlerinin Askerlik Serüveni* (İstanbul: Simurg Kitapçılık ve Yayıncılık, 2000), 69-70, 75, 77-81, 85-86, 94. and Petrović, "Dokumenti o Raškoj oblasti, 1900-1912," #107, 09.01.1907, Skoplje, Vice-Consul to the MoFA, 142. See also Ufuk Gülsoy, "Osmanlı Gayrimüslimlerinin Askerlikten Muâfiyet Vergisi: Bedel-i Askeri (1855-1909)," *İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih Dergisi* 37 (2002): 93-118.

<sup>137</sup> Petrović, "Dokumenti o Raškoj oblasti, 1900-1912," #107, 09.01.1907, Skoplje, Vice-Consul to the MoFA, 136, 142-143.

<sup>138</sup> DACG/Cetinje, PPKŽ, F5/1910, #177, 05.06.1909, Dovoľje, Mih. Kurtović to the PKK.

<sup>139</sup> Özbek, *İmparatorluğun Bedeli: Osmanlı'da Vergi, Siyaset ve Toplumsal Adalet (1839-1908)*, ix, 17-18, 33, 84, 97-99.

acting in this manner, the brokers (un-)knowingly participated in maintaining the Ottoman legitimacy on the ground.<sup>140</sup> Between 1904 and 1907, hundreds of armed peasants from the villages around Akova, Taşlıca, Prepol, Yeni Varoş and Seniçe refused to pay and protested against the tax increases that local teachers and clergymen were supposed to collect through cooperation with the mukhtars. The locals implied that if this occurred, the mukhtars' heads would roll, and their holdings would burn. They also threatened to kill the clergymen and local teachers as well, who had advised them to stay calm and obey the Ottoman authorities. At the same time, they decided not to till the land and called a local monastery around Taşlıca a paramilitary hotbed, while looting in some instances their properties.<sup>141</sup>

Sometimes, the peasants would beat the clergymen for attempting to keep the situation under control.<sup>142</sup> The brokers were in a better position not only because they were wealthier than the common peasant, but also because they were seen as the state itself, thinking only about their interests and trying to benefit from this situation as much as possible, which the farmers realized.<sup>143</sup> That is why the locals, regardless of creed, joined their forces and demanded either reduction of taxes or postponing the payment drawing on the sultan's justice, which eventually yielded results.<sup>144</sup>

If this bargaining with the local Ottoman authorities failed, then, the peasants and their newly elected headmen turned to the Habsburg and Russian consuls or Habsburg civil and military representatives in the region, exerting pressure on the Ottoman powers to reduce the military exemption tax. This made their Serbian-backed brokers believe that the Monarchy stood behind their movements, while the Ottoman authorities tried to avoid any interference from them.<sup>145</sup> Thus, they showed that they too, grasped the role of consuls who became an

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<sup>140</sup> İbriç, "XIX. Yüzyılda Yeni Pazar Sancağı," 67, 69. Vukoman Šalipurović, *Raonička buna: Agrarni pokret u zapadnim krajevima Stare Srbije 1903-1905*, vol. I (Sjenica: Zajednica obrazovanja, 1969); Vukoman Šalipurović, *Raonička buna: Agrarni pokret u zapadnim krajevima Stare Srbije 1906. i 1907* (Priboj: Opštinska zajednica obrazovanja, 1970). Novica Rakočević, "Bune u pljevaljskom sandžaku i donjokolašinskoj kazi 1905-1906," *Tokovi/Ivangrad* 10-11 (1975): 103-32. and Özbek, *İmparatorluğun Bedeli: Osmanlı'da Vergi, Siyaset ve Toplumsal Adalet (1839-1908)*, 31, 40, 42-43, 78-79, 125-27, 55-58.

<sup>141</sup> DAS/Beograd, MID-PPO 1904, R139, #76, 04.03.1904, Javor, Customs Office to the MoFA; *ibid*, 1905, R353, unnumbered document, 03.09.1905, Sv. Trojica, Vasilije R. Popović to the unknown, 1-3; Petrović, "Dokumenti o Raškoj oblasti, 1900-1912," #33, 03.09.1903, Javor, Customs Officer to the MoFA, 70; #38, 08.04.04, Javor, Customs Officer to the MoFA, 73 and #67, 17.09.05, Pljevlja, Vasilije Petrović to the MoFA, 101. and ÖStA/HHStA/Vienna, KsA Plevlje 3, Gtsb. Nr. 18, *Die Unruhen im Herbst 1905, Nächst Plevlje und im Frühsommer 1906 in Donji Kolašin (Mit 6 Skizzen)*. Vortrag gehalten im militär-wissenschaftlichen Verein in Plevlje von Hauptkamm des Generalstabskorps Wolfgang Heller im März 1907, 5-9.

<sup>142</sup> Šalipurović, *Raonička buna: Agrarni pokret u zapadnim krajevima Stare Srbije 1903-1905*, I, 16-18, 24, 26-27, 73-76, 80-81, 92, 94, 100, 02.

<sup>143</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MID-PP 1906, R166, 05.10.1906, Nova Varoš, Zlatarac to the Unknown.

<sup>144</sup> DAS/Beograd, MID-PP 1905, R353, #1440, 19.12.1905, Priština, Consul to the MoFA; BOA/Istanbul, BEO, 2916/218653, 07 Ş 1324 [26/09/1906], Taraf-ı Vâlâ-yı Seraskeri'ye and *ibid*, 2920/218967, leff 4, 15 Eylül 1322 [28/09/1906], Mitrovića Fırkası Kumandanı Ferik Semsî Paşa; Petrović, "Dokumenti o Raškoj oblasti, 1900-1912," #139, 25.01.1909, Pljevlja, Vasilije Popović to the Director of Classical High School, 228. and ÖStA/HHStA/Vienna, KsA Plevlje 3, Gtsb. Nr. 18, *Die Unruhen im Herbst 1905, Nächst Plevlje und im Frühsommer 1906 in Donji Kolašin (Mit 6 Skizzen)*. Vortrag gehalten im militär-wissenschaftlichen Verein in Plevlje von Hauptkamm des Generalstabskorps Wolfgang Heller im März 1907, 2.

<sup>145</sup> Petrović, "Dokumenti o Raškoj oblasti, 1900-1912." #53, 08.02.1905, Valjevo, Commander of the Drina Division Region to the MoW, 87; #60, 30.08.1905, Pljevlja, Stevan Samardžić to the MoFA, 96; #62, 04.11.1906, Pljevlja, Milja Ilić to Jovan



influential factor locally, whether it was in Ottoman Herzegovina, Kosovo, Libya or Syria.<sup>146</sup> Nevertheless, when this action took on a political tone, as it did in 1907 in the Kolašin-i Zîr area, the Ottoman military was always capable of demonstrating its military prowess by punishing and educating the locals.<sup>147</sup> Yet, driven by the narrative of protecting the welfare, happiness and health of its subjects, the Ottoman ruling elites occasionally tried to repair their status in order to enhance their legitimacy.<sup>148</sup>

In contrast to their Montenegrin peers who uphold the Ottoman taxation system of levying the tithe in the conquered areas with the help of tax farmers, the Serbian ruling elites opted to introduce a new revenue system. The 1914 tax regulation was more in the interest of the tenants and less in that of the landowning elites because it was based on the notion of equal suffering. It was levied according to one's property and income, and was proportional to one's economic strength, whose amount was determined by a municipality board composed of state authorities and members of both town and village municipalities.<sup>149</sup> Coupled with the security contract which "[was] of great importance for the people to be satisfied and [kept] in good spirits," as a Mitroviča-based military commander described it, the collection of the remaining Ottoman tax was stopped since it would only worsen the people's disposition.<sup>150</sup>

Since the tenants paid more under Ottoman rule, in some areas they now had to pay half as usual, while the powerholders, regardless of creed and given their income and property status, were obligated to pay twice as much. Thus, the economic status of the tenants and those who would join the military had improved, whereby a close interaction between the populations and the state was also maintained. The tax authorities levied the taxes in person and not through tax

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Jovanović, 99; #67, 17.09.1905, Pljevlja, Vasilije Petrović to the MoFA, 102, #68, 19.09.1905, Priština, Consulate to the MoFA, 102-103; #71, 09.10.1905, Priština, Consulate to the MoFA, 104; ÖStA/HHStA/Vienna, KsA Plevlje 3, Gtsb. Nr. 18, *Die Unruhen im Herbst 1905, Nächste Plevlje und im Frühsommer 1906 in Donji Kolašin (Mit 6 Skizzen)*. Vortrag gehalten im militär-wissenschaftlichen Verein in Plevlje von Hauptkamm des Generalstabskorps Wolfgang Heller im März 1907, 1-2, 4, 10-12; BOA/Istanbul, BEO, 2659/199420 leff 2, 23 Ağustos 1321 [05/09/1905], Üsküp, Vali Mahvud Şevket and Özbek, *İmparatorluğun Bedeli: Osmanlı'da Vergi, Siyaset ve Toplumsal Adalet (1839-1908)*, 111.

<sup>146</sup> Hourani, "Ottoman Reform and the Politics of Notables," 83-109, here pp. 86, 05, 07-08. Anderson, *The State and Social Transformation in Tunisia and Libya, 1830-1980*, 109-10. Grandits, *Multikonfesionalna Hercegovina: Vlast i lojalnost u kasnoosmanskom društvu*, 326-39. and Frantz, *Gewalt und Koexistenz: Muslime und Christen im spätoosmanischen Kosovo (1870-1913)*, 132-56.

<sup>147</sup> ÖStA/HHStA/Vienna, KsA Plevlje 3, Gtsb. Nr. 18, *Die Unruhen im Herbst 1905, Nächste Plevlje und im Frühsommer 1906 in Donji Kolašin (Mit 6 Skizzen)*. Vortrag gehalten im militär-wissenschaftlichen Verein in Plevlje von Hauptkamm des Generalstabskorps Wolfgang Heller im März 1907, 13-29; BOA/Istanbul, TFR.I.KV, 154/15380, leff 13, 13 Şubat 1322 [26/02/1907] Mitroviče Fırkası Kumandanlığı to the Rumeli Müfettişliği (...) hareketle asayiş ve sükûn-i memleketi ahvale yetenecek olan (?) tedib ve tenkilleri sırasında (...) Reinkowski, "The State's Security and the Subjects' Prosperity: Notions of Order in Ottoman Bureaucratic Correspondence (19th Century)," 195-212, here pp. 02-03, 08. and Morrison and Roberts, *The Sandžak: A History*, 76-77.

<sup>148</sup> See the cases from İpek, Yeni Pazar and Taşlıca respectively BOA/Istanbul, DH.MKT, 1833/67, 09 Şevval 1308 [11/04/1892] MoI to the Sadaret; *ibid*, Y.PRK.DH, 7/78, 28 Z 1311 [02/07/1894], MoI to the Yıldız Saray and *ibid*, TFR.I.ŞKT 96/9579, 28 Receb 1324 [17/09/1906], Üsküp'te Vilayet-i Selâse Müfettiş-i Umumun Huzur-ı Celilesine and Özbek, *İmparatorluğun Bedeli: Osmanlı'da Vergi, Siyaset ve Toplumsal Adalet (1839-1908)*, 119-20.

<sup>149</sup> "Poreska uredba o razrezu i naplati poreza u oslobođenim i prisajedinjenim oblastima Kraljevine Srbije od 29.01.1914", *SN*, god. LXXXI, 02.02.1914, br. 26, 1-7, art. 2, 7, 17, 21, 24, 30, 35.

<sup>150</sup> VA/Belgrade, P2, K23, F1, 36/1, 19.06.1913, Mitroviča, Commander of the Ibar Army to the Supreme Command.

farmers, while the ratio was 1:2 at the sacrifice of pre-1913 territories.<sup>151</sup> Although it is difficult to tell how much the military elites were involved in this process, the commander's statement implies that the army knew at the moment of raising a large army, the state had to treat its subjects equally. Not only did the revenue system operate as an actual deed, but also as a close encounter with mass mobilization during the 1912/13 War. This surely influenced the ruling elites to impose something similar to progressive taxation as a means of ensuring greater equality of sacrifice in wars to come, as happened worldwide both during and after WWI.<sup>152</sup> If one also reflects here on the land policy, it can be argued that within this context one is able to speak that the liberation narrative actually worked for the poor locals, while at the same time this policy alienated the powerholders. In the Montenegrin context during WWI this seemingly reached another level because no taxes were paid at all throughout the war (!) and this was furthered in the post-1918 setting as well.<sup>153</sup> Both outsider actors and today's scholars have been overlooked this, mainly focusing on the narrative that the powerholders fostered.<sup>154</sup>

While performing the regular military service or becoming a member of the Ottoman gendarmerie, a recruit was not obligated to pay a personal levy or the military exemption tax, a practice which was also implemented in Imperial Russia, for example.<sup>155</sup> A similar policy was enacted just before the paramilitary units known as the Hamidiye Regiments were established in the Ottoman eastern provinces and whose members did not pay an annual tax on sheep or goats.<sup>156</sup> Interestingly, in the case of Serbia this policy dates back to 1841, when a soldier was not supposed to pay a personal tax regardless of whether or not he was married or not.<sup>157</sup>

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<sup>151</sup> Jagodić, *Novi krajevi Srbije (1912-1915)*, 428-29, 35-37, 40. DAS/Belgrade, MUD-P 1913, unnumbered report, 15.09.1913, Novi Pazar, Ferim Ağa Asan Begović to the Tax Administration at the Supreme Command and Hivzo Gološ and Zoran Popović, *Zapisi odbora Opštine novopazarske (1913-1920)* (Novi Pazar: Istorijski arhiv "Ras", 2012), Zapisi I, II, III, IV, V, VI, VII, VIII, IX, X, XI, XII sednice iz 1914. godine, 97-133 and Zapisi I, II, III i IV od 15. godine, 148-155.

<sup>152</sup> Uwe Wagschal, "Steuerpolitik als Sozialpolitik," in *Handbuch Sozialpolitik*, ed. Manfred G. Schmidt Herbert Obinger (Wiesbaden: Springer VS, 2019), 807-30. Kenneth Scheve and David Stasavage, "The Conscription of Wealth: Mass Warfare and the Demand for Progressive Taxation," *International Organization* 64 (2010): 529-61. and Kenneth Scheve and David Stasavage, *Taxing the Rich: A History of Fiscal Fairness in the United States and Europe* (New York, Princeton and Oxford: Russell Sage Foundation / Princeton University Press, 2016), 19-20, 25, 27, 40, 77-78.

<sup>153</sup> ÖStA/HHStA/Vienna, PA I 998/49e, #266, Cetinje, 17.03.1916, Cetinje, MGG/M to the AOK, *Wochenbericht*, 7; CH-BAR/Bern, E2300#1000-716#69#1#7, Miscellaneous No. 1 (1921), *Report on Political Conditions in Montenegro* by Major H. Temperley, 2.

<sup>154</sup> PA AA/Berlin, RZ 201, R 11648, #9, 23.01.1914, Belgrad, Griesinger to Hollweg; Boeckh, *Von den Balkankriegen zum Ersten Weltkrieg: Kleinstaatenpolitik und ethnische Selbstbestimmung auf dem Balkan*, 146-47. and Edvin Pezo, "Violence, Forced Migration, and Population Policies during and after the Balkan Wars (1912-1914)," in *The Balkan Wars from Contemporary Perception to Historic Memory*, ed. Sabine Rutar and Katrin Boeckh (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 57-80.

<sup>155</sup> Gülsoy, *Osmanlı Gayrimüslimlerinin Askerlik Serüveni*, 126. and Benecke, *Militär, Reform und Gesellschaft im Zarenreich: Die Wehrpflicht in Russland 1874-1914*, 59-60.

<sup>156</sup> Özbek, *İmparatorluğun Bedeli: Osmanlı'da Vergi, Siyaset ve Toplumsal Adalet (1839-1908)*, 206. and Klein, *Hamidiye Alayları: İmparatorluğun Sınır Boyları ve Kürt Aşiretleri*, 64.

<sup>157</sup> "Rešenje #2664, 21.12.1840, Kragujevac," in *Zbornik zakona i uredba, i uredbenih ukaza izdatih u Knjaževstvu srpskom od aprila 1830. do konca decembra 1844* (Beograd: Knjigopечатitija Knjaževstva srpskog, 1845), 16.

This was included in both the 1901 Military Law and the tax regulation which were applied in the post-Ottoman territories.<sup>158</sup> This policy was fostered particularly in times of conflict. The Serbian context serves as the case in point where this was introduced in the early 1860s (i.g. in the days when an armed conflict with the Ottoman military in Belgrade was inevitable).<sup>159</sup> In the forthcoming years, these actions reached new levels, as the 1876/78 Ottoman-Serbian wars fittingly illustrate, when a law delayed the soldiers' debts and that of their households while they were at the front.<sup>160</sup> This was soon followed by a new debt moratorium that covered all those who found themselves under the banner. They were all called up "to take up arms for liberation and independence, and to pursue the goal that the Serbian folk strives since [the Battle of] Kosovo." This was necessary not just because the latter "had to leave their private shop and earnings," but also because two battalions revolted.<sup>161</sup> Simultaneously, a set of laws concerning the exemption of paying customs were put into practice with the goal of improving livelihood and rebuilding the houses of victims of war.<sup>162</sup>

Therefore, it comes as no surprise that similar moratoriums were declared just a few days prior to the First Balkan War, which delayed the payment of various obligations not only while the soldiers were in the army but also forty-five days after they were demobilized. Selling real estates or property was not allowed within this period or a detainment of the debtor was impossible, which implies that the authorities sought to protect their subjects who had to be focused solely on the war.<sup>163</sup>

Since this policy only temporarily alleviate their burden only, meaning, fiscal obligations did not disappear but only awaited the farmers' return, voices raised in the National Assembly

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<sup>158</sup> Miloš Jagodić, *Uređenje oslobođenih oblasti Srbije 1912-1914: Pravni okvir* (Beograd: Istorijski institut 2010), 56, 83-88. "Zakon o ustrojstvu vojske od 27.01.1901", *SN*, god. LXVIII, 01.02.1901, br. 25, 1-9, here pp. §13/1 and "Poreska uredba o razrezu i naplati poreza u oslobođenim i prisajedinjenim oblastima Kraljevine Srbije od 29.01.1914", *SN*, god. LXXXI, 02.02.1914, br. 26, 1-7, here pp. 1, §3/đ.

<sup>159</sup> "Rešenje od 08.08.1862, Beograd," in *Zbornik zakona u uredba izdatih u Knjažestvu Srbiji* (Beograd: Državna štamparija, 1863), 311. See also "Rešenje od 24.09.1862, Beograd," in *Zbornik zakona u uredba izdatih u Knjažestvu Srbiji, vol. 15* (Beograd: Državna štamparija, 1863), 314.

<sup>160</sup> "Zakon o produženju rokova plaćanja u građanskim potraživanjima od 23.07.1877," in *Zbornik zakona i uredba izdatih u Knjažestvu Srbiji od 23.06. do 24.07.1877* (Beograd: Državna štamparija, 1877), 1-4.

<sup>161</sup> "Zakon o produženju rokova plaćanja u građanskim potraživanjima od 01.12.1877," in *Zbornik zakona i uredba izdatih u Knjažestvu Srbije od 05.08.1877. pa do 12.06.1878* (Beograd: Državna štamparija, 1878), 151-53, here pp. 51 (citation).

<sup>162</sup> "Zakon o oslobođenju ratnih stradalaca od đumručine i uzgrednih taksa na izvesne predmene i na nekim đumrucima od 09.07.1877," in *Zbornik zakona i uredba izdatih u Knjažestvu Srbiji od 23.06. do 24.07.1877* (Beograd: Državna štamparija, 1877), 13-14; "Zakon o oslobođenju pograničnih stradalaca od đumručine i uzgrednih taksa na zemljodolske alate, sprave i gvoždariju, što bi sa strane za svoju domaću potrebu uvezni od 08.07.1877," in *Zbornik zakona i uredba izdatih u Knjažestvu Srbiji od 23.06. do 24.07.1877* (Beograd: Državna štamparija, 1877), 15-16; "Zakon o oslobođenju pograničnih stradalaca od plaćanja takse, koje je propisana §11 Šumske uredbe od 09.07.1877," in *Zbornik zakona i uredba izdatih u Knjažestvu Srbiji od 23.06. do 24.07.1877* (Beograd: Državna štamparija, 1877), 17-18. and "Potvrda produžetka Zakona o ratnim stradalcima i Zakona o produženju rokova plaćanja od 15.07.1878," in *Zbornik zakona i uredba izdatih u Knjažestvu Srbiji od 05.07. do 28.10.1878* (Beograd: Državna štamparija, 1878), 81-82.

<sup>163</sup> „Zakon o moratorijumu“, *Pravda*, god. IX, 25.09.1912, 2; "Zakon o produženju rokova plaćanja po obavezama iz građanskog, trgovačkog i meničkog zakonika od 01.10.1912", *SN*, god. LXXIX, 02.10.1912, br. 222, 1; "Pravilnik o produženju rokova plaćanja", *SN*, god. LXXIX, 09.10.1912, br. 228, 1, §8, 10; "Pravilnik o produženju rokova plaćanja", *SN*, god. LXXIX, 11.10.1912, br. 230, 1 and "Ukaz od 11.03.1913 o produženju rokova plaćanja po obavezama iz Građanskog, Trgovačkog i Meničkog zakonika", *SN*, god. LXXX, 13.03.1913, br. 58, 1.

demanded that all possible benefits had to be made for those “who have suffered the most on the battlefield.”<sup>164</sup> The proposal read a tax exemption from direct levy and surtaxes for the whole year of 1913. This was to be applied even before the levy collection began since the peasants “left all their property, went to war to fight, and now are returning to their homes and lands, which are empty, uncultivated and unplanted.”<sup>165</sup> However, on other occasions, the ruling elites might not be so forgiving, as had happened in mid-1915 when the Ministry of Finance ordered the collection of all revenues since they were convinced that the financial situation in the country was favorable and even better that year than it had been many other regular years. They emphasized three times in a row the importance of collecting taxes because the state revenues had weakened. The people were convinced that “taxes should not be paid for the entire duration of the war” and justified this with the claim that “many taxpayers have been called up for the defense of the country.”<sup>166</sup>

A nearly identical policy is seen in Montenegro too, where a similar moratorium regulation was applied in the first days of the 1912/13 War, which postponed payment deadlines for up to six months after the conclusion of the peace.<sup>167</sup> The reason behind its proclamation was the fact that the vast majority of farmers had been indebted not only to banks but also to moneylenders. In return for receiving cash, they had to mortgage their real estate but, because of their payment incapacity, they could now take the land properties. The soldiers and their families perceived the end of the moratorium as if it were the coming of a sharp sword or a natural disaster. That is why, during the war, some superiors tacitly allowed the rank and file to steal because, in that way, they would amass capital in order to return their debts, or the soldiers simply adhered to that without asking anyone. Some brokers remarked that if the peasant was ruined, so too was the country. Not only would large fiefs be established, but the latter might also stop fulfilling their various duties vis-à-vis the state since while they were fighting for it, the land was uncultivated and their cattle was seized by the military.<sup>168</sup> That is why the question of postponing the moratorium became the most burning issue in post-1913 Montenegro and its importance bypassed the law on colonization and another concerning the war disabled and the families of the killed, wounded and missing soldiers. A new regulation was accepted just four

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<sup>164</sup> *Stenografski zapisnici Narodne skupštine: XXI, XXII, XXIII, XXIV, XXV i XXVI redovni sastanci držani 19, 20, 22, 24, 27. i 29. aprila 1913. godine u redovnom sazivu*, (Beograd: Državna štamparija Kraljevine Srbije, 1913), XXI redovni sastanak, 19.04.1913, 333 (citation).

<sup>165</sup> *Stenografski zapisnici Narodne skupštine: XXI, XXII, XXIII, XXIV, XXV i XXVI redovni sastanci držani 19, 20, 22, 24, 27. i 29. aprila 1913. godine u redovnom sazivu*, XXI redovni sastanak, 19.04.1913, 333 (citation), 333; XXII sastanak, 20.04.13, 348 and XXV sastanak, 27.04.13, 418.

<sup>166</sup> „Raspis svim poreskim inspekcijama i poreskim odeljenjima“, *SN*, god. LXXXII, 01.07.1915, br. 191, 1; *SN*, god. LXXXII, 14.07.1915, br. 192, 1 and *SN*, god. LXXXII, 15.07.1915, br. 193, 1.

<sup>167</sup> „Zakon o produženju rokova plaćanja u građanskim potraživanjima“, *GC*, god. XLI, 22.09.1912, br. 4, 1.

<sup>168</sup> *Stenografske bilješke o radu crnogorske Narodne Skupštine sazvane u redovan saziv 15. januara 1914. god. (I i II prethodni sastanak i I-XXX redov. sjednica)*, IV redovna sjednica, 03.02.1914, 124-125 and VI redovna sjednica, 10.02.14, 149.

days before the old one had expired and was supposed to last until June 1914, whereby even the obligatory debt for the soldiers was relieved.<sup>169</sup>

Fortunately for the soldiers and their families, the outbreak of WWI offered a new chance to delay debts since a new law on moratoriums was proclaimed just one day before “the old king [was] forced to take” the military obligors to “the holy war for the freedom of Serbdom and Yugoslavism.” The soldiers “have not yet had time to wash the blood from [their] brave muscles” but the time had come “to die and shed blood for unity and golden freedom.”<sup>170</sup> Drawing on various levels of loyalty was not enough to convey the message of necessity to (once again) shed blood, but it nevertheless had to be demonstrated in practice. Also in the Montenegrin setting, the narrative of a caring state emerged whose goal was to protect their subjects from economic ruin because in times of war “the conscript (...) must go and respond the state needs and duties,” who “has no time to turn to his private-legal affairs.”<sup>171</sup> Local authorities were also advised to conduct animal requisition carefully and consciously by keeping an eye on the income and wealth of families, which was challenging in practice, as thematized below.<sup>172</sup> In brief, all these actions intended not only to keep the able-bodied focused on waging war but also enhanced the legitimacy of the ruling elites in the eyes of the rank and file.

### 3.1.3. Social Welfare Policy and the Military Before, During, and After Wars

Also within this field, an interaction between various state powers and brokers was evident on the ground, where the ruling elites had learned from past events about what should be offered to the needy recruits and their families in times of conflict. In nineteenth-century Serbia, for instance, providing a family allowance represented a long-established practice which was first introduced in 1862. Local municipalities and mukhtars were equally obligated to determine the allowance for those families whose breadwinners mobilized and left insufficient or no land to support their kin.<sup>173</sup>

This actual deed was launched not only during the Ottoman-Serbian Wars of 1876/78 but also during and after WWI because “caring for the needy in war is a duty of the state.”

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<sup>169</sup> “Zakon o prečišćavanju rokova određenih Zakonom o moratorijumu od 22.09.1912, donet 19.02/04.03.1914,” in *Crnogorski zakonic: Pravni izvori i politički akti od značaja za istoriju državnosti Crne Gore*, ed. Branko Pavićević and Radoslav Raspopović (Podgorica: Istorijski institut Crne Gore, 1998), 587-93, here pp. 87, 90, §1, 9.

<sup>170</sup> See „Proklamacija Kralja Nikole od 24.07.1914“; „Zakon o produžavanju rokova po privatno-pravnim obavezama od 23.07.1914“, *GC*, god. XLIII, 25.07.1914, br. 39, 1 (citation), 2; and „Uputstvo o Zakonu o moratorijumu od 23.07.1914“, *GC*, god. XLIII, 06.09.1914, br. 47, 1.

<sup>171</sup> *Stenografske bilješke o radu crnogorske Narodne Skupštine sazvane u redovan saziv 15. januara 1914. god. (I i II prethodni sastanak i I-XXX redov. sjednica)*, XII redovna sjednica, 18.02.1914, 330-331.

<sup>172</sup> NMCG-ABO/Cetinje, N. I 1914/F70, #248, 02.08.1914, Cetinje, Decision of the Council of Ministers.

<sup>173</sup> “Rešenje od 22.06.1862, Beograd,” in *Zbornik zakona u uredba izdatih u Knjažestvu Srbiji*, vol. 15 (Beograd: Državna štamparija, 1863), 306-07. and “Rešenje od 24.09.1862, Beograd,” 315-16.

According to the law on helping the needy during the war, free accommodation, maintaining food prices, offering free medical assistance, food, fuel, jobs in the public sector, and boosting public relief all fell under the obligation of local councils who were supposed to oversee the latter. Not only were the Serbian subjects entitled to this support, but refugees fleeing from the enemy's territory were also eligible.<sup>174</sup> In the SCS army, caring for the families of the destitute rank and file became a peace-time duty of the local municipalities. The breadwinners' kin were entitled to an allowance both in cash and nature while a male member had to serve.<sup>175</sup> This means that warfare directly influenced the state powers to fulfill their responsibility of caring for the needy soldiers and their families in times of peace and it did not differ from the post-1913 Ottoman legislations.<sup>176</sup>

In Montenegro, a nearly identical process was palpable, where mukhtars and tribale captains had been required to constantly inquire about the situation of certain families, particularly of the poorer and weaker ones. Aid had to be provided quickly and consisted of providing food, wardrobes, fuel, medical support and organizing burials of the dead tribespeople. In this regard, mukhtars and tribal captains took on mid-war the role of a good housekeeper (*dobrog domaćin*) locally.<sup>177</sup> After the official beginning of WWI, the higher powers reminded town municipalities of their duty to take care of the poor soldiers' families. The amount of assistance given depended on the number of family members.<sup>178</sup> The Ministry of War aptly summarizes why this was so pivotal:

Love for the kin which is, when needed, so developed among our people and which, without any instruction, would not allow any tribespeople to suffer while others around them have nothing to eat, with this obligatory participation of mukhtars and captains in taking care of the safety of poor and weak families, will leave the soldiers with peaceful souls [*mirne duše*], knowing that the most conscientious care will be taken of their families, both by close neighbors and by the state authorities.<sup>179</sup>

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<sup>174</sup> "Rešenje od 17.06.1876," in *Zbornik zakona i uredaba izdanih u Knjažestvu Srbiji od 23.01.1876. pa do 01.06.1877, vol. 29* (Beograd: Državna štamparija, 1877), 438-39. "Zakon o izdržavanju porodica sirotinjskih vojnika i dobrovoljaca za vreme rata," in *Zbornik zakona i uredaba izdanih u Knjažestvu Srbiji od 05.08.1877. pa do 12.06.1878, vol. 32* (Beograd: Državna štamparija, 1878), 156-57. and „Zakon o pomoći nevoljnima u ratu od 14.12.1914“, *SN*, god. LXXXI, 15.12.1914, br. 305, 1, art. 1; „Pravilnik za izvršenje Zakona o pomoći nevoljnima u ratu propisan na osnovu čl. 8 istog zakona“, *SN*, god. LXXXII, 03.01.1915, br. 1, 1-2; „Izmene pravilnika za izvršenje Zakona o pomoći nevoljnima u ratu“, *SN*, god. LXXXII, 06.06.1915, br. 154, 1; „Izmene pravilnika za izvršenje Zakona o pomoći nevoljnima u ratu“, *SN*, god. LXXXII, 29.07.1915, br. 207, 1; „Izmene pravilnika za izvršenje Zakona o pomoći nevoljnima u ratu“, *SN*, god. LXXXII, 22.09.1915, br. 262, 1; „Raspis svim komandantima oblasnih divizija #17497 od 14.10.1914“, *SVL*, god. 34, 19.10.1914, br. 31, 910-911; „Zakon o pomoći nevoljnima u ratu od 14.12.1914“, *SN*, god. LXXXI, 15.12.1914, br. 305, 1, art. 2 and 11. The same law stayed in practice until the outset of 1919, when it was replaced by a very similar bill. See „Raspis Središnjeg odbora od 25.03.1919“, *SN KSHS*, god. 1, 29.03.1919, br. 25, 3 and „Pravilnik za izvršavanje Zakona o pomoći nevoljnima u ratu, propisan na osnovu čl. 8 istog zakona“, *SN KSHS*, god. 1, 01.03.1918, br. 12, 3.

<sup>175</sup> *Zakon o ustrojstvu vojske i mornarice od 9. avgusta 1923*, 221-22, §327-30.

<sup>176</sup> Yiğit Akın, "War, Women, and the State: The Politics of Sacrifice in the Ottoman Empire during the First World War," *Journal of Women's History* 26, no. 3 (2014): 12-35; Nicole van Os, "Aiding the Poor Soldiers' Families: The Asker Âilelerine Yardımcı Hanımlar Cemiyeti," *Türkiyat Mecmuası* 21, no. 2 (2011): 255-89.

<sup>177</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MV-Raspisi i zakoni, F1, #892, 28.10.1909, Cetinje, MV-AO to the Tribe Captaincies and Presidents of Town Municipalities.

<sup>178</sup> NMCG-ABO/Cetinje, N. I 1914/F70, #248, 02.08.1914, Decision of the Council of Ministers.

<sup>179</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MV-Raspisi i zakoni, F1, #892, 28.10.1909, Cetinje, MV-AO to the Tribe Captaincies and Presidents of Town Municipalities.

Given the scarcity of sources, it is unfeasible to track the practical side of the welfare policy in detail, nor is it possible to exemplify based on what criteria a soldier's family obtained any amount of money and was entitled to particular relief. Although available sources only allow a narrow glimpse into the procedure, they still provide a chance to reconstruct its significance since by referring to different examples, it is made apparent how these strategies of inducement were important. For example, minutes from the Yeni Pazar Municipality Council illustrate how much and what kind of relief a conscript, his family, and the town poor received in the first months of WWI. In August 1914, around 4,800 Dinars was given to the poor, whereas 41 soldiers' families of Orthodox Christian and Jewish faiths gained between 8 to 20 Dinars per month, whereby the latter's number increased by October of the same year to 78 families. Among them, were those whose relief amounted to six Dinars, which offered them a chance to endure the war since the municipality took the maintenance of food prices very seriously (see Table 5 below).<sup>180</sup> Gradually the number of those who needed assistance increased, which meant that the budget for the poor and the poor soldiers' families had to be enlarged to 8000 and 2000 dinars respectively.<sup>181</sup> The poor whose annual income was no more than 360 Dinars were also freed from paying direct taxes, including those who enjoyed the disabled allowance.<sup>182</sup> By mid-1915 the relief was provided in grain or potatoes seeds to the poor farmers.<sup>183</sup>

Providing grain to the needy and poor soldiers' families was also routine in the Montenegrin setting, where only three months from the start of WWI, certain local authorities stated that they could not perform their duties. In the Akova area, for example, there were 649 poor families consisting of 2,562 people who had asked for help, whereas in the areas around Āpek and Yakova the number of the poor and needy soldiers' families amounted to 1,652 (with a total of 7,518 family members).<sup>184</sup> To what extent these actions delivered the desired result on the ground was discussed in the pages ahead. Providing this aid also conveyed the message that the recipients had to give something in return. This included backing an established political order, as happened in post-1913 Montenegro where soldiers and officers encourage the locals to vote

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<sup>180</sup> Gološ and Popović, *Zapisnici odbora Opštine novopazarske (1913-1920)*, XVI sednica, 27.08.1914, 75–76; XVII sednica, 14.09.14, 79; XIX sednica, 23.09.14, 83 and XXI sednica, 01.10.14, 89.

<sup>181</sup> Gološ and Popović, *Zapisnici odbora Opštine novopazarske (1913-1920)*, XIX sednica, 23.09.1914, 81-82.

<sup>182</sup> "Poreska uredba o razrezu i naplati poreza u oslobođenim i prisajedinjenim oblastima Kraljevine Srbije od 29.01.1914", *SN*, god. LXXXI, 02.02.1914, br. 26, 1-7, art 2.

<sup>183</sup> Gološ and Popović, *Zapisnici odbora Opštine novopazarske (1913-1920)*, VI sednica, 10.04.1915, 145 and VIII sednica, 04.06.15, 156.

<sup>184</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MUD-UO, 1914/F154, 4291(2), #2119, 12.11.1914, Bijelo Polje, Regional Administration to the MoI and *ibid*, 1914/F155, 4543(2), #7927, 05.12.1914, Peć, Regional Administration to the MoI. See also the case of the needy in the Kolašin Regional Administration DACG/Cetinje, MUD-UO, 1914/F153, 4243/5, #1455, 25.10.1914, Man. Morača, Kap. S. Đurđić to the Kolašin Regional Administration and *ibid*, 1914/F154, 4414(3), #49, 20.11.1914, Kolašin, Regional Administration to the MoI.

for a certain political party in elections. This was no mere coincidence since their families got the necessary foodstuffs.<sup>185</sup> The Yeni Pazar Municipality also shipped winter equipment to the recruits from its municipality who were located at the front or billeted in post-Ottoman Macedonia.<sup>186</sup> Military obligors who came from an impoverished background would get winter clothes, socks, soap, tobacco, sugar, gloves, shirts, pants or socks delivered through the Main Committee for Relief to Poor Military Obligor and War Victims or its local subcommittees established at the level of municipalities.<sup>187</sup>

Table 5: Food Prices Shown in *Okka* (= 1,2829 kg) in the Town of Yeni Pazar.<sup>188</sup>

<i>Foodstuff</i>	<i>March 1913</i>	<i>October 1914</i>	<i>November 1914</i>
One <i>Okka</i> of White Bread	0,50 Dinars	0,50 Dinars	0,50 Dinars
One <i>Okka</i> of Black Bread	0,23 Dinars	0,30 Dinars	0,30 Dinars
One <i>Okka</i> of Beef Meat	0,90 Dinars	/	0,70 Dinars
One <i>Okka</i> of Mutton	1,00 Dinars	/	0,60 Dinars
One <i>Okka</i> of Lamb Meat	0,80 Dinars	/	0,40 Dinars
One <i>Okka</i> of Goat Meat	0,60 Dinars	/	0,60 Dinars
One <i>Okka</i> of Pork	/	/	1,00 Dinars

The Habsburg authorities also realized that providing foodstuffs could be wielded as political leverage, claiming that it would not be difficult to guide the locals in the direction that was the most convenient for their cause.<sup>189</sup> The reckoning was very simple; having been aware that lack of food or crop failure beset the Muslims around Taşlıca (in late 1916), they showed greater indifference to the Habsburg war aims than they had in the previous months.<sup>190</sup> Hence, in order to make the able-bodied want to join the military, they offered not only foodstuff but also benefits to them and their families. Thus, the military power advised that from each family, one fit breadwinner should be excused from the draft so that families and their estates could have someone to till the land.<sup>191</sup>

One of the reasons why the locals were omitted in some areas from war requisition an attempt to maintain a positive attitude towards the Monarchy. Around Yeni Pazar the requisitions had stopped being carried out.<sup>192</sup> Supporting education within the imagined

<sup>185</sup> *Stenografske bilješke o radu crnogorske Narodne Skupštine sazvane u redovan saziv 15. januara 1914. god. (I i II prethodni sastanak i I-XXX redov. sjednica)*, II prethodni sastanak, 27.01.1914, 6-10; III redovna sjednica, 01.02.14, 95, 97, 102; IV redovna sjednica, 03.02.14, 124; V redovna sjednica, 08.02.14, 144-145 and XXV redovna sjednica, 12.03.14, 783.

<sup>186</sup> Gološ, Popović, *Zapisnici odbora Opštine novopazarske (1913-1920)*, Zapisnici XX sednice, 06.10.1914, 84.

<sup>187</sup> „Zahvalnost #12800 od 17.11.1914“, *SVL*, god. 34, 28.11.1914, br. 34, 975-976; “Blagodarnost #5145 od 06.03.1915”, *SVL*, god. 35, 10.04.1915, br. 9, 175-176 and “Blagodarnost #43027 od 30.07.1915”, *SVL*, god. 35, 02.09.1915, br. 27, 679-680.

<sup>188</sup> Gološ and Popović, *Zapisnici odbora Opštine novopazarske (1913-1920)*, VI sednica, 30.04.1913, 28; XX sednica, 06.10.14, 84 and XXI sednica, 01.11.14, 06.

<sup>189</sup> ÖStA/HHStA/Vienna, PA I 998/49e, Montenegro, #266, 17.03.1916, Cetinje, MGG/M to the AOK, 1, 10.

<sup>190</sup> ÖStA/HHStA/Vienna, PA I 998/49g, #2637, 08.11.1916, Cetinje, MGG/M to the AOK.

<sup>191</sup> DAS/Belgrade, VGG, 8-46, #13.711, 17.09.1916, Belgrade, MGG/S to the Department 8 of the MGG/S, 1<sup>st</sup> point.

<sup>192</sup> DAS/Belgrade, VGG, 20-77, 28.07.1917, Novi Pazar, District Command to Seyfert, *Der Bericht über Kriegswirtschaft*, 9. and Scheer, "Habzburska okupaciona politika prema crnogorskim Albancima, Muslimanima i Turcima tokom Prvog svjetskog rata," 85-109. See also Alija Matović, "Rožaje pod austrougarskom okupacijom," *Rožajski zbornik* 4, no. 4 (1985): 31-38.



Albanian community and fostering politically motivated and friendly justice or amnesty also fell under actual deeds since being viewed as a liberator and an Ottoman ally was not enough.<sup>193</sup> The Habsburg (BH) authorities took care of the refugees from the Taşlıca area both at the start of WWI and after their place of birth was reoccupied.<sup>194</sup> As was clear that the same refugees (some 5000 people) plan to emigrate to the Ottoman Empire given increasing hunger and the fact of not having a roof above head, the local authorities were instructed to secure their livelihood by either giving them a job or potatoes or offering appropriate financial and technical assistance for building their homes.<sup>195</sup> Knowing that livestock trade in some parts represented the only source of livelihood, the military power approved a new unified purchasing tariff on cattle not least because the Muslim populations was deemed loyally.<sup>196</sup>

What distinguished the Habsburg military is the fact that it also sought to draw in the able-bodied by offering bounty premiums. Not only would their salary be equal to that of a regular Habsburg and Ottoman soldier, but they were also entitled to get 100 Crones as a bounty (*Handgeld*) which had to be paid partially once the contract was concluded.<sup>197</sup> This bounty was meant to motivate a potential fit local to come forward since it could be submitted in kind too. However, the amount was eventually fixed at 20 Crones in paper, not in gold and encapsulated the livelihood premiums for the volunteer's family members as well.<sup>198</sup> An option was given to those who do not want to participate in the Romanian military campaign; they could to be utilized as reinforcement for gendarmerie posts or of the so-called flying units located in pre-1913 Serbia.<sup>199</sup> The Habsburg military powers even decided to increase the bounty and introduce the livelihood payments just a few days after realizing that an Ottoman soldier deployed in Romania earned more. Just as in the case of the entrepreneurs, the Monarchy, by wrestling with their Ottoman ally over the hearts and minds of the able-bodied, sought through

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<sup>193</sup> ÖStA/HHStA/Vienna, PA I 977/32k, #23/616 B, Mitrovica am Kossovo, 09.06.1916, Julius Ledinegg to the MdÄ and ÖStA/HHStA/Vienna, PA I 975/32g, Ref. I<sup>a</sup>, 24.09.1916, Vienna, Evidenzbureau of the General Staff to the AOK. Julius Ledinegg, 4-5 and Heiko Brendel, "Austro-Hungarian Policies towards Muslims in Occupied Montenegro," in *Balkans and Islam: Encounter, Transformation, Discontinuity, Continuity*, ed. Ayşe Zişan Furat and Hamit Er (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2012), 85-106, here pp. 90, 93.

<sup>194</sup> ABH/Sarajevo, ZVS 1914, 20-91, #305, 03.09.1914, Bosanski Brod, Telegram to the BH Region Administration and *ibid*, #203654/1914, 05.09.1914, Sarajevo, Telegram of the BH Regional Administration to Bosanski Brod.

<sup>195</sup> ÖStA/KA/Vienna, FA NFA MGG/M, 1698/1917, Pol. Nr. 82, #4103, 28.12.1916, Plevlje, District Command to the MGG/M and *ibid*, #82, 20.01.1917, Cetinje, MGG/M to the Plevlje District Command.

<sup>196</sup> ÖStA/KA/Vienna, AOK Qu. Abt, 2448/1917, M.V. Nr. 64.671/S, #15.047, 27.05.1917, Belgrade, MGG/S to the AOK.

<sup>197</sup> ÖStA/KA/Vienna, AOK Qu. Abt, 2412/1916, M.V. Nr. 99.907/S, 06.09.1916, AOK to the MGG/S.

<sup>198</sup> ÖStA/KA/Vienna, FA NFA MGG/S, kt. 1629/1914-18, Belgrad, Reservat-MGG-Befehl Nr. 23 vom 25.09.1916, Punkt 5, #18.572; DAS/Belgrade, VGG, 8-46, #13.711, 17.09.1916, Belgrade, MGG/S to the Department 8 of the MGG/S, 1<sup>st</sup> point and ÖStA/KA/Vienna, AOK Qu. Abt, 2412/1916, M.V. Nr. 100.189/2/S, 06.10.1916, AOK to the MGG/M, MGG/S, 19<sup>th</sup> Corps Command, and the KM.

<sup>199</sup> DAS/Belgrade, VGG, 8-46, #13.711, 17.09.1916, Belgrade, MGG/S to the Department 8 of the MGG/S, 1<sup>st</sup> point.

these actions to draw the latter under its banner as well.<sup>200</sup> Thus, in late 1916, it was now expected that these set of policies would “bring a full and desirable success.”<sup>201</sup>

The Habsburg context also provided a chance to demonstrate exactly what the volunteers’ family members received after the breadwinners were conscripted. When a volunteer had chosen either the Habsburg or the Ottoman army, it must be verified whether the members actually needed the support and whether they had already applied for the relief. Concerning the assistance, the following persons were to be counted: the wife, children born during the marriage, parents, grandparents, great-grandparents, siblings (stepsiblings could be regarded as siblings, while siblings who were illegitimate children did not qualify), parents-in-law, the illegitimate mother of a war volunteer and his illegitimate children, stepparents and a wife whose children were born in a previous marriage, and the marital mother and father of the illegitimate mother of a volunteer. Mukhtars, clergymen, or another confidant had to attest to whether these locals were actually the volunteer’s kin.<sup>202</sup>

In the Yeni Pazar region, for instance, their family members, in whose name the payment form was issued (dubbed as *ćat* or *isplatni arak*), had to be accompanied by mukhtars and municipal scribes at the moment the relief was received.<sup>203</sup> Besides earning financial aid on a daily basis (Table 6), which together should not amount to more than the average daily income of a war volunteer, the support could be provided in full or partially paid-in-kind. In that case, the district commands were to buy food by using the financial aid, whereby the eighth tax had to be removed from this assistance.<sup>204</sup> The fact that these measures, especially those towards the families, incited them to apply for the Habsburg and Ottoman army, is aptly shown in the statement of the military authorities in Montenegro. They expected around 800 volunteers from the Taşlıca District and about 5-6,000 volunteers from the Plava-Gusine region, particularly, if favorable care provisions for their families were granted.<sup>205</sup> The bilingual Romani able-bodied in the Mitroviča region also stepped forward.<sup>206</sup>

Table 6: Allowance for the Family Members in late 1916.<sup>207</sup>

(i) the maintenance fee of 80 Hellers per day
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<sup>200</sup> ÖStA/KA/Vienna, AOK Qu. Abt. 2412/1916, M.V. Nr. 100.189/3/S, 06.10.1916, AOK to the MGG/M, MGG/S, and the 19<sup>th</sup> Corps Command.

<sup>201</sup> DAS/Belgrade, VGG, 9-pov. 9, #16.318, 13.10.1916, Belgrade, MGG/S to the Department 9 of the MGG/S.

<sup>202</sup> DAS/Belgrade, VGG, 9-pov. 9, zu Prä. Nr. 16318 von 1916, *Provisorische Instruktion für die gnadenweise Unterstützung von hilfsbedürftigen Angehörigen der für die k. u. k. sowie die kais. ottomanische Armee angeworbenen kriegsfreiwilligen Moslems und Albaner fremden Staatsangehörigkeit*, p. 1-2.

<sup>203</sup> IAR/Novi Pazar, Poglavarstvo opštine Ribariće, #5, 11.11.1917, 6<sup>th</sup> order of the Tutin County.

<sup>204</sup> DAS/Belgrade, VGG, 9-pov. 9, zu Prä. Nr. 16318 von 1916, *Provisorische Instruktion*, p. 2-3

<sup>205</sup> ÖStA/KA/Vienna, AOK Op. Abt. B-Gruppe, 510/1916, Nr. 30465/IV, #5227/r, 20.09.1916, MGG/M to the AOK.

<sup>206</sup> „Sudenje u Kosovskoj Mitrovici: Ferad beg se brani“, *Politika*, god. XXIII, 22.12.1926, br. 6704, 8; „Treći dan pretresa Ferad beg Dragi, vodi džemijeta“, *Vreme*, god. VI, 23.12.1926, br.1801, 3;

<sup>207</sup> DAS/Belgrade, VGG, 9-pov. 9, zu Prä. Nr. 16318 von 1916, *Provisorische Instruktion*, p. 2-3 and ÖStA/KA/Vienna, AOK Qu. Abt. 2412/1916, M.V. Nr. 100.189/S, 13.10.1916, AOK to the MGG/M, MGG/S, and etc.

The livelihood premiums for each dependent member consists of	(ii) if a reliant person is dependent on housing rent, the rent contribution will be equal to one half of the maintenance fee, that is, 40 Hellers per day
	(iii) for a child under the age of 8, the amount of assistance is 40 Hellers or, if the housing rent comes into question, then 50 Hellers per day*

\* The total amount of the rent contributions granted to the family members must not in any case exceed the actual rent paid

Certainly, this was not the only actual deed introduced since the ruling elites offered medical, food, financial and other possible assistance not only for the disabled or wounded soldiers, but also for their kin, which represented a long-established practice. For example, in nineteenth-century Serbia, a disability fund for the weak and soldiers who were crippled while serving was established in 1863, and was expanded after the wars in 1876/78, 1885, and 1912/13.<sup>208</sup> The Law on Support of Disabled Soldiers and Families of Killed, Dead and Missing Soldiers published in 1878, served as a blueprint for every subsequent law drawn for the disabled soldiers in Serbia, this also included the one announced after the 1912/13 War.<sup>209</sup>

From 1883 this law encapsulated the soldiers, border guards, and other non-military persons (gendarmes from 1914) who were wounded or disabled by bandits during the official pursuit or conflict and whose right would be passed on to their kin after their death. This implies that the scope of social policies also expanded in times of peace.<sup>210</sup> In lieu of obtaining support, the disabled soldiers could be employed in the civil service, depending on the years spent in the military. Their kin did not lose the right to receive support, whereby the widow, children, parents, and brothers and sisters who were needy, were entitled to the support, if a soldier was their only breadwinner. If not, only the widow and children could apply.<sup>211</sup> After the Balkan Wars, they would receive other annual financial assistance regardless of whether or not they were entitled to the support. All these regulations were implemented in the region as well.<sup>212</sup>

The Serbian approach served as a model for the neighboring Montenegrin polity, where a similar law was announced in 1914. For te 1,326 disabled officers and soldiers, and the families

<sup>208</sup> "Zakon o ustanovljenju invalidskog fonda za iznemogle i u službi osakaćene vojnike od 19.11.1863," in *Zbornik zakona i uredba izdanih u Knjaževstvu Srbiji od početka do kraja 1863. godine* (Beograd: Državna štamparija, 1864), 108-11. "Zakon o ustrojstvu vojske od 20.03.1864," in *Zbornik zakona i uredba izdanih u Knjaževstvu Srbiji od početka do kraja 1864. godine* (Beograd: Državna štamparija, 1865), 65-110, here pp. 88-89, §55, 57-58. and "Zakon o dopunjenoj pomoći za ratne stradalce od 14.07.1878," in *Zbornik zakona i uredba izdanih u Knjaževstvu Srbiji od 05.07. do 28.10.1878* (Beograd: Državna štamparija, 1878), 56-57.

<sup>209</sup> "Zakon o izmenama i dopunama u Zakonu o potpori vojnih invalida i porodica poginulih, od rana umrlih ili nestalih vojnika od 10.04.1902," in *Zbornik zakona i uredbaa u Kraljevini Srbiji izdatih od 01.01.1902. do kraja iste godine* (Beograd: Državna štamparija, 1904), 188-89. and „Zakon o izmenama i dopunama u Zakonu o potpori vojnih invalida i porodica poginulih, od rana umrlih ili nestalih vojnika od 10.04.1914“, *SN*, god. LXXXI, 13.04.1914, br. 82, 493-495.

<sup>210</sup> "Dopuna Zakona o potpori invalida od 03.01.1883," in *Zbornik zakona i uredba u Kraljevini Srbiji izdanih od 20.07.1882. do 19.02.1883. godine* (Beograd: Državna štamparija, 1883), 390-92. and „Zakon o izmenama i dopunama u Zakonu o potpori vojnih invalida i porodica poginulih, od rana umrlih ili nestalih vojnika od 10.04.1914“, *SN*, god. LXXXI, 13.04.1914, br. 82, here pp. 494, §26.

<sup>211</sup> "Zakon o potpori vojnih invalida i porodica poginulih, umrlih i nestalih vojnika od 08.07.1878," in *Zbornik zakona i uredba izdanih u Knjaževstvu Srbiji od 05.07. do 28.10.1878* (Beograd: Državna štamparija, 1878), 18-36, here pp. 10-20, 24, §3-4, 12.

<sup>212</sup> „Zakon o izmenama i dopunama u Zakonu o potpori vojnih invalida i porodica poginulih, od rana umrlih ili nestalih vojnika od 10.04.1914“, *SN*, god. LXXXI, 13.04.1914, br. 82, here pp. 493, §10 and Jagodić, *Uređenje oslobođenih oblasti Srbije 1912-1914: Pravni okvir*, 56.

of the 2,653 wounded, dead, and missing rank and file, the ruling elites separated a considerable annual sum. The amount also covered both recruits who were disabled or wounded in war and who had participated in chasing bandits and other armed groupings in peacetime.<sup>213</sup> More than a third of the total state spending went towards on the budget of the Ministry of War; hence, its budget had been increased sixteen times (!) compared to the previous one of 1912.<sup>214</sup> Those who were wounded in the previous Ottoman-Montenegrin Wars were not entitled to the disability allowance, but could obtain another form of relief (*pomoć* or *izdržavanje*).<sup>215</sup> The Vasojevići and other Slavic-speaking Muslims whose households and properties at the Ottoman-Montenegrin borderlands were burned down as an outcome of the war also received financial help.<sup>216</sup> Not only did the multitude of pleas and exerted pressure from the wounded soldiers or the families of the dead or missing rank and file accelerate this and eagerly awaited its passing, but also for the narrative of the ruling elites. Their paternal role “to take care of the orphans of the fallen heroes, to support the disabled in the war, to repay the people for the sacrifices in the lost property, which is so happily brought to the homeland,” as the Montenegrin king stated, forced them to act.<sup>217</sup>

For this “happily offered sacrifice,” the latter had to repay (*odužiti*) a debt they owed to the needy families by keeping them from suffering or starvation and educating their children, so that they could work and earn a livelihood, whereby “everyone should be recognized the right depending on what one deserves.”<sup>218</sup> In brief, it was about proving that the elites too, were capable of fulfilling one of the many tacit contracts with the population which would only

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<sup>213</sup> *Zakon o pomoći vojnih invalida i porodica poginulih, umrlih ili nestalih vojnika za vrijeme rata i uopšte u vršenju vojničke dužnosti*, (Cetinje: Državna štamparija Kraljevine Crne Gore, 1914), 3-4, 8, 11-12, §1, 8, 13-14. and *Stenografske bilješke o radu crnogorske Narodne Skupštine sazvane u redovan saziv 15. januara 1914. god. (I i II prethodni sastanak i I-XXX redov. sjednica)*, II prethodni sastanak, 27.01.1914, 28 and XIII redovna sjednica, 19.02.14, 350-351, 353.

<sup>214</sup> *Crna Gora i Njemački rajh: Dokumenti iz Političkog arhiva Službe inostranih poslova u Berlinu 1906-1914*, II (1910-1914), 466, #176, 03.03.1914, Cetinje, Eckardt to the MoF. and *Stenografske bilješke o radu crnogorske Narodne Skupštine sazvane u redovan saziv 15. januara 1914. god. (I i II prethodni sastanak i I-XXX redov. sjednica)*, XV redovna sjednica, 21.02.1914, 429.

<sup>215</sup> *Pensije, pomoći i izdražavanja: Spisak na dan 01.01.1914*, (Cetinje: Državna štamparija Kraljevine Crne Gore, 1914), 21. and *Stenografske bilješke o radu crnogorske Narodne Skupštine sazvane u redovan saziv 15. januara 1914. god. (I i II prethodni sastanak i I-XXX redov. sjednica)*, XIII redovna sjednica, 19.02.1914, 353 and XIV redovna sjednica, 20.02.14, 403.

<sup>216</sup> NMCG-ABO/Cetinje, N. I 1912/F63, #248, 29.12.1912, Berane, Avro Cemović, *Spisak izdate pomoći sirotinji u Beranskoj oblasti* and *Stenografske bilješke o radu crnogorske Narodne Skupštine sazvane u redovan saziv 15. januara 1914. god. (I i II prethodni sastanak i I-XXX redov. sjednica)*, IV redovna sjednica, 03.02.1914, 123; IX redovna sjednica, 12.02.14, 267-269; XX redovna sjednica, 28.02.14, 615 and XXIII redovna sjednica, 07.03.14, 693-695.

<sup>217</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MUD-UO, 1914/F144, #860, 22.02.1914, Cetinje, MoI to all districts; *ibid*, 1914/F147, #2062(2), 86/4259, 16.05.1914, Cetinje, MoW to the MoI and *Stenografske bilješke o radu crnogorske Narodne Skupštine sazvane u redovan saziv 15. januara 1914. god. (I i II prethodni sastanak i I-XXX redov. sjednica)*, I redovna i svečana sjednica, 29.01.1914, 37 (citation).

<sup>218</sup> *Stenografske bilješke o radu crnogorske Narodne Skupštine sazvane u redovan saziv 15. januara 1914. god. (I i II prethodni sastanak i I-XXX redov. sjednica)*, II redovna sjednica, 31.01.1914, 57-58; IV redovna sjednica, 03.02.14, 127; VI redovna sjednica, 10.02.14, 154 and XIII redovna sjednica, 19.02.14, 348-349 (citation). *Crna Gora i Njemački rajh: Dokumenti iz Političkog arhiva Službe inostranih poslova u Berlinu 1906-1914*, II (1910-1914), 406, #147, 04.09.1913, Vienna, Embassy to the MoF. and "Zakon o državnim stipendijama od 10/23.04.1914," in *Crnogorski zaknici: Pravni izvori i politički akti od značaja za istoriju državnosti Crne Gore*, ed. Branko Pavićević and Radoslav Raspopović (Podgorica: Istorijski institut Crne Gore, 1998), 674-77, §3.

enhance their legitimacy and their mutuality, in which the queen herself participated in the donation.<sup>219</sup> Clergymen, teachers, and other respectable persons were expected to be present at the moment that the help was given because their signatures guaranteed the honesty of the sum issued.<sup>220</sup>

In this regard, it strongly resembled the Habsburg welfare policy. Unintended leave due to sickness or other involuntary disruptions of military service did not interrupt the benefits.<sup>221</sup> Local military authorities were ordered to verify and take care of the war volunteer roll, whereas an Ottoman corps deployed in Romania, in which the locals served, was instructed to update the latter about any changes.<sup>222</sup> If a volunteer was retired as an invalid or if he was unable to adequately provide a living for his dependents, the benefits would continue as long as required.<sup>223</sup> Invalidity and civil disability were to be determined in each case on the basis of a military or medical certificate. Where super-arbitration commissions were not available, an equivalent commission would be formed.<sup>224</sup> If a volunteer was killed, went missing, or dies as a result of being injured while performing military service or as a result of an illness caused by said service, the support would be paid provisionally to the relatives as long as necessary.<sup>225</sup>

Still, how many soldiers were disabled, how much the disability aid amounted to, and how many persons obtained the right after their kin was killed or died in the Habsburg or Ottoman army, demands further research. But the brokers also launched actual deeds, as previously mentioned. Both Abdüllatif Bey, a member of the town council, and Hacı Hacob provided various foodstuffs and assistance for the needy (*muhtac-ı muavenet*) to the families of the recruited redif soldiers. It was, for this reason that the local governance suggested they should be honored.<sup>226</sup> This was an established practice since during the 1897 Greek-Ottoman War; a Taşlıca committee led by notables took care of collecting donations to support the families of about 350 local volunteers.<sup>227</sup>

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<sup>219</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MUD-UO, 1914/F144, #860, 22.02.1914, Cetinje, MoI to all districts.

<sup>220</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MUD-UO, 1915/F162, #2257(16)/8772, br. 437, 02.06.1915, Bijelo Polje, Akova District to the MoI. Even though available sources do not allow one to get the bottom of this issue, examples from Taşlıca or Akova reveal that these allowances in mid-1915 amounted to 30 Perpers pro family, whereas those provided by the Montenegrin Red Cross were 15 Perpers. Some families from the Taşlıca region could not receive the latter given their health condition, what was caused by an undefined disease. See DACG/Cetinje, OuPlj, F16/#93, br. 1861-21, 08.05.1915, Pljevlja, Scribe to the Taşlıca District; *ibid*, OuPlj, F16/#99, br. 1788-18-915, 26.05.1915, Pljevlja, Scribe to districts; *ibid*, OuPlj, F16/#97, 26.05.1915, Pljevlja, Scribe to the Taşlıca District and *ibid*, MUD-UO, 1915/F162, #2257(16)/8772, br. 437, 02.06.1915, Bijelo Polje, the Akova District to the MoI.

<sup>221</sup> DAS/Belgrade, VGG, 9-pov. 9, zu Präs. Nr. 16318 von 1916, *Provisorische Instruktion*, 3.

<sup>222</sup> ÖStA/KA/Vienna, AOK Qu. Abt. 2448/1917, M.V. Nr. 133.764/S, #24.232, 05.09.1917, Belgrade, MGG/S to the MGG/M and *ibid*, 08.09.1917, AOK to the Military Envoy in Istanbul, MGG/S and MGG/M.

<sup>223</sup> DAS/Belgrade, VGG, 9-pov. 9, zu Präs. Nr. 16318 von 1916, *Provisorische Instruktion*, 3.

<sup>224</sup> DAS/Belgrade, VGG, 8-1117, #151.201, 20.06.1917, Belgrade, MGG/S to the Mitroviça, Yeni Pazar and Prepol District Commands.

<sup>225</sup> DAS/Belgrade, VGG, 9-pov. 9, zu Präs. Nr. 16318 von 1916, *Provisorische Instruktion*, 3.

<sup>226</sup> BOA/Istanbul, TFR.I.KV, 33/3225, 03 CA 1321 [28/07/1903], Taşlıca Mutasarrif Kumandanı Ferik Süleyman to Hilmi Pasha and *ibid*, 32/3164, 29 CA 1321 [23/08/1903], Taşlıca Mutasarrif Kumandanı Ferik Süleyman to Hilmi Pasha.

<sup>227</sup> Joanović, "Novopazarski sandžak 1878-1900 (V nastavak)," 117-43, here pp. 31-32.

It is worth underlining that after WWI, the new/old governance recognized the status of the war disabled rank and file of the Serbian, Montenegrin, Habsburg, and Bulgarian armies or those of any other allied country in whose army a SHS subject fought “for our unification.”<sup>228</sup> It is unclear what happened to those who enjoyed the Ottoman or Habsburg disability benefits. In contrast to the pre-1918 regulations, the new laws offered a nominally enlarged support package to the disabled soldiers and the families of the dead, deceased, and missing rank and file. It included free treatment in hospitals, artificial prostheses, professional reeducation, support for an independent economic position, granting the right to sell certain monopoly items, offering service in public administration and self-governing bodies, providing jobs in public and private companies, free ride, pensions, special allowances, and funeral expenses.<sup>229</sup> As for the family members (legal wife and their children, illegitimate or adopted children, parents of the disabled, deceased, or missing soldier, including their own siblings), the support consisted of similar provisions.<sup>230</sup> An overarching goal was to provide a source of income for the increasing number of the demobilized and disabled soldiers in public and private companies or municipalities.<sup>231</sup>

The practical dimension of the laws in the post-1918 setting was far from fulfilling its intention. One of the main challenges was the issue of medical treatment and access to it. Also in the post-war period, a dispute had emerged primarily between the Serbian veterans or disabled soldiers and their Habsburg peers.<sup>232</sup> Similar to the land issue, the predecessor polities left a legacy of social policy that some branded as the party luxury of flattering the electorate.<sup>233</sup> But it was more than that; providing social welfare established a setting within which the

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<sup>228</sup> „Uredba o privremenoj pomoći invalidima i porodicama palih ratnika od 14.02.1920“, *SN KSHS*, god. II, 02.06.1920, br. 119, 2, §1; „Zakon o privremenoj pomoći invalida i porodica poginulih, pomrlih i nestalih vojnika kao i nekih građanskih ratnih žrtava od 28.12.1921“, *SN KSHS*, god. III, 31.12.1921, br. 294, 1, §1 and „Invalidski zakon od 17.11.1925“, *SN KSHS*, god. VII, 21.11.1925, br. 268, 1, §2, 4.

<sup>229</sup> „Rešenje #8472 od 28.11.1919“, *SN KSHS*, god. I, 04.12.1919, br. 154, 2; „Uredba o privremenoj pomoći invalidima i porodicama palih ratnika od 14.02.1920“, *SN KSHS*, god. II, 02.06.1920, br. 119, 2-3, §4-5, 11-12 and „Zakon o privremenoj pomoći invalida i porodica poginulih, pomrlih i nestalih vojnika kao i nekih građanskih ratnih žrtava od 28.12.1921“, *SN KSHS*, god. III, 31.12.1921, br. 294, 2, §2.

<sup>230</sup> „Invalidski zakon od 17.11.1925“, *SN KSHS*, god. VII, 21.11.1925, br. 268, 2, §7, 9.

<sup>231</sup> „Uredba o privremenoj pomoći invalidima i porodicama palih ratnika od 14.02.1920“, *SN KSHS*, god. II, 02.06.1920, br. 119, 3, §10 and „Invalidski zakon od 17.11.1925“, *SN KSHS*, god. VII, 21.11.1925, br. 268, 4, §32.

<sup>232</sup> Ljubomir Petrović, *Nevidljivi geto: Invalidi u Kraljevini Jugoslaviji 1918-1941* (Beograd: Institut za savremenu istoriju, 2007), 84-85, 97, 99-101, 28-29, 32. and Džon Pol Njumen, *Jugoslavija u senci rata: Veterani u novoizgrađenoj državi, 1903-1945* (Beograd: Službeni glasnik 2017), 24-25, 27-29, 72, 74, 79, 87, 102, 12, 72, 215, 22-24. More on the disabled in the post-1918 context see Ljubomir Petrović, "Neuspeh politike zapošljavanja ratnih invalida u Kraljevini Jugoslaviji 1918-1941: Primer nelegalne društvene represije," *Istorija 20. veka*, no. 2 (2002): 47-60; Ljubomir Petrović, "Diskriminacija invalida u jugoslovenskom društvu 1918-1941. godine: Oblici socijalne represije nad osobama sa invaliditetom," *Tokovi istorije*, no. 3-4 (2003): 21-38; Ljubomir Petrović, "Pogled na invalidnost kroz istoriju," *Hereticus: Časopis za preispitivanje prošlosti* 2, no. 3 (2004): 49-76; Ljubomir Petrović, "Jezik invalidnosti kao društveni problem kroz istoriju," *Hereticus: Časopis za preispitivanje prošlosti* 8, no. 3-4 (2010): 77-92.

<sup>233</sup> Petrović, *Nevidljivi geto: Invalidi u Kraljevini Jugoslaviji 1918-1941*, 19.

governing elites monitored the conduct and action of male recipients, as well as the ‘moral’ side of female beneficiaries and children, what is argued below.<sup>234</sup>

Refusal to grant welfare benefits certainly led many to question the authorities, as happened in post-WWI Montenegro. The authorities thus sought to regulate the payments and provide clothes and food to the war and impoverished widows, the disabled, and the poor in general, while those in good health were to be employed. In short, the new powers had to display their legitimacy by wielding actual deeds.<sup>235</sup> When it came to supporting those who acted against the SCS polity, support could be cancelled insofar as “the state will not and should not help anyone who is against it.” Therefore, all those who received any kind of state relief, except for the disabled, had to take the prescribed legal oath that they would perform and adhere to their duties. Without this, not only would the needy lose financial aid, but also the families of outlaws, their hideouts, and those who used to generally help them were no longer entitled to food support and could not buy anything from state-controlled warehouses.<sup>236</sup>

### 3.2. A Blurred Line between Irregular and Regular Soldiers: Paramilitary Units

Drawing on the research of Robert Gerwarth and John Horne, paramilitarism refers here to “military or quasi-military organizations and practices that either expanded or replaced the activities of conventional military formations.” In some cases, these units served as an auxiliary to state power who helped the polity to establish the monopoly of violence and wielded them against other (non-) politically supported armed groupings.<sup>237</sup> Depending on the state, local circumstances, entrepreneurs or ruling elites, sources reveal what these actors were called or how they self-identified. Variations included: *bašibozuk*, *başıbozuk* (Montenegro, Serbia, Ottoman Empire), *četnik* (Montenegro, Serbia, Ottoman Empire), *komita*, *Komitadschi*, *komitaci* (Serbia, Habsburg Monarchy, Ottoman Empire), *uskok* (Montenegro), *kačak*, *kaçak*

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<sup>234</sup> "Zakon o potpori vojnih invalida i porodica poginulih, umrlih i nestalih vojnika od 08.07.1878," here pp. 25, §13. (...) Ako se invalid oda piću i rasipanju, pa potporu ne upotrebljuje na članove porodice, onda će se jedna ili dve trećine, prema broju članova, njegove potpore davati određenom staraocu na celj izdržavanja porodice. This article was not replaced with the 1914 law. See „Zakon o izmenama i dopunama u Zakonu o potpori vojnih invalida i porodica poginulih, od rana umrlih ili nestalih vojnika od 10.04.1914“, *SN*, god. LXXXI, 13.04.1914, br. 82, 1-3; "Pravila po kojima će se izvršivati naređenja u Zakonu o potpori vojnih invalida i porodica poginulih, od rana umrlih, ili nestalih vojnika, izdana na osnovu čl. 36 (16.10.1881, #2752)," in *Zbornik zakona i uredaba u Kraljevini Srbiji izdanih od 05.09.1881. do 28.07.1882* (Beograd: Državna štamparija, 1882), 3-12, here pp. 10-11 §25. (...) policijske vlasti dužne (...) izveštavaju (...) o raskošnom i nemoralnom životu i skitnji kao i o nenagledanju porodice, i nemoralnom vladanju člana porodice, koji potporu uživa, o raskošnom životu, kao i skitnji, o preudaji udovica, o udaji ženske dece (...) and *Zakon o pomoći vojnih invalida i porodica poginulih, umrlih ili nestalih vojnika za vrijeme rata i uopšte u vršenju vojničke dužnosti*, here pp. 9, §9 (...) Udovice i druga čeljad gube to pravo i onda, ako bi se odale skitnji i nemoralnom vladanju. See also Regina-Maria Dackweiler, "Wohlfahrtsstaat: Institutionelle Regulierung und Transformation der Geschlechterverhältnisse," in *Handbuch Frauen- und Geschlechterforschung: Theorie, Methoden, Empirie*, ed. Beate Kortendiek Ruth Becker (Wiesbaden: VS Verlag, 2010), 520-31, here pp. 21-24.

<sup>235</sup> VA/Belgrade, P3, K177, F8, 8/93, #40.177, 05.06.1919, Beograd, Supreme Command to the Chief of Adjutant Department.

<sup>236</sup> AJ/Belgrade, 14-181-672, #98, 18.01.1920, Cetinje, Government Proxy to the MoI.

<sup>237</sup> Robert Gerwarth and John Horne, "Vectors of Violence: Paramilitarism in Europe after the Great War, 1917-1923," *The Journal of Modern History* 83, no. 3 (2011): 489-512, here pp. 490. and Robert Gerwarth and John Horne, "Paramilitarism in Europe after the Great War: An Introduction," in *War in Peace: Paramilitary Violence in Europe after the Great War*, ed. Robert Gerwarth and John Horne (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 1-18, here pp. 1-2.

(Montenegro, Ottoman Empire, SCS) to *ustaša* (Serbia), *eşkîya* (Ottoman Empire), *Banden*, *Kontrabande* (Habsburg Monarchy) or *flying detachments* (SCS).<sup>238</sup> Rather than ascribing a certain label to only one imagined nation, empirical evidences and literature indicates that one should rather situate a term within the context.<sup>239</sup> For example, the term *başıbozuk* or *başıbozuk*, which was not only reserved for Ottoman paramilitaries, but both Serbian and SCS governing elites also used it as a synonym to label undisciplined soldiers, gendarmes (*gomila başıbosluka*) or armed locals of the Montenegrin and SCS armies.<sup>240</sup>

Overlapping characteristics in the case of the terms *eşkîyalık* or *çete* also had various meanings: banditry or brigandage (*haydudluk*, *fesâdcılık*), a grouping of robbers (*haydud çetesi*), or a military squad (*asker bölüğü*). *Çeteci* could also mean a scout (*talîa askeri*).<sup>241</sup> In the Slavic vernacular the latter also implied a sense of pursuing adventure (*çetovanje*) or might even specify a mercenary (*çetedžija*).<sup>242</sup> One notices something similar when it comes to raiding, looting, blood feud or warfare in the areas where a tribal/kinship fabric was dominant. This did not only lead to blurred lines between political and apolitical-motivated paramilitaries, but at the same time, it also obscured the boundary between war volunteering and paramilitaries, as well as between regular or irregular soldiers.<sup>243</sup> However, in order to avoid unnecessary confusion, this study adheres to the use of the term paramilitaries which effectively bundles together all these multiplicities, distinguished by levels of state involvement.<sup>244</sup> Depending on the context, it would nevertheless use the local label.

<sup>238</sup> BOA/Istanbul, TFR.I.KV, 154/15380, leff 13, 13 Şubat 1322 [26/02/1907] Mitroviçe Fırkası Kumandanlığına Yazılan Tahrirli Şifre Tegrafname Suretidir. (...) Yeni Pazar'daki *eşkîyanın* günden güne artmakta (...) or *ibid*, HR.TH, 351/91, 04.08.1323 [17/08/1907], Üsküp, Kosova Valisi Dahiliye Nezaretine (...) Velikalılar'dan bir *eşkîya* çetesinin bizim tarafa geçmiş olduğu (...); DACG/Cetinje MID, 1908/F155a, #2120, 07.12.1907, Velika, Tribal Captain T. Stamatović to Špiro Popović. (...) najviše se izazivaju neredi na granici od strane od pojedinih *uskoka*, koji prelaze iz naše države (...) NMCG-ABO/Cetinje, N. I 1908/F54, #88, 15.10.1908, Cetinje, M.B.B, *Opšti plan četničkog ratovanja u Hercegovinu*, Svaki *četnik* treba da zna (...); DACG/Cetinje, PPKŽ, F6, #309, 08.11.1910, Poščana, Miloica V. to the PPK. (...) sad ih davaju turskom *baši bozuku* Kolašincima (...); DACG/Cetinje, MUD-UO, 1911/F116, #1985, 18.07.1911, Andrijevića, Vešović to Mol. (...) *kačake* (*uskoke*) Srbe iz Beranske nahije (...); VA/Belgrade, P2, K16, F1, 1/29, 31.10.1912, Mitrovica, Commander of the Ibar Army to the Supreme Command. (...) obrazuju od mesnog stanovništva vojsku („*ustaše*“) (...) and ÖStA/KA/Vienna, FA NFA MGG/S, 1666/1918, #219, 06.03.1918, Belgrade, MGG/S to the GIS Mitrovica (...) Bildung einer *Kontrabande* (...).

<sup>239</sup> Pavlović and Marković, "Guerrilla in the Balkans: Historical Conditions and Developments," 21-30, here pp. 30. and Heiko Brendel, "*Lieber als Kacke als in Hunger sterben*": *Besatzung und Widerstand im k. u. k. Militärgeneralgouvernement in Montenegro (1916-1918)* (Frankfurt/New York: Campus Verlag, 2019), 25-28.

<sup>240</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MID-PO 1912, R382, F13, D1, XIII/73, #387, 20.11.1912, Mitrovica, District Chief to the Commander of the Ibar Army; AJ/Belgrade, 14-177-653, #1107, 17.07.1922. godine, Peć, District Chief to the Skoplje-based commissioner-inspector and Abdülkadir Özcan, "Başıbozuk," *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi* 5 (Balaban - Beşir Ağar) (1992): 130. A similar thing occurs in the case of *komita* or *četnik*. See Šešum, "Četnici u Prvom balkanskom ratu 1912," footnote #67, 77.

<sup>241</sup> Şemseddin, *Kamus-i Türki*, entry "eşkîyalık", 118; "çete", "çeteci", 506-07. See also Fikret Adanır, "Heiduckentum und osmanische Herrschaft: Sozialgeschichtliche Aspekte der Diskussion um das frühneuzeitliche Räuberwesen in Südosteuropa," *Südst-Forschungen* 41 (1982): 43-116.

<sup>242</sup> Vuk Stefanović [Karadžić], *Srpski rječnik, istolkovan njemačkim i latinskim riječma* (Beč: Gedrückt bei den P. P. Armeniern, 1818), entry "četa", 899; "çetedžija", "çetovanje" and "çetovati", 900.

<sup>243</sup> VA/Belgrade, P3, K57, F1, 1/39, *Uput za formiranje dobrovoljačkih odreda*, Niš, Štamparija MV, 1914. See the list of the former paramilitaries from Tašlica and Yeni Pazar who voluntarily entered the Serbian army at the outset of WWI VA/Belgrade, P3, K57, F1, 1/15, #307, 26.07.1914, Novi Pazar, Pav. J. Pešić to the Supreme Command and Mehmet Beşikçi, "Başıbozuk Savaşçıdan 'Makbul' Tebaaya: 1877-1878 Osmanlı-Rus Savaşı'nda Osmanlı Ordusunda Çerkez Muhacirler," *Hacettepe Üniversitesi Türkiyat Araştırmaları Enstitüsü* Güz 2015, no. 23 (2015): 85-123, here pp. 06-07.

<sup>244</sup> Üngör, *Paramilitarism: Mass Violence in the Shadow of the State*, 7-8.



### 3.2.1. Ottoman Hudut Bölüğü

This blurred line was evident in the case of the border companies, established in late 1908 in the Ottoman borderlands to Bulgaria, Greece, Habsburg Bosnia, Montenegro, and Serbia, whose aim (as their name suggests) was to overlook the state border.<sup>245</sup> In order to concentrate and not fragment the tactical aspect of the regular infantry divisions, the post-1908 ruling elites handed over the role of supervising the border to these paramilitaries coming from the borderlands who then became border guards.<sup>246</sup> Out of twenty-two companies established in the Ottoman Balkans in late 1908, three companies (consisting of 200 men each) were to be found in Berane, Gusine and Plava with squadrons who stood under their command. They were billeted in the villages and functioned as violent actors, who were thus scattered throughout the countryside.<sup>247</sup> These units fought side by side with Ottoman regular troops in the Balkan Wars during which time they had a manifold mission. Similar to their Serbian peers, they were supposed to create chaos and confusion in the enemy's homeland by destroying or ruining railways, telegraph lines, roads and bridges, thus applying the asymmetric conduction of combat operations and subversive actions.<sup>248</sup>

The inner fabric of these armed groupings is compelling. It consisted of four officers who had graduated from military schools and had mastered the relevant local languages, meaning that it was not exclusively locally rooted brokers who led them.<sup>249</sup> The crews were recruited from the former soldiers of the local Muslims. They had the advantage over the regular Ottoman soldiers coming namely from Anatolia who were unfamiliar with the local societal and language structures. If a native entered into a border unit, he was committed to serve three years and thereby received weapon, gear and a monthly sum of 150 piasters for food.<sup>250</sup>

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<sup>245</sup> ÖStA/HHStA/Vienna, PA XXXVIII/387, #65, 16.08.1909, Mitrovica, Keneay to Aehrenthal; *ibid*, PA XXXVIII/440, #166, 06.11.1909, Skopje, Adamkiewicz to Aehrenthal and BOA/Istanbul, BEO, 4026/301905, 29 Mart 1328 [11/04/1912], Daire-i Sadaret Tahrirat Kalemi Dahiliye Nezaretine. For the list of all border companies and their headquarters in the Ottoman Balkans see ÖStA/HHStA/Vienna, PA XXXVIII/440, #116, 20.08.1910, Skopje, Heimroth to Aehrenthal. For the organization of those yet in the Taşlıca area see NMCG-ABO/Cetinje, N. I, 1913/F66, #18, 15.03.1913, Turski poručnik novi Srbin Milan Milovanović, *Taşlıca 60. Alayı Nizamiye ve Redif Kıtaaatı*, 1-3.

<sup>246</sup> ÖStA/HHStA/Vienna, PA XXXVIII/440, #166, 06.11.1909, Skopje, Adamkiewicz to Aehrenthal.

<sup>247</sup> ÖStA/HHStA/Vienna, PA XXXVIII/387, #93, 15.12.1909, Mitrovica, Tahy to Aehrenthal and *ibid*, PA XXXVIII/440, #166, 06.11.1909, Skopje, Adamkiewicz to Aehrenthal.

<sup>248</sup> Hallı, "Türk Silahlı Kuvvetleri Tarihi: Balkan Harbi (1912-1913). Garp Ordusu, Vardar Ordusu ve Ustruma Kolordusu," 83-84, 86, 88-89, 151-52. Ali Güneş, *Gayrinizami Harp: Balkan Harbi'nde Komita, Çete, Jandarma ve Milisler (1912-1913)* (İstanbul: Kronik, 2020), 116-17. Timofeev, "Serbian Chetniks: Traditions of Irregular Warfare," 260-84, here pp. 72, 76. Nafiz and Kiramettin, *1912-1913 Balkan Savaşı'nda İşkodra Savunması*, I. ve II. , 91, 177-78. Özatalay, *Türk Silahlı Kuvvetleri Tarihi: Balkan Harbi, Garp Ordusu, Karadağ Cephesi*, III. cilt / 3. Kısım, 63-64. Hallı, "Türk Silahlı Kuvvetleri Tarihi: Balkan Harbi (1912-1913). Garp Ordusu, Vardar Ordusu ve Ustruma Kolordusu," 83-84, 86, 88-89, 151-52. and Đurišić, *Prvi balkanski rat 1912-1913: Operacije crnogorske vojske*, III, 69-70.

<sup>249</sup> ÖStA/HHStA/Vienna, PA XXXVIII/387, #93, 15.12.1909, Mitrovica, Tahy to Aehrenthal; *ibid*, PA XXXVIII/440, #166, 06.11.1909, Skopje, Adamkiewicz to Aehrenthal and DAS/Belgrade, MID-PO 1909, R334, F4, D1, IV/13, #857, 17.03.1909, Beograd, MoW to the MoFA.

<sup>250</sup> ÖStA/HHStA/Vienna, PA XXXVIII/387, #93, 15.12.1909, Mitrovica, Tahy to Aehrenthal and *ibid*, PA XXXVIII/440, #166, 06.11.1909, Skopje, Adamkiewicz to Aehrenthal.

One of these former soldiers was Avro Međedović, a bilingual Muslim and well-known *guslar* from Akova, who served in the standing army for seven years and then two months in Ottoman Macedonia, Albania and Selanik before joining a *hudut bölüğü*.<sup>251</sup> The able-bodied of military age could also voluntarily enter, as happened in the case of the Gusine population just several months prior to the Balkan Wars.<sup>252</sup> In times of need, these would be further reinforced with other age groups such as those of the last levy of the Ottoman army (so-called *müstahfiz*) or with those who were exempted from serving the regular military call in times of peace.<sup>253</sup> Thus, it was not only *bandits, deaf-mute, insane, evildoers* and their sons who returned from exile, *vagrants, thieves, and savages* became members of the paramilitaries – to use subjective identifications that appear in Montenegrin and Serbian sources – but also local power-holders, discharged soldiers and volunteers.<sup>254</sup> Around Taşlıca, the local power offered weapons to some Christians but they refused to accept them for unknown reasons.<sup>255</sup>

It seems that the Lower Vasojevići tribe was excluded because, as Avro Cemović utters, *carski korduni*, as the tribesmen and Montenegrin authorities mainly referred to the latter, “are not a standing army but rather the Albanian people’s army.”<sup>256</sup> But why would the headman consider these paramilitaries as an exclusively Albanian project? And where did the idea of establishing them come from? This venture represented a remnant of both the pre- and post-1878 Ottoman elites whose goal was to encapsulate these contested physical spaces and inhabitants that still actively resisted serving in the standing army.

The case in point is the Plava-Gusine area whose bilingual population vigorously abstained from performing their regular military call even at the outset of 1912.<sup>257</sup> They considered themselves as eternal soldiers for Montenegro and the imagined Montenegrin tribesman, and they asked the state to give them material help, weapons, and ammunition.<sup>258</sup> The Ottoman authorities sought to accustom these locals to the military duty but also to solidify the state’s presence. Similar to the eastern portion of the Adana province, the Ottoman ability to monopolize violence was also threatened here. Therefore, even after 1908 the state power relied

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<sup>251</sup> Milman Parry, *Serbo-Croatian Heroic Songs*, ed. David E. Bynum with Albert B. Lord, vol. IV: *Ženidba Smailagina sina*, kazivao je Avdo Međedović s popratnim razgovorima s Međedovićem i drugim (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Center for the Study of Oral Literature, 1974), 4-7.

<sup>252</sup> BOA/Istanbul, BEO, 4026/301905, 29 Mart 1328 [11/04/1912], Daire-i Sadaret Tahrirat Kalemi Dahiliye Nezaretine. (...) Gusine tevabiinden Novşik, Pepiç, Arzınıça kurâsı ahalisinin gönüllü olarak Gusine hudut bölüğüne kayd ve kulları münasip ve mucip istifade olacağı (...); DACG/Cetinje, MID, 1910/F186, #2286, 16.12.1910, Velika, Janko Vukotić to the Prime Minister and Güneş, *Gayrinizami Harp: Balkan Harbi'nde Komita, Çete, Jandarma ve Milisler (1912-1913)*, 112.

<sup>253</sup> Güneş, *Gayrinizami Harp: Balkan Harbi'nde Komita, Çete, Jandarma ve Milisler (1912-1913)*, 107-09.

<sup>254</sup> DACG/Cetinje MID, 1908/F150a, #544, br 76, 05.02.1908, Skadar, Consulate to the MoFA; DAS/Belgrade, MID-PO 1910, R348, F4, D2, IV/163, unnumbered, 01.03.1910, Užice, District Chief to the MoI and DACG/Cetinje, MID, 1910/F186, #2286, 16.12.1910, Velika, J. Vukotić to the Prime Minister.

<sup>255</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MID-PO 1909, R334, F4, D1, IV/25, 25.04.1909, Beograd, MoW to the MoFA.

<sup>256</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MID, 1910/F175, #42, br. 531, 30.02.1910, Andrijevica, Avro Cemović to the MoFA

<sup>257</sup> BOA/Istanbul, HR.SYS, 150/47, 13.02.1912, Assin Bey to Ottoman Ambassador in Cetinje, Rustem Bey.

<sup>258</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MID, 1911/F199, #3361, br. 4600, 02.11.1911, Andrijevica, Vešović to the MoFA.

on the local notables.<sup>259</sup> Stressing an Islamic orientation in policy after 1878 made some sense domestically because belonging to the same creed served as a cohesive and identifying factor. The authorities tended to emphasize not only state loyalty between the locals and the sultan but also reinforced and normalized the confessional identification.<sup>260</sup>

This was necessary because certain notables who became leaders of these units, such as Hasan Ağa Ferović from Plava, or villages and regions (e.g. Novšiće, Rugova) that harbored or became part of these units, whose inhabitants were Muslims, would continue to send annual contributions to various or protected local Christian monasteries.<sup>261</sup> This was not a clear top-down process imposed by state officials or brokers; confessionalization or nationalization of religion took shape through the performances and speech-act of the local populations, which were enforced after 1912 as well.<sup>262</sup> In this manner, the post-1908 Ottoman governing elites created horizontal loyalty with Hasan Ağa, who was not a supporter of the new order since he believed it could threaten his status, which happened in mid-1910.<sup>263</sup> As a result, he and other notables, with their kin included, spent some time in Montenegro, thereby upholding close economic and political relations, and remained volatile even after becoming commanders of the Ottoman paramilitaries.<sup>264</sup>

In this interplay, the Lower Vasojevići of Christian creed were excluded because they were increasingly viewed as being closer to Montenegro. An outsider was still unable to not

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<sup>259</sup> Gratien, "The Mountains Are Ours": Ecology and Settlement in Late Ottoman and Early Republican Cilicia, 1856-1956," 254.

<sup>260</sup> Deringil, *The Well-Protected Domains: Ideology and the Legitimation of Power in the Ottoman Empire 1876-1909*, chapters 1 and 2. Gawrych, *The Crescent and the Eagle: Ottoman Rule, Islam and the Albanians, 1874-1913*, 78, 80. Stephanov, *Ruler Visibility and Popular Belonging in the Ottoman Empire, 1808-1908*, chapter 4. and Clayer, "The Dimension of Confessionalisation in the Ottoman Balkans at the Time of Nationalisms," 89-109.

<sup>261</sup> Nathalie Clayer, "Religious Pluralism in the Balkans during the late Ottoman Imperial Era: Towards a Dynamic Model," in *Imperial Lineages and Legacies in the Eastern Mediterranean: Recording the Imprint of Roman, Byzantine and Ottoman Rule*, ed. Rhoads Murphey (London and New York: Routledge: Taylor & Francis Group, 2017), 101-14, here pp. 07. Jovičević, "Plavsko-gusinska oblast, Polimlje, Velika i Šekular," 390-91. Mirko Barjaktarović, "Čuvari (tuđih) bogomolja (manastirski vojvode)," *NovopazarSKI zbornik* 20 (1996): 131-36. and Bašmakov, *Preko Crne Gore u zemlju Gega*, 63, 127.

<sup>262</sup> Clayer, "The Dimension of Confessionalisation in the Ottoman Balkans at the Time of Nationalisms," 103-04. Sundhaussen, "Wir haben nur Missverständnisse geklärt". Die Krisenregion Balkan," 33-34. Rohdewald, "Religious Wars? Southern Slavs' Orthodox Memory of the Balkan and World Wars," 249-73. Andreas Kosmas Lyberatos, "Introduction: Through Nation and State. Reform and Nationalism 'from Below' in the Late Ottoman Balkans," *Turkish Historical Review* 7, no. 2 (2016): 121-33, here pp. 28, 30, 32. and Andreas Kosmas Lyberatos, "The Nation in the Balkan Village: National Politicization in Mid-Nineteenth-Century Ottoman Thrace," *Turkish Historical Review* 7, no. 2 (2016): 167-93, here pp. 92-93.

<sup>263</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MID, 1908/F155a, #2113, br. 617, 30.06.1908, Andrijevića, Protić to the MoFA; *ibid*, MID-PC, 1910/F22, #265, 1294, 25.06.1910, Cetinje, MoFA to the Istanbul Legation and *ibid*, MID, 1910/F180/a, #1055, br. 47, 05.07.1910, Andrijevića, Protić to the MoFA; *ibid*, MID, 1910/F180/a, #1055, br. 29, 09.07.1910, Andrijevića, Protić to the MoFA and *ibid*, MUD-UO, 1911/F109, #271(2), br. 2412, 30.01.1911, Podgorica, M. Vučinić to the MoI;

<sup>264</sup> BOA/Istanbul, DH.SYS 59/6, leff 32, 17 S 1329 [17/02/1911], Kosova Valisi to the MoI; DACG/Cetinje, MUD-UO, 1911/F118, #4291, br. 437, 26.10.1911, Andrijevića, Vešović to the MoI; NMCG-ABO/Cetinje, N. I, 1911/F58, #183, *Spisak arbanaških emigranata, koji se nalaze u Nikšiću, a ima im se dati po 2 napoleona na ime putnog troška*; Slavko Burzanović, "Nekoliko neobjavljenih dokumenata iz lične arhive Jovana S. Plamenca o nasiljima, zločinima i pokštavanju muslimana 1912-1913. godine," *Almanah: časopis za proučavanje, prezentaciju i zaštitu kulturno-istorijske baštine Bošnjaka/Muslimana*, no. 25-26 (2004): 285-318, #1, 13.09.1912, Velika, Nikola Popović to Jovan Plamenac, 290. Isa Blumi, "Impacts of the Balkan Wars: The Uncharted Paths from Empire to Nation-State," in *War and Nationalism: The Balkan Wars, 1912-1913, and their Sociopolitical Implications*, ed. M. Hakan Yavuz and Isa Blumi (Salt Lake City: The University of Utah Press, 2013), 528-57, here pp. 35, 37. and Reinkowski, "The Imperial Idea and Realpolitik: Reform Policy and Nationalism in the Ottoman Empire," 470.

distinguish the tribesman from the imagined Albanian even in the late 1880s since the everyday dress was the same.<sup>265</sup> Thus, their status strongly resembled that of the notion of dangerous populations, being trapped in a way between the distinct demarcation lines of state control and imagined ethnocultural belonging.<sup>266</sup> Performing loyalty to the sultan in times of need or voluntarily coming forward to serve in the army, as happened in the midst of the 1897 Greek-Ottoman War, did not change this policy.<sup>267</sup> Thus, the creation of border companies essentially proclaimed the end to their local autonomy because, as stated earlier, they enjoyed numerous privileges until 1908.<sup>268</sup> What consequences this created on the spot is thematized in detail in the next subchapter. Curtailing their privileges led first to negotiations, then exerting pressure or threats, and, when all of these failed, to insurgences.<sup>269</sup>

In this regard, they shared too many common points with the Fandi from the İpek, Yakova, and Prizren area, who were Albanian-speaking Catholics that made up a bayrak within the Catholic Mirdites tribal confederation. They enjoyed both military and tax exemption and constituted local units whose duty was to maintain public order, which all together constituted a central part of their self-identification and differentiated themselves from other Catholics. When this was initially curbed, a similar process was evident: finding a compromise with the new governance and when this failed it was followed by revolts.<sup>270</sup> However, sources reveal that this process did not engulf every area at once since around Taşlıca or Yeni Varoş the Ottoman authorities armed some Christians, as happened prior to or during the Balkan Wars, so that they could defend themselves from the robbers (*hırsızlar*).<sup>271</sup> Thus, the picture on the ground appears more multifaceted than one would assume.

In this sense, a similarity is evident with the eastern parts of the Ottoman Empire, viz. with the so-called Hamidiye regiments or, as they were renamed after 1908, the Tribal Regiments,

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<sup>265</sup> Cozens-Hardy, "Montenegro and Its Borderlands," 385-405, here pp. 393-94.

<sup>266</sup> Andriana Kemp, "'Dangerous Populations': State Territoriality and the Constitution of National Minorities," in *Boundaries and Belonging: States and Societies in the Struggle to Shape Identities and Local Practices*, ed. Joel S. Migdal (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 73-98, here pp. 74, 97-98.

<sup>267</sup> BOA/Istanbul, Y.PRK.UM, 37/113, leff 3, 26 Mart 313 [07/06/1897], Kosova Vilayeti to the MoI. Tebaa-ı sâdika-ı hristiyanıyeden dahi bir takım hükümete bilmürâca sâika-i ubûdiyyet ve gayretle gönüllü kayd ve kabullerini istid'â etmekte (...) and *ibid*, Y.PRK.UM, 37/113, leff 4, MoI to Yıldız Saray.

<sup>268</sup> Rakočević, "Stanje na crnogorsko-turskoj granici uoči Balkanskog rata (1908-1912)," 485-515, here pp. 486-87, 93-94, 98, 502, 07.

<sup>269</sup> BOA/Istanbul, DH.MKT, 2907/4, leff 2, 8 Ağustos 1325 [21/08/1909] MoI to the Sadaret-penahiye.

<sup>270</sup> Eva Anne Frantz, "Catholic Albanian Warriors for the Sultan in Late-Ottoman Kosovo: The Fandi as a Socio-Professional Group and their Identity Patterns," in *Conflicting Loyalties in the Balkans: the Great Powers, the Ottoman Empire and Nation-Building*, ed. Hannes Grandits, Nathalie Clayer, and Robert Pichler (London-New York: I. B. Tauris, 2011), 182-201, here pp.188, 90-92, 94, 96.

<sup>271</sup> NMCG-ABO/Cetinje, N. I, 1913/F66, #18, 15.03.1913, Turski poručnik novi Srbin Milan Milovanović, *Taşlıca 60. Alayı Nizamiye ve Redif Kıtâatı*, 5 (...) Fi 14 Teşrin-i Evvel [27/10/1912] kasaba Sırp gençlerine silah verilerek muhafaza edildi. Çünkü kasabada Kolaşin'den gelen hırsızlar çoktu (...) and DAS/Belgrade, MID-PP 1912, R43, unnumbered document, 03.06.1912, Javor, Sreten V. Vukosavljević to the MoFA. *Izveštaj o prilikama u javorskom reonu za poslednjih deset dana meseca juna 1912. godine*. During the 1897 Greek-Ottoman War, ten Orthodox Christians fought in the Ottoman Army among whom one died and three were wounded. See Joanović, "Novopazarski sandžak 1878-1900 (V nastavak)," 117-43, here pp. 32.

which were modeled after the Kazakh palace guards in Imperial Russia.<sup>272</sup> Their resemblance was so close that a Montenegrin representative from Istanbul believed just three months before Abdülhamid II was dethroned, that the so-called Albanian militia would be established in the Montenegrin-Ottoman borderlands drawing on the Hamidiye regiments.<sup>273</sup> This was not abandoned after 1908 but rather reframed and put into practice under new rule in all of the Ottoman Balkan borderlands, just as the Hamidiye regiments had been preserved, though with a renewed name. Simply put, the new ruling elites learned how to approach various issues by relying on past deeds. When viewed from the outside, the two regimes might be seen as complete opposites, however, they were both concerned with the transition towards homogenizing and nationalizing empire.<sup>274</sup> This comes as no surprise because after establishing the Imperial Tribal School in Istanbul in 1892, whose main purpose was integrating, Ottomanizing, confessionalizing, civilizing, and remodeling Arab and Kurdish tribes, the sultan also included certain Albanian-speaking tribal headmen.<sup>275</sup> Whether anyone from the region underwent the education still requires further research.

### 3.2.2. The Habsburg Mitrovica Battalion

The *Mitrovica*, a local, or volunteering battalion (*Einheimisches Baon, Freiwilliges Baon*) led by the entrepreneur and former Ottoman gendarmerie officer Derviş Bey also had a manifold mission. Apart from drafting the locals in its standing army, in early 1917, the Habsburg military authorities established a battalion that consisted entirely of bilingual former Ottoman soldiers and fit locals Muslims.<sup>276</sup> In this regard, the region did not differ greatly from occupied Albania.<sup>277</sup> At first, the *Mitrovica* battalion amounted to around 400 men and was divided into four companies whose command lay in the hands of the former Ottoman officers. The Slavic-speaking Muslims from the Yeni Pazar District represented a cadre for the three companies, while their peers from Mitroviça and Vulçitrn formed the rest of the battalion.<sup>278</sup> Several weeks

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<sup>272</sup> Klein, *Hamidiye Alayları: İmparatorluğun Sınır Boyları ve Kürt Aşiretleri*, 83-86.

<sup>273</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MID, 1908/F152a, #1275, br 736, 18.03.1908, Carigrad, Consulate to the MoFA

<sup>274</sup> Klein, *Hamidiye Alayları: İmparatorluğun Sınır Boyları ve Kürt Aşiretleri*, 81-82, 176-77, 93-94, 208. See also Janet Klein, "Çevreyi İdare Etmek: Osmanlı Devleti ve Hamidiye Alayları," in *Türkiye'de Ordu, Devlet ve Güvenlik Siyaseti*, ed. Evren Balta Paker and İsmet Akça (İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2010), 105-24.

<sup>275</sup> Gawrych, *The Crescent and the Eagle: Ottoman Rule, Islam and the Albanians, 1874-1913*, 83, 95. Klein, *Hamidiye Alayları: İmparatorluğun Sınır Boyları ve Kürt Aşiretleri*, 92-93. Eugene L. Rogan, "Aşiret Mektebi: Abdülhamid II's School for Tribes (1892-1907)," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 28, no. 1 (1996): 83-107. and Kasaba, "Do States Always Favor Stasis? The Changing Status of Tribes in the Ottoman Empire," 27-48, here pp. 46. See also Alişan Akpınar, *Osmanlı Devletinde Aşiret Mektebi* (İstanbul: Göçebe Yayınları, 1997), 43-46; Alişan Akpınar and Eugene L. Rogan, *Aşiret, Mektep, Devlet: Osmanlı Devleti'nde Aşiret Mektebi* (İstanbul: Aram Yayınları, 2001).

<sup>276</sup> ÖStA/KA/Vienna, AOK Qu. Abt., 2437/1917, M. V. Nr. 33581/S, 01.04.1917, #7176, Beograd, MGG/S to the AOK.

<sup>277</sup> Scheer, *Zwischen Front und Heimat: Österreich-Ungarns Militärverwaltungen im Ersten Weltkrieg*, 77, 171, 73. and Hugo Kerchnawe, "Die Militärverwaltung in Montenegro und Albanien," in *Die Militärverwaltung in den von den Österreichisch-Ungarischen Truppen Besetzten Gebieten*, ed. Hugo Kerchnawe et al. (Wien, New Haven: Yale University Press / Hölder-Pichler-Tempsky A.G., 1928), 270-304, here pp. 290.

<sup>278</sup> ÖStA/KA/Vienna, FA NFA MGG/S, 1642/1916-17, Op. Nr. 301-400, #354, 14.03.1917, Mitrovica, BGK to MGG/S; *ibid*, AOK Qu. Abt., 2437/1917, M. V. Nr. 33632/S, 20.04.1917, AOK to the MGG/S and other instances and *ibid*, AOK Qu.Ab.,

before the re-occupation of the town by the approaching Serbian army (1918), its combat prowess was increased by an additional 400 men from the Yeni Pazar, Mitroviča and Prepole areas, who were supposed to join the battalion on a voluntary basis.<sup>279</sup>

A second battalion was also founded but this one was made up of 600 men from the area of Vulčitrn and was headed by a Habsburg who commanded both the former Ottoman and the bilingual Habsburg NCO's.<sup>280</sup> Both battalions thus represented a hybrid paramilitary unit that included the undrilled locals, former Ottoman soldiers or NCO's, and the Habsburg officers of a standing army and NCO's. This fusion represented a challenge because soon after the clash with the regular Serbian army, which was accompanied by various Albanian and Slavic-speaking armed groupings, both units delivered only meager results.<sup>281</sup> Much of the crew fled in all directions during the first battle, while only officers and around forty men stayed, thereby forcing the Habsburg military to dissolve them.<sup>282</sup>

The *Mitrovica* battalion was founded during the so-called Toplica Uprising which began in early 1917 in the Bulgaria-occupied Serbian territories and which threatened to spill over into the Mitroviča region.<sup>283</sup> This was an undesirable scenario because the town and its vicinity lay at the trijunction of Bulgaria-occupied Kosovo, Habsburg-occupied Montenegro and Albania, meaning that its strategic position bypassed the local arrangements.<sup>284</sup> In order to maintain the upper hand locally, the Habsburg powers began establishing a paramilitary unit.<sup>285</sup> This narrative contradicts the post-war narrative promoted by some former Habsburg officers and, according to them, it was the brokers who came forward with this idea.<sup>286</sup>

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2479/1917, M.V. Nr. 163852/S, #1351, 28.10.1917, Požega Government-Inspector of the South Districts Generalmajor Globočnik to the MGG/S.

<sup>279</sup> ÖStA/KA/Vienna, FA NFA MGG/S, 1668/1918, Op. Nr. 1265, #313, 29.09.1918, Mitrovica, GIS to the MGG/S; *ibid*, Op. No. 1548, #57, 02.10.1918, Mitrovica, GIS to the MGG/S and *ibid*, #1548, 02.10.1918, Belgrade, MGG/S to the GIS and KK Mitrovica.

<sup>280</sup> ÖStA/KA/Vienna, FA NFA MGG/S, 1668/1918, Op. No. 1548, #57, 02.10.1918, Mitrovica, GIS to the MGG/S and *ibid*, #1548, 02.10.1918, Belgrade, MGG/S to the GIS and KK Mitrovica.

<sup>281</sup> ÖStA/KA/Vienna, FA NFA MGG/S, 1670/1918, #2147, 10.10.1918, Belgrade, MGG/S to various military bodies and *ibid*, Op. Nr. 2070, #547, 10.10.1918, Raska, GIS to the MGG/S.

<sup>282</sup> ÖStA/KA/Vienna, FA NFA MGG/S, 1670/1918, #2147, 10.10.1918, Belgrade, MGG/S to various military bodies.

<sup>283</sup> For the detail account see Andrej Mitrović, *Ustaničke borbe u Srbiji 1916-1918* (Beograd: Srpska književna zadruga, 1987); Kerchnawe, "Die k. u. k. Militärverwaltung in Serbien," 53-269, here pp. 93, 95. Martin Veselinov Valkov, "Balgarskoto voennoadministrativno upravljenie v Pomoravieto, Kosovo i Vardarska Makedonija 1915-1918 g." (PhD Sofijski universitet "Sv. Kliment Ohridski", 2015), 338-50. and Tasić, *Paramilitarism in the Balkans: Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, and Albania, 1917-1924*, 4, 34-35, 79-81.

<sup>284</sup> ÖStA/KA/Vienna, FA NFA MGG/S, 1642/1916-17, Op. Nr. 222, #326, 10.03.1917, Mitrovica, BGK to the MGG/S.

<sup>285</sup> ÖStA/KA/Vienna, FA NFA MGG/S, 1642/1916-17, Op. Nr. 222, #326, 10.03.1917, Mitrovica, BGK to the MGG/S; *ibid*, #354, 14.03.1917, Mitrovica, BGK to MGG/S and *ibid*, AOK Qu. Abt., 2437/1917, M. V. Nr. 33581/S, 01.04.1917, #7176, Beograd, MGG/S to the AOK.

<sup>286</sup> Kerchnawe, "Die k. u. k. Militärverwaltung in Serbien," 93. and Hugo Kerchnawe and Walter Maulik, "Bandenkrieg und Bandenbekämpfung im serbischen Okkupationsgebiete," *Militärgeschichtliche Mitteilungen* 60, no. 1 (1929): 20-29, here pp. 23-24.

In the final days of Habsburg rule, the two units were also seen as a counterweight against a possible insurgency of the seemingly disloyal Christian populations.<sup>287</sup> Organizing these paramilitaries would also hasten the sending of regular Habsburg troops to the front.<sup>288</sup> This claim prevailed only in mid-1918 when it became obvious that occupying troops and gendarmerie units might not be sufficient. In doing so, the authorities sought to “spare their own blood” (*eigenes Blut zu schonen*) by utilizing the local and reliable persons.<sup>289</sup> The *Mitrovica* battalion continued to function within the Habsburg security concept, although it did not act autonomously since the military power sought to bond, shape, and control both the crew and brokers by keeping it attached to higher military bodies or employing various measures.<sup>290</sup>

Not only did Derviš Bey gain a military consultant with the title of captain but five officers of Muslim creed were also allocated to each company and battalion command and acted as instructors for some time.<sup>291</sup> Following the enlargement of the crew, the number of surveilling eyes had risen since they provided temporary training to newly drafted soldiers and educated the previous ones.<sup>292</sup> Apparently, an NCO who was a farmer by profession was appointed in every platoon, whereas a Habsburg officer with agricultural knowledge could be found in each company, whose main aim was to explain the modern means of agriculture to the crew so that they could apply it when they were home.<sup>293</sup> In addition to receiving family assistance, bounty, sustenance, and clothing, these actions were supposed to serve as actual deeds and reinforce their mutuality in practice, which at that time was not hard since their notions of security overlapped.<sup>294</sup>

Notwithstanding this interesting inner fabric of the battalion, sources reveal only limited data on the internal dynamic. Of course, the view of Habsburg officers dominated. In contrast to the Slavic-speaking Muslims from the Yeni Pazar district who were labeled as useful under good leadership, it was the Albanian-speaking crew which was viewed problematic. The

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<sup>287</sup> ÖStA/KA/Vienna, FA NFA MGG/S, 1669/1918, Op. No. 1548, 02.10.1918, Belgrade, MGG/S to the GIS and Mitrovica District Command.

<sup>288</sup> ÖStA/KA/Vienna, AOK Qu.Abt., 2479/1917, M.V. Nr. 163852/S, #1351, 28.10.1917, Požega, Government-Inspector of the South Districts Generalmajor Globočnik to the MGG/S.

<sup>289</sup> ÖStA/KA/Vienna, FA NFA MGG/S, 1666/1918, Op. Nr. 451, #472, Mitrovica, 03.05.1918, GIS, *Instruktion für Bekämpfung von Räuber- und Komitabanden*.

<sup>290</sup> ÖStA/KA/Vienna, AOK Qu.Abt., 2437/1917, M.V. Nr. 33632/S, 20.04.1917, AOK, *Umorganisation der Gendarmerie-Streifkorpsabteilungen des MGG/S*.

<sup>291</sup> ÖStA/KA/Vienna, FA NFA MGG/S, 1668/1918, #1265, 28.09.1918, Belgrade, MGG/S to the GIS Mitrovica, KK Mitrovica Gouv. Inspz. Süd Mitrovica, KK Mitrovica, Novipazar, Prijepolje and the Krusevac Streak Regiment Command; *ibid*, 1670/1918, #2003, 09.10.1918, Belgrade, MGG/S to the GIS; *ibid*, AOK Qu.Abt., 2479/1917, M.V. Nr. 163852/S, #1351, 28.10.1917, Požega Government-Inspector of the South Districts Generalmajor Globočnik to the MGG/S.

<sup>292</sup> ÖStA/KA/Vienna, FA NFA MGG/S, 1668/1918, Op. Nr. 1265, #313, 29.09.1918, Mitrovica, GIS to the MGG/S and *ibid*, #313, 01.10.1918, Mitrovica, GIS to the MGG/S.

<sup>293</sup> ÖStA/KA/Vienna, FA NFA MGG/S, 1666/1918, Op. Nr. 427, #81, 15.04.1918, Mitrovica, GIS to the MGG/S and *ibid*, Op. Nr. 691, #234, 15.07.1918, Mitrovica, GIS to the MGG/S.

<sup>294</sup> ÖStA/KA/Vienna, AOK Qu. Abt., 2437/1917, M.V. Nr. 33581/S, #7176, 01.04.1917, Beograd, MGG/S to the AOK; *ibid*, 33581/S, 09.04.1917, AOK to various military bodies and *ibid*, FA NFA MGG/S, 1666/1918, #219, Telegramm, 08.03.1918, Mojkovac, 14. Streifkompagnie Kommando to the MGG/S.

officers faced challenges in disciplining them since they “tended to be insubordinate, especially if they [were] pushed more [during military drill].” Given the change of their company commander, who was considered politically unreliable and lacking ambition, and replacing the “worst elements,” some of whom had deserted to Bulgaria-occupied Kosovo, there was justified hope that this company have greater success, after some time and training.<sup>295</sup> A company of the second battalion whose able-bodied hailed from the Prepole district did not adhere to the military drills because they were “inherently used to full freedom, [knew] no laws, regulations, and regard[ed] any restriction of this freedom as an enemy attitude.” While being deployed in the home region, not far from their kin, they moved freely while patrolling and obtained food at a cheap price. After being billeted in Mitroviça, some had deserted; not only did they find themselves in an area far from the homeland, but it was also the training and lack of foodstuffs for their families which drove them to flee.<sup>296</sup>

One of their tasks included border security service particularly along the Serbian-Montenegrin borderland on either sides, whereby the companies had usually been employed separately as reinforcement of the Habsburg gendarmerie units or used together.<sup>297</sup> They were scattered and deployed to oversee certain inaccessible physical spaces around or within in the borderlands or even as a supporting unit in Habsburg-occupied Montenegro, where throughout 1918, they acted jointly with other counter-guerrilla units.<sup>298</sup> Fulfilling border duty demonstrated that they were capable of stopping and destroying various armed groupings that in the eyes of the Habsburg authorities represented one of the main hazards which could exacerbate public security. The latter refers not only to non-nationally oriented brigands but also to those who might be categorized as such, which actually represented a significant challenge.<sup>299</sup> In fact, their crews represented a pool from which manpower was drafted for establishing so-called *Kontrabanden* consisting of a maximum 50 men, where besides performing border protection service, acting as counter-guerrilla units remained one of their

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<sup>295</sup> ÖStA/KA/Vienna, AOK Qu.Abt., 2479/1917, M.V. Nr. 163852/S, #1351, 28.10.1917, Požega, Government-Inspector of the South Districts Generalmajor Globočnik to the MGG/S.

<sup>296</sup> ÖStA/KA/Vienna, FA NFA MGG/S, 1666/1918, Op. Nr. 219, #58, 19.03.1918, Mitrovica, GIS to the MGG/S.

<sup>297</sup> ÖStA/KA/Vienna, FA NFA MGG/S, 1666/1918, Op. Nr. 219, #101/VIII, 24.02.1918, Prijepolje, Prijepolje District Command to the MGG/S; *ibid*, Op. Nr. 457, #88, 25.04.1918, Mitrovica, GIS to the MGG/S and *ibid*, Op. Nr. 691, #234, 15.07.1918, Mitrovica, GIS to the MGG/S.

<sup>298</sup> ÖStA/KA/Vienna, FA NFA MGG/S, 1666/1918, Op. Nr. 50, #11, 16.01.1918, Mitrovica, GIS to the MGG/S; *ibid*, Op. Nr. 457, #88, 25.04.1918, Mitrovica, GIS to the MGG/S; *ibid*, #219, Telegramm, 08.03.1918, Mojkovac, 14. Streifkompagnie Kommando to the MGG/S; *ibid*, Op. Nr. 219, #58, 19.03.1918, Mitrovica, GIS to the MGG/S and *ibid*, Op. Nr. 438, #101/41, 22.04.1918, Prijepolje, Prijepolje District Command and Brendel, “*Lieber als Kacake als in Hunger sterben*”: *Besatzung und Widerstand im k. u. k. Militärgeneralgouvernement in Montenegro (1916-1918)*, 302-14.

<sup>299</sup> ÖStA/KA/Vienna, FA NFA MGG/S, 1666/1918, Op. Nr. 451, 03.05.1918, Belgrade, MGG/S to the GIS and Mitrovica, Novi Pazar, and Prijepolje District Commands.



chief obligations. It goes without saying that members of these paramilitary units were granted family aid and funds, as was the case with their peers in the volunteering battalion.<sup>300</sup>

The further metamorphosis did not engulf every company at the same time, but beginning from early 1918, when the rise of armed groupings became evident particularly around Mitroviča, only some of its subunits functioned as *Kontrabanden* while the rest underwent military training.<sup>301</sup> One also notices in Mitroviča a different inner fabric of one *Kontrabande* that merged twenty men from the battalion and fifteen Albanian-speaking volunteers selected from Vilçitrin (who acted as guides) who were supervised by Derviš Bey himself, whose personal influence was considered sufficient to keep them under control. This was necessary because “every robbery [was] to be eliminated at all costs.”<sup>302</sup>

Those organized by the local authorities in Yeni Pazar and Prepole were made up solely of the Slavic-speaking Muslims and locals who had not yet drilled. Again, the issue of control emerged, for which reason reliable NCOs from the battalion or from the gendarmerie troops became their commanders.<sup>303</sup> In clashes with the various armed gangs made up of the bilingual Muslim and Christian locals, these *Kontrabanden* proved their worth and this in turn reinforced the Habsburg authority and mutuality with Derviš Bey, who turned out to be a more successful broker than others.<sup>304</sup>

Although there is a tendency among scholars to identify Derviš Bey and these units solely along the national line, sources indicate that he did not further any political project compared to other notables (e.g. Hasan Bey or the Draga brothers).<sup>305</sup> The same applies to the *Kontrabanden* to the extent that they were equally deployed against any armed bandits regarded as (non-)national. It could be that their ideological fervor lays elsewhere. These paramilitaries effectively participated in chase campaigns against intruding armed groupings coming from Montenegro and post-1913 Albania; they were active in Montenegro and inner parts of pre-1913 Serbia.<sup>306</sup> This certainly does not mean that they eliminated every gang locally. For

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<sup>300</sup> ÖStA/KA/Vienna, FA NFA MGG/S, 1666/1918, Op. Nr. 219, 06.03.1918, Belgrade, MGG/S to the GIS and *ibid*, AOK Qu.Abt., 2437/1917, M.V. Nr., 33632/S, #7227, 02.04.1917, Belgrade, MGG/S to the AOK.

<sup>301</sup> ÖStA/KA/Vienna, FA NFA MGG/S, 1666/1918, Op. Nr. 50, #11, 16.01.1918, Mitrovica, GIS to the MGG/S and *ibid*, Op. Nr. 182, #263, 03.03.1918, Mitrovica, GIS to the MGG/S.

<sup>302</sup> ÖStA/KA/Vienna, FA NFA MGG/S, 1666/1918, Op. Nr. 219, 06.03.1918, Belgrade, MGG/S to the GIS and *ibid*, Op. Nr. 182, #263, 03.03.1918, Mitrovica, GIS to the MGG/S.

<sup>303</sup> ÖStA/KA/Vienna, FA NFA MGG/S, 1666/1918, Op. Nr. 450, 29.04.1918, Belgrade, MGG/S to the GIS, the Yeni Pazar and Prepol District Commands, and other military bodies. See also *ibid*, Op. Nr. 451, 03.05.1918, Belgrade, MGG/S to the GIS and Mitrovica, Novi Pazar, and Prijepolje District Commands and DAS/Belgrade, VGG, 8-1189, #691, 04.07.1918, Belgrade, MGG/S to the AOK, *Situation Report for June*.

<sup>304</sup> ÖStA/KA/Vienna, FA NFA MGG/S, 1666/1918, Op. Nr. 219, 06.03.1918, Belgrade, MGG/S to the GIS; *ibid*, #58, 19.03.1918, Mitrovica, GIS to the MGG/S and DAS/Belgrade, VGG, 8-1189, # 691, 04.07.1918, Belgrade, MGG/S to the AOK, *Situation Report for June*.

<sup>305</sup> Mitrović, *Ustaničke borbe u Srbiji 1916-1918*, 45. and Tasić, *Paramilitarism in the Balkans: Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, and Albania, 1917-1924*, 32, 34.

<sup>306</sup> ÖStA/KA/Vienna, FA NFA MGG/S, 1666/1918, Op. Nr. 457, #88, 25.04.1918, Mitrovica; *ibid*, Op. Nr. 154, #291, 30.05.1918, Mitrovica, GIS to the MGG/S; DAS/Belgrade, VGG, 8-1189, # 691, 04.07.1918, Belgrade, MGG/S to the AOK,

instance, the band leader Azem Bejta (also known as Galica) remained outside of their line of vision by masterfully utilizing the Mitroviça trijunction.<sup>307</sup> Still by being a constituent element of the Habsburg security contract and armed forces (consisting of almost 17,500 men in mid-1917), these actors actively upheld the Habsburg-fostered notion of security in practice, thereby (un-)knowingly absorbing their opinion of who was and who was not a threat on the ground.<sup>308</sup> A thorough cleansing of physical space was also needed since it had an equivalent moral influence on the population. It sought not only to show who had a monopoly on violence but also to teach the (dis-)loyally deemed locals that the governance still functioned.<sup>309</sup> These units served as link with the natives too since the Habsburg Bosnian gendarmes used to drink, whereas their Hungarian peers did not establish contact with the locals since they did not speak the language.<sup>310</sup>

But why would the Habsburg military elites support these units and where did this idea come from? Asking this question is important because Jonathan Gumz claims that the Habsburg military fought against such units attempting to teach the locals in Serbia how to distinguish the clear line between combatants and non-combatants.<sup>311</sup> His argument could only be partially accepted namely because in his study, Gumz overlooked the post-Ottoman areas. This territory and its adjacent areas emerged as a space where a multilateral transfer and cultural exchange between the (imagined) enemies and allies is easily followed, which was a reciprocal process. Similar to the idea of compulsory military service, this paramilitary exchange resulted in the drawing of a line which solidified the political and imagined border between different cultures.<sup>312</sup> The fact that this was not a unique case is demonstrated in a similar process in nineteenth-century France and Prussia/Germany, where their armies were forced to look for ideas and models among the potential enemies for their further development.<sup>313</sup> Although the

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*Situation Report for June* and Kerchnawe and Maulik, "Bandenkrieg und Bandenbekämpfung im serbischen Okkupationsgebiete," 28-29.

<sup>307</sup> ÖStA/KA/Vienna, FA NFA MGG/S, 1666/1918, Op. Nr. 427, #81, 15.04.1918, Mitrovica, GIS to the MGG/S.

<sup>308</sup> ÖStA/KA/Vienna, AOK Qu.Abt., 2437/1917, M.V. Nr. 33632/S, 20.04. 1917, AOK, *Umorganisation der Gendarmerie-Streifkorpsabteilungen des MGG/S*.

<sup>309</sup> ÖStA/KA/Vienna, FA NFA MGG/S, 1667/1918, Op. Nr. 552, #508, Belgrade, Undated telegram of the MGG/S.

<sup>310</sup> DAS/Belgrade, VGG, 18-737, Lajos Thallóczy, *Kreis Novipazar*, 6.

<sup>311</sup> Jonathan E. Gumz, *The Resurrection and Collapse of Empire in Habsburg Serbia, 1914-1918* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

<sup>312</sup> Michael Werner, "Nachwort," in *Kulturtransfer im 19. Jahrhundert*, ed. Marc Schalenberg (Berlin: Centre Marc Bloch, 1998), 173-80, here pp. 74, 76, 79-80. Steffen Bruendel, "Negativer Kulturtransfer. Die "Ideen von 1914" als Aufhebung der "Ideen von 1789", in *Kulturtransfer im 19. Jahrhundert*, ed. Marc Schalenberg (Berlin: Centre Marc Bloch, 1998), 153-69, here pp. 53, 55, 66. and Marc Schalenberg, "Einleitung: Historische Fluchtlinien von Kultur," in *Kulturtransfer im 19. Jahrhundert*, ed. Marc Schalenberg (Berlin: Centre Marc Bloch, 1998), 7-12, here pp. 8.

<sup>313</sup> Michel Sikora, "Aneignung zur Abwehr: Scharnhorst, Frankreich und die preußische Heeresreform," in *Vom Gegner Lernen: Feindschaften und Kulturtransfers im Europa des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Martin Aust and Daniel Schönplflug (Frankfurt/New York: Campus Verlag, 2007), 61-94. and Jakob Vogel, "Lernen vom Feind: Das Militär als Träger des deutsch-französischen Kulturtransfers im 19. Jahrhundert," in *Vom Gegner Lernen: Feindschaften und Kulturtransfers im Europa des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Martin Aust and Daniel Schönplflug (Frankfurt/New York: Campus Verlag, 2007), 95-113, here pp. 96, 02, 06-07, 10.

asymmetric warfare in the region was not unfamiliar to the Habsburg military, it nevertheless showed the need for learning and adaptation to overcome an unnecessarily loss, as happened in Imperial Russia when Central Asia was being colonized.<sup>314</sup>

After specifying its deficits in fights against various armed groupings, the Habsburg military elites developed an approach despite the disagreements in their military field. This process consisted of three phases of learning and adjusting, which was also evident in Habsburg-occupied Montenegro, and which Heiko Brendel aptly refers to as the *Montenegrinization* of Habsburg troops.<sup>315</sup> In contrast to the French-German setting, the regional transfer occurred between multiple actors. The former Ottoman gendarmerie officers possessed a necessary knowledge of the area and social network, as well as holding highly praised influence over their crews which made them a key element in underpinning the Habsburg authority locally.<sup>316</sup> This strong personal allegiance between the rank and file and their leaders is also palpable in the case of the Serbian, Bulgarian, and SCS paramilitary leaders.<sup>317</sup> Kadri Effendi, a commander of a Slavic-speaking Muslim company, distinguished himself as an efficient and useful tool in performing border security services, and also at hunting bandits and paramilitaries. This is why his company was active in different areas beyond Yeni Pazar.<sup>318</sup> The important role that this played in building these units is illustrated in the following example written by a Habsburg commander from Mitroviçe:

Relying on their previous experiences, the [Mitroviçe, Yeni Pazar and Prepol] district commanders are unquestionably convinced that we will not exterminate [*ausrotten*] the banditry and comitadji-like activities in [their] districts in this way. This can only be achieved with the participation of the population and in such a way that in each county or ethnographically closed/isolated areas [...] a reliable person is won who has perfect personnel and local knowledge [...] or more understanding about the existence and formation of bands, their hiding spots, changing routes, and intruding robber gangs. Of course, this also includes that this chief man of confidence [*Hauptvertrauensmann*] has a whole network of sub-confidants in his county (area), who keep him up to date on everything related to bandits and comitadjis.<sup>319</sup>

This represented a background that further pressured the Habsburg authorities to cultivate close relations with Derviš Bey and others because they appeared to have been the most suitable

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<sup>314</sup> Michael Khodarkovsky, "Krieg und Frieden: Was Russland an seinen asiatischen Frontiers (nicht) lernte," in *Waffen Wissen Wandel: Anpassung und Lernen in transkulturellen Erstkonflikten*, ed. Birthe Kundrus and Dierk Walter (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2012), 198-218, here pp. 199-200.

<sup>315</sup> Kundrus and Walter, "Anpassung und Lernen in transkulturellen Erstkonflikten: Fragen - Hintergründe - Befunden," 7-33, here pp. 9, 11, 20-26, 29. and Brendel, "*Lieber als Kacake als in Hunger sterben*": *Besatzung und Widerstand im k. u. k. Militärgeneralgouvernement in Montenegro (1916-1918)*, 380, 82-86, 88.

<sup>316</sup> ÖStA/KA/Vienna, FA NFA MGG/S, 1667/1918, Op. Nr. 691, #185, 11.06.1918, Mitrovica, GIS to the Mitrovica District Command.

<sup>317</sup> Tasić, *Paramilitarism in the Balkans: Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, and Albania, 1917-1924*, 3-4, 157-58.

<sup>318</sup> ÖStA/KA/Vienna, AOK Qu.Abt., 2479/1917, M.V. Nr. 163852/S, #1351, 28.10.1917, Požega, Globočnik to the MGG/S; *ibid*, FA NFA MGG/S, 1666/1918, Op. Nr. 452, #91, 28.04.1918, Mitrovica, GIS to the MGG/S and *ibid*, Op. Nr. 452, 29.04.1918, Belgrad, MGG/S to the GIS.

<sup>319</sup> ÖStA/KA/Vienna, FA NFA MGG/S, 1666/1918, Op. Nr. 451, #472, 03.05.1918, Mitrovica, GIS, *Instruktion für Bekämpfung von Räuber- und Komitabanden*.

(*als die geeignetsten*) for this job.<sup>320</sup> Even though two and a half years had passed since the region was under Habsburg rule, unfamiliarity with certain landscapes represented a serious issue, which functioned as refuge warrior areas, which the locals knew how to use.<sup>321</sup> To this end, the wholly reliable (*absolut verlässlich*) Albanian or Turkish-speaking locals of Muslim creed were kept armed as well, meaning, the shades of state loyalty and the policy of choosing who would be armed is evident.<sup>322</sup> Since the inhabitants also wore local costumes, once they found themselves in a dangerous situation, they would conceal their weapons and “play the peaceful citizens,” as a former Habsburg officer recalls.<sup>323</sup> That is why members of the *Kontrabanden* functioned somewhat as checkpoints whose goal was to assess who was (dis-)loyal and who was part of the imagined group, which was also implemented in WWII.<sup>324</sup> Accordingly, the external appearance of the second battalion was designed in a manner that was supposed to help the Habsburg authorities distinguish the latter not only from the local population, but also among themselves.

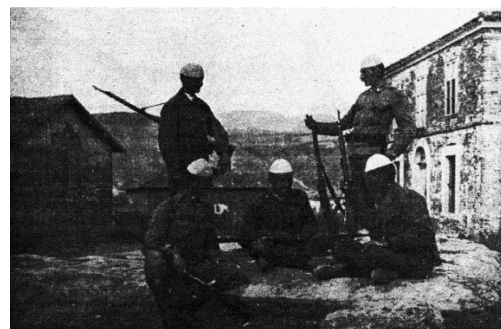


Photo 4 and 5: Crews of the “Turkish” and Albanian Companies. As an eyewitness recalled, while the first company wore a red fez, the second one donned a green one. In the case of the third company, a white qylaf became the norm, whereas the crew of the fourth found themselves appropriating a green qylaf. Wearing different caps conveyed a symbolic message of expressing unity between “Muslims, Albanians and the Habsburg Monarchy.” That is why the paramilitaries wear different uniforms and headgears. Their posture indicate that the scenes have been prearranged. In short, the ethnic fostering of the locals did not bypass the paramilitaries too, just as in the Vasojevići. This was meant to reify the line between *us* and *them*, meaning that mobilization masterfully concealed the hidden transcripts of the ruling elites.<sup>325</sup>

<sup>320</sup> ÖStA/KA/Vienna, FA NFA MGG/S, 1667/1918, Op. Nr. 691, #185, 11.06.1918, Mitrovica, GIS to the Mitrovica District Command and *ibid*, Op. Nr. 452, 29.04.1918, Belgrad, MGG/S to the GIS.

<sup>321</sup> ÖStA/KA/Vienna, FA NFA MGG/S, 1666/1918, Op. Nr. 451, #472, 03.05.1918, Mitrovica, GIS, *Instruktion für Bekämpfung von Räuber- und Komitabanden* and Christopher Boehm, *Montenegrin Social Organization and Values: Political Ethnography of a Refugee Area Tribal Adaptation* (New York: AMS Press, 1983), 130, 32, 35, 39.

<sup>322</sup> ÖStA/KA/Vienna, FA NFA MGG/S, 1668/1918, #2088/res/I, 23.09.1918, Belgrade, MGG/S to the AOK.

<sup>323</sup> Hugo Kerchnawe and Walter Maulik, "Bandenkrieg und Bandebekämpfung im serbischen Okkupationsgebiete," *Militärgeschichtliche Mitteilungen* 60, no. 3 (1929): 185-94, here pp. 89.

<sup>324</sup> Joel S. Migdal, "Mental Maps and Virtual Checkpoints: Struggles to Construct and Maintain State and Social Boundaries," in *Boundaries and Belonging: States and Societies in the Struggle to Shape Identities and Local Practices*, ed. Joel S. Migdal (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 3-23, here pp. 6. Jan Grabowski, "The Polish Police: Collaboration in the Holocaust (Ina Levine Annual Lecture, November 17, 2016)," *United States Holocaust Memorial Museum*, Jack, Joseph and Morton Mandel Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies (April 2017).

<sup>325</sup> Both pictures are published in Kerchnawe and Maulik, "Bandenkrieg und Bandebekämpfung im serbischen Okkupationsgebiete," 24. Koničanin, *Efendijina sećanja i kazivanja*, 113.

Sources show that this clothing “problem” resided more with an outsider and less with the locals since the former assumed that wearing fez or qylaf confirmed one’s national/confessional belonging despite the fact that the latter was worn by both Christians and Muslims, similar to the pre- and post-1913 Bulgarian setting.<sup>326</sup> This happened to Serafim Džarić, who before becoming a priest travelled several times to western parts of Serbia at the end of 19<sup>th</sup> century. Both gendarmerie and locals identified him as “Turkish” (*eno Turčina*) not least because he donned the fez, which disturbed him.<sup>327</sup> The same line of argument engulfed a commanding Serbian officer in post-Ottoman Seniče, where the Christian locals continued wearing the fez, the (black) qylaf or turban. This bothered the commander who ordered them not to wear the Turkish fezzes or turbans but rather don the Serbian *šajkača* because they were no longer the Turkish reaya. In the eyes of another officer who witnessed this remodeling, not only did the *šajkača* become a symbol of Serbdom locally, but the new “Serbs” “left more or less their stooping attitude, straightened up, raised their heads and began to breathe freely and look straight into the white world.”<sup>328</sup> Thus, it was not only about the imagined Muslim community which had to endure the homogenization measures, as certain scholars have claimed, but also Christians.<sup>329</sup>

The Ottoman crew, however, was not the recipient in this interaction. Having been part of the Ottoman military, they must have participated in similar actions or simply taken part in the 1912/13 Wars. In addition to acquiring foreign literature on the concept of small wars (especially after 1908), some officers applied guerrilla tactics which were used in the Boer Wars and by drawing on the British colonial army, they utilized counter measures in the Balkans.<sup>330</sup> This in turn brought them the much-needed experience that they expanded upon during the occupation.<sup>331</sup> That is why the commanding officers, Derviš Bey, Kadri Effendi, Kazim Effendi, and Mustafa Effendi, together with an unnamed forty men who refused to flee from the battle line as they fought the Serbian army, built a foundation which the companies and

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<sup>326</sup> Mary Neuburger, *The Orient Within: Muslim Minorities and the Negotiation of Nationhood in Modern Bulgaria* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2004), 88-90, 92, 94-95.

<sup>327</sup> Džarić, *Doživljaj igumana Serafima Džarića*, 43-44.

<sup>328</sup> Šikoparija, *Sećanja srpskog oficira (1900-1918)*, 88.

<sup>329</sup> Boeckh, *Von den Balkankriegen zum Ersten Weltkrieg: Kleinstaatenpolitik und ethnische Selbstbestimmung auf dem Balkan*, 164.

<sup>330</sup> Ömer Fevzi, *Osmanlı Gayrinizami Harp Doktrini: Eşkiya Takibi ve Çete Muharebeleri Talimnamesi (1909)*, ed. Hazırlayan Ali Güneş (İstanbul: Dergâh 2016). Mesut Uyar, "Ottoman Counterinsurgency Operations in the Balkans and Crete," in *War in the Balkans: An Encyclopedic History from the Fall of the Ottoman Empire to the Breakup of Yugoslavia*, ed. Richard C. Hall (Santa Barbara, California / Denver, Colorado / Oxford, England: ABC-CLIO, 2014), 212-14. and Güneş, *Gayrinizami Harp: Balkan Harbi'nde Komita, Çete, Jandarma ve Milisler (1912-1913)*, 23-24, 35, 68-70, 71-77, 110-11.

<sup>331</sup> ÖStA/KA/Vienna, AOK Qu.Abt., 2437/1917, M.V. Nr. 33632/S, #7227, 02.04.1917, Belgrade, MGG/S to the AOK and *ibid*, FA NFA MGG/S, 1666/1918, Op. Nr. 219, #58, 19.03.1918, Mitrovica, GIS to the MGG/S.

*Kontrabanden* were built upon.<sup>332</sup> Since they remained loyal to the Habsburg cause and were thus too greatly compromised in public, the Habsburg ruling elites offered them a new life in the Monarchy because they felt that they had a moral obligation towards them and their families.<sup>333</sup> The pre-WWI experiences of the Ottoman officers and rank and file should not be underestimated, as the late studies on the topic clearly exhibit since they used in post-1913 Anatolia.<sup>334</sup>

But the Habsburg military also instilled their approach in these paramilitaries by drawing on a multitude of former experiences. The army had previously fought against insurgencies in the Bay of Kotor (1869) and in Bosnia and Herzegovina (1878, 1881/82) in which the future commanding officers during the period of WWI also participated.<sup>335</sup> Some were assigned after 1903 as reform officers to the Ottoman gendarmerie or monitored the actions of Bulgarian or Serbian paramilitaries while serving as military attachés in Istanbul just one decade before 1916 where they acted then as part of the occupying force.<sup>336</sup> It is at this point that teaching from the (potential) enemy in practice and theory emerges.<sup>337</sup> Thus, it was not only that ideas circulated but also people, just as in the case of German ex-officers who had been instructors

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<sup>332</sup> ÖStA/KA/Vienna, AOK Qu.Abt., 2479/1917, M.V. Nr. 163852/S, #1351, 28.10.1917, Požega, Government-Inspector of the South Districts Generalmajor Globočnik to the MGG/S and *ibid*, #2147, 10.10.1918, Belgrade, MGG/S to various military bodies.

<sup>333</sup> ÖStA/HHStA/Vienna, PA I 1007, 50w, Albanien, #11409, 31.10.1917, Baden, Proxy of the MdÄ to Graf Andrassy.

<sup>334</sup> Uğur Ömit Üngör, "Paramilitary Violence in the Collapsing Ottoman Empire," in *War in Peace: Paramilitary Violence in Europe after the Great War*, ed. Robert Gewarth and John Horne (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 164-83; Erik Jan Zürcher, "Macedonians in Anatolia: The Importance of the Macedonian Roots of the Unionist for their Policies in Anatolia after 1914," *Middle Eastern Studies* 50, no. 6 (2014): 960-75. Emre Erol, "'Macedonian Question' in Western Anatolia: The Ousting of the Ottoman Greeks before World War I," in *World War I and the End of the Ottomans: From the Balkan Wars to the Armenian Genocide*, ed. Kerem Öktem and Maurus Reinkowski Hans-Lukas Kieser (London - New York: I. B. Tauris, 2015), 103-27. Uğur Ümit Üngör, "Mass Violence Against Civilians during the Balkan Wars," in *The Wars before the Great War: Conflict and International Politics before the Outbreak of the First World War*, ed. Andreas Rose, Dominik Geppert, and William Mulligan (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 76-91. and Güneş, *Gayrinizami Harp: Balkan Harbi'nde Komita, Çete, Jandarma ve Milisler (1912-1913)*, 161-69. See also and Benjamin C. Fortna, *The Circassian: A Life of Eşref Bey, Late Ottoman Insurgent and Special Agent* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2016).

<sup>335</sup> M. Christian Ortner, "Erfahrungen einer westeuropäischen Armee auf dem Balkan: Die militärische Durchsetzung österreichisch-ungarischer Interessen während der Interventionen von 1869, 1878 und 1881/82," in *Am Rande Europas? Der Balkan - Raum und Bevölkerung als Wirkungsfelder militärischer Gewalt*, ed. Bernhard Chiari and Gerhard P. Groß (München: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 2009), 67-87, here pp. 74-75, 79-80, 82-85. and Heiko Brendel and Emmanuel Debruyne, "Resistance and Repression in Occupied Territories behind the Western and Balkan Fronts, 1914-1918," in *Frontwechsel: Österreich-Ungarns "Großer Krieg" im Vergleich*, ed. Julia Walleczek-Fritz Wolfram Dornik, Stefan Wedrac (Wien - Köln - Weimar: Böhlau, 2014), 235-58, here pp. 55.

<sup>336</sup> ÖStA/KA/Vienna, AhOB GSt Militärattachés Konstantinopel, 49/1908, #43, undated, Evidenzburea des k. u. k. Generalstabes to the military attaché and *ibid*, #179, 15.03.1909, Vienna, General Staff to the military attaché; Gustav Hubka, "Bandenkämpfe: Erfahrungen der makedonischen Reformgendarmerieoffiziere," *Streffleurs Militärische Zeitschrift: Organ der Militärwissenschaftlichen Vereiene* 90, no. 2 (1909): 1501-26, here pp. 02-04, 09, 12-25. Brendel and Debruyne, "Resistance and Repression in Occupied Territories behind the Western and Balkan Fronts, 1914-1918," 255. and Gumz, *The Resurrection and Collapse of Empire in Habsburg Serbia, 1914-1918*, 21-22, 36-38, 42-43, 46-49.

<sup>337</sup> Martin Aust and Daniel Schönplflug, "Vom Gegner Lernen: Einführende Überlegungen zu einer Interpretationsfigur der Geschichte Europas im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert," in *Vom Gegner Lernen: Feindschaften und Kulturtransfers im Europa des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Martin Aust and Danien Schönplflug (Frankfurt/New York: Campus Verlag, 2007), 9-35, here pp. 14, 22, 25, 27, 29. See also Johannes Paulmann, "Feindschaft und Verflechtung: Anmerkungen zu einem scheinbaren Paradox," in *Vom Gegner Lernen: Feindschaften und Kulturtransfers im Europa des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Martin Aust and Daniel Schönplflug (Frankfurt/New York: Campus Verlag, 2007), 341-56, here pp. 42, 44, 50-51. and Marian Füssel, "Lernen - Transfer - Aneignung: Theorien und Begriffe für eine transkulturelle Militärgeschichte," in *Waffen Wissen Wandel: Anpassung und Lernen in transkulturellen Erstkonflikten*, ed. Birthe Kundrus and Dierk Walter (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2012), 34-49, here pp. 35-37, 41-43, 47-48.

during the different civil wars that raged throughout states from China to South America.<sup>338</sup> That is why the *Kontrabanden* resemble so much to those armed detachments established in Habsburg Bosnia-Herzegovina (known as *Strafuni*) whose duty was to oversee the border areas.<sup>339</sup> In this regard, they also resembled the German protection forces (*Schutztruppen*) established in East Africa under colonial rule.<sup>340</sup>

The Habsburg knowledge on guerrilla warfare also stemmed from their Bulgarian ally because in mid-1917, the Habsburg authorities translated the instructions on the formation and tactics of so-called *Gegenbanden* which essentially served as a blueprint according to which Habsburg *Kontrabanden* ran and what they applied in practice.<sup>341</sup> This comes as no surprise since the Bulgarian decades-long method was employed in the pre- and post-1913 Serbian territories occupied by Bulgaria during WWI.<sup>342</sup> Hence, both the battalion and *Kontrabanden* represented a hybrid that incorporated and employed various styles. That is why, the attempt to draw a sharp line between regular or irregular soldiers is not always helpful not least because they might eventually merge into one. The post-1918 setting also reveals how Habsburg and SCS paramilitary policies were so similar that some SCS local powers, in addition to relying on the Serbian paramilitary experiences, knowingly referred to the Ottoman or Habsburg policies when fighting against the banditry. They did not want to be cursed by “hardworking and honest cattle-breeding people.”<sup>343</sup>

Despite their goal of training them to pursue the state view of security or recruiting only the most trustworthy people, almost all of these paramilitaries revealed problems. Although committing wrongdoings was prohibited “at all costs,” members of the *Mitrovica* battalion were often excessively violent towards the Christians. They extorted or stole foodstuffs from the locals which left the authorities dumbfounded because until that moment their behavior had been flawless. They even suspected that this could not happen since the Slavic-speaking

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<sup>338</sup> Gerwarth and Horne, "Vectors of Violence: Paramilitarism in Europe after the Great War, 1917-1923," 499-500.

<sup>339</sup> Ortner, "Erfahrungen einer westeuropäischen Armee auf dem Balkan: Die militärische Durchsetzung österreichisch-ungarischer Interessen während der Interventionen von 1869, 1878 und 1881/82," 86-87.

<sup>340</sup> Tanja Bühler, "Die Hehee und die Schutztruppe in Deutsch-Ostafrika: Die Schlacht bei Rugaro 1891," in *Waffen Wissen Wandel: Anpassung und Lernen in transkulturellen Erstkonflikten*, ed. Birthe Kundrus and Dierk Walter (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2012), 258-81, here pp. 64, 70-71. See also Tanja Bühler, "Chartergesellschaft, privatrechtliche Wissmann-Truppe, Kaiserliche Schutztruppe. Deutsch-Ostafrika, 1885-1918," in *Rückkehr der Condottieri? Krieg und Militär zwischen staatlichem Monopol und Privatisierung: Von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart*, ed. Christian Jansen Stig Förster, Günther Kronenbitter (Paderborn - München - Wien - Zürich: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2010), 237-50.

<sup>341</sup> ÖStA/KA/Vienna, FA NFA MGG/S, 1642/1916-17, Op. Nr. 4, 10.07.1917, Nisch, Zum Operationsbefehl Nr. 5 vom 21.06.1917 des MGG Moraviens, *Instruktion Nr. 4 über die Formierung und Taktik der Gegenbanden* and ÖStA/KA/Vienna, AOK Qu.Abt., 2437/1917, M.V. Nr. 33632/S, #7227, 02.04.1917, Belgrade, MGG/S to the AOK.

<sup>342</sup> Ute Frevert, "Europeanizing German History," *German Historical Institute Bulletin (Washington, D. C.)* Spring, no. 36 (2005): 9-24, here pp. 10-13, 15. and Bruendel, "Negativer Kulturtransfer. Die "Ideen von 1914" als Aufhebung der "Ideen von 1789"," 166. Brendel and Debruyne, "Resistance and Repression in Occupied Territories behind the Western and Balkan Fronts, 1914-1918," 255. and Valkov, "Balgarskoto voenoadministrativno upravlenie v Pomoravieto, Kosovo i Vardarska Makedoniya 1915-1918 g.," 322-37, 50-67.

<sup>343</sup> Dimić and Borozan, *Jugoslovenska država i Albanci*, II, #650, 18.05.1920, Prizren, District Chief to the KIIIAO, 676.

Muslims were “their sworn enemies.”<sup>344</sup> This was in no way an isolated. After 1918, certain members were held accountable for killing dozens of Christians around Mitroviçe, whom they denounced and labeled as comitadjis beforehand, whereby looting of cattle went hand in hand with committing murder. Contemporaries recalled that these perpetrators belonged to the *Kontrabanden* headed by Derviš Bey.<sup>345</sup>

Whether or not the Habsburg ruling elites ordered these killings requires further research; however, the post-1918 governing elites did give the green light for their paramilitaries to carry out intimidation, torture, and executions. This took place at the moment when the politically or apolitically motivated armed groupings or insurgencies reached their height and when a standing army was not eager to get their hands dirty or was not capable of suppressing the latter. This happened in post-Ottoman Macedonia or in the region itself (e.g. in the village of Starčevići (1922) near Tutin).<sup>346</sup> However, this was not one-dimensional, as Ivo Banac or Oliver Jens Schmitt assume, since at the same time the post-1918 governing elites, similar to their Habsburg predecessors, supported paramilitaries consisting of bilingual Muslims (e.g. so-called Battalions of Organized Albanians or flying detachments).<sup>347</sup> This led not only to the institutionalization of paramilitarism in the post-war period, but also to the discrediting of the state in the eyes of the locals.<sup>348</sup> The locals in post-Ottoman Seniče, regardless of confessional belonging, noticed that the paramilitary terror was knowingly employed several days prior to elections.<sup>349</sup> A native subjectively recounts this situation:

There have been no attempts before and even during those days by society to make these two religions live as one people. With the change of the regime, one was always suppressed: During the Ottoman time, the Orthodox Serbs were subdued, and with the arrival of the First Serbia [1912], [the Slavic-speaking Muslims]. With the victory of the Habsburg Monarchy [1916], [the Slavic-speaking Muslims] again overtake the stage of freedom, and with the end of WWI [1918], the Orthodox Serbs gained more political freedom. It was as if some higher power had determined

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<sup>344</sup> ÖStA/KA/Vienna, FA NFA MGG/S, 1666/1918, Op. Nr. 182, 21.02.1918, Mojkovac, Kreiskommando Mojkovac to the MGG/S.

<sup>345</sup> Gumz, *The Resurrection and Collapse of Empire in Habsburg Serbia, 1914-1918*, 228. B. Antić, „Suđenje Ferad beg Dragi: Prvi dan suđenja u Kosovskoj Mitrovici“, *Politika*, god. XXIII, 21.12.1926, br. 6703, 4-5. For the over-ethnicized view of these killings see Miloš M. Damjanović, "O nekim ubistvima srpskih civila iz okoline Kosovske Mitrovice tokom austro-ugarske okupacije u Velikom ratu," *Srpske studije* 7 (2016): 79-95.

<sup>346</sup> IAR/Novi Pazar, F284, Vule Popović, *Hronika Tutina i sreza štavičkog*, 79, 80-87; DMITAR TASIĆ, "The Institutionalization of Paramilitarism in Yugoslav Macedonia: The Case of the Organization Against the Bulgarian Bandits, 1923-1933," *The Journal of Slavic Military Studies* 32, no. 3 (2019): 388-413. Tasić, *Paramilitarism in the Balkans: Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, and Albania, 1917-1924*, 58-62, 97-98, 100-03, 07-08, 10-18. See also Fabio Bego, "Violence and State-Building after the Great War: Italian, Yugoslav and Endemic Challenges to Albanian Projections," *Qualestoria: Rivista di storia contemporanea* XLVIII, Dopo la Grande guerra Violenza, Stati e società tra Adriatico orientale e Balcani, no. 1 (2020): 71-97.

<sup>347</sup> AJ/Belgrade, 14-177-650, #9014, 08.05.1922, Beograd, MoI to all district chiefs and *ibid*, 14-177-656, #6134, 13.07.1922, Kosovska Mitrovica, District Chief to the Commissioner of the MoI; Božica Ž. Slavković, "Bataljoni organizovanih Arnauta, 1919-1920," *Vojno-istorijski glasnik* LX, no. 1 (2010): 133-56. Božica Ž. Slavković, "Bataljoni organizovanih Arnauta, 1920-1921," *Vojno-istorijski glasnik* LXII, no. 1 (2012): 51-70. and Tasić, *Paramilitarism in the Balkans: Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, and Albania, 1917-1924*, 127, 58-59. See Banac, *The National Question in Yugoslavia: Origins, History, Politics*, 295-98. and Schmitt, *Der Balkan im 20. Jahrhundert: Eine postimperiale Geschichte*, 8, 10, 16, 38-39, 96.

<sup>348</sup> IAR/Novi Pazar, F284, Vule Popović, *Hronika Tutina i sreza štavičkog*, 80-81 and Tasić, "The Institutionalization of Paramilitarism in Yugoslav Macedonia: The Case of the Organization Against the Bulgarian Bandits, 1923-1933," 392-96, 406, 08.

<sup>349</sup> IAR/Novi Pazar, F284, Savo Čaković, *Hronika Sjenice*, 130-131.



that always one nation; that is religion, should be enslaved or subjugated. Such an orientation suited the ruling regimes and, as if by oath, took a negative stance regarding the unity of the people.<sup>350</sup>

In a word, none of the states respected their narrative that *all* locals would enjoy equal rights, meaning, the coming of a new state intensified the ethnonational and confessional homogenization campaigns, as Theodora Dragostinova also shows in the case of Bulgaria and Greece too.<sup>351</sup> But why did the ruling elites continue sponsoring violence, if this was against the tacit security contract between the populations and the state? They had a manifold mission whose importance in the opinion of decision-makers outweighed their shortcomings. The paramilitaries had been a constituent element of building the state's monopoly. Together, they were supposed to shape the transition from a borderland, as a meeting place of people in which national and confessional loyalties were undefined, to a bordered space, in which the locals preserved only some element of autonomy, which was being constantly limited.<sup>352</sup> This does not imply that every state was the same; just in their adherence to these actions.<sup>353</sup> In this interaction, blurred lines gave way to more homogenized hierarchies because remodeling the locals, through the use of nationally identifiable clothings, the census, schooling or confessionalization, did not suffice but required the use of physical force. This represented a world-wide process.<sup>354</sup>

As this process was materializing, a number of the paramilitaries became part of the ruling elites (e.g. successful business and political entrepreneurs), as happened in post-Ottoman Epirus, during the Habsburg occupation (e.g. Derviš Bey) or in the post-1918 setting, thereby absorbing new roles and expending their various forms of capital.<sup>355</sup> Since the ruling elites needed to find local allies that were capable of expanding and implementing their policies locally, giving up their knowledge, network and authority remained out of the question since breaking off relations with them was not lucrative.<sup>356</sup> However, in addition to violence

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<sup>350</sup> IAR/Novi Pazar, F284, Vule Popović, *Hronika Tutina i sreza štavičkog*, 79-80.

<sup>351</sup> Dragostinova, "Continuity vs. Radical Break: National Homogenization Campaigns in the Greek-Bulgarian Borderlands before and after the Balkan Wars," 405-26, here pp. 05-08.

<sup>352</sup> Jeremy Adelman and Stephen Aron, "From Borderlands to Borders: Empires, Nation-States, and the Peoples in between in North American History," *The American Historical Review* 104, no. 3 (1999): 814-941, here pp. 816-19, 39-40. and Emily Greble, "Introduction," *Austrian History Yearbook* 51, Forum: The Habsburg-Ottoman Borderlands: New Insights for the Study of the Nineteenth-Century European Legal and Social Order (2020): 15-24, here pp. 15-18, 23.

<sup>353</sup> Üngör, *Paramilitarism: Mass Violence in the Shadow of the State*, 15, 178, 87, 91.

<sup>354</sup> Adelman and Aron, "From Borderlands to Borders: Empires, Nation-States, and the Peoples in between in North American History," 816. Klein, *Hamidiye Alayları: İmparatorluğun Sınır Boyları ve Kürt Aşiretleri*, 18-20, 22, 27, 30-37, 43, 47-49, 52, 66, 70, 81-82, 89, 102, 42-43. Hartmann, "The Central State in the Borderlands: Ottoman Eastern Anatolia in the Late Nineteenth Century," 168-69. and Kasaba, "Do States Always Favor Stasis? The Changing Status of Tribes in the Ottoman Empire," 44-45.

<sup>355</sup> Tsoutsoumpis, "Land of the Kapedani: Brigandage, Paramilitarism and Nation-building in 20th Century Greece," 35-67, here pp. 46-47, 50, 52-53, 61. Njumen, *Jugoslavija u senci rata: Veterani u novoizgrađenoj državi, 1903-1945*, 45. and Tasić, "The Institutionalization of Paramilitarism in Yugoslav Macedonia: The Case of the Organization Against the Bulgarian Bandits, 1923-1933," 393.

<sup>356</sup> Dimić and Borozan, *Jugoslovenska država i Albanci*, II, #459, 25.07.1920, Prizren, Right Section of the IIIAO to the KKDO, 479-480.

committed by the paramilitaries and which carried a clear ethno-national component, one should also pay heed to local clashes in times of war.<sup>357</sup> In this regard, these actors, being members of the (para-)military, were capable of concealing their end objectives by appropriating the identitarian language of the ruling elites while furthering their own personal goals at the same time, as happened in the Berane, Rugova, Plava and Gusine region during the Balkan Wars.

### 3.3. Local Cleavages Embedded in War: The Case of the Vasojevići, Rugova, Plava, and Gusine

I come from Šekular [Map 3 on next page], from the village of Spalević, and became a widow twenty years ago [1889] with five small children, whom I supported by working for wages and proving them with a crust of bread. But when I bred the oldest and when I was expecting the greatest happiness from him, suddenly a misfortune has beset me. That same son of mine *went to revenge* his three uncles three years ago [1906], so fate wanted him to leave his own there as well. I am an angry poor [soul], but I am a worthy daughter of this country and a Serbian woman because I personally *went alone and removed* three heads of my brothers-in-law from the walls of the town of Ćpek, and then *brought the body* of my unfortunate beheaded son six hours away [too]. This is all that has blackened and aged me, made me sick and impoverished, and now I can no longer bear the burden of poverty, both my own and that of the small children of my dead son. That is why I came to ask You, my Lord, to help me breed the small children, so that *when they grow up to hold a rifle, they would avenge their father and their uncles*, and so that I would not wander around the alleys under age and with the poor children without having a roof [over my head] and a crust of bread [italic added by J. M.]

Rada Spalević to the Montenegrin King in late 1909.<sup>358</sup>



Photo 6: „Burial of the Head of Josa Radić in Peć Who Was Killed by the Turks and Whose Disembodied Head They Kicked with the Foot for Three Days through the Streets.” In the midst of the Balkan Wars, this photo appeared in a Serbian weekly. Who photographed the scene, who the people were and who the beheaded man was, aside from the title, is not indicated but it was calculatingly left to the readership to draw their own conclusion. The editors of the daily did not share the information that the Serbian Ministry of the Foreign Affairs provided the picture which was obtained in 1906 thanks to the Consulate in Priština, when a state official simply noted “usable for newspapers.” Through the process of framing and coding, the photo could therefore be employed. The image tends to convey a message of the uncertainty the imagined brethren face under Ottoman rule. Thus, the photo actively shouldered the Serbian discourse furthered at that

<sup>357</sup> Radomir Milašinović and Nenad Putnik, "Gerila kao specifičan vid društvenog konflikta," in *Guerrilla in the Balkans: Freedom Fighters, Rebels or Bandits - Researching the Guerrilla and Paramilitary Forces in the Balkans*, ed. Momčilo Pavlović, Tetsuya Sahara, and Predgrad J. Marković (Tokyo - Belgrade: University Meiji, Institute for Disarmament and Peace Studies, Tokyo / Institute of Contemporary History, Belgrade / Faculty for Security Studies, Belgrade, 2007), 327-38, here pp. 37.

<sup>358</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MID, 1909/F174a, #373, 07.10.1909, Cetinje, Widow Rada Spalević to the Prince Nicola.

time whose aim was manifold: to prove the Ottoman brutality against its Christian subjects, to homogenize and mobilize the Serbian public that was the receiver of these ‘proofs,’ and to justify the claim for waging war. After all, it was the Serbian army that stood as guardian and liberator of the Ottoman populations. The sitting woman is actually Rada Spalević who avoids looking directly at the photographer and behind her right shoulder and on her right side three boys are placed to whom she refers in her petition; she is not passive as in the photo, but rather a person who exercises agency...<sup>359</sup>

Joso’s beheading did not result as a corollary of the uncertainty, but his killing, which was harsh even for tribal/kinship standards, must be placed in the world view and type of warfare to which the locals from the Vasojevići, Rugova, Plav, and Gusine adhered to (Map 3). Having established a raiding party together with his five fellow tribesmen, Joso intruded upon the territory of Rugova in order to take revenge for the death of his three uncles but was executed while trying to start a fire or in an ambush during the night...<sup>360</sup> After beheading him and taking his firearm, the son of a Rugova standard-bearer, together with other peers, entered Āpek shooting in a boastful manner, showed off the head to the great crowd. As they moved from one neighborhood to another, they caused a great deal of excitement, thereby forcing a regional governor to take measures...<sup>361</sup> As they approached the governor’s building, someone suggested that they should be awarded for bringing the head. Yet both this performance and the later suggestion infuriated the governor who began to swear, berate, and even spited on all of them. An imam from Rugova acted in a similar manner uttering that they should submit the head right away to the local Christians so that it could be buried...<sup>362</sup>

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<sup>359</sup> „Sahrana glave Jose Radića u Peći, kojeg su Turci ubili i glavu mu tri dana po ulicama šorkali“, *Ilustrovana ratna kronika*/NS, sv. 6, 22.11/05.12.1912, 47. *Dokumenti o spoljnoj politici Kraljevine Srbije 1903-1914*, ed. Ljiljana Aleksić-Pejković and Života Anić, vol. II, sv. 1/II, 1/14. april - 30. jun / 13. juli 1906 (Beograd: Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti - Odeljenje istorijskih nauka, 2006), #699, 28.06.1906, Priština, Consulate to the MoF, 247 and 15.07.06, Beograd, Press Office of the MoF, 248. The Consulate got the image from a photographer who took picture of the burial, for which reason was sentenced to ten years of prison by the Ottoman power. See M. Velimirović, „Arnautska zverstva i nasilja“, *Ilustrovana ratna kronika: Časopis o događajima Balkanskog rata*/Beograd, god. 1, 27.01.1913, br. 21, 2 and Bašmakov, *Preko Crne Gore u zemlju Gega*, 96-98. On the propaganda amid the Balkan Wars see Wolfgang Höpken, ""Modern Wars" and "Backward Societies": The Balkan Wars in the History of Twentieth-Century European Warfare," in *The Wars of Yesterday: The Balkan Wars and the Emergence of Modern Military Conflict, 1912-13*, ed. Katrin Boeckh and Sabine Rutar (New York; Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2018), 25-93, here pp. 44-46, 48. For the Ottoman context see Y. Doğan Çetinkaya, "Atrocity Propaganda and the Nationalization of the Masses in the Ottoman Empire during the Balkan Wars (1912-1913)," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 46, no. 4 (World War I) (2014): 759-78. Y. Doğan Çetinkaya, ""Revenge! Revenge! Revenge!" "Awakening a Nation" through Propaganda in the Ottoman Empire during the Balkan Wars (1912-13)," in *World War I and the End of the Ottomans: From the Balkan Wars to the Armenian Genocide*, ed. Kerem Öktem and Maurus Reinkowski Hans-Lukas Kieser (London - New York: I. B. Tauris, 2015), 77-102. Elçin Kürsat-Ahlers, "Die Brutalisierung von Gesellschaft und Kriegsführung im Osmanischen Reich während der Balkankriege (1903-1914)," in *Gewalt im Krieg: Ausübung, Erfahrung und Verweigerung von Gewalt in Kriegen des 20. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Andreas Gestrich (Münster: Lig Verlag, 1996), 51-74. George W. Gawrych, "The Culture and Politics of Violence in Turkish Society, 1903-1914," *Middle Eastern Studies* 22, no. 3 (1986): 307-30. and Hasan Taner Kerimoğlu, "Balkan Savaşları'nda Osmanlı Propagandası: Neşr-i Vesaik Cemiyeti," *Tarih İncelemeleri Dergisi* 29, no. 2 (2014): 539-61.

<sup>360</sup> BOA/Istanbul, TFR.I.KV, 131/13084, 08 Ca 1324 [30 Haziran 1906], Āpek Mutesarrıflığı Rumeli Vilayat-ı Müfettişliğine; *Dokumenti o spoljnoj politici Kraljevine Srbije 1903-1914*, II, sv. 1/II, 1/14. april - 30. jun / 13. juli 1906, #699, 28.06/11.07.1906, Priština, Consulate to the MoF, pp. 247. and DACG/Cetinje, MID, 1909/F174a, #373, 07.10.1909, Cetinje, Widow Rada Spalević to the Prince Nicola.

<sup>361</sup> BOA/Istanbul, TFR.I.KV, 131/13084, 08 Ca 1324 [30 Haziran 1906], Āpek Mutesarrıflığı Rumeli Vilayat-ı Müfettişliğine and *Dokumenti o spoljnoj politici Kraljevine Srbije 1903-1914*, II, sv. 1/II, 1/14. april - 30. jun / 13. juli 1906, #699, 28.06/11.07.1906, Priština, Consulate to the MoF, 247.

<sup>362</sup> *Dokumenti o spoljnoj politici Kraljevine Srbije 1903-1914*, II, sv. 1/II, 1/14. april - 30. jun / 13. juli 1906, #699, 28.06/11.07.1906, Priština, Consulate to the MoF, 247.

Map 3: Montenegrin-Ottoman Borderlands in the Andrijevica-Berane-Plava-Gusine-Rugova Region



What the petition reveals is that the blood feud between the Spalevićs and the unknown persons from Rugova engulfed not only the generation of Rada's brothers-in-law or that of her son but it also carried on into the generation of her grandchildren. Rada craved for revenge to be fulfilled by the offspring, even if she considered it to be a misfortune. The picture of a beheaded Joso prior to 1912 played a pivotal role among his fellow tribesmen, meaning that, the humiliation was not forgotten.<sup>363</sup> Thus, before discussing war violence in this subchapter, it is necessary to reflect on the concept of revenge and how it was enacted locally because it offered a framework through which the events of the war could be better contextualized. It is difficult to tell why and under what conditions the blood feud had begun; nonetheless, multiple examples illustrate that raiding, theft of livestock, and unclear ownership over communal lands, local mountains, streams, wells, grasslands, and forests engendered blood feuds and violence between various villages and tribal/kinship communities.<sup>364</sup> Rada and other inhabitants from Šekular located in the Upper Vasojevići were, as their fellow tribesmen on the Ottoman side, in the constant legal and violent struggle with Rugova, Plava and Gusine located over the adjacent mountains ever since 1880 when the new demarcation line was drawn and whose ownership

<sup>363</sup> Vukosavljević, *Istorija seljačkog društva: Seoske zajednice i oblici ponašanja u njima*, 5, 188-89.

<sup>364</sup> Boehm, *Montenegrin Social Organization and Values: Political Ethnography of a Refuge Area Tribal Adaptation*, 52, 65. Jelić, *Krvna osveta i umir u Crnoj Gori i Severnoj Arbaniji: Istorijsko-pravna studija*, 52. See also Marija Herco, "Krvna osveta i običajno pravo u Crnoj Gori i Albaniji," *Rostra: Časopis studenata povijesti Sveučilišta u Zadru* 5, no. 5 (2012): 241-50, here pp. 46-47.

remained open until 1912.<sup>365</sup> Access to mountains was needed primarily for tending to the livestock which in their view represented one of the most holy rights.<sup>366</sup> The state border did not overlap with the communal or tribal boundaries (Map 3); thus, their properties were anything but defined. This in turn exacerbated the local relations on the either side of the border which compared to other areas, became dominant in this part of the region.<sup>367</sup>

### 3.3.1. Enacting Blood Feud, Multiplicity of Actors, Web of Loyalties, and the Pre-war Phase

It is often assumed that blood feud was carried out unchecked and without restraint locally, however, this was not the case because it was still managed to a certain degree by a multiplicity of rules dictated by an oral legal code. Blood feud was not without rules but it did function as a discourse.<sup>368</sup> There is a tendency in scholarship to label these unwritten laws along the ethnic line.<sup>369</sup> This is a mistake because it is known that it was not only those who were engaged in codifying these customs (un-)knowingly changed or exaggerated their terms in some points, but even today, these regulations influence the lifeworld of the locals in the areas not belonging to any specific imagined community.<sup>370</sup> However, if variations exist, they would be considered within the ethnically fixed boundaries without reflecting whether the answer might reside in the regional or tribal approach. Certain scholars claim that revenge represents a system of defining

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<sup>365</sup> Lalević and Protić, "Vasojevići u crnogorskoj granici," 514-610, here pp. 596-97. DACG/Cetinje, MID, 1908/F154, #1690, br. 405, 27.01.1908, Andrijevića, Protić to the MoFA and *ibid*, 1908/F154a, #1991, br. 200, 07.07.1908, Andrijevića, Protić to the MoFA. See also Gordana J. Garić-Petrovići, "Poljoprivreda Srbije od 1878. do 1912. godine" (PhD Univerzitet u Nišu Filozofski Fakultet, 2016), 31-32.

<sup>366</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MID, 1909/F168a, #883, 15.07.1909, Andrijevića, Protić to the MoFA and *ibid* 1910/F176a, #304, 12.02.1911, Cetinje, Janko Vukotić to the Prime Minister, *Izvjestaj o pograničnim neredima na strani moračko-vasojevićke oblasti u 1910. godini*.

<sup>367</sup> Tepavčević, "Stanje na crnogorsko-turskoj granici od 1908. do 1912. godine," 2-3, 12, 20-22, 25, 53, 59, 68, 77-78, 88-89, 91, 113; Uğur Özcan, "Sukob oko simbola na osmansko-crnogorskoj granici: Problem brda Jezero i slučaj Ržanice," *Almanah: časopis za proučavanje, prezentaciju i zaštitu kulturno-istorijske baštine Bošnjaka/Muslimana* 55-56 (2013): 283-89. and DACG/Cetinje, MID-PC, 1909/F21, #197, 1088/a, 05.06.1909, Carigrada, Legation to the MoFA.

<sup>368</sup> Hasluck, *The Unwritten Law in Albania*, 220. and Jelić, *Krvna osveta i umir u Crnoj Gori i Severnoj Arbaniji: Istorijsko-pravna studija*, 29-30, 32, 36, 39-40, 44-45, 87, 89, 90, 93. Peter Waldmann, "Rache ohne Regeln. Wiederaufleben eines archaischen Gewaltmotivs in Albanien und in Boyacá (Kolumbien)," in *Politische und ethnische Gewalt in Südosteuropa und Lateinamerika*, ed. Wolfgang Höpken and Michael Riekenberg (Göttingen: Köln - Weimar - Wien, 2001), 173-94. and Stephanie Schwandner-Sievers, "Humiliation and Reconciliation in Northern Albania: The Logics of Feuding in Symbolic and Diachronic Perspectives," in *Dynamics of Violence: Processes of Escalation and De-Escalation in Violent Group Conflicts*, ed. Georg Elwert, Stephan Feuchtwang, and Dieter Neubert (Berlin: Dunckler & Humblot, 1999), 133-52.

<sup>369</sup> J. H. Hutton, "Introduction," in *The Unwritten Law in Albania*, ed. J. J. Hutton (Cambridge Cambridge University Press, 1954), xi-xv, here pp. xi, xiv. Jelić, *Vasojevićki zakon od dvanaest točaka*, 29-31. Michael Schmidt-Neke, "Der Kanun der albanischen Berge: Hintergrund der Nordalbanischen Lebensweise," in *Der Kanun: Das albanische Gewohnheitsrecht nach dem sogenannten Kanun des Lekë Dukadžini kodifiziert von Shtjefën Gjeçevi*, ed. Robert Elsie (Pejë: Dukadžini Publishing House, 2001), 12-14. and Robert Elsie, "Vorwort," in *Der Kanun: Das albanische Gewohnheitsrecht nach dem sogenannten Kanun des Lekë Dukadžini kodifiziert von Shtjefën Gjeçevi*, ed. Robert Elsie (Pejë: Dukadžini Publishing House, 2001), 5-9.

<sup>370</sup> Halit Trnavci, "Predgovor," in *Kanon Leke Dukadžinija*, ed. sakupio i kodificirao (posthumno djelo) Štjefen Konstantin Dečovi (Zagreb: Stvarnost, 1986), 5-18, here pp. 10-11. Ema Pašić and Dina Pašić, "Zakonik Leke Dukadžinija: Pitanje kodifikacije Štjefena Konstantina Dečovića," *KSIO: Humanities Journal for Postgraduates and Early Career Researchers* 1 (2018): 28-40. and Haris Hadžić, "Refleksije Kanona Leke Dukadžinija na običaje i kulturu Bošnjaka u Rožajama," *Islamska misao: Godišnjak Fakulteta za islamske studije Novi Pazar* 6 (2012): 279-300.

and controlling conflict by avoiding the state; however, this was not the case in these parts of the region because the authorities were very much present.<sup>371</sup>

Encroachment of various state(-backed) actors who acted independently or through joint mediation with the Montenegrin-Ottoman authorities whose goal was to solve blood feuds is evident. This was preserved in the post-Ottoman period as well, during which time the Montenegrin and Habsburg powers imposed conciliation locally.<sup>372</sup> Montenegrin and Ottoman authorities acted jointly and met on more than one occasion until 1912. While preserving the peace among the locals, they immediately suspended all the state regulations, and worked by relying on the unwritten laws.<sup>373</sup> The locals were more than capable of naming who from the “other side” had shot, who enacted blood feud, to which fraternity or border unit he belonged to, and where the culprit or his family came from.<sup>374</sup>

They did not discard the custom of taking firearms as evidence that blood feud was enacted or of dropping a cartridge or piece of clothing on the ground, which served as proof of who had committed revenge.<sup>375</sup> The governing bodies tended to redraw the political border and reimburse the economic loss in an attempt to alleviate the locals’ economic status or to establish the mutual use of the mountains. Upon reaching agreement, however, either one side did not respect the terms agreed upon or in certain cases, the locals did not agree with the decision given its negative dimension. They were included in this process by partially constituting the state power in the borderlands.<sup>376</sup> Still, periods of peace were reached more than once by employing a combination of force and brokers.

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<sup>371</sup> Nico H. Frijda, "The Lex Talionis: On Vengeance," in *Emotions: Essays on Emotion Theory*, ed. Stephanie H. M. van Goozen, Nanne E. Van de Poll, and Joseph A. Sergeant (Hillsdale, New Jersey/Hove, UK: Lawrence Erlbaum Associated, Publishers, 1994), 263-89, here pp. 70. Herco, "Krvna osveta i običajno pravo u Crnoj Gori i Albaniji," 241. and Waldmann, "Rache ohne Regeln. Wiederaufleben eines archaischen Gewaltmotivs in Albanien und in Boyacá (Kolumbien)," 173-94, here pp. 75.

<sup>372</sup> Jelić, *Krvna osveta i umir u Crnoj Gori i Severnoj Arbaniji: Istorijsko-pravna studija*, 120-22. Özer Özbozdağlı, "Osmanlı Hükmetinin Kosova Arnavutları arasındaki Kan Davalarına Çözüm Bulma Çabaları 1908-1912," *Belleten* LXXXII, no. 271 (2010): 979-1011. Gawrych, *The Crescent and the Eagle: Ottoman Rule, Islam and the Albanians, 1874-1913*, 38. Scheer, *Zwischen Front und Heimat: Österreich-Ungarns Militärverwaltungen im Ersten Weltkrieg*, 126-29. and NMCG-ABO/Cetinje, N1 1912/F63, #173, 15.12.1912, Gusinje, Cemović to the King's Adjutant.

<sup>373</sup> Jelić, *Krvna osveta i umir u Crnoj Gori i Severnoj Arbaniji: Istorijsko-pravna studija*, 123.

<sup>374</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MID, 1909/F173, #1655, 10.12.1909, Andrijević, Radonjić to the MoFA; *ibid*, 1910/F176a, #304, 12.02.1911, Cetinje, Janko Vukotić to the Prime Minister, *Izvištaj o pograničnim neredima na strani moračko-vasojevićske oblasti u 1910 godini*; *ibid*, 1911/F196a, #2572, 16.02.1911, Velika, Kostadina Mikića and Vuksan M. Dragovića to the MoFA and Risto J. Dragičević, "Teški život crnogorskih krajišnika," *Glasnik Etnografskog muzeja na Cetinju* 1 (1961): 179-91, here pp. 81, 86-88.

<sup>375</sup> BOA/Istanbul, HR.TH, 232/11, 28/08/1899, MoI to the MoFA, Martin ve cephanesiyle bir öküzünü ahz (...) and Hasluck, *The Unwritten Law in Albania*, 228.

<sup>376</sup> See the different decisions of the Ottoman Council of Ministers from the early 1890s regarding in particular the unsolved status of grazelands between Šekular, Plava-Gusine and Rugova BOA/Istanbul, MV 61/2, 12 Ca 1308 [13/12/1890], Meclis-i Vükela and *ibid*, 63/73, 11 Şaban 1308 [22/03/1891], Meclis-i Vükela. Uğur Özcan, *II. Abdülhamid Dönemi Osmanlı-Karadağ Siyasi İlişkileri* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2012), 248, 89, 93-94, 99, 305-06, 09, 11-13, 18-20, 22-23. Bulajić, *Agrarni odnosi u Crnoj Gori (1878-1912)*, 76-86. and Abidin Temizer, "Osmanlı-Karadağ Sınır Anlaşmazlıkları ve Çözümü (1878-1912)" (Yüksek Lisans Tezi Ondokuz Mayıs Üniversitesi, 2007). Also see BOA/Istanbul, HR.TH, 106/3, 20 Kanunievvel 1306 [01/01/1891] Sadrazam to the MoFA.

In the Montenegrin context, the locally rooted headmen, while acting as the government proxies in 1909, advised other entrepreneurs (e.g. tribal captains, officers and mukhtars) in the Upper Vasojevići to use their esteem in order to deter their fellow tribesmen from committing robberies, cross-overs and smuggling on the other side.<sup>377</sup> The former were blamed because they paid very little attention to these occurrences which was apparent in their loose omission and non-dealing out punishments.<sup>378</sup> Seeking revenge on the other side was therefore punishable by law because, as a Montenegrin officer stated, “the State will revenge each of its subjects, in any way it can, and [everyone should] stick to it in every way.”<sup>379</sup> A similar process was evident on the Ottoman side, where in Rugova, the locals referred to the authorities so that those who enacted revenge and stole their cattle could be found or the military turned to members of the local mejlis in an attempt mollify the natives.<sup>380</sup> This was in their own interest because the locals’ utterance towards the state only facilitated its encroachment in this tribal zone at the expense of the local tribal and kinship fabrics. It represented an ongoing process that was not completed even after 1918.<sup>381</sup>

Even the ruling elites in the socialist Albania and Yugoslavia struggled with this occurrence, as the scholars have previously shown.<sup>382</sup> Thus, one deals here with the escalation and de-escalation of violence in the tribal/kinship context, where the state(-backed) actors, if properly motivated, were capable of maintaining control.<sup>383</sup> However, what happened when the state cannot fulfill this promise? Why was so important to enact blood feud? Why would certain brokers support this act? The answer lies in its close correlation with the concept of honor locally.

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<sup>377</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MUD-UO, 1909/F90, #3005(2), br. 2190, 02.07.1909, Kolašin, District Chief Lakić Vojvodić to the MoI. For the 1911 case see DACG/Cetinje, MID, 1911/F193, 1471/1911, #436, 18.05.1911, Andrijevica, Komesar to the MoI and *ibid*, #1514, br. 707, 18.05.1911, Andrijevica, District Chief to the MoI.

<sup>378</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MID, 1909/F169, #987, 09.07.1909, Cetinje, Prime Minister to the MoW.

<sup>379</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MID 1910/F176a, #304, 12.02.1911, Cetinje, Janko Vukotić to the Prime Minister, *Izveštaj o pograničnim neredima na strani moračko-vasojevićske oblasti u 1910 godini*. (...) No zato da će Država svetiti svakog svog podanika, na koji način mogne, pa se toga na svaki način i držati.

<sup>380</sup> BOA/Istanbul, HR.TH, 232/11, Rabiulahir 317 [28/08/1899], MoI to the MoFA and BOA/Istanbul, HR.TH, 366/21, leff 4, 7 Temmuz 324 [20/07/1908] Selanik, Command of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Imperial Corps to the MoFA.

<sup>381</sup> AJ/Belgrade, 14-177-653, #1107, 17.07.1922. godine, Peć, District Chief to the Skoplje-based commissioner-inspector. See also DAS/Belgrade, MUD-P 1913, F15/R41, br. 2041, 18.05.1913, Novi Pazar, District Chief to the Police Department at the Supreme Command and DAS/Belgrade, VGG, 20-77, 28.07.1917, Novi Pazar, District Command to a Delegate.

<sup>382</sup> Schmidt-Neke, "Der Kanun der albanischen Berge: Hintergrund der Nordalbanischen Lebensweise," 30. Milenko Karan, "Rugovska povelja: Dokument samoupravnog suzbijanja krvne osvete u kosovskom selu," *Sociologija i prostor: Časopis za istraživanje prostornoga i sociokulturnog razvoja* 44/45 (1974): 28-36. and Isabel Ströhle, *Aus den Ruinen der alten erschaffen wir die neue Welt! Herrschaftspraxis und Loyalitäten in Kosovo (1944-1974)*, ed. Ulf Brunnbauer and Konrad Clewing, Südosteuropäische Arbeiten, (München: De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2016), 178-93.

<sup>383</sup> Georg Elwert, Stephan Feuchtwang, and Dieter Neubert, "The Dynamics of Collective Violence: An Introduction," in *Dynamics of Violence: Processes of Escalation and De-Escalation in Violent Group Conflicts*, ed. Georg Elwert, Stephan Feuchtwang, and Dieter Neubert (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1999), 9-31, here pp. 13-15, 27. See also Gerhard Grohs, "About the Role of Churches in the Peace Process in Africa and Central America," in *Dynamics of Violence: Processes of Escalation and De-Escalation in Violent Group Conflicts*, ed. Georg Elwert, Stephan Feuchtwang, and Dieter Neubert (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1999), 203-09, here pp. 03-04, 09.

If a person was injured or killed, most often the family, and sometimes the fraternity, were obliged to punish the culprit. Until the latter was settled, each party viewed the other as their enemy.<sup>384</sup> The concept of blood, reckoned primarily through agnatic kinsmen, was the basis of the household, the fraternity, and the tribe. Given its shielding function, the fraternity played a central role inasmuch as it responded as a grouping.<sup>385</sup> In this regard, the blood feud was not carried out necessarily out of hatred for the killer, but primarily out of tribal/kinship loyalty towards the murdered.<sup>386</sup> Keeping score was to be respected regardless of social standing.<sup>387</sup> The murderer's personal property and their livestock also became a target, for which reason the locals from the either side would deliberately trespass over the political border to seek revenge by killing their sheep, horses, and cattle or take back their stolen livestock, whereby keeping score or seizing more represented the rule.<sup>388</sup>

Given the close human-animal bonding among the people who referred to the goats and sheep as "white or black gold," which their daily life revolved around, and upon which their wealth was based, taking revenge on the latter was in no way surprising.<sup>389</sup> In Rugova, horses were also in demand because not only were they used for daily work and transport but also for carrying foodstuffs from İpek, Mitroviça, and İškodra which was needed by the population and Ottoman military garrisons, meaning that the horses were an important part of the locals' livelihood.<sup>390</sup> Given the important role of dogs in tending to herds or protecting households during the night, revenge could also be sought if so-called chained dogs were purposely killed, whereas in case that a sheep dog killed a by-passer, his "blood was lost" because the mountain was the dog's ground both day and night.<sup>391</sup>

Ideally, one enacted revenge on middle-aged males, who were neither very young nor very old, because it was considered shameful to kill a young person who did not carry a weapon and

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<sup>384</sup> Hasluck, *The Unwritten Law in Albania*, 219. Christopher Boehm, *Blood Revenge: The Enactment and Management of Conflict in Montenegro and Other Tribal Societies* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1987), 52. Boehm, *Montenegrin Social Organization and Values: Political Ethnography of a Refuge Area Tribal Adaptation*, 66. Jelić, *Krvna osveta i umir u Crnoj Gori i Severnoj Arbaniji: Istorijsko-pravna studija*, 13-14, 25-26, 34.

<sup>385</sup> Boehm, *Montenegrin Social Organization and Values: Political Ethnography of a Refuge Area Tribal Adaptation*, 20, 50-51, 65, 82. and Boehm, *Blood Revenge: The Enactment and Management of Conflict in Montenegro and Other Tribal Societies*, 51-52.

<sup>386</sup> Jelić, *Krvna osveta i umir u Crnoj Gori i Severnoj Arbaniji: Istorijsko-pravna studija*, 23-24.

<sup>387</sup> Hasluck, *The Unwritten Law in Albania*, 219, 24-25, 32-35. See also Jelić, *Krvna osveta i umir u Crnoj Gori i Severnoj Arbaniji: Istorijsko-pravna studija*, 5-6, 10-11, 26, 34. and Herco, "Krvna osveta i običajno pravo u Crnoj Gori i Albaniji," 246.

<sup>388</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MID, 1909/F170, #1173, 02.10.1909, Andrijevića, Border Commissioner to the Prime Minister; *ibid*, #1179, 09.09.1909, Andrijevića, Border Commissioner to the Prime Minister; *ibid*, 1909/F171a, #1374, 09.10.1909, Andrijevića, Border Commissioner to the Prime Minister; *ibid*, 1910/F176a, #304, 12.02.1911, Cetinje, Janko Vukotić to the Prime Minister, *Izveštaj o pograničnim neredima na strani moračko-vasojevićske oblasti u 1910 godini* and *ibid*, 1911/F196a, #2572, 16.02.1911, Velika, *Zapisnik Komandta Kostadina Mikića iz Velike kao i Kapetana Vuksan M. Dragovića*.

<sup>389</sup> Kaser, *Hirten, Kämpfer, Stammeshelden: Ursprünge und Gegenwart des balkanischen Patriarchats*, 295-96 and footnote #12 on p. 301. and Lalević and Protić, "Vasojevići u crnogorskoj granici," 574.

<sup>390</sup> Barjaktarović, "Rugova," 193-94, 97.

<sup>391</sup> Hasluck, *The Unwritten Law in Albania*, 73-80. and Boehm, *Montenegrin Social Organization and Values: Political Ethnography of a Refuge Area Tribal Adaptation*, 71.



thus did not belong to the “people,” but this also included attacks on women or a weak and helpless old man, for example. If a woman was declared to be a witch or an immoral person, or if she wore the clothes of a man, she could be killed.<sup>392</sup> Here as well, the sacred narrative plays a role since the deed injured the deity itself and hence had to be carried out according to its command, meaning that the elderly could leave its execution at the behest of the upcoming generations.<sup>393</sup> Performing blood feud was considered as the fulfillment of a sacred duty towards the murdered because it was believed that their soul has no peace until revenge was performed.<sup>394</sup> Although the formula of one for one was often cited, not only was the rule disregarded, but it was also allowed when a man lost his wife or child at the hands of a murderer, and he was therefore entitled to double or even triple vengeance.<sup>395</sup> Public evaluation played an important role since the revenge had to be enacted in a manner so that everyone knew of it.<sup>396</sup>

Retaining honor was a primary force in the tribal/kinship-dominated areas since its performance was mingled with one’s reputation. Receiving public censure, disdain, or indignation meant blackening and thus lowering their status in the eyes of others who acted as an *honor group*. They all adhered to the *code of honor*, thereby recognizing each other as performing and building an *outer* or *external* aspect of honor.<sup>397</sup> If not, at a fraternity’s patron saint day, feasts, or gatherings at homes, since talks mostly revolved around people, their deeds, actions, and where everyone’s virtues were publicly and openly presented, including their flaws, the good ones stood out as a model. Their memory was nurtured by singing about them, while the bad ones were reprimanded and ridiculed. The desire to be respected as an equal could thus be lost, but at the same time, be retained by following the code, which constituted a tribesman’s *sense* or the inner aspect of honor.<sup>398</sup>

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<sup>392</sup> Hasluck, *The Unwritten Law in Albania*, 237. Boehm, *Montenegrin Social Organization and Values: Political Ethnography of a Refuge Area Tribal Adaptation*, 74, 86. Boehm, *Blood Revenge: The Enactment and Management of Conflict in Montenegro and Other Tribal Societies*, 47. Jelić, *Krvna osveta i umir u Crnoj Gori i Severnoj Arbaniji: Istorijско-pravna studija*, 35-36. and Herco, "Krvna osveta i običajno pravo u Crnoj Gori i Albaniji," 245.

<sup>393</sup> Jelić, *Krvna osveta i umir u Crnoj Gori i Severnoj Arbaniji: Istorijско-pravna studija*, 10-11, 24, 28. and Herco, "Krvna osveta i običajno pravo u Crnoj Gori i Albaniji," 242, 45-46.

<sup>394</sup> Jelić, *Krvna osveta i umir u Crnoj Gori i Severnoj Arbaniji: Istorijско-pravna studija*, 27-28. and Herco, "Krvna osveta i običajno pravo u Crnoj Gori i Albaniji," 245.

<sup>395</sup> Hasluck, *The Unwritten Law in Albania*, 235. Schwandner-Sievers, "Humiliation and Reconciliation in Northern Albania: The Logics of Feuding in Symbolic and Diachronic Perspectives," 136. and DACG/Cetinje, MUD-UO, 1911/F116, 3373(2), 02.08.1911, Cetinje, Petar Hazanac-Petrović to the Mol.

<sup>396</sup> Jelić, *Krvna osveta i umir u Crnoj Gori i Severnoj Arbaniji: Istorijско-pravna studija*, 32-33.

<sup>397</sup> Boehm, *Montenegrin Social Organization and Values: Political Ethnography of a Refuge Area Tribal Adaptation*, 21, 59, 73. and Frank Henderson Stewart, *Honor* (Chicago & London: The University of Chicago Press, 1994), 10, 12, 54-55, 145-46.

<sup>398</sup> Jelić, *Krvna osveta i umir u Crnoj Gori i Severnoj Arbaniji: Istorijско-pravna studija*, 27-29, 56-57. Durham, *Through the Lands of the Serb*, 273. Hasluck, *The Unwritten Law in Albania*, 231-32. Boehm, *Montenegrin Social Organization and Values: Political Ethnography of a Refuge Area Tribal Adaptation*, 75-77. and Henderson Stewart, *Honor*, 12, 30, 54, 65, 121, 25-26, 45-46.

A tribesman, being extremely sensitive in these matters, often worried about public opinion which determined his symbolic capital; a positive evaluation offered a societal comfort and offset the public pain.<sup>399</sup> Therefore, he had to answer when his honor and that of his fraternity was challenged. If he failed to respond properly, he would then lose it.<sup>400</sup> Personal honor was a cultural attribute related to specific clusters of values and idealized norms. The respect paid and unpaid, both to people and to the groupings which they belonged to, was a must.<sup>401</sup> Acting in the accepted way affected his own status and that of his house and fraternity in public, implying that these two opinions functioned as a powerful tool for controlling behavior because, for example, marriage arrangements might be dependent on both.<sup>402</sup> Honor was determined primarily by his performance in the martial context of raiding, blood feud, or warfare because prestige was both ascribed and achieved. Cowardice could only mitigate his reputation and activate moral censure, gossiping, or social ostracism.<sup>403</sup> This is why some scholars contend that socio-cultural norms might influence a person to act namely because questioning his honor could propel him into action, which was effectively employed in the military as well.<sup>404</sup>

These norms refer to “shared beliefs in a group about what behavior is typically approved or disapproved in a given situation.” They are learned mainly through primary socialization.<sup>405</sup> Surely, revenge does not represent an emotion; however, the desire to retaliate most certainly does.<sup>406</sup> Emotions worked as a means of mediating between the tribesman and his societal surrounding whose modes of emotional expression, values, and ideas shaped one’s behavior and their judgement.<sup>407</sup> Here, Rada Spalević plays a role because, in addition to the public one, the mothers in a tribal/kinship context encouraged their male children to take revenge. If a woman’s husband was killed, and left behind small children, in the Vasojevići, for instance, she usually kept his bloody clothes and often showed them to her children in order to instill a deep

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<sup>399</sup> Boehm, *Montenegrin Social Organization and Values: Political Ethnography of a Refuge Area Tribal Adaptation*, 73, 89.

<sup>400</sup> On the honor group, code of honor, and outer/inner aspect of honor see Henderson Stewart, *Honor*, 64-65, 70-71, 139, 47. and Carolyn Strange and Robert Cribb, "Historical Perspectives on Honour, Violence and Emotion," in *Honour, Violence and Emotions in History*, ed. Carolyn Strange, Robert Cribb, and Christopher E. Forth (London - New York: Bloomsbury, 2014), 1-22, here pp. 1, 9-10.

<sup>401</sup> Strange and Cribb, "Historical Perspectives on Honour, Violence and Emotion," 9-10.

<sup>402</sup> Boehm, *Montenegrin Social Organization and Values: Political Ethnography of a Refuge Area Tribal Adaptation*, 83, 90. Strange and Cribb, "Historical Perspectives on Honour, Violence and Emotion," 10. and Schwandner-Sievers, "Humiliation and Reconciliation in Northern Albania: The Logics of Feuding in Symbolic and Diachronic Perspectives," 136.

<sup>403</sup> Boehm, *Montenegrin Social Organization and Values: Political Ethnography of a Refuge Area Tribal Adaptation*, 83, 86, 90.

<sup>404</sup> Elise C. Seip, "Desire for Vengeance and Revenge: An Emotion-based Approach to Revenge" (PhD Universiteit van Amsterdam, 2016), 8, 56-58. and Berkovich, *Motivation in War: The Experience of Common Soldiers in Old-Regime Europe*, 173-74.

<sup>405</sup> Seip, "Desire for Vengeance and Revenge: An Emotion-based Approach to Revenge," 56 (citation), 57. and Frijda, "The Lex Talionis: On Vengeance," 263-89, here pp. 78, 85.

<sup>406</sup> Frijda, "The Lex Talionis: On Vengeance," 265. See also Nico H. Frijda, *Law of Emotion* (London - New York: Routledge: Taylor & Francis Group, 2007), 259-81.

<sup>407</sup> Strange and Cribb, "Historical Perspectives on Honour, Violence and Emotion," 8.

hatred in them against the murderer. Since she grasped what losing honor in this context meant, nurturing a feeling of pride was necessary.<sup>408</sup>

To that end, mother also encouraged the offspring with daily threnodies and lamentations, in which she expressed her deep hope that the father or close kin would be avenged, and at the same time, rebuking their children for not acting, which in turn represented a powerful tool since no one wanted to be admonished by a woman.<sup>409</sup> Coupled with negative labels which were meant to remind him of his disgrace, meant that owing or taking blood did not represent a pleasant state of being. That is why the elderly, while seeing that younger males would take up arms after quarreling with someone, would take their hats and start pleading them to stop precisely because they understood what unfortunate events might occur.<sup>410</sup> Thus, norms could only partially generate the urge for vengefulness.<sup>411</sup> While revenge is always preceded by the desire, the latter does not necessarily lead to revenge.<sup>412</sup>

The gains are manifold since it included protection against the general sense of threat, restoration of the equality of pleasure and pain, re-equilibration in power inequality, which was followed by retaining of self-worth, and escaping from one's pain which is hidden by another's shame and suffering.<sup>413</sup> This means that one should not only pay heed to action, but equally to the emotional state of desire.<sup>414</sup> Thus, one can thereby explain why the locally grounded brokers who at the same time represented the locals and the state backed the former in their quest on the other side of the border.<sup>415</sup>

The Lower Vasojevići, while being among their fellow tribesmen on the Montenegrin side, gave a new dimension to the border relations. Not only were they keen to start trouble, but they also had been radicalized in the process, which coupled with their fellow kin, represented a serious challenge for the functioning of both the Montenegrin and Ottoman authorities.<sup>416</sup> An Ottoman offer to return did not yield concrete results (1911) because both parties were not eager

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<sup>408</sup> Jelić, *Krvna osveta i umir u Crnoj Gori i Severnoj Arbaniji: Istorijsko-pravna studija*, 55. Hasluck, *The Unwritten Law in Albania*, 220. Strange and Cribb, "Historical Perspectives on Honour, Violence and Emotion," 10, 12.

<sup>409</sup> Jelić, *Krvna osveta i umir u Crnoj Gori i Severnoj Arbaniji: Istorijsko-pravna studija*, 55-57. Hasluck, *The Unwritten Law in Albania*, 231-32. and Strange and Cribb, "Historical Perspectives on Honour, Violence and Emotion," 2-3, 12-13.

<sup>410</sup> Boehm, *Montenegrin Social Organization and Values: Political Ethnography of a Refuge Area Tribal Adaptation*, 78, 90. Jelić, *Krvna osveta i umir u Crnoj Gori i Severnoj Arbaniji: Istorijsko-pravna studija*, 27-29, 55-57. and Hasluck, *The Unwritten Law in Albania*, 231-32.

<sup>411</sup> Frijda, "The Lex Talionis: On Vengeance," 285.

<sup>412</sup> Seip, "Desire for Vengeance and Revenge: An Emotion-based Approach to Revenge," 10.

<sup>413</sup> Frijda, "The Lex Talionis: On Vengeance," 273-76, 79-83. and Seip, "Desire for Vengeance and Revenge: An Emotion-based Approach to Revenge," 10-12, 19-21, 23.

<sup>414</sup> Seip, "Desire for Vengeance and Revenge: An Emotion-based Approach to Revenge," 8.

<sup>415</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MUD-UO, 1911/F111, #899(2), br. 2192, 28.12.1910, Cetinje, Avro P. Cemović to the MoI.

<sup>416</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MUD-UO, 1910/F100, #1927(6), 25.05.1910, Kolašin, District Chief to the MoI; *ibid*, MID, 1910/F186, #2286, 16.12.1910, Velika, Janko Vukotić to the Prime Minister and *ibid*, MUD-UO, 1911/F110, #599/1, br. 2412, 21.12.1911, Andrijevića, Order of the Proxy of the Royal Government, Serdar J. Vukotić. See in particular *ibid*, MID, 1910/F186, #2286, 27.12.1910, Andrijevića, Chief of Customs to Janko Vukotić

to invest effort or time into re-building the vertical loyalty, as their speech-act illustrates.<sup>417</sup> Still, one should also be careful not to fall into the trap of idealizing the concept of blood feud since behind there stood clear material interests given the close link between raiding, looting and enacting revenge locally.<sup>418</sup> Here, the concept of *markets of violence* is useful with its claims that revenge or religious-moral obligations could function as some kind smoke-screen which had the goal of concealing the actual events which chiefly revolve around economic motivations. Emotions (e.g. hate, fear, the desire to get revenge) are instrumentalized through the process of framing and coding.<sup>419</sup> This is evident in early 1911, as several Montenegrin soldiers went to the other side, determined to plunder for the personal interests of one of the local tribal officers, so that he could settle his debts.<sup>420</sup> However, sources suggest that markets of violence were not dominant *yet* because only appearing to perform tribal loyalty still functioned as a powerful mechanism that solidified the inner tribal cohesion.<sup>421</sup>

Prior to 1912, neither sides adhered to the unwritten rule to not kill or shoot at children and women, or to not fire at those who tilled their land, which in turn exacerbated relations even more locally.<sup>422</sup> In addition to the Lower Vasojevići, the Ottoman border units consisted of locals from Plava, Gusine, and the villages in close vicinity to the political border also intensified violence with their actions; the same hamlets where the Vasojevići tribal population had land disputes with the inhabitants (Map 3).<sup>423</sup> Since the construction of border towers on the Ottoman side was implemented on communal lands, members of the border units used them, as a shield to shoot, swear, shout, and misappropriate the property of the other.<sup>424</sup> In the past, their family members also used the protection granted by the Ottoman soldiers to till or mow,

<sup>417</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MUD-UO, 1911/F116, #1985, 18.07.1911, Andrijevića, District Chief to MoI; *ibid*, 1911/F119, #4533(2), 16.10.1911, Andrijevića, Iguman Maksim Pavićević to Radomir Vešović and BOA/Istanbul, MV 151/74, leff 2, 25 Rabiulahir 23.

<sup>418</sup> Waldmann, "Rache ohne Regeln. Wiederaufleben eines archaischen Gewaltmotivs in Albanien und in Boyacá (Kolumbien)," 178. and Palairret, *The Balkan Economies c. 1800-1914: Evolution Without Development*, 214.

<sup>419</sup> Georg Elwert, "Markets of Violence," in *Dynamics of Violence: Processes of Escalation and De-Escalation in Violent Group Conflicts*, ed. Georg Elwert, Stephan Feuchtwang, and Dieter Neubert (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1999), 85-102, here pp. 85-89, 95, 98-99. and Georg Elwert, "Gewalt und Märkte," in *Wissenschaft. Literatur. Katastrophen. Festschrift zum 60. Geburtstag von Lars Clausen.*, ed. Wolf Dombrowsky and Ursula Pasero (Opladen: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 1995), 123-41.

<sup>420</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MUD-UO, 1911/F120, #4761/41(2) 13.04.1911, Andrijevića, Bajraktar Zarija Radević, Milovan Mikić, kmetovi Milivoje Gojković, Mileta Radević, Arsenije Simonović, Rade Vučetić, Miloš Knežević and Luka Petrović to the King.

<sup>421</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MID, 1908/F154, #1763, br. 411. 28.04.1908, Andrijevića, Protić to the MoFA. See also *ibid*, 1911/F191, #1006, 31.03.1911, Podgorica, J. Vukotić to the MoFA and Bašmakov, *Preko Crne Gore u zemlju Gega*, 34-37.

<sup>422</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MID, 1908/F152, #1138, br. 182, 17.03.1908, Andrijevića, Vešović to the MoFA; *ibid*, 1909/F171a, #1374, 09.10.1909, Andrijevića, Komesar Protić to the MoFA; *ibid*, 1910/F179/a, #611, 31.06.1910, Andrijevića, Komesar Protić to the MoFA; *ibid*, 1911/F196a, #2572, 16.02.1911, Velika, Kostadina Mikića and Vuksan M. Dragovića to the MoFA and Dragičević, "Teški život crnogorskih krajišnika," 179, 90-91.

<sup>423</sup> BOA/Istanbul, BEO, 4026/301905, 29 Mart 1328 [11/04/1912], Daire-i Sadaret Tahrirat Kalemi to the MoI.

<sup>424</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MID, 1908/F154a, #1886, br. 458, 30.05.1908, Andrijevića, Protić to the MoFA; *ibid*, 1911/F196a, #2572, 1911, *Razni incidenti na granici tursko-crnogorskoj u 1910. godini*; DACG/Cetinje, MID-PC, 1910/F22, #129, 671, 16.03.1910, Cetinje, MoFA to the Istanbul Legation; *ibid*, 1910/F176a, #304, 12.02.1911, Cetinje, Janko Vukotić to the Prime Minister, *Izvještaj o pograničnim neredima na strani moračko-vasojevićske oblasti u 1910 godini* and ÖStA/HHStA/Vienna, PA XXXVIII/440, #166, 06.11.1909, Skopje, Adamkiewicz to Aehrenthal.

for which reason the answer of the other side followed the logic that “since we do not work, neither will you.”<sup>425</sup> After the latter reached the score, Hasan Ağa Ferović, for instance, could easily rally the recently-armed locals. Hasan Ağa held the title of evil-doer (*zlikovac*) locally and was also engaged in dispossessing certain tribesmen from their properties on the Ottoman side.<sup>426</sup>

In addition to disrespecting the bodies of those who were killed or letting them be food for the dogs in some cases, one side deliberately refused to allow the deceased to be buried, which infuriated the other. This happened in 1911 when the border unit from Ržanica did not permit the body of a tribesman and soldier from Velika (Map 3) to be buried for three whole days. In another case, the body of a murdered tribesman from the Ottoman side was driven to Plava and left for five days without being buried.<sup>427</sup> Beheading also was in practice at the time which is to be understood as proof of valor and bravery among the tribesmen, humiliation for the enemy, and a message of what could happen to the others.<sup>428</sup> This is why showing it off to the public was necessary.<sup>429</sup> Although this practice was prohibited in the Montenegrin army, this did not mean that all tribesmen would cease from performing beheadings. This implied a new cycle of blood feud, whereby regaining honor, keeping score and mobilizing past memories represented the driving motives whose echoes resonated even in the post-Ottoman time.<sup>430</sup>

This provided the background for why both the Ottoman and Montenegrin powers did not function together as one on the ground because the tribal/kinship-based Montenegrin militia and Ottoman border units namely consisted of the locals. The fraternities to which they showed loyalty and which had unresolved property issues with the imagined other side represented at the same time, the backbone of their raiding parties, militia, and paramilitary units since these fabrics provided a basis for mobilization.<sup>431</sup> This multiplicity of various actors and the web of

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<sup>425</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MID, 1908/F152, #1138, br. 182, 17.03.1908, Andrijevića, Vešović to the MoFA. (...) Po svoj prilici će Pljančori – Turci početi raditi zemlje u zaštitu nizama, Srbi će im braniti govoreći „pošto mi ne radimo, nećete ni vi“ (...)

<sup>426</sup> ÖStA/HHStA/Vienna, PA XXXVIII/387, #95, 29.11.1909, Mitrovica, Tahy to Aehrenthal; DACG/Cetinje, MID, 1909/F170a, #1233, F170/a, 05.10.1909, Andrijevića V. Vojvodić to the MoFA; DAS/Belgrade, MID-PP 1910, R435I, #544, 22.05.1910, Priština, Viceconsul to the MoFA and *ibid*, MID-PP 1912, R545, #1224, no date, Priština, Consul to the MoFA. See also DACG/Cetinje, MID, 1910/F1748, #494, br. 287, 21.03.1910, Andrijevića, Cemović to the MoFA and *ibid*, 1910/F176a, #304, 12.02.1911, Cetinje, Janko Vukotić to the Prime Minister, *Izveštaj o pograničnim neredima na strani moračko-vasojevičke oblasti u 1910 godini*.

<sup>427</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MID 1910/F176a, #304, 12.02.1911, Cetinje, Janko Vukotić to the Prime Minister, *Izveštaj o pograničnim neredima na strani moračko-vasojevičke oblasti u 1910. godini* and *ibid*, 1911/F196a, #2572, 16.02.1911, Velika, Kostadina Mikića and Vuksan M. Dragovića to the MoFA.

<sup>428</sup> Dragičević, "Teški život crnogorskih krajišnika," 187. Pavel Apolonovič Rovinski, *Crna Gora u prošlosti i sadašnjosti*, vol. III: Etnografija - Književnost i jezik (Beograd: Obod 2004), 93-94, 103. and Petar Đ. Stojanović, "Običaji sječe glave i kidanja nosa u crnogorskom-turskom ratovanju," *Istorijski zapisi: Organ Istorijiskog instituta SR Crne Gore i Društva istoričara SR Crne Gore XXXII (LII)*, no. XXXIX/2 (1979): 55-94.

<sup>429</sup> Rovinski, *Crna Gora u prošlosti i sadašnjosti*, III: Etnografija - Književnost i jezik, 93. and Dašić, *Šekular i Šekularci od pomena do 1941. godine*, 520.

<sup>430</sup> BIUCG/Podgorica, K85, 26.09.1912, Stitarice, Janko Vukotić to the officers and soldiers; Dašić, *Šekular i Šekularci od pomena do 1941. godine*, 514. and Barjaktarović, *Šekular: Etnološka studija*, 189.

<sup>431</sup> Winfried Speitkamp, "Gewaltgemeinschaften," in *Gewalt. Ein interdisziplinäres Handbuch*, ed. Christian Gudehus and Michaela Christ (Stuttgart-Weimar: Verlag J. B. Metzler, 2013), 184-90. Winfried Speitkamp, "Einführung," in

loyalties are palpable in sources as well. In 1911, an Ottoman border commissioner and regular Ottoman officers from Berane were powerless before the commanding officer of a Pepiće-based *hudut bölüğü* (Map 3). The latter stated that he did not acknowledge the Ottoman officers and thus refused to obey them regardless of the fact that they were superior in rank. For the Pepiće commander, his superior was located in Plava and İškodra.<sup>432</sup> The inhabitants of the bilingual village of Pepiće were subordinate to one of Rugova's standard-bearers, meaning that they could easily rely on the protection of their fraternities, whereby others from Rugova and Plava belonged to the Kelmendi, a tribe that surrounded the area around İškodra (Maps 2 and 3).<sup>433</sup> But, aside from not respecting the military hierarchy, these links could hamper the proper functioning of the military, as had happened in Ottoman Berane just a few months prior to the Balkan Wars. Both Ottoman supervising officers and Serbian diplomatic personal took note of this as follows:

Our border officers have been very careless for some time and highly undisciplined towards the superiors. With their behavior, they give a reason for the border soldiers to become disobedient [as well], so that the border companies are completely disorganized. Although this does not stem from the conflicts that occur on a daily basis at the border, this is undoubtedly an obstacle since the conflicts, which are being prepared by the other side, cannot therefore always be successfully resolved. The officers, instead of suppressing everything in the interest of the peace that our homeland needs so much [...] try to [...] *create* even [from] the *smallest* outbursts that come from the other side *real battles from them*. [...] Border officers and soldiers are *guided* towards Montenegro and Montenegrins exclusively by *hatred* and *the desire for revenge* [italics added by J. M.]<sup>434</sup>

The same issue engulfed the imagined other side too. The head officer of the Upper Vasojevići Brigade was warned at the beginning of 1912 not to allow his subordinating officers to go to Donja Ržanica (Map 3), a village on the Ottoman side, where the tribesmen had unresolved property issues with the residents. The village also hosted a border unit made up of the locals and maintained the tribal/kinship linkage to Rugova, Plava, and Gusine.<sup>435</sup> That is why a Montenegrin officer concluded at the outset of 1911 that the situation “looked strange and ridiculous, and worse than if the two states had been in open war.”<sup>436</sup> But why was this

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*Gewaltgemeinschaften: Von der Spätantike bis ins 20. Jahrhundert*, ed. Winfried Speitkamp (Göttingen: V&R unipress, 2013), 7-13. and Üngör, *Paramilitarism: Mass Violence in the Shadow of the State*, 146-47.

<sup>432</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MID 1910/F176a, #304, 12.02.1911, Cetinje, Janko Vukotić to the Prime Minister, *Izveštaj o pograničnim neredima na strani moračko-vasojevićske oblasti u 1910 godini*.

<sup>433</sup> Barjaktarović, "Rugova," 165-241, 175-76, 84. On the Kelmendi tribe see Elsie, *The Tribes of Albania: History, Society and Culture*, 15, 19-20, 22-23, 25-27.

<sup>434</sup> *Dokumenti o spoljnoj politici Kraljevine Srbije 1903-1914*, ed. Mihailo Vojvodić, vol. V/1, 1/14. januar - 14/27. juli 1912 (Beograd: Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti - Odeljenje istorijskih nauka, 1984), #503, 02.06.1912, Selanik, General Consulate to the MoF, 800-801.

<sup>435</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MID 1910/F176a, #304, 12.02.1911, Cetinje, Janko Vukotić to the Prime Minister, *Izveštaj o pograničnim neredima na strani moračko-vasojevićske oblasti u 1910 godini* and *ibid*, MV-KMV, 1912/F6a, #151, 17.01.1912, Cetinje, Janko Vukotić to Radomir Vešović.

<sup>436</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MID 1910/F176a, #304, 12.02.1911, Cetinje, Janko Vukotić to the Prime Minister, *Izveštaj o pograničnim neredima na strani moračko-vasojevićske oblasti u 1910 godini*. (...) te je stanje pogranično čudnovato i smiješno izgledalo i gore nego da su dvije države u otvorenom ratu bile.

pivotal to know? These examples illustrate that by becoming a member of the Montenegrin army or the Ottoman border units, the locals continued to adhere to *their* understanding of how certain things should be performed. They brought along *their* personal issues, knowingly used *their* weapons of war, equipment, and the military in an attempt to settle *their* personal disagreements even before the Balkan Wars had even begun. Having had some time to prove under oath through the institution of guarantor that a wrongdoer did not belong to their kin, according to the unwritten law, the locals could somewhat avoid blood feud and the risk of being liable as an entire community. However, if a raiding party struck the shepherds of another village/fraternity, killing them and stealing their livestock, the other side did not ask who the raiders were by name, but rather which community they belonged to.<sup>437</sup> Since the latter could not be reached given the protective dimension of their fraternities and the political border, – this is important – the biased collective categorization emerges, which one clearly sees throughout sources because offenders were categorized according to the name of their communities and fraternities as a fixed group.<sup>438</sup>

Those who belonged to an accused fraternity were held responsible for the crimes of their fellow tribesmen, and this was exhibited in the village of Brezo(je)vica which was located in the close vicinity of Plava, whose inhabitants belonged through their kinship loyalty to Šekular. Every time a Vasojevići raiding party was active on the other side of the border, where they took part in killing or robberies in and/or around Novšići (Map 3), which belonged through the tribal/kinship and aĝa/tenants web to Rugova and Plava, some members of the Novšići border unit came through in Brezo(je)vica to get even.<sup>439</sup> After enduring robberies, humiliations or killings, a village teacher would notify a commanding officer on the other side about the situation.<sup>440</sup> Brezo(je)vica and its church held a symbolic meaning for the Vasojevići; it represented the highest boundary of the imagined tribal territory, being seen as a serpent (*guja*)

<sup>437</sup> Jelić, *Krvna osveta i umir u Crnoj Gori i Severnoj Arbaniji: Istorijsko-pravna studija*, 45-46, 76-78. and DACG/Cetinje, MID, 1910/F186, #2286, 16.12.1910, Velika, Janko Vukotić to the Prime Minister.

<sup>438</sup> In myriad reports always appear collective categorizations after the name of communities and villages where the allegeable wrongdoers come, such as *Novšićani*, *Rugovci*, *Rugovci-Kučištani*, *Plavljeni*, *Gusinjani*, and *Aržanićani*. See DACG/Cetinje, MID 1908/F155a, #2120, 08.12.1907, Velika, Vukan M. Dragović and Micule Josov Radenović iz Meteka to the MoFA; *ibid*, MID, 1908/F154, #1690, br. 405, 27.01.1908, Andrijevića, Protić to the MoFA; *ibid*, 1910/F176a, #304, 12.02.1911, Cetinje, Janko Vukotić to the Prime Minister, *Izveštaj o pograničnim neredima na strani moračko-vasojevićske oblasti u 1910. godini*; *ibid*, 1911/F196a, #2572, 16.02.1911, Velika, Kostadina Mikića and *ibid*, Vuksan M. Dragovića to the MoFA; and Dragičević, "Teški život crnogorskih krajišnika," 185-89. Less different are Ottoman sources. See, for instance, BOA/Istanbul, HR.TH, 106/3, 20 Kanunievvel 1306 [01/01/1891] Sadrazam to the MoFA (...) Šekularlıların bizim tarafta (...); *ibid*, 327/43, leff 2, 14 Teşrinisami 321 [27/11/1905] Selanik, Üçüncü Ordu to the MoFA. (...) müteceviz Dağlı hududu iki saat kadar tecavüz ederek (...) and *ibid*, 366/21, leff 2, Yaveran-ı Hazret-i Şehiriya'dır. (...) Şekularlılar tarafından atılan silahlardan (...).

<sup>439</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MID, 1910/F185, #2205, 02.12.1910, Brezovica, Miloš R. Popović to Milutin Radonjić; *ibid*, 1911/F199, #3376, 14.10.1911, Brezovica. Miloš R. Popović to Vukajlo Laban; *ibid*, MID 1911/F199, #3340, 28.10.1911, Brezovica, Miloš R. Popović to the PKK; *ibid*, #3376, 19.11.1911, Brezovica, Miloš R. Popović to Vešović and Jovičević, "Plavsko-gusinjaska oblast, Polimlje, Velika i Šekular," 423, 48.

<sup>440</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MID, 1910/F185, #2205, 02.12.1910, Brezovica, Miloš R. Popović to Milutin Radonjić and *ibid*, 1911/F199, #3376, 14.10.1911, Brezovica, Miloš R. Popović to Vukajlo Laban.

that “winds among Turkish cities like among fires.”<sup>441</sup> Even outsiders who travelled through pre-1913 Montenegro and who absorbed these one-sided collective categorizations, would perceive these areas or towns located on the Ottoman side strictly along a tribal/kinship line, although Rugova, Plava and Gusine were not tribes *per se*.<sup>442</sup>

Rugova was a hilly region which consisted of the villages bound to the tribes of the Kastrati, Shal, Shrele, and Kilmenti, whereby one could find several Muslim houses from Velika and Šekular.<sup>443</sup> The residents of Plava and Gusine, by adhering to the bilinear kinship networks, were interlinked with the powerholders, headmen, and their families from Mitroviča, Āpek, Yakova, the Krasniqi, Gashi, and Kilmenti tribes, which was useful in times of conflict since some of them (e.g. Kilmenti) also had unresolved land issues with the Vasojevići (Map 2).<sup>444</sup> But, why did not both polities try once again to pacify the locals? The momentary context that preceded the Balkan Wars and during which the tribal war merged with that of the state can provide an answer. At that point, the Montenegrin ruling elites, through the process of framing and coding, sought to nationalize, legitimize and sell the approaching war as their own, meaning, their two mobilizations coincided.<sup>445</sup> In this dynamic process, the shifting of motives was almost inevitable.<sup>446</sup> Events that took place before and during the 1912/13 War just intensified the local context.

### 3.3.2. Targeted Violence #1: The Balkan Wars (1912-1913)

In order to pacify the Lower Vasojevići, the Ottoman authorities decided to recruit and send them far from the region, which in turn triggered their a rebellion (July-September 1912) and which preceded the official war with the Ottoman regular army, during which time the tribesmen were supported by the Montenegrin authorities.<sup>447</sup> In that moment, the Empire showed its military might; they utilized their regular troops accompanied by the paramilitaries

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<sup>441</sup> Jelić, *Vasojevički zakon od dvanaest točaka*, 12/XXVII, 127. *Da se za Vasojevički drži od Nožice do Lješnice, od Bjelasice do na vrh Ržanice, i Brezojevica crkva, koja cvili među turskim gradovima kao ljuta guja među ognjevima.*

<sup>442</sup> BIIUCG/Podgorica, K85, #56, 12.10.1912, Rugova, brigadir Joko Vulov Adžić serdaru Janku Vukotiću. (...) u borbi na pleme Rugovsko (...); „Gusinje and Plava are two European Cities no Stranger May Enter“, *The Omaha Sunday Bee/Omaha*, vol. 37, 28.07.1907, no. 6, 3 and Bašmakov, *Preko Crne Gore u zemlju Gega*, 18-20.

<sup>443</sup> Barjaktarović, "Rugova," 175-76, 77, 80, 84-86. For the Kastrati, Shal, Shrele tribes see Elsie, *The Tribes of Albania: History, Society and Culture*, 68-82, 115, 17, 19-20.

<sup>444</sup> Jovićević, "Plavsko-gusinjska oblast, Polimlje, Velika i Šekular," 482, 83, 508-10. and Theodor A. Ippen, "Die Gebirge des nordwestlichen Albaniens," *Abhandlungen der K. K. Geographischen Gesellschaft in Wien* VII, no. 1 (1908): 1-75. For the Krasniqi and Gashi tribes see Elsie, *The Tribes of Albania: History, Society and Culture*, 160-70.

<sup>445</sup> *Glas Crnogoraca*, god. XLI, 26.09.1912, br. 42, 1; Helbling, *Tribale Kriege: Konflikte in Gesellschaften ohne Zentralgewalt*, 43-44. and Jelić, *Krvna osveta i umir u Crnoj Gori i Severnoj Arbaniji: Istorijsko-pravna studija*, 48-50. See also Leonhard, "Die Nationalisierung des Krieges und der Bellizismus der Nation: die Diskussion um Volks- und Nationalkrieg in Deutschland, Großbritannien und den Vereinigten Staaten seit den 1860er Jahren," 83-105.

<sup>446</sup> Stefan Deißler, *Eigendynamische Bürgerkriege: Von der Persistenz und Endlichkeit innerstaatlicher Gewaltkonflikte* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2016), 73.

<sup>447</sup> BIIUCG/Podgorica, Fond Vukašina Božovića, F13, #18, Ljubomir J. Vešović, *Ustanak na Turke u Beranama, početkom meseca avgusta 1912; Lista podataka borbe-boja sa Turcima oko Berana od 26.09. do 03.10.1912.godine; Lista podataka borbe sa Turcima na položaju „Štedin“ 15.10.1912. godine and #22, Vukota Popović, *Lista podataka borbe na Policu 1912. godine.**



from Rugova, Tirogovište, Plava, Gusine, Āpek, and Yakova and suppressed the revolt (Map 2), whereby their villages, crops, and the Monastir of Đurđevi Stupovi (with its school and lodgings) were robbed and then set afire.<sup>448</sup> In the short term, this represented a serious challenge because, after the tribal population returned, the soldiers' families practically lived under open sky without having food, which in turn greatly demoralized them.<sup>449</sup> Monetary assistance sent by the Ottoman ruling elites did not change nor help the situation.<sup>450</sup>

This devastation also conveyed a symbolic message inasmuch as in front of the Monastir, which was seen as sacred, the tribe held their meetings and organized feasts. It was also the place where the headmen had their offices.<sup>451</sup> Although the Montenegrin king tried to appear blameless in his proclamation, the role of the Montenegrin ruling elites was obvious. Already in mid-1912, the local headmen had acted as the commanding officers. Some had graduated beforehand from the Cetinje military school. Vukota Pantović, Tomaš Pešić, Marijan Vuković, Vuko Dabetić, and Simo Čukić whose villages were destroyed headed the battalions and others headed lower companies, while Avro Cemović, *primus inter pares*, whose village also laid in ruins became the commander of the Brigade at the outset of the war.<sup>452</sup>

Having constituted the Ottoman paramilitary units during the struggle around Berane, the notables and the able-bodied from Rugova, Tirogovište, Plava and Gusine participated in looting, killing and beheading some of the dead Vasojevići, whereby in certain instances they were even named, such as Jašar Ađa Ganić under whose command the Tirogovište paramilitaries burned the village of Polica to the ground, beheaded several men, and took a dozen women and children with them.<sup>453</sup> Simo Kastratović, an inhabitant of Polica, became a Tirogovište District Chief and used this status to get revenge in the days after the Montenegrin army occupied Tirogovište.<sup>454</sup>

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<sup>448</sup> BIIUCG/Podgorica, K85, 06.11.1912, Berane, M. Cemović to Janko Vukotić; *ibid*, 03.10.1912, Đurđevi Stupovi, Janko Vukotić to the King; *ibid*, BIIUCG/Podgorica, K85, #145, 03.10.1912, Lužac, Janku Vukotiću to Lakić Vojvodić and Dašić, *Šekular i Šekularci od pomena do 1941. godine*, 522-23.

<sup>449</sup> BIIUCG/Podgorica, K85, 20.10.1912, Peć, Janko Vukotić to Miloš Medenica na Gubavcu.

<sup>450</sup> BOA/Istanbul, MV 168/31, 22 Avgustos 328 [04/09/1912], Meclis-i Vükela. (...) kararlaştırılan beş bin liranun yirmi bin liraya iblağ tezkere-i tensib olmuş olmağla (...)

<sup>451</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MID-PC, 1909/F21, #390, 1620, 07.09.1909, Cetinje, MoFA to the Istanbul Legation; Rakočević, "Stanje na crnogorsko-turskoj granici uoči Balkanskog rata (1908-1912)," 486, 507, 11-12. and Vukosavljević, *Istorija seljačkog društva: Seoske zajednice i oblici ponašanja u njima*, 5, 105.

<sup>452</sup> BIIUCG/Podgorica, Fond Vukašina Božovića, F13, #18, 01.05.1920, Ljubomir Vešović to Vukašin Božović; Ljubomir J. Vešović, *Lista podataka borbe-boja sa Turcima oko Berana od 26.09. do 03.10.1912. godine*; Rakočević, "Stanje na crnogorsko-turskoj granici uoči Balkanskog rata (1908-1912)," Footnote #14, 491. and Dašić, *Šekular i Šekularci od pomena do 1941. godine*, 522-23.

<sup>453</sup> BIIUCG/Podgorica, Fond Vukašina Božovića, F13, #18, Ljubomir J. Vešović, *Ustanak na Turke u Beranama, početkom meseca avgusta 1912; Lista podataka borbe-boja sa Turcima oko Berana od 26.09. do 03.10.1912.godine; Lista podataka borbe sa Turcima na položaju „Štedin“ 15.10.1912. godine*; #22, Vukota Popović, *Lista podataka borbe na Policu 1912. godine*; Dašić, *Šekular i Šekularci od pomena do 1941. godine*, 520. and Zvezdan Folić, "Istorijski razvoj od 1700. do 1941.," in *Berane: Opšta monografija povodom 150-te godišnjice Berana*, ed. Miljan Radović et al. (Berane: Opština Berane, 2012), 236-37.

<sup>454</sup> Babić, *Politika Crne Gore u novooslobođenim krajevima 1912-1914*, 137. VA/Belgrade, P2, K18, F1, 8/2, #215, 24/11/1912, Rožaje, Sima Kastratović to a Serbian Commander and DACG/Cetinje, MUD-UO, 1913/F132, #53, #167, 20.11.1913, Berane, Avro Cemović to the Mol.

Knowingly destroying the households was not unique to the Berane area, but other hamlets that belonged to the imagined Vasojevići territory were also intentionally set ablaze, such as Brezo(je)vica and parts of Velika.<sup>455</sup> The response was not any different because moving deeper into the Ottoman territory allowed the soldiers of the Lower/Upper Vasojevići to keep score, whereby they calculatively scorched the villages of Pepiće, Novšići as well as destroyed the mosque in Rugova, implying that violence wielded by both sides was targeted and a result of previous actions of the enemy.<sup>456</sup> It was not only that the tribesmen who participated in first clashes recognized the locals from Rugova, but after occupying it they discovered the stolen property belonged to the Monastir in Rugova.<sup>457</sup>

It was not a mere coincidence that perpetrators of killings, torture, and extortion in post-1913 Rugova originally came from Šekular. Besides being compelled to preserve public law, the soldiers of Šekular additionally occupied a civil office. They were under the command of Oto Rmuš, a chief mukhtar of the Šekular village municipality.<sup>458</sup> Just one year before the war, several persons from the Rmuš family/kinship were either wounded or killed by the members of the Ottoman border units, a fact that could easily push the Rmuš family to seek revenge.<sup>459</sup> Oto, who was a mukhtar since 1905, could rely not only on his fraternity and soldiers from Šekular, but also on his four brothers who followed him in the unit. The brothers became local gendarmes in Rugova with special duties and privileges.<sup>460</sup> Being a chief mukhtar, he was expected to negotiate with the Montenegrin polity about the communal properties that remained on the other side of the political border, as happened in 1908. Only after being prevented by the state, Oto, together with with six flag-bearers, among whom one held the surname Spalević, viz. the same surname of Rada, her son, and her grandchildren, had to stop armed intrusions and destruction of *katuni* at the mountain of Mokra that belonged to Rugova.<sup>461</sup> After the war, the mountain was granted to Šekular, together with the neighboring streams and wells.<sup>462</sup> Thus, it is not only that the Lower Vasojevići tribesmen were chief perpetrators, but also their fellow kin from the pre-1913 Montenegro, which scholars had overlooked until now. Committing

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<sup>455</sup> NMCG-ABO/Cetinje, N. I 1912/F60, #242, 14.10.1912, Andrijeвица, unknown to the King and Jovićeвиć, "Plavsko-gusinjska oblast, Polimlje, Velika i Šekular," 406.

<sup>456</sup> BIIUCG/Podgorica, K85, 14.10.1912, place unknown, Vešović to Janko Vukotić and Barjaktarović, "Rugova," 210.

<sup>457</sup> BIIUCG/Podgorica, K85, #56, 12.10.1912, brigadir Joko Vulov Adžić sa Rugove piše serdaru Janku Vukotiću.

<sup>458</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MUD-IK, 1912-1913/F3, #203, 16.07.1913, Peć, Komesar Savo P. Vuletić potpisuje Zapisnik Ota Rmuša iz Šekulara.

<sup>459</sup> Dragičević, "Teški život crnogorskih krajišnika," 180-84. Barjaktarović, *Šekular: Etnološka studija*, 16, 187-88. and Dašić, *Šekular i Šekularci od pomena do 1941. godine*, 515-16, 35-37.

<sup>460</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MUD-IK, 1912-1913/F3, #203, 16.07.1913, Peć, Komesar Savo P. Vuletić potpisuje Zapisnik Ota Rmuša iz Šekulara.

<sup>461</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MID, 1908/F153-a, #1575, 02.03.1908, Šekular, Opština šekularska pop Andrija Popović, glavni kmet Oto R. Rmuš, kmetovi barjaktar Joso T. Šarić, Petar D. Brankočević, Gavro A. Spalević, Žujo S. Pantović, Novo J. Babić. Spasoje M. Tomović, Kmet Mileta M. Kenjić to Radomir Vešović.

<sup>462</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MUD-UO, 1914/F155, #4866, br. 5399, undated but from 1914, MoI to the Andrijeвица District Chief.

wrongdoings in times of war undoubtedly had something to do with the pre-war deeds and the events happened at the outset of the war. In short, the avengers remained identifiable.<sup>463</sup>

However, one should also pay attention to the local constellation because violent action does not necessarily arise, even if there is a motive at the one's level. What is needed is a constellation in which conducting physical violence is seen as a possible. Violence as an option is often only created in appropriate setting and war context might only, but not exclusively, facilitate this.<sup>464</sup> Certainly, one does not speak here about spaces of violence.<sup>465</sup> It would be wrong to assume that there were not actors on the ground who did not maintain control over the situation. Janko Vukotić, a commanding officer of both the Vasojevići Brigades, was one of those who persistently warned both the superior officers and rank and file of their mission to bring "law and order," and effectively employed the concept of honor in order to maintain discipline among them.<sup>466</sup> If this did not help, then an open threat of beating them, burning down their houses, or setting fire to everything what they had left was used.<sup>467</sup> Not to mention his promise to the conquered population that they would enjoy their rights under Montenegrin rule in return for being "peaceful, obedient, loyal and upright citizens."<sup>468</sup>

However, he was soon deployed to the Iškodra front, leaving thereby the rank and file together with other civil officials from pre-1913 Montenegro to establish and organize rule.<sup>469</sup> A systematic disarmament only cemented the context in which these players could act since they feared that their enemies would rebel.<sup>470</sup> By following the fraternity loyalty, they protected their own who could be accused of misusing their power, or upon being indicted, they would simply judge them. They would also declare that they were incapable of imposing control over the rank and file.<sup>471</sup> Since many of the rank and file (and the brokers as well) lost practically everything due to war operations, they could commit crimes without having any fear that they would be charged.<sup>472</sup>

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<sup>463</sup> Helbling, *Tribale Kriege: Konflikte in Gesellschaften ohne Zentralgewalt*, 43.

<sup>464</sup> Michaela Christ and Christian Gudehus, "Gewalt: Begriffe und Forschungsprogramme," in *Gewalt. Ein interdisziplinäres Handbuch*, ed. Christian Gudehus and Michaela Christ (Stuttgart-Weimar: Verlag J. B. Metzler, 2013), 1-15, here pp. 7-8.

<sup>465</sup> Jörg Baberowski, "Einleitung: Ermöglichungsräume exzessiver Gewalt," in *Gewalträume: Soziale Ordnungen im Ausnahmezustand*, ed. Jörg Baberowski and Gabriele Metzler (Frankfurt / New York: Campus Verlag, 2012), 7-27.

<sup>466</sup> BIIUCG/Podgorica, K85, 12.10.1912, Rugova, Janko Vukotić to Avro Cemović.

<sup>467</sup> BIIUCG/Podgorica, K85, 12.10.1912, Rugova, Janko Vukotić to Avro Cemović and *ibid*, 20.10.1912, Peć, Janko Vukotić to Miloš Medenica.

<sup>468</sup> BIIUCG/Podgorica, K85, 03.10.1912, Đurđevi Stupovi, Serdar Janko Vukotić to the King.

<sup>469</sup> Živko M. Andrijašević, "O pokrštanju muslimana 1913. godine," in *Pokrštanje muslimana 1913*, ed. Živko M. Andrijašević and Zoran Stanojević (Podgorica: Almanah, 2003), 5-85, here pp. 84.

<sup>470</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MUD-UO, 1913/F132, #276(2), br. 334, 25.01.1913, Gusinje, Radonjić to the MoI and *ibid*, MV-KMV 1913, F7, #1159, 14.02.1913, Cetinje, MoW to the King's Adjutant.

<sup>471</sup> BIIUCG/Podgorica, K85, 22.10.1912, unknown place, Janko Vukotić to Radomir Vešović and DACG/Cetinje, MV-KMV, F7, #1465, 16.12.1913, Berane, Avro Cemović to the MoW.

<sup>472</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MV-KMV 1913, F7, #1893, 08/04/1913, Berane, and *ibid*, #2803, 11.04.1913, Gusinje, in both Avro Cemović to the MoW.

In this sense, the state war once again became the tribal war. This is obvious in the petitions filed by the Plava-Gusine residents. In order to alleviate their situation and remind the King of his promise, the brokers saw the tribal dimension of this retaliation, thus labeling the perpetrators clearly along the tribal/kinship lines as follows:

With the utmost allegiance and awe (...) we dare to ask His Majesty to remove the Vasojevići authority and policy from this district, so that they could not judge because they are those who have killed this loyal people on the justice of God, disrespected and changed our faith (...) Very gracious lord, give us the permission or the freedom to enter somehow under your protection and thereby, into your country because here, under these authorities, we cannot and it has already been proved why.<sup>473</sup>

When asking the King to help her family, Almaza Radoičića – who was from Gusine – clearly stated that it was *the* Vasojevići who had murdered her husband, two brothers- and two mothers-in-law, and stole some livestock, which was used also in the post-1918 period as well.<sup>474</sup> If the readership was a foreign audience, then, it was the “regular Montenegrin army” that did this.<sup>475</sup> Nevertheless, to use the wording of the Gusine kadi, this retaliation was seen locally as *mezâlim*, meaning atrocities or cruelties.<sup>476</sup> By the mid-1913, the Vasojevići headmen forcefully converted the Muslims from Berane, Plava, Gusine and Rugova (but not from Tîrgovište) to Christianity, and also turned the local mosques into churches.<sup>477</sup> This was done without the blessing of the pre-1913 Montenegrin ecclesiastical powers because the local clergymen were informed to avoid any confessional propaganda.<sup>478</sup> One of person who participated in this was a Gusine parish priest, Đorđije Šekularac, who had been wounded and robbed several times since 1901 and was forced to witness the killing of his kin. Being engaged in the conversion gave him one of the just two satisfactions he had in his life, as he emphasized in the post-1918 era.<sup>479</sup> Thus, violence had a clearly religious dimension, which was promoted by the locals who were not encouraged by the supra-local actors, as was the case, for instance, in the post-1939 Poland’s Western Ukraine and Belorussia.<sup>480</sup>

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<sup>473</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MUD-UO, 1913/F135, #1685(1), br. 1894, 22.06.1913, Podgorica, Gusine Populaton via the King's Adjutant to the King.

<sup>474</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MV-KMV 1915, F11, unnumbered report, 14.09.1915, Rijeka, Almaza Adžije Bećova Radoičića from Gusinja to the King and Dimić and Borozan, *Jugoslovenska država i Albanci*, I, #213, 19.12.1918, Plav, In front of the people various brokers to the İpek-based Military Commander, 214.

<sup>475</sup> ÖStA/HHStA/Vienna, PA XXXVIII/425, #95/P, 27.05.1914, Skutari, General Consul to Berchtold. (...) im Namen der Bewohner von Plava und Gusinje gegen die von den regulären montenegrinischen Truppen seit dem Ende des Balkankrieges verübten Gräueltaten Protest einlegen (...)

<sup>476</sup> Šerbo Rastoder, "Pismo gusinjskog kadije Šabana (Musića) - Murtezi Karađuzoviću, muftiji crnogorskih muslimana, povodom masovnog pokrštavanja 1913. godine," *Almanah: časopis za proučavanje, prezentaciju i zaštitu kulturno-istorijske baštine Bošnjaka/Muslimana 75-76* (2017): 281-94. and *Türkçe/Osmanlıca-İngilizce Redhouse Sözlüğü*, (İstanbul: Sev Yayıncılık Eğitim ve Ticaret A. Ş., 2017), entry "mezalim", 771.

<sup>477</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MUD-UO, 1913/F132, #276(2), br. 334, 25.01.1913, Gusinje, M. M. Radonjić to the MoI.

<sup>478</sup> Kondić, "Mitropolija crnogorsko-primorska u drugoj polovini XIX i početkom XX veka (1851-1920)," 444-45.

<sup>479</sup> Vuk Dragović, „Gusinje, parohija pop Đorđije Šekularca: Veličanstveni čorsokak prirode i civilizacije“, *Politika*, god. XXVIII, 08.06.1931, br. 8288, 5.

<sup>480</sup> Jan T. Gross, *Revolution from Abroad: The Soviet Conquest of Poland's Western Ukraine and Western Belorussia* (Princeton / Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2002), 21, 31, 35-39, 50-51, 117.

In order to avoid falling victim, Muslims in Berane already at the outset of the war decided to change their confession, and at the same time, sought protection among their Christian neighbors, meaning that the subjective collective categorization affected those who had never had any connection with the pre-war violence.<sup>481</sup> This was even evident in filed petitions in which certain locals from Plava, for example, defended their Christian peers under Ottoman rule which did not save them from falling victim to the Vasojevići.<sup>482</sup> Protecting kin and personal property represented a driving force for conversion because after returning to their accentors' faith (*u prađedovsku vjeru*), as Avro Cemović euphemistically declared it in the case of the Muslim Vasojevići fraternities, this allowed a chance for the powerholders to rescue their kin from prison and become an officer in the tribal/kinship-based army under their command.<sup>483</sup> After being converted, those in the Plava-Gusine region were organized into five battalions, whereby the most prominent persons became commanders, officers, flag-bearers, and corporals.<sup>484</sup>

They were now entitled to wear the Montenegrin cap, meaning that not only did they become Montenegrin subjects in the eyes of the Vasojevići tribal population but through the process of tribalization they could also belong to the imagined tribal fabrics. In this manner the imagined tribal territory expands too.<sup>485</sup> This point was entirely ignored by the national historiography. One of the possible explanations lays in the Vasojevići unwritten law, which indicated that not only should new mosques not be built nor the old ones to be fully neglected, but it also gives a chance to the fraternities, whom the renegades (*poturčenjaci*) belonged to, to return.<sup>486</sup> In cases of refusal, the latter were then separated from the tribe, being thus deprived of any tribal protection, and declared to be true Turks (*pravi Turci*), which essentially meant that their property did not enjoy any kind of legal protection.<sup>487</sup> Thus, this case differs from the 1912/13 Pomak Christianization since the Bulgarian political and cultural elites directly isolated the Slavic-speaking Muslims for conversion, meaning the state encouraged the latter, while sources point out here that this was a local endeavor.<sup>488</sup>

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<sup>481</sup> BIIUCG/Podgorica, K85, #358, 06.10.1912, Kolašin, Jovan Plamenac to Janko Vukotić.

<sup>482</sup> See, for instance, DACG/Cetinje, MUD-UO, 1913/F141, #3762(2), 09.12.1913, Cetinje, Emro A. Barjović from Plava to the MoI and *ibid*, MV-KMV 1915, F11, unnumbered report, 14.09.1915, Rijeka, Almaza Adžije Bećova Radoičića from Gusinja to the King.

<sup>483</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MV-Donjovasojevićka brigada 1912-1915, F1/#121, unnumbered, undated and no place, Avro Cemović to the Supreme Command and *ibid*, MV-KMV 1913, F8, #1176, 17.09.1913, Berane, Avro Cemović to the Supreme Command.

<sup>484</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MV-KMV 1913, F7, #2804, 11.04.1913, Gusinje, Avro Cemović to the MoW.

<sup>485</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MUD-UO, 1913/F132, #276(2), br. 334, 25.01.1913, Gusinje, M. M. Radonjić to the MoI.

<sup>486</sup> Jelić, *Vasojevićki zakon od dvanaest točaka*, article II/3 and II/4, 43-44.

<sup>487</sup> Jelić, *Vasojevićki zakon od dvanaest točaka*, article II/5, 45-47.

<sup>488</sup> Aşkın Koyuncu, "Balkan Savaşları Sırasında Pomakların Zorla Tanassur Edilmesi (1912-1913)," *Ankara Üniversitesi Osmanlı Tarihi Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi Dergisi* 33 (2013): 139-96. Fatme Myuhtar-May, "Pomak Christianization (Pokrastvane) in Bulgaria during the Balkan Wars of 1912-1913," in *War and Nationalism: The Balkan Wars, 1912-1913, and their Sociopolitical Implications*, ed. M. Hakan Yavuz and Isa Blumi (Salt Lake City: The University of Utah Press, 2013),

All of this actually supports the argument that the 1912/13 retaliation must be seen as a tribal war. To be sure, territorial expansions, annihilations, humiliations or decimations of the other are a characteristic of a state war too.<sup>489</sup> That is why the scholars failed to detect this small, but crucial nuance between the two on the ground. Putting actors, the pre-war phase, the situation, and constellation side by side reveals that it was not just about winning; the enemy had to be decisively weakened and his potential resistance destroyed. This was not chaotic violence but represented the activities that deliberately targeted the Muslim fraternities in the Lower Vasojevići, as well as the locals in Rugova, Plava and Gusine. The obligation to seek revenge is absolute insofar as the reputation and keeping score was at the stake. If the Vasojevići did not fight back, they would signal weakness, whereby the tribal/kinship loyalty was strengthened and justified by the conflict. By weakening the other, they tended to obtain a monopoly on locally concentrated resources, which were necessary for their further autonomous development.<sup>490</sup> In fact, this led to their disintegration from the inside because headmen had forgotten their duties and gradually started to resemble to warlords, such as to those in the Russian imperial context during WWI as well as in the Russian Civil War.<sup>491</sup>

By using this context both Oto and others furthered their own policies and disregarded the goals of the ruling elites, thus establishing a *market of violence* in this moment, which was also palpable in other areas.<sup>492</sup> With the latter, they then began to form what was public, what was private and what the political was.<sup>493</sup> They did not act in the interest of the whole tribe, but rather in their own, or that of their close circle, whereby profit and the misuse of authority through the military and enrichment came first and was knowingly concealed through usage of the identitarian language.<sup>494</sup> Oto Rmuš is the case in point who, after leaving the post in

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316-60. and Andrijašević, "O pokrštanju muslimana 1913. godine," 68, 79-82. See also Evangelos Karagiannis, *Flexibilität und Definitionsvielfalt pomakischer Marginalität* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2005).

<sup>489</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MV-KMV 1913, F7, #1159, 14.02.1913, Cetinje, MoW to the King's Adjutant and Helbling, *Tribale Kriege: Konflikte in Gesellschaften ohne Zentralgewalt*, 63.

<sup>490</sup> Helbling, *Tribale Kriege: Konflikte in Gesellschaften ohne Zentralgewalt*, 63-66, 339-40, 456-57, 539.

<sup>491</sup> Jochen Böhler, "Generals and Warlords, Revolutionaries and Nation-State Builders: The First World War and its Aftermath in Central and Eastern Europe," in *Legacies of Violence: Eastern Europe's First World War*, ed. Jochen Böhler, Borodziej Włodzimierz, and Joachim von Puttkamer (München: Oldenbourg Verlag, 2014), 51-66. See also Michael Riekenberg, "Warlords. Eine Problemskizze," *Comparativ: Leipziger Beiträge zur Universalgeschichte und vergleichenden Gesellschaftsforschung* 9, no. 5/6 (1999): 187-205. and Joshua Sanborn, "The Genesis of Russian Warlordism: Violence and Governance during the First World War and the Civil War," *Contemporary European History* 19, no. 3 (2010): 195-213.

<sup>492</sup> NMCG-ABO/Cetinje, N. I 1912/F63, #271, 16.12.1912, Gusinje, M. Radonjić to the King's adjutant. For the case of Tomaš Pešić see BIIUCG/Podgorica, F21, #5, 27/10/1912, Rožaje, M. Dabetić to the District Chief.

<sup>493</sup> Colás and Mabee, "Introduction: Private Violence in Historical Context," 1-13, here pp. 2-3, 5, 8-9; Owens, "Distinctions, Distinctions: 'Public' and 'Private' Force?," 15-32, here pp. 18-23, 27, 30, 32.

<sup>494</sup> NMCG-ABO/Cetinje, N. I 1913/F67, #740/73, 05.07.1913, Gusinja, Preko Deš. adutanta Njegovom Veličanstvu Kralju Gospodaru. Marko Božović, Miloš R Popović, Zako Drakulović Staništa Turković Milosav Lončarević Petar Krstović Marko Lončarević Đole Radenović Petar Matic, Petar Nikolić, Petar Bojović, Mitar Lončarević. See also DACG/Cetinje, MUD-UO, 1913/F140, #3455(46), 14.11.1913, Berane, the King's Proxy Milan Nikolić to the MoW and *ibid*, 1914/F147, #2237/1, 18.05.1914, Berane, District Chief Marko Petrović to the MoI.

Rugova, asked the Ministry of the Interior to be appointed at the top of a new Šekular captaincy, meaning that he sought to further an independent policy by relying on his local status.<sup>495</sup>

One of the reasons for the latter might be the fact that before becoming part of the Vasojevići, Šekular itself had functioned as a separated tribe. This most likely clashed with the interest of the ruling elites because they furthered the tribalization of Šekular within the Upper Vasojevići.<sup>496</sup> That is why a newly-appointed district chief and a non-native to Berane stated in mid-1914 that in order to establish rule among the indigenous people (*domorodci*), at least one half of the teachers, who were the Vasojevići only, were to be replaced with the those coming from Old Montenegro. Having been educated in Serbia and also being great speakers, they had dealt with issues that were not relating to their duty, thus influencing their kin. They listened to them attentively and spread their narrative in their homes, meaning that remodeling the tribe and encroaching in the tribal zone was needed once again. The latter was eased given for two main reasons: not only due to the sudden death of Avro Cemović in mid-1914, which in turn only caused previous disputes between various headmen to resurface, but also the wider tribal population was disappointed with the latter, “whom they listened to and pampered with blind obedience,” and who demonstrated that the people’s interest was secondary to them.<sup>497</sup>

Nevertheless, all these actions mitigated the state’s esteem and claim of bringing about law, order, and equality regardless of faith locally.<sup>498</sup> Focusing namely on Āškodra, its main goal in the Balkan Wars, the ruling elites did not pay heed to these developments and least on pillaging.<sup>499</sup> They were updated in late 1912 about the latter by their Serbian allies who had to halt the intrusions of the Vasojevići armed groupings several times, which in turn forced its military even to threaten that they would shoot on them.<sup>500</sup> Being informed about robberies in the emerging Montenegrin-Serbian borderlands, the King asked the Serbian authorities to be more lenient and show less ardency towards the Vasojevići until the political border was demarcated.<sup>501</sup> This meant, giving permission for the soldiers to amass some capital so they could pay their debts back home. The authorities answered by sending five different commissions to the occupied territories between late 1912 and mid-1913, by which time the

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<sup>495</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MUD-UO, 1913/F138, #2734(3), 24.09.1913, Šekular, Oto R. Rmuš to the MoI.

<sup>496</sup> After receiving a negative answer, he wanted a post in the newly occupied territories. See DACG/Cetinje, MUD-UO, 1913/F138, #2734(1), 02.10.1913, Šekular, Oto R. Rmuš to the MoI.

<sup>497</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MUD-UO, 1914/F147, #2237/1, 18.05.1914, Berane, District Chief Marko Petrović to the MoI.

<sup>498</sup> VA/Belgrade, P2, K18, F1, 2/2, 31.10.1912, Mitrovica, Đeneral Mih. Nešković to the Supreme Command.

<sup>499</sup> Morrison and Roberts, *The Sandžak: A History*, 90-91.

<sup>500</sup> VA/Belgrade, P2, K18, F1, 8/1, 29.10.1912, Novi Pazar, Živković to the Supreme Command; DAS/Belgrade, MID-PO 1912, R382, F13, D1, XIII/73, #387, 20.11.1912, Mitrovica, Country Chief to the Commander of the Ibar Army and VA/Belgrade, P2, K20, F1, 15/22, 22.11.1912, Skoplje, Supreme Command to the Commander of the Prizren-based 3<sup>rd</sup> Army. See also Avdija Avdić, "Sporovi između srpskih i crnogorskih vlasti u Sandžaku posle zaposedanja 1912. godine," *Novopazarški zbornik* 10 (1986): 175-80. and Babić, *Politika Crne Gore u novooslobođenim krajevima 1912-1914*, chapter 3.

<sup>501</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MID-PO 1912, R382, F13, D1, XIII/78, 29.11.1912, Telegram from Cetinje, Serbian Legation to the MoFA.

former became familiar with the situation and found out that the conversion was not voluntarily, despite the headmen portraying it that way.<sup>502</sup> After some commissions had visited the area, the situation did not improve but rather worsened; one possible reason was that the people who led them or their members participated in committing wrongdoings elsewhere.<sup>503</sup> This led to the removal of the accused from their posts, the granting of the right to publicly confess Islam, and in some cases, arresting only low level rank and file or simply letting everything to become the past, while the new Montenegrin authorities re-established the upper hand locally at the same time.<sup>504</sup>

The corollaries of these events were profound. Polarization along the confessional line was evident in this part even before the Balkans Wars but with the 1912/13 retaliation relations were further exacerbated between the locals, and these echoes would resonate in the years to come. This did not mean that there was no chance for establishing horizontal loyalty. Soldiers of the Upper Vasojevići Brigade, before entering the town of Gusine, were greeted with bread and salt by the local brokers. This action meant that a man who was in great danger was asking for protection, which among the Vasojevići and beyond was referred to as fraternization by salt and bread.<sup>505</sup> This was disregarded. Also, the relations between the ruling elites and the Plava population were not better either because the lack of vertical loyalty was evident, whereby the entrepreneurs reminded the former that they failed to prove their claims that they would establish order. The reason for stating this was a new taxation policy, for which reason they wanted to commit suicide by jumping into water, meaning that the 1912/13 events could be also used as a leverage in negotiations vis-à-vis the state.<sup>506</sup> Still, the polarization and adjustment to the new setting did not end here but also faced new challenges in the upcoming years too.

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<sup>502</sup> Andrijašević, "O pokrštanju muslimana 1913. godine," 15, 55-56, 60, 64-68

<sup>503</sup> Pavle Vujisić's esteem was, for example, questionable who became the chief of the first Commission of Inquiry. See DAS/Belgrade, MID-PO 1912, R382, F13, D2, XIII/189, unnumbered report, 20.12.1912, Cetinje, Serbian Legation to the MoFA (...) Jedna kompetentna ličnost reče mi da ličnost Vujisićeva ne daje nikakvo jemstvo za strogost ankete. Ostavljajući na stranu ono što mu se stavlja u pasivu u daljoj prošlosti, da spomenem da se uporno tvrdi da se on pri zauzeću Berana radio ono zašto ide da čini anketu nad drugima. (...) He was accompanied by an officer Boško Bošković, who was labeled in a report as follows: "Boško Bošković from Polje arrived [in Bijelo Polje], and he immediately caused turmoil about the town. Fear and horror entered among the entire Muslim populations. His actions do not give peace this night to the whole town." See BIIUCG/Podgorica, F21, #5, 19.11.1912, Podgorica, Pavle Vujisić to Dušan Vukotić and DACG/Cetinje, MV-KMV 1913, F7, #5102, 22/05/1913, Bijelo Polje, Sreten Stanić to the MoW.

<sup>504</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MV-KMV, F7, #1465, 16.12.1913, Berane, Avro Cemović to the MoW; *ibid*, MUD-OU, 1913/F137, #2519(2), br.1140, 29.08.1913, Gusinje, Vujošević to the MoI and *ibid*, MUD-UO, 1914/F147, #2237/1, 18.05.1914, Berane, District Chief Marko Petrović to the MoI. (...) Tragati za tim zloupotrebama bilo bi po mom mnjenju nekorisno; al je dobit u tome, što osjećajući se krivim, izgleda mi po dosadanjem da su gotovi na slijepu poslušnost i rad, tek da koliko toliko zabašure prošlost, a smrću pok. Brigadira Avra, i da bi se hćelo ma čemu da uđe u trag bilo bi uzaludno.

<sup>505</sup> NMCG-ABO/Cetinje, N. I 1912/F61, #68, 21.10.1912, Kruševac, Jovan Plamenac to Janko Vukotić and Kaser, *Hirten, Kämpfer, Stammeshelden: Ursprünge und Gegenwart des balkanischen Patriarchats*, 261 and footnote #100.

<sup>506</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MUD-UO, 1914/F149, #3108, br. 49, 17.07.1914, Plav, in the name of the Muslim population brokers to the MoI.



### 3.3.3. Targeted Violence #2: The Transition (1915-1916) and the Occupation (1916-1918)

As the Montenegrin power faced its end in late 1915, the constellation of power gradually changed, whereby actors in the 1912/13 retaliation or their family members fell victim to revenge. Although the Gusine parish priest Đorđije Šekularac was not in the town, his wife was stripped and left outside in the middle of the winter without having anything on her body to wear.<sup>507</sup> Those who gained the land under rent by the post-1913 authorities or houses which previously belonged to the announced brigands, were taken away and shot dead regardless of whether they were women or children. It is not clear if they belonged to the Vasojevići, but the locals targeted the Christians who had joined the Vasojevići rank and file and participated in looting during the 1912/13 war, which in turn only made the line between the imagined communities to become more distinct.<sup>508</sup> It is worthy underlining that the Christians from the Plava-Gusine region did not initially take part in plundering their Muslim neighbors but in late 1913 a shift becomes noticeable.<sup>509</sup> In addition to forcing the Montenegrin authorities to leave Gusine, the new actors gave the local Christians only a short window of time of several days to abandon the town. Yet, the former did not act alone either but had the armed assistance of the tribesmen from the Gashi and Krasniqi tribes who also partook in killings, looting and setting fires.<sup>510</sup>

Former Gusine powerholders who were now being led by Medo Ferović, a brother of Hasan Ağa, Šaban Redžepagić and Smajil Nikočević (they lost some family members in the 1912/13 events) were identified as the main leaders because under his control, a local court consisted of notables not only demanded the payment of the tenth for the period 1912-1916, but also decided who could stay in the town.<sup>511</sup> To the Christian brokers, such oppression, tyranny and crimes committed by the current perpetrators and the specially organized gangs had not experience

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<sup>507</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MUD-UO, 1916/F172, #73/1, 27.01.1916, Gusinje, Stanko Vujošević to Đuro Vujošević.

<sup>508</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MUD-UO, 1913/F137, #2519(2), br.1140, 29.08.1913, Gusinje, Đuro Vujošević to the MoI; *ibid.*, 1914/F146, #40, 1766(3), 09.05.1914, Plav, Protić to the MoI; *ibid.*, 1916/F172, #73/1, 27.01.1916, Gusinje, Stanko Vujošević to Đuro Vujošević and Đeneral Radomir Vešović, *Memoari: autobiografija, dnevnici, besjede, polemike, suđenja, pisma* (Podgorica: Unireks, 2005), #65, 30.01.1916, Podgorica, Montenegrin MoJ to the Habsburg Command of Occupation Troops, 121 and #77, 06.02.16, Cetinje, Delegates to the Government, 131 See also Milan Ščekić, "Muslimani iz novooslobođenih krajeva Crne Gore u Prvom svjetskom ratu (1914-1916)," *Almanah: časopis za proučavanje, prezentaciju i zaštitu kulturno-istorijske baštine Bošnjaka/Muslimana*, no. 79-80 (2018): 157-82. and Milan Ščekić, *Iza linije fronta: Crna Gora (1914-1916)* (Podgorica: Matica crnogorska, 2017), 11-55.

<sup>509</sup> NMCG-ABO/Cetinje, N. 1 1912/F62, #103, 27.11.1912, Gusinje, M.M. Radonjić to the Supreme Command and DACG/Cetinje, MUD-UO, 1913/F137, #2498, 16.09.1913, Gusinje, Đuro Vujošević to the MoI.

<sup>510</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MUD-UO, 1916/F172, #73/1, 27.01.1916, Gusinje, Stanko Vujošević to Đuro Vujošević and *ibid.*, 31.02.1916, Andrijevića, Mileta Marić pisar kapetanstva gusinijskog Oblasnoj upravi Andrijevića.

<sup>511</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MUD-UO, 1916/F172, unnumbered report, 31.02.1916, Andrijevića, Mileta Marić to the Andrijevića District Chief and *ibid.*, #89(2), 03.02.1916, Andrijevića, Staniša Turković, Josif Mašrić and B. Balšić to the Andrijevića District Chief.

even at the time “of the blackest Ottoman reaction.”<sup>512</sup> Although sources do not allow for deep examination of the 1915/16 retaliations, it seems that the Vasojevići in general did become victims namely because they remained armed and did not want to yield their weapons to the approaching Habsburg military until the Plava-Gusine population was disarmed.<sup>513</sup> In fact, the former asked for the Habsburg protection, whose interest could be better forwarded to the new occupying power since Radomir Vešović, a Montenegrin officer and their kin, had recently become Minister of War and was put in charge of making peace with the Habsburg military.<sup>514</sup> At that moment, the new authorities conveyed a message that one side would not remain at an advantage against the other, particularly when it came to the question of using this or that pasture, or of looting livestock. Thus, the disarmament of the locals was necessary.<sup>515</sup>

The new powers did not view in the Ferović family in a positive light since their members, and Hasan Ağa in particular, were labeled as Bulgarian supporters, a fact which at that moment, went against the interests of the Habsburg Monarchy.<sup>516</sup> Over time this changed because in mid-1917, Hasan Ağa updated the authorities that he was able and willing to capture and deliver Radomir Vešović, alive or dead, who rebelled and by relying on his fellow tribesmen, had resisted the Habsburg occupation.<sup>517</sup> Ultimately, this was not possible because the tribe at that time still did not function as one, meaning that the occupation did not lead to its full inner cohesion.<sup>518</sup> That is why certain headmen ensured the Habsburg authorities in their loyalty what – due to Vešović’s action – was seen as an important political asset for the pacification of those who followed his example.<sup>519</sup> What the reasons were for this performance remains unknown and requires further research.

Given the goal of mobilizing the bilingual locals of Muslim and Catholic creed in its army, the higher Habsburg powers now sought to protect the Plava-Gusine able-bodied and their

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<sup>512</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MUD-UO, 1916/F172, #89(2), 03.02.1916, Andrijevića, Staniša Turković, Josif Mašrić and B. Balšić the Andrijevića District Chief and Vešović, *Memoari: autobiografija, dnevnici, besjede, polemike, suđenja, pisma*, #59, 27.01.1916, Cetinje, MoI to the Habsburg Supreme Command, 117.

<sup>513</sup> Vešović, *Memoari: autobiografija, dnevnici, besjede, polemike, suđenja, pisma*, #80, Cetinje, 14.02.1916, MoI to the Habsburg Commander of Occupying Troops, 136; #83/I, Cetinje, 28.02.16, Commander to the Montenegrin Government, 138 and #83/III, 16.02.16, Montenegrin Government to the Commander, 141-142 141-142. and Joksimović, *Narodna vojska Vasojevića (1858-1918)*, 329.

<sup>514</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MUD-UO, 1916/F172, #73/1, 27.01.1916, Gusinje, Stanko Vujošević to Đuro Vujošević; *ibid*, #89(2), 03.02.1916, Andrijevića, Staniša Turković, Josif Mašrić and B. Balšić to the Andrijevića District Chief and Vešović, *Memoari: autobiografija, dnevnici, besjede, polemike, suđenja, pisma*, #26, 08.01.1916, Podgorica, Government to the Montenegrin people, 99-100.

<sup>515</sup> ÖStA/HHStA/Vienna, PA I 998, 49e, #Z. 9/P, 12.03.1916, Cetinje, Proxy to the MdÄ and *ibid*, #Z. 12/P, 15.03.1916, Cetinje, Proxy to the MdÄ.

<sup>516</sup> ÖStA/HHStA/Vienna, PA I 998, 49e, #12.450, 28.06.1916, Teschen, Proxy to the MdÄ.

<sup>517</sup> ÖStA/HHStA/Vienna, PA I 997, 49e, #46/P A-C, 21.05.1917, Cetinje, Proxy to the MdÄ; Brendel, *"Lieber als Kacke als in Hunger sterben": Besatzung und Widerstand im k. u. k. Militärgeneralgouvernement in Montenegro (1916-1918)*, subchapters 3.3 and 3.4. and Joksimović, *Narodna vojska Vasojevića (1858-1918)*, 330-31.

<sup>518</sup> Novica Rakočević, "Stanje u Vasojevićima i plavogusinskoj oblasti poslednjih mjeseci 1918. godine," *Tokovi/Ivangrad 1* (1971): 19-33, here pp. 19.

<sup>519</sup> ÖStA/HHStA/Vienna, PA I 997, 49e, #22 A-C/P, 27.03.1917, Cetinje, Proxy to the MdÄ.

entrepreneurs. Their decision to join the Habsburg army led further to the local polarization, which was visible in late 1916, when the newest Habsburg volunteers from Plava-Gusine were on their way to Cattaro. While passing through the Vasojevići tribal territory, they had to endure insults and threats with the clear reference to the future.<sup>520</sup>

Rumors about peace negotiations that reached the region by mid-1917 only intensified the fear of becoming victims once again. In that moment, memories of the 1912/13 retaliation resurfaced and pushed the inhabitants from Plava-Gusine to avoid any physical encounter with the other. They even refused to cross the tribal territory in order to bring food from neighboring Kolašin, which the Habsburg authorities provided for them, but rather travelled to Podgorica via post-1913 Albania. For the same motive, they asked to be administratively linked to the Āpek district.<sup>521</sup> That is why the Habsburg military tended to take effective measures in order to prevent revenge against the volunteers after they returned back home at the end of WWI.<sup>522</sup>

However, not only this mutuality, but also the imagined hate between the Vasojevići and the Plava-Gusine population was not fixed and was subject to change, leading even to mutual cooperation in late 1918 when the end of the Habsburg occupation was evident. Together with the Vasojevići, the locals from Plava and Gusine fought together against the retreating Habsburg and German troops under the command of their brokers (e.g. Smajil Nikoćević).<sup>523</sup> This episode enabled their entrepreneurs to stress this as negotiations with the post-1918 governing powers, claiming that it was their brotherly duty which required them to attack and disarm the retreating enemy troops.<sup>524</sup>

This was not the first time that the Ferović family survived the transition and parleyed in such a manner. Actually, their social capital saved Hasan Ađa and his family during the 1912/13 retaliation, when they lost their properties.<sup>525</sup> Vertical loyalty established in the pre-war period with the Montenegrin king apparently did not save them.<sup>526</sup> In that moment, the Serbian ruling elites emerged as an important player with whom Hasan Ađa established a connection thanks

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<sup>520</sup> ÖStA/HHStA/Vienna, PA I 999, 49h, unnumbered report, 29.10.1916, Cetinje, Proxy to the MdÄ.

<sup>521</sup> ÖStA/HHStA/Vienna, PA I 999, 49h, #6677, 05.05.1917, Cetinje, MGG/M to the AOK. On the 1917 peace negotiations see Manfred Rauchensteiner, *Der Tod des Doppeladlers: Österreich-Ungarn und der Erste Weltkrieg* (Graz, Wien, Köln: Styria-Verl., 1993), 417-20.

<sup>522</sup> ÖStA/HHStA/Vienna, PA I 998, 49g, #61 B/P., 12.11.1916, Cetinje, Proxy to the MdÄ.

<sup>523</sup> BIIUCG/Podgorica, F84, #106, Ulotina, 27.08.1920, Milutin A. Šoškić, *Batalion polimski – lista podataka o bojevima od 1912-1920. godine*, sheet 5; Joksimović, *Narodna vojska Vasojevića (1858-1918)*, 333-34. and Rakoćević, "Stanje u Vasojevićima i plavogusinjskoj oblasti poslednjih mjeseci 1918. godine," 22.

<sup>524</sup> Dimić and Borozan, *Jugoslovenska država i Albanci*, I, #213, 19.12.1918, Brokers in the Name of Plava-Gusine Population to the Āpek-based Serbian Officer, 213.

<sup>525</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MID-PO 1913, R399, F12, D8, XII/900, #905, 23.05.1913, Cetinje, Montenegrin MoFA to the Serbian MoFA; DACG/Cetinje, MUD-UO, 1913/F136, #2027, br. 671, 09.07.1913, Plav, Municipality to the District Chief and *ibid.*, 1913/F135, #706, 2739, 10.07.1913, Gusinje, Božović to the MoI.

<sup>526</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MV-KMV 1912, F6, #5503/756, 19.09.1912, Andrijevića, Martinović to the District Chief and Bašmakov, *Preko Crne Gore u zemlju Gega*, 19.

to Smajo Ferović, another family member and an Ottoman-era Serbian paramilitary, since it was in the interest of the Serbian governance for this family to stay healthy and whole.<sup>527</sup>

Thus, they protected the family and granted them the right to settle down in Mitroviča, where Hasan and Medo also received monetary support.<sup>528</sup> Of course, Hasan Ağa kept acting independently and beforehand even against the interests of the Serbian ruling elites. He furthered good relations with the İstanbul-based Albanian Committee, where he spent some time in early 1913, fostering the Albanian national project with other notables from the post-Ottoman territories, such as Ferhad Bey, whom he knew.<sup>529</sup> The post-war setting was not any different.

### 3.3.4. Targeted Violence #3: The Transition (1918-1919)

The short episode of cooperation did not last long because once the Habsburg army was out of the region, mutual distrust prevailed, whereby the same villages (e.g. Pepiće, Ržanica, Brezo(je)vica) that were scorched at the outset of the 1912/13 War were once again robbed, some male residents were shot, the Muslim inhabitants were displaced, and certain households were ignited.<sup>530</sup> Before the Serbian army occupied the region in late 1918, the Vasojevići reestablished their two brigades and could easily build raiding parties. Driven by the scarcity of food, loss of the needed communal land, livestock, and the desire for revenge, they turned to the neighboring areas which apparently were not hit so hard and whose residents had robbed them under Habsburg rule.<sup>531</sup> This represented a challenge for the new power insofar as they did not enough troops at their disposal for gaining the upper hand locally but its military nevertheless clashed in some instances with the raiding parties.<sup>532</sup>

Again, in that moment, memories of the 1912/13 retaliation and the tribal component of violence re-merged in the brokers' speech-act from Plava-Gusine, as their petitions aptly demonstrate. They acted now as trustworthy Serbian subjects in an effort to establish vertical

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<sup>527</sup> VA/Belgrade, P2, K18, F1, 22/13, 28.05.1913, Beograd, MoFA to the Supreme Command; DAS/Belgrade, MID-PO 1913, R399, F12, D8, XII/902, #6628, 28.05.1913, Skoplje, Supreme Command to the MoFA and DACG/Cetinje, MUD-UO, 1913/F135, #706, 2739, 10.07.1913, Gusinje, Mašan Božović to the MoI.

<sup>528</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MUDuI, OP 1919, K1, #70, 25.06.1919, Kosovska Mitrovica, M. Cerović to the MoI.

<sup>529</sup> PA AA/Berlin, RZ 201, R 13385, #41, 08.02.1913, Pera, Botschaft an den Reichskanzler and DAS/Belgrade, KuP 1912, #663, 20.05.1912, Priština, Consulate to the MoFA.

<sup>530</sup> Dimić and Borozan, *Jugoslovenska država i Albanci*, I, #213, 19.12.1918, Brokers in the Name of Plava-Gusine Population to the Ipek-based Serbian Officer, 213.

<sup>531</sup> VA/Belgrade, P3, K177, F7, 8/54, #20.093, 13.03.1919, Beograd, MoWN to the Supreme Command; *ibid*, P6, K643, F6, 29/9, #2800, 27.07.1919, Cetinje, Proxy of the Royal Government to the KZDO; DAS/Belgrade, MUDuI, OJB 1919/K2, #708, 24.08.1919, Peć, District Chief to the MoI. Dimić and Borozan, *Jugoslovenska država i Albanci*, II, #705, 14.06.1920, Mitrovica, Conference Minutes: Statement of the Raška District Chief, 725. Tasić, *Rat posle rata: Vojska Kraljevine Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca na Kosovu i Metohiji i u Makedoniji 1918-1920*, 97-99. Joksimović, *Narodna vojska Vasojevića (1858-1918)*, 334. Rakočević, "Stanje u Vasojevićima i plavogusinjskoj oblasti poslednjih mjeseci 1918. godine," 20-21, 24-25. and Parry, *Serbo-Croatian Heroic Songs*, IV: Ženidba Smailagina sina, kazivao je Avdo Mededović s popratnim razgovorima s Mededovićem i drugim, 17-19.

<sup>532</sup> VA/Belgrade, P4/3, K57, F5, 10/3, #3229, 25.02.1919, Prizren, JD to the KIIIAO; *ibid*, 10/5, #1661, 27.02.1919, Novi Pazar, IDO to the KIIIAO; *ibid*, 10/8, #19.330, 01.03.1919, Beograd, MoWN to the KIIIAO and *ibid*, P3, K177, F7, 8/46, #19.771, 07.03.1919, Beograd, MoWN to the Supreme Command.

loyalty, outlining good deeds. They also blamed the Vasojevići for exacerbating public order and underlined that some of their headmen were not interested in establishing Greater Serbia since they only used the protection of certain Serbian troops to disguise their wrongdoings.<sup>533</sup> They grasped the broader context and the goal of the new ruling elites to annex the Montenegrin territories into a greater polity, of course, under Serbian rule.<sup>534</sup> At the same time, the brokers kept the locals armed whose number was not to be underestimated (over 5000 men) and reached an agreement with a Serbian commander in Plava, according to which they could carry firearms and maintain order. In return, it was promised that none of Montenegrin authorities would be appointed. The locals also vowed that as soon as the new power puts down roots locally and was capable of guaranteeing personal and property safety, they would submit their weapons.<sup>535</sup>

Despite establishing the vertical loyalty and tacit security contract, this did not last long because the main goal of establishing an absolute control over the former post-Ottoman and post-Montenegrin territories drove the Serbian authorities to neglect the former. The calculation was simple: if they wanted to gain the necessary backing of the Vasojevići tribesmen for creating a greater polity in their tribal zone, implying that not all Vasojevići entrepreneurs were ready to express their support towards the new ruling elites. Hence, the new authorities had to offer actual deeds because the cooperation with the Plava-Gusine brokers discredited the reputation of the Serbian army in the tribesmen's eyes, who had then started to recall how good it was under Montenegrin rule.<sup>536</sup> This even outweighed the fact that the tribesmen or Montenegrin authorities here and around Āpek were labeled as the main trouble-makers on the ground.<sup>537</sup> Balancing between the two was not feasible, meaning that the Serbian/SCS authorities had to opt for the Vasojevići, just as the previous powers had forced to choose, even if the military powers stressed that this might produce negative outcomes among the Muslim populations.<sup>538</sup> Of course, by following the speech-act of Serbian officers, one sees that they could not trust the Plava-Gusine brokers, their declarations of loyalty notwithstanding, whose

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<sup>533</sup> Dimić and Borozan, *Jugoslovenska država i Albanci*, I, #213, 19.12.1918, Brokers in the Name of Plava-Gusine Population to the Āpek-based Serbian Officer, 213.

<sup>534</sup> Srdja Pavlović, *Balkan Anschluss: The Annexation of Montenegro and the Creation of the Common South Slavic State* (West Lafayette: Purdue University Press, 2008), 148-51.

<sup>535</sup> Dimić and Borozan, *Jugoslovenska država i Albanci*, I, #215, 21.11.1918, Plav, Local Commander to the Brokers, 215; #217, 21.12.1918, Plav, Brokers of the Plava-Gusine Region to the Local Commander, 216-217; #218, 22.12.1918, Peć, Commander to the KJD, 217; #222, 24.12.1918, Peć, Šumadija Company to the KJP, 221 and Tasić, *Rat posle rata: Vojska Kraljevine Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca na Kosovu i Metohiji i u Makedoniji 1918-1920*, 102-03.

<sup>536</sup> Rakočević, "Stanje u Vasojevićima i plavogusinskoj oblasti poslednjih mjeseci 1918. godine," 27-28. Dimić and Borozan, *Jugoslovenska država i Albanci*, I, #233, 12.01.1919, Plav, Commander of the Plava Company to the KJP, 228.

<sup>537</sup> Dimić and Borozan, *Jugoslovenska država i Albanci*, I, #225, 29.12.1918, Mitrovica, 222 and #227, 31.12.18, Mitrovica, 224, in both cases JD to the KIIA.

<sup>538</sup> Dimić and Borozan, *Jugoslovenska država i Albanci*, I, #227, 31.12.1918, Mitrovica, JD to the KIIA, 224 and #238, 24.01.19, Peć, Local Commander to the KIDO, 232.

hate for the Vasojevići was classed as great and in turn led to constant blood feuds, burning of villages and mutual shooting.<sup>539</sup>

Understanding that they might be played out, the Plava-Gusine powerholders turned to the Italian authorities in neighboring Īškodra, from whom they obtained money, firearms, and munition, meaning that local constellations actually offered a good pretext to Italian officers to exert influence and undermine the SCS authorities, which the locals, in contrast, tended to exploit for their own interests.<sup>540</sup> In this interplay Hasan Aĝa and Medo stood out, believing they could find possible protection from Italy against the peril which might come from the Vasojevići.<sup>541</sup> They also used their pre-Ottoman networks, maintaining good connections with the Kosovo Committee which was based Īškodra, where their old contacts (e.g. Ferhad Bey or Hassan Bey Prishtina) could be found.<sup>542</sup> Actually, Hasan Aĝa was labeled as one of main instigators of the 1918/19 events because, according to sources, he held close relations with every possible opponent of the SCS Kingdom.<sup>543</sup>

By wielding the bilinear kinship networks, the Ferovići and others sought to rely on the Krasniqi, Shala, and Gashi tribesmen too, who were supposed to attack and plunder the Vasojevići. All of this in turn made the post-1918 authorities believe that this movement had a clear Albanian national feature.<sup>544</sup> Post-1918 sources tend to depict Hasan Aĝa and Medo as being tools of the imagined Albanian and Italian enemy but they, even prior to and even during the revolt, stated that they were not against the SCS polity, but rather against the Vasojevići who by benefiting in this setting, misused the local constellation again.<sup>545</sup> Not to mention that among them, the military also saw former Montenegrin officers loyal to the Montenegrin king, who were against the full control of the Serbian ruling elites.<sup>546</sup> Gradually, this armed movement, known in the historiography as the Plava-Gusine revolt, also engulfed Rugova. As

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<sup>539</sup> Dimić and Borozan, *Jugoslovenska država i Albanci*, I, #233, 12.01.1919, Plav, Commander of the Plava Company to the KJP, 227.

<sup>540</sup> VA/Belgrade, P3, K177, F7, 8/12, #67, 27.12.1918, Podgorica, Executive People's Committee to the KJT; *ibid*, P3, K164, F1, 3/5, #199, 13.03.1919, Podgorica, EPC-PD to the KZDO; Dimić and Borozan, *Jugoslovenska država i Albanci*, I, #210, 17.12.1918, JD to the unknown, 211; #235, 08.01.19, Sarajevo, KIIA to the unknown, 229 and #236, 09.01.19, Unknown to the KIIA, 230.

<sup>541</sup> VA/Belgrade, P3, K164, F1, 3/5, #199, 13.03.1919, Podgorica, EPC-PD to the KZDO; DAS/Belgrade, MUDuI, OP 1919/K1, #15, 09.02.1919, Peć, District Chief to the MoI and *ibid*, 1919/K2, #907, 31.07.1919, Peć, District Chief to the MoI.

<sup>542</sup> DAS/Belgrade, KuP 1912, #663, 20.05.1912, Priština, Consulate to the MoFA; VA/Belgrade, P3, K177, F7, 8/54, #20.093, 13.03.1919, Beograd, MoWN to the Supreme Command and Dimić and Borozan, *Jugoslovenska država i Albanci*, I, #235, 08.01.1919, Sarajevo, KIIA to the unknown, 229.

<sup>543</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MUDuI, OP 1919/K1, #15, 19.02.1919, Peć, District Chief to the MoI and Dimić and Borozan, *Jugoslovenska država i Albanci*, I, #272, 23.02.1919, Plav, Battalion of the 2nd Army to the Infantry Command, 259.

<sup>544</sup> Dimić and Borozan, *Jugoslovenska država i Albanci*, I, #229, 05.01.1919, Beograd, MoW to the KJD, 225; #233, 12.01.1919, Plav, Local Commander to the KJP, 228; #257, 13.02.1919, Prizren, IJB to the KIIIAO, 243 and #269, 21.02.1919, Plav, Local Commander to the Commander of the 2nd Battalion, 256.

<sup>545</sup> VA/Belgrade, P3, K177, F7, 8/12, #67, 27.12.1918, Podgorica, Executive People's Committee to the KJT; Dimić and Borozan, *Jugoslovenska država i Albanci*, I, #245, 09.02.1919, Novi Pazar, IDO to the KIIIAO, 237. and Tasić, *Rat posle rata: Vojska Kraljevine Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca na Kosovu i Metohiji i u Makedoniji 1918-1920*, 104, 07.

<sup>546</sup> Dimić and Borozan, *Jugoslovenska država i Albanci*, I, #241, 09.02.1919, Novi Pazar, IDO to the KIIIAO, 235.

a result, this forced the military to employ the two Vasojevići brigades, including the Albanian-speaking volunteers from Āpek, in order to quell the rebellion, which meant basically adding fuel to the fire.<sup>547</sup>

But before unleashing a full (para-)military power, the military elites were prone to get in touch with the Ferovićs by wielding an old family linkage. Again, Smajo Ferović and his peer Puniša Račić, who came from the Vasojevići, acted now as the state's proxies so as to de-escalate the situation.<sup>548</sup> However, the engagement of the two paramilitaries did not yield the positive result, forcing the local Plava-Gusine powerholders to seek refuge among the Gashi and Krasniqi tribes.<sup>549</sup> Thus, the resistance was crushed (February 1919), during which the Vasojevići paramilitaries adhered to committing crimes against the locals, whom the military could not initially to protect.<sup>550</sup> The fact that this could not easily be done is shown in the case where even six months after the rebellion, the local authorities struggled to establish monopoly on violence. In that moment, they realized that the cause of the rebellion was score-settling, revenge, and looting conducted by the Vasojevići, again providing the tribal dimension. In the days that followed, the army took drastic measures in order to thwart blood feuds and robberies, thereby expelling the armed tribesmen from Plava and Gusine.<sup>551</sup>

The new authorities did not allow any further developments to emerge because they could have a detrimental effect on the state's interests.<sup>552</sup> But, the SCS governing elites did not disregard the Vasojevići entirely. Despite labelling the tribesmen as wild, uncivilized or lazy, and sometimes branding them as being worse than the imagined Albanian, they were wielded as a tool for the state-building process and the maintenance of public law, just as the previous states had.<sup>553</sup> Now and then, they were employed in quelling revolts in other areas because when they "appear[ed] everything [came] to order" (sic!), denoting that the tribesmen had

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<sup>547</sup> VA/Belgrade, P3, K177, F7, 8/23, #18.846, 17.02.1919, Beograd, MoWN to the Supreme Command; *ibid*, 8/24, #18.822, 17.02.1919, Beograd, MoWN to the Supreme Command; Dimić and Borozan, *Jugoslovenska država i Albanci*, I, #236, 09.01.1919, Unknown to the KIIA, 230; #257, 13.02.19, Prizren, 1JB to the KIIIAO, 243; #260, 15.02.19, Prizren, 1JB to the KIIIAO, 246-247 and #263, 17.02.19, Prizren, 1JB to KIIIAO, 249-251. and Tasić, *Rat posle rata: Vojska Kraljevine Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca na Kosovu i Metohiji i u Makedoniji 1918-1920*, 105.

<sup>548</sup> VA/Belgrade, P3, K177, F7, 8/54, #20.093, 13.03.1919, Beograd, MoWN to the Supreme Command and Dimić and Borozan, *Jugoslovenska država i Albanci*, I, #257, 13.02.1919, Prizren, 244 and #260, 15.02.19, Prizren, 245, in both cases 1JB to the KIIIAO.

<sup>549</sup> Dimić and Borozan, *Jugoslovenska država i Albanci*, I, #263, 19.02.1919, Prizren, 1JB to the KIIIAO, 252; #272, 23.02.19, Plav, Battalion of the 2nd Army to the Infantry Command, 259 and #273, 25.02.19, Beograd, Supreme Command to the unknown, 260.

<sup>550</sup> Dimić and Borozan, *Jugoslovenska država i Albanci*, I, #272, 23.02.1919, Plav, Battalion of the 2nd Army to the Infantry Command, 259.

<sup>551</sup> VA/Belgrade, P3, K177, F7, 8/54, #20.093, 13.03.1919, Beograd, MoWN to the Supreme Command; *ibid*, P6, K643, F6, 29/9, #2800, 27.07.1919, Cetinje, Proxy of the Royal Government to the KZDO and Tasić, *Paramilitarism in the Balkans: Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, and Albania, 1917-1924*, 56-57.

<sup>552</sup> VA/Belgrade, P6, K643, F6, 29/9, #2800, 27.07.1919, Cetinje, Proxy of the Royal Government to the KZDO.

<sup>553</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MUDuI, OJB 1919/K2, #5696, 08.05.1919, Beograd, Mol to the MoWaN, 1-2; *ibid*, #637, probably June 1919, Katanić to the KIIIAO; VA/Belgrade, P3, K177, F8, 8/93, # 40.177, 05.06.1919, Beograd, ŠVK-Oo to the Chief of Adjutant Office and AJ/Belgrade, 14-177-653, #1107, 17.07.1922, Peć, District Chief to the Skopje-based Commissioner and Inspector.

slowly earned a reputation that the others could only fear.<sup>554</sup> This action was aimed at pacifying the imagined Albanian and strengthening the Slavic-speaking Christian elements seen as loyal, whereby giving arable land properties was used as actual deeds.<sup>555</sup>

This revolt forced a large number of the locals to search for refuge in Īškodra, which at that time was under the occupation of French authorities. They tried to solve the repatriation of the most refugees who were eager to return, work in peace and obey state laws but still had fears.<sup>556</sup> Similar to the other settings elsewhere in the region, constant fights and change of power between 1912 and 1918 led to the situation in which food scarcity became commonplace, which in turn allowed diseases to develop. The local SCS military powers therefore asked for aid in form of food, clothing, cattle for plowing, and agricultural equipment.<sup>557</sup> It is hard to tell at this point how the situation on the ground further developed. Even if in the historiography still claims that the Plava-Gusine actors planned the incorporation of their homeland into post-1913 Albania and were fully supported by Italy, the narrative here exemplifies that this was not the case.<sup>558</sup>

Similar to the ruling elites and militaries, the locals, by relying on their past roles, just turned to different mobilization channels in order to protect their own lives and the lives of those who viewed them as their brokers in the face of the possible danger that could come by the Vasojevići. In doing so, Hasan Aĝa, Medo, and others sought to maintain their dominant status locally which began to deteriorate after enduring the 1912-1913 retaliation. It was this tribal dimension of violence and its close experience during the Balkan Wars that resonated among the locals in the midst of every transition, being so distinguishable in their speech-act. These three episodes of locally imbedded violence during times of war also show how the roles of the perpetrator and the victim were subject to change and how important it is to examine the previous actions before narrating these wartime events.

By paying heed to the narrative, the actions of the locally rooted players, and the pre- and the post-war setting, one could easily detect that these events do not belong to the systematic violence backed by the ruling elites, but rather have something to do with the local context. This is something that scholars have overlooked since they fell into the trap of over-ethnicizing these

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<sup>554</sup> Dimić and Borozan, *Jugoslovenska država i Albanci*, II, 11.03.1920, Andrijevića, Lakić Vojvodić to the KZDO, 589 and #705, 14.06.20, Mitrovica, Conference Minutes: Statement of the Raška District Chief, 726.

<sup>555</sup> Dimić and Borozan, *Jugoslovenska država i Albanci*, II, #677, 31.05.1920, Priština, KKDO to the KIII AO, 695-696; #707, 16.06.20, Skoplje, KIII AO, 734 and #734, 30.06.20, Skoplje, KIII AO to the MoWN, 775.

<sup>556</sup> VA/Belgrade, P3, K164, F1, 3/5, #584/10-4, 07.03.1919, Kotor, Commander of Allied Troops in Montenegro and Kotor to the KZDO.

<sup>557</sup> VA/Belgrade, P4/2, K89, F7, 14/4, #867, 28.04.1919, Plav, Local Command to the KZDO.

<sup>558</sup> Tasić, *Rat posle rata: Vojska Kraljevine Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca na Kosovu i Metohiji i u Makedoniji 1918-1920*, 107.



events and the post-1912 and 1918 violence.<sup>559</sup> It is therefore crucial to historicize and conceptualize violence, and above all, question whose violence this was.<sup>560</sup> This also illustrates that the local actors, in order to explain or to justify their deeds, are more than capable of absorbing and employing the identitarian language of the ruling elites. Certainly, this does not mean that in the following decades that this example was not hijacked by the national historiographies through the same process of framing and coding which was used in the period under examination. The preachers of these historiographies still search for *our* victims and *their* perpetrators, showing less enthusiasm for trying to understand why a certain episode happened in one area or to embed this or similar examples in the momentary context.

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<sup>559</sup> Banac, *The National Question in Yugoslavia: Origins, History, Politics*, 298. Schmitt, *Der Balkan im 20. Jahrhundert: Eine postimperiale Geschichte*, 16, 31. and Frantz, *Gewalt und Koexistenz: Muslime und Christen im spätosmanischen Kosovo (1870-1913)*, 355-64.

<sup>560</sup> Pieter M. Judson, "Nationalizing Rural Landscapes in Cisleithania, 1880-1914," in *Creating the Other: Ethnic Conflict and Nationalism in Habsburg Central Europe*, ed. Nancy M. Wingfield (New York - Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2003), 127-48.

#### 4 “The Best Days of His Life:” \* Barracks, the Front, and Desertion

While persuading the able-bodied through the strategies of inducement to join the army is one thing, keeping them in the army is another. The role of various military superiors is pivotal in this context as they are obligated to install the notion in recruits fulfilling military service represented the best days of their lives. How did they plan to achieve this? What strategies did they wield and what do these consist of? What did a recruit learn while serving under the banner? How did he react upon reaching front? These questions belong to the first subchapter in which the military is theoretically seen as an organization or a total institution whose three features are membership, purpose, and hierarchy. By controlling all aspects of life in the barracks, it stages and schedules the members' daily activities. These have to be performed in front of their peers, on whom extensive demands are placed, while a single rational plan, purportedly designed to achieve the official aims of the institution is what unites them. Not only did the organization utilize a variety of strategies, but it was utterly imaginative when it came to formulating purpose. The military, however, was not always successful at maintaining these attributes in the battlefield despite its aspirations.<sup>1</sup>

The process of educating recruits, so that they could identify themselves with the imposed cause, is not one-dimensional, but has a high level of complexity. Still, these various measures offer “a way of approaching the motives that the organizations attributed to their members.” In addition to providing a glimpse into what the inner military life looked like, this approach also provides a possible answer to the question how, for instance, did the pre- and post-1913 Serbian army remain functional despite harsh war conditions? Reconstructing how these organizations employed various membership and performance motivations therefore cannot be disregarded. Every strategy had the character of an external stimulus to which a specific symbol, reply and role was assigned. These were supposed to constantly create eternal enemies, stimulate patriotic feelings and transform confessional martyrdom into nationalist ideology, thereby penetrating daily life and attempting to uphold war as the constant agenda.<sup>2</sup>

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\* Kosta Jokić, *Vojnički bukvar i osnovne dužnosti vojnika* (Beograd: Izdanje knjizare "Vreme", 1923), 55.

<sup>1</sup> Maury D. Feld, *The Structure of Violence: Armed Forces as Social Systems* (Beverly Hills / London: Sage Publications, 1977). Stefan Kühl, *Organisationen: Eine sehr kurze Einführung* (Wiesbaden: VS Verlag, 2011). Şayin, "Askerî Tarih Araştırmasında Yeni Bir Yaklaşım 3T (Teşkilat, Teçhizat, Tefekkürat)," 58-88. Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life* (Berkeley; Los Angeles; London: University of California Press, 2002), xix, 29-30. Erving Goffman, "On the Characteristics of Total Institutions," in *Asylums: Essays on the Social Situation of Mental Patients and other Inmates*, ed. Erving Goffman (London: Penguin Books, 1991), 13-115. Martin Scheutz, ""Totale Institutionen": Missgeleiteter Bruder oder notwendiger Begleiter der Moderne? Eine Einführung," *Wiener Zeitschrift zur Geschichte der Neuzeit* 8, Totale Institutionen, no. 1 (2008): 3-19. and Bröckling, *Disziplin: Askerî İtaat Üretiminin Sosyolojisi ve Tarihi*, 45.

<sup>2</sup> Erich E. Geißler, *Erziehungsmittel* (Bad Heilbrunn/OBB.: Verlag Julius Klinkhardt, 1973), 17-18, 20, 22, 24, 30, 32. Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, 35-36. Berger and Luckmann, *Die gesellschaftliche Konstruktion der Wirklichkeit: Eine Theorie der Wissenssoziologie*, 76-78. Şafak Aykaç, "Şehitlik ve Türkiye'de Militarizmin Yeninden Üretimi: 1990-1999," in *Erkek Millet, Asker Millet: Türkiye'de Militarizm, Milliyetçilik, Erkek(lik)ler*, ed. Yeşim Nurseli Sünbülüoğlu (İstanbul: İletişim, 2013), 141-79, here pp. 48. Stefan Kühl, *Ordinary Organizations: Why Normal Men Carried Out the Holocaust* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2016), 135-37 (citation). and Karl-Siegbert Rehberg, "Institutionen als symbolische Ordnungen: Leitfragen und

But these strategies conceal the hidden transcript of the ruling elites who, by imposing the standardization of behavior, sought to produce legible subjects (James C. Scott), who in turn would become an integral part of the horizontal state integration locally, while the former acted vertically.<sup>3</sup> Thus, the state effect also comes into being here and the first subchapter seeks to exemplify everyday social practices of these organizations by relying on an anthropology of the state. This method forces a scholar to critically examine the assumption that similarly classified states share a natural likeness and affinity.<sup>4</sup> Here, the subchapter shares the problem of many reception studies. Not everything written was applied, and tracing its unlikely given the length of military service and the lack of sources which does not allow for following the lasting effects of military socialization locally.<sup>5</sup> However, some reception can nevertheless be reached by cross-checking records, officers' published articles, booklets, and ego-documents in order to gauge the public's reaction and to avoid a state-centered and one-sided understanding.<sup>6</sup> Since the production of obedience necessitates the prevention of non-compliance, the norms for the production of discipline also determine "deviations" from these imposed norms.<sup>7</sup>

These various "abnormal" practices are conceptualized here as tactics, techniques, or weapons of the weak. These do not have a place but, depending on the time, entail a maneuver within the field of vision of the ruling elites, operating thereby "in isolated actions, blow by blow." The locals, before or after being conscripted, could thus still find ways to take opportunities for themselves within this space where one's will and power is isolated; yet it is

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Grundkategorien zur Theorie und Analyse institutioneller Mechanismen (TAIM)," in *Symbolische Ordnungen: Beiträge zu einer soziologischen Theorie der Institutionen* ed. Hans Vorländer (Baden-Baden: Nomos, 2014), 43-84, here pp. 43-44, 55, 60-62.

<sup>3</sup> Heinrich Popitz, *Die normative Konstruktion von Gesellschaft* (Tübingen: J. C. M. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1980). Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, xix. Scott, *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Conditions Have Failed*, 82-83. Berger and Luckmann, *Die gesellschaftliche Konstruktion der Wirklichkeit: Eine Theorie der Wissenssoziologie*, 99-100.

<sup>4</sup> Mitchell, "Society, Economy, and the State Effect," 76-97. Sharma and Gupta, "Introduction: Rethinking Theories of the State in an Age of Globalization," 1-41, here pp. 8, 10-19. and Ömer Turan, "Esas Duruş!": Kışla Deneyimleri ya da Türkiye'de Zorunlu Askerliğin Antropolojisi," in *Erkek Millet, Asker Millet: Türkiye'de Militarizm, Milliyetçilik, Erkek(lik)ler*, ed. Yeşim Nurseli Sünbuloğlu (İstanbul: İletişim, 2013), 261-335.

<sup>5</sup> Ekkehard Lippert, Paul Scheinder, and Ralf Zoll, "The Influence of Military Service on Political and Social Attitudes: A Study of Socialization in the German Bundeswehr," *Armed Forces & Society* 4, no. 2 (1978): 265-82. Albrecht Rothacher, "Commentary: On the Effects and Noneffects of Military Socialization," *Armed Forces & Society* 6, no. 2 (1980): 332-34, here pp. 34. Benecke, *Militär, Reform und Gesellschaft im Zarenreich: Die Wehrpflicht in Russland 1874-1914*, 16. and Mehmet Beşikçi, "Militarizm, Topyekûn Savaş ve Gençliğin Seferber Edilmesi: Birinci Dünya Savaşı'nda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Paramiliter Dernekler," *Tarih ve Toplum: Yeni Yaklaşımlar* 8, no. Bahar (2009): 49-92.

<sup>6</sup> Beşikçi, *Cihan Harbi'ni Yaşamak ve Hatırlamak: Osmanlı Askerlerinin Cephe Hatıraları ve Türkiye'de Birinci Dünya Savaşı Hafızası*, 15, 21.

<sup>7</sup> Bröckling, *Disziplin: Askeri İtaat Üretiminin Sosyolojisi ve Tarihi*, 26-28. Christoph Jahr, *Gewöhnliche Soldaten: Desertion und Deserteure im deutschen und britischen Heer, 1914-1918* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998), 35, 37. and Michel Sikora and Ulrich Bröckling, "Einleitung," in *Armee und ihre Deserteure: Vernachlässigte Kapitel einer Militärgeschichte der Neuzeit*, ed. Michel Sikora and Ulrich Bröckling (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998), 7-15, here pp. 8-11.

not fixed but entitled to negotiation.<sup>8</sup> However, this relationship is one that entirely asymmetrical and does not involve just the governing elites and those who were already caught in the nets of discipline, which was becoming clearer and more extensive. In spite of being forced to act from the asymmetrical position, the able bodied, given their pre-military social network and regional context, were able to pull not just their families into this interplay, but also various (non-)locally grounded players and state actors.<sup>9</sup> This also constructed a field within this setting in which myriad actors confronted each other to negotiate and contest, and in doing so, they cast and recast the very terms of domination, subjugation, and duty, even offering a chance to evade military service.

Having been labeled thus, the phenomenon of desertion emerges primarily as an issue of perspective and not as an “objective fact,” whereby diverse conditions, forms and possible motives of the involved protagonists must be unraveled. State loyalty could prevail for most of the people despite stressful and harsh conditions; however, if it crumbled, was the enemy occupation, national or confessional belonging, or social/confessional origins responsible?<sup>10</sup> Or were there other push factors that broke state loyalty? What did the soldiers’ tactics consist of? Why did the locals avoid the military? Did desertion and evasion of military service emerge exclusively in times of war? Who were other actors? How do the ruling elites tend to prevent this “problem”? And, did their strategies yield results? This is the topic of the last subchapter which is divided into two sections that encapsulate desertion and evasion of military service during times of peace and war, in which focus is placed, but not exclusively, on the Ottoman and Serbian armies. While asking these questions, it is equally important to keep in mind that while some fled from the military, others stayed. Given the lack of sources, it is difficult to provide a complete answer to why this was the case. Methodically, the subchapter follows the principle that the history of desertion, for instance, cannot be separated from that of the military, as scholars previously illustrated, because the former is the product and integral part of state-fostered organizations. One must to pay heed not only to the legal, but also political, moral, and sometimes even medical categories.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, xvii, xix (citation), 29-30, 37. James C. Scott, *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), xvi, 26-30, 32-33, 35-39, 46. and Erving Goffman, *Wir alle spielen Theater: Die Selbstdarstellung im Alltag* (München: Piper Verlag, 2017), 12, 17-18.

<sup>9</sup> Bröckling, *Disziplin: Askeri İtaat Üretiminin Sosyolojisi ve Tarihi*, 26-27. and Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, xiv-xv.

<sup>10</sup> Jahr, *Gewöhnliche Soldaten: Desertion und Deserteure im deutschen und britischen Heer, 1914-1918*, 20-22, 34. and Sikora and Bröckling, "Einleitung," 10.

<sup>11</sup> Sikora and Bröckling, "Einleitung," 8, 11-12. and Maria Fritsche and Christa Hämmerle, "Deserteure in der Geschichte der Neuzeit als historiographische Herausforderung," *Wiener Zeitschrift zur Geschichte der Neuzeit* 8, Deserteure, no. 2 (2008): 3-13, here pp. 4-9. See also Michel Sikora, "Das 18. Jahrhundert: Die Zeit der Deserteure," in *Armee und ihre Deserteure: Vernachlässigte Kapitel einer Militärgeschichte der Neuzeit*, ed. Michel Sikora and Ulrich Bröckling (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998), 86-111.

#### 4.1. Searching for the Ideal Soldier: Between the Barracks and the Front

Essence of the soldier is morale. A soldier without morale is a shell. A soldier with a broken morale is a detriment. Preparing a recruit for war is accomplished firstly by generating his power of morale [*kuvâ-yı manevîye*] and, then, his bodily skill [*kabiliyet-i maddîye*]. Because it is the morale that produces an effect. Wide military drill-grounds and barracks inculcate the art of war/military into the youth of the nation. They toughen the bodies through training [...] At the same time, together with observing and chosen lessons, the barracks set up the fundamental principles of training and maneuvers. They raise and illuminate the thought and mind of the rank and file of the nation. They teach them why they protect the homeland and why they joined the army. They replenish the deficiencies of the primary socialization [*terbiye-i ibtidaiye*]. They make feelings of spiritual virtues [*fezail-i ruhiye*]. They awaken the feelings to the exalted homeland and show the way of transferring all these novelties belonging to the feeling of society [*hissiyat-ı içtimaiye*] and military to their native lands [*memleketler*]. And solely in this way, the barracks become a school of knowledge and of civilization of the homeland.

An Ottoman Officer Ömer Fevzi (1909).<sup>12</sup>

Ömer Fevzi was not the only junior officer who strongly believed that the military could forge ideal soldiers or conscious compatriots from an ignorant or illiterate peasant (*cahil köylü*) because this belief also engulfed his peers in the Serbian army.<sup>13</sup> Relying on this belief, the military as an organization provided an environment that represented a hybrid of family, social and reference groupings. By becoming intermingled through a network of primary and secondary interactions, it was thought that the military played a crucial role in the process of secondary socialization, whereby potential for resistance came from societal norms, values, meanings of the primary socialization, and other forms of belonging. Its significant impact on the non-military population was, however, curtailed by the fact that the majority of those who had served returned to their families after several months or even years of active duty. Having been appraised as the primary force of adult socialization, the army adhered to instrumental archetypes, such as family, discipline, masculinity, heroism, and a primary group, which were vital, albeit not all, for upholding its inner cohesion and control during times of war.<sup>14</sup>

By invoking these numerous yet still interlinked metaphors, which were supposed to generate the simple molding of the recruit, the goal was to enhance and uphold combat motivation. For this reason, some officers even considered the latter to be the decisive factor on the battlefield.<sup>15</sup> Still, others have suggested that drill and theory, since they functioned in

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<sup>12</sup> Fevzi, *Osmanlı Efradına Maneviyat-ı Askeriye Dersleri*, I, 2-3.

<sup>13</sup> Ali Vasfi, *Efrad-ı Cedide Talim ve Terbiyesine Mahsus Hafta Cedvelleri* (İstanbul: Mekteb-i Harbiye Matbaası, 1325 [1909]), 8. Sretenović, *Potrebna znanja za vojnika stalnog kadra, vojne obveznike od njihove 18.-50. godine, za opštinske vlasti i za građane u opšte u njihovim odnosima prema vojnoj službi i prema vojnim vlastima s bukvarom za samouke*, v, 12, 24, 59-60, 62, 87. and Pejović, *Vojnička čitančica za svakog vojnika*, 10, 20-21, 34-35, 56, 139.

<sup>14</sup> William Arkin and Lynne R. Dobrofsky, "Military Socialization and Masculinity," *Journal of Social Issues* 34, no. 1 (1978): 151-68, here pp. 52-53, 58. Rolf Haubl, "'...wo Männer noch Männer sind!' Zur Sozialisation des Homo clausus im Militär," in *Militär als Lebenswelt: Streitkräfte im Wandel der Gesellschaft (II)*, ed. Wolfgang R. Vogt (Wiesbaden: Springer Fachmedien), 57-68. and Svetlana Stefanović, "Nation und Geschlecht: Frauen in Serbien von der Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts bis zum Zweiten Weltkrieg" (Dissertation, Fakultät für Geschichte, Kunst- und Orientwissenschaften, 2013), 241-52. On the metaphor analysis see Jan Kruse, Kay Biesel, and Christian Schmieder, *Metapheranalyse: Ein rekonstruktiver Ansatz* (Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften / Springer, 2011), 73-85.

<sup>15</sup> Alexander Watson, "Mutinies and Military Morale," in *The Oxford Illustrated History of the First World War*, ed. Hew Strachan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 191-203, here pp. 191-92. Martinović, *Upustva vojničkom starešinstvu za vaspitanje vojske u vojenom duhu i disciplini*, 1-2. Bojović, *Vaspitavanje vojnika*, 26. and *Pravila službe* I, 16.

unison, represented a key element for forming an ideal soldier, whereby emphasizing or underestimating the value of one at the expense of the other led to failure.<sup>16</sup> How do these archetypes run to and fro in the military?

#### 4.1.1. Staging a Soldier's Departure: A Masculine Rite of Passage

Contrary to the post-1918 myth of the war experience cultivated by Serbian veterans, not *all* able-bodied locals after 1913 embraced the new "school" and "one of the most sacred duties," "joyfully, with a song on their lips, and adorned with flowers."<sup>17</sup> A pre-1913 Serbian peasant – the peasantry made up around 80% of the rank and file – did not find it amusing to spend eight months in the barracks and on the drill-grounds, thus being forced to swap his personal freedom to endure strict discipline. Even before the Balkan Wars (1912/13), national belonging had not yet penetrated the broader layers of the population, meaning that not everyone thought of the ambitious future plans of the governing elites.<sup>18</sup> Yet the latter had succeeded by 1912 in one thing: by wielding a systematic public mobilization, they convinced their pre-1913 subjects that military service was one of their many assigned duties. Thus, for the war "everything has been called up from the 17<sup>th</sup> to the 50<sup>th</sup> year of life," as a German ambassador writes, and the authorities did not face any significant challenges. However, during the first weeks, both military service and the war itself were not enthusiastically praised by everyone, implying that this consensus of the peasantry must not be interpreted as a national one.<sup>19</sup> In this sense, some Serbian subjects shared a common point with French or German peasants from southern Bavaria. At the outset of WWI, they also responded to the notice of mobilization with great sadness and pessimism, having been integrated very little into national structures of communication.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> B., "Nekoliko napomena o izvođenju regrutske škole u pešadiji," *Ratnik: List za vojne nauke, novosti i književnost* XXIII, no. XLVII/IV (1901): 453-91, here pp. 80, 84. and Petar Bojović, *Uput za obuku regruta u ratnoj službi* (Niš: Štamparija i knjižara Đorđa Munca, 1904), 10-11.

<sup>17</sup> "Stanje u Južnoj Srbiji pre oslobođenja," in *Spomenica: 20-godišnjica prvih regruta Južne Srbije 1914-1934* (Skoplje: Zadužbinska štamparija Vardarske banovine "Nemanja" - Skoplje, 1934), 5-29, here pp. 29. Todor Manević, "1914 - Rekruti Južne Srbije - 1934," in *Spomenica: 20-godišnjica prvih regruta Južne Srbije 1914-1934* (Skoplje: Zadužbinska štamparija Vardarske banovine "Nemanja" - Skoplje, 1934), 44-45. and George L. Moose, *Fallen Soldiers: Reshaping the Memory of the World Wars* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 7-10.

<sup>18</sup> VA/Belgrade, P14, K11, F1, 41/1, *Godišnji izveštaj o poslovima Đeneralštabnog odeljenja Komande Timočke divizijske oblasti u 1899. godini*, 1-4, 27-28 and *Die serbische und montenegrinische Armee (Mit Textskizzen und Abbildungen)*, (Wien: Druck von Josef Roller und Co., 1912), 15.

<sup>19</sup> PA AA/Berlin, RZ 201, R 14218, #65, 10.10.1912, Belgrade, Ambassador to the Reichskanzler; Denda, "Završni izveštaji austrougarskog vojnog atašea u Beogradu o srpskoj vojsci u Balkanskim ratovima 1912/1913," 125-58, here pp. 30-31. and Höpken, "'Modern Wars' and 'Backward Societies': The Balkan Wars in the History of Twentieth-Century European Warfare," 25-93, here pp. 44.

<sup>20</sup> Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France, 1870-1914*, 294-95, 96-97, 98. Benjamin Ziemann, *War Experiences in Rural Germany, 1914-1923* (Oxford - New York: Berg, 2007), 16-22, 25-26. and André Loez, "Between Acceptance and Refusal: Soldiers' Attitudes towards War," in *1914-1918-online. International Encyclopedia of the First World War* ed. Ute Daniel et al. (Berlin 2014-10-08: issued by Freie Universität Berlin, 2014), 1-33, here pp. 3-4, 16-20.

A Serbian recruit at the turn of the century entered into the barracks with certain fears which he brought from home, having been told that excessive austerity reigns in the barracks and that soldiers were severely punished when they made even minor mistakes. As officers noticed, this fear at first sprouts confusion, then it interferes with successful basic training since feelings of sadness (*tuga*) or longing (*čežnja*) for their kinship was ubiquitous.<sup>21</sup> A Slavic-speaking Ottoman recruit of Christian faith was no different because around Tašlica, there were numerous peasants who had spent their whole lives in the countryside without paying a single visit to the town.<sup>22</sup> Having frequently heard from former soldiers and the locals how recruits were being treated and after finding out that they might end up somewhere far from their loved ones, some chose to flee to Habsburg Bosnia-Herzegovina (= BH) rather than serve.<sup>23</sup>

Therefore, being sent far from their kinship could easily erode the draft of conscripts and their morale, which was necessary for the future remodeling of their behavior. That is why creating a social choreography and arousing emotions out of and around mobilization played a crucial role in avoiding any undesirable outcome and would become an integral part of the military drill as well. In brief, by including mobilization into their ideological canon, the governing elites sought to underline only the positive and ethnonational messages, as in the German or French cases.<sup>24</sup> This begins, for example, in the Serbian or SCS army, as soon as the conscripts were sorted out to perform active duty. Besides being told to bring six Dinars and two pairs of woolen socks with them, they were instructed to bathe, cut their hair, shave (if they shaved), and dress courteously so they would enter into the barracks as solemnly as possible, as if they were going to a festival or a church. The local powers had to confirm whether the future soldiers prepared themselves in the correct manner after following the orders.<sup>25</sup>

On the way to railway stations or places where the conscription would take place, music consisting of trumpets, zurnas, davuls and whistles, patriotic songs, and national or country flags accompanied the draftees. Every building that they passed by was decorated with the flag, as well as trains that would bring the conscripts from the region to Serbia's eastern parts. This

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<sup>21</sup> B., "Nekoliko napomena o izvođenju regrutske škole u pešadiji," 454-55. and Bojović, *Vaspitavanje vojnika*, 46-48.

<sup>22</sup> Mrkonjić [Pejatović], "Srednje Polimlje i Potarje u Novopazarskom sandžaku: Antropogeografska ispitivanja," 225-356, here pp. 11.

<sup>23</sup> ABH/Sarajevo, ZVS 1912, 20-47, #14189, 19.12.1911, Višegrad, Protocol compiled at the Višegrad County Office, dated 20.12.1911. Subject: *an Ottoman military deserter Savo Minić* and *ibid*, #4617, Višegrad, Protocol compiled at the Višegrad County Office, dated 20.05.1912. Subject: *an Ottoman military deserter Ranko Kojadinović from Uvac in the Ottoman Empire*.

<sup>24</sup> William H. McNeill, *Keeping Together in Time: Dance and Drill in Human History* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1995). Etienne François, Hannes Siegrist, and Jakob Vogel, "Die Nation. Vorstellungen, Inszenierungen, Emotionen," in *Nation und Emotion: Deutschland und Frankreich im Vergleich 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, ed. Etienne François, Hannes Siegrist, and Jakob Vogel (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1995), 13-35. Forrest, "Conscription as Ideology: Revolutionary France and the Nation in Arms," 95-115. and Andrew Hewitt, *Social Choreography: Ideology as Performance in Dance and Everyday Movement* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2005).

<sup>25</sup> *Pravilo o rekrutovanju mladića za stalan kadar, upisu, ispisu i prevođenju u rezervu i oba poziva narodne vojske*, §40, 83 and §74, 150. *Pravilo o rekrutovanju mladića za stalan kadar, upisu, ispisu i prevođenje u rezervu i oba poziva narodne vojske*, §40, 83 and §74, 147-48. and Jokić, *Vojnički bukvar i osnovne dužnosti vojnika*, 50-51.

was a supplemental component of these public demonstrations or ovations (*tezahürat*), as some in the Ottoman setting called this.<sup>26</sup> Walking through the streets paved with flowers, being provided with roast lamb, or getting cheered on by the inhabitants represented just another important facet of this choreography. In order for this strategy to call forth the able-bodied and other locals, it was pivotal to have as many observers as possible to witness this performance.<sup>27</sup>

In the Ottoman context, shooting off weapons, which was practiced in some parts of the region when a male baby was born or when celebrating the family's patron saint or a marriage, also became a part of the choreography. This is why contemporaries, regardless of the context, expressed that when conscripts went to the draft or war it was like going to a wedding (*svadba*, *düğün*).<sup>28</sup> Similar to the civil marriage that denoted that one was becoming sexual active, so too did "military service operate as a masculine rite of passage that seals an ableist and heteropatriarchal contract between the state and the male" subjects.<sup>29</sup> In this manner, the locals' confessional and everyday aspects of their lives became entangled with the military insofar as this was not a regular wedding but rather, in the Ottoman case, a *gaza düğünü*, implying that it was a military expedition conducted on behalf of Islam.<sup>30</sup> However, *gaza* was not jihad and locals of any creed could enhance its activity while also advancing the Islamic state and those who participated in it as well.<sup>31</sup> Thus, the local and state-fostered practices became one, whereby behind this social choreography stood the goal of nationalizing and sacralizing them. At this moment, glorifying the ruler and the imagined homeland, and praising the ascribed masculine values (e.g. they wanted to become soldiers since their childhood) functioned as rituals and were not neglected.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> Manević, "Ratni doživljaji Vardaraca," 30-38, here pp. 30-32. Vladimir Ž. Milošević, "Ibarski puk," in *Spomenica: 20-godišnjica prvih regruta Južne Srbije 1914-1934* (Skoplje: Zadužbinska štamparija Vardarske banovine "Nemanja" - Skoplje, 1934), 68-69, here pp. 68. Ömer Fevzi, *Osmanlı Efradına Maneviyat-ı Askeriye Dersleri*, vol. II (İstanbul: Mekteb-i Harbiye Matbaası, 1326 [1910]), 10. and "Kosova'da Tezâhürât: Mitroviçe ile Vulçitrın Arnavut Gönüllüleri," *Harp Mecmuası* 3, no. 25-26 (Mayıs 1334/Şaban 1336 [May 1918]): 416.

<sup>27</sup> Manević, "Ratni doživljaji Vardaraca," 30. and VA/Belgrade, P3, K81, F4, 8/42, #3968, 21.01.1915, Skoplje, KTNO to the MoW.

<sup>28</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MID-PC, 1909/F21, #390, 1620, 07.09.1909, Cetinje, MoFA to the Istanbul Legislation; DAS/Belgrade, MID-PP 1909, R740, #1826, 27.12.1909, Skoplje, Consulate to the MoFA; *ibid*, R740, #777, 29.10.1909, Priština, Vice Consul to the MoFA; *ibid*, MID-PP 1911, R365, #160, 22.02.1910, Priština, Viceconsul to the MoFA; *ibid*, MID-PP 1911, R365, #115, 28.02.1910, Bitolj, Consul to the MoFA; Lalević and Protić, "Vasojevići u crnogorskoj granici," 514-610, here pp. 548-49, 52, 56. Jovićević, *Domaće negovanje i vaspitanje djece u Crnoj Gori*, 11. Gülsoy, *Osmanlı Gayrimüslimlerinin Askerlik Serüveni*, 152-53. and Šikoparija, *Sećanja srpskog oficira (1900-1918)*, 59.

<sup>29</sup> I thank to a friend and colleague Zeynep Ertuğrul for this intervention. Açıkgöz, *Sacrificial Limbs: Masculinity, Disability, and Political Violence in Turkey*, 47 (citation).

<sup>30</sup> Fevzi, *Osmanlı Efradına Maneviyat-ı Askeriye Dersleri*, I, 11-13, 22. Fevzi, *Osmanlı Efradına Maneviyat-ı Askeriye Dersleri*, II, 10. and *Türkçe/Osmanlıca-İngilizce Redhouse Sözlüğü*, entry 'gaza', 389.

<sup>31</sup> Cemal Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds: The Construction of the Ottoman* (Berkeley / Los Angeles / London: University of California Press, 1995), 70, 76-85. and Linda T. Darling, "Contested Territory: Ottoman Holy War in Comparative Context," *Studia Islamica* 91 (2000): 133-63, here pp. 33-39.

<sup>32</sup> Fevzi, *Osmanlı Efradına Maneviyat-ı Askeriye Dersleri*, I. "Stanje u Južnoj Srbiji pre oslobođenja," 29. Manević, "Ratni doživljaji Vardaraca," 30. Jakob Vogel, "Militärfeiern in Deutschland und Frankreich als Rituale der Nation (1871-1914)," in *Nation und Emotion: Deutschland und Frankreich im Vergleich 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, ed. Etienne François, Hannes Siegrist, and Jakob Vogel (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1995), 199-214. and Leerssen, *National Thought in Europe: A Cultural History*, 186-88, 92-93.



The preservation of this atmosphere was carried out, for example, after the “liberated” brethren arrived in the pre-1913 Serbian towns. This had both surprised and confused them because they were warmly greeted with the national anthem, surrounded, hailed, and escorted to the barracks by an amalgam of town residents and their future superiors.<sup>33</sup> In some cases, the town dwellers were keen to observe the “colorful” outfits of the newcomers, “a living proof of national unification and liberation after so many centuries of slavery,” as an officer in the post-1918 period recalled, thus adhering to the primordial narrative of social world.<sup>34</sup> Still, the military and the officers who received the 1914 parties did everything in their power to persuade the latter in the best possible manner since they were coming with “flags, music and joy.” The barracks had been thoroughly cleaned and decorated and additionally, new uniforms, shoes, healthy and sufficient food needed for successful drilling had been prearranged. Teaching staff had been carefully selected from officers who before 1912, had maintained a close connection with the then-Ottoman subjects and who were thus familiar with their native customs, and had been selected as their superiors.<sup>35</sup> Before passing through the gates of the barracks, the conscripts would receive a certain amount of money.<sup>36</sup> Staging was not be always possible not only because to war conditions, but also due to a lack of money and the fact that buildings in some areas were simply not decent; however, despite an area being in such condition, soldiers had to be accommodated because there was no other option.

Photo 7: The Imagined Brethren from the Post-Ottoman Territories in Serbia’s Eastern Town of Niš (1915). The carnival-like scenes were not always organized, as the picture illustrates, because these recruits, among whom bilingual Muslims could be found, were not cheerfully welcomed. In fact, their dress and seemingly indifferent stances do not impress the by-passers, who were passing behind them, nor the armed conducting officers, NCOs or soldiers, who performed one of the most important calls in the military – gazing and delivering the recruits while on the road.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> Manević, "Ratni doživljaji Vardaraca," 32. Danilo S. Kalafatović, "Ratne uspomene starešina: Prvi rekruti sa Bregalnice u Kragujevcu," in *Spomenica: 20-godišnjica prvih regruta Južne Srbije 1914-1934* (Skoplje: Zadužbinska štamparija Vardarske banovine "Nemanja" - Skoplje, 1934), 45-48, here pp. 47. Petar A. Radivojević, "Bitoljski pešadijski puk u Valjevu 1914. godine," in *Spomenica: 20-godišnjica prvih regruta Južne Srbije 1914-1934* (Skoplje: Zadužbinska štamparija Vardarske banovine "Nemanja" - Skoplje, 1934), 64-68, here pp. 64. Milošević, "Ibarski puk," 68. and Jagodić, *Novi krajevi Srbije (1912-1915)*, 207.

<sup>34</sup> Kalafatović, "Ratne uspomene starešina: Prvi rekruti sa Bregalnice u Kragujevcu," 47.

<sup>35</sup> Kalafatović, "Ratne uspomene starešina: Prvi rekruti sa Bregalnice u Kragujevcu," 46-47. Stefanović, "Prvo stupanje Južnosrbijanaca u srpsku vojsku 1914. godine," 48-53, here pp. 51-52. Jovan Naumović, "Vardarci," in *Spomenica: 20-godišnjica prvih regruta Južne Srbije 1914-1934* (Skoplje: Zadužbinska štamparija Vardarske banovine "Nemanja" - Skoplje, 1934), 53-62, here pp. 53. Radivojević, "Bitoljski pešadijski puk u Valjevu 1914. godine," 64. and Milan N. Kalabić, "Formiranje Bregalničkog pešadijskog puka u Kragujevcu 1914. g.," in *Spomenica: 20-godišnjica prvih regruta Južne Srbije 1914-1934* (Skoplje: Zadužbinska štamparija Vardarske banovine "Nemanja" - Skoplje, 1934), 74-84, here pp. 74.

<sup>36</sup> *Pravilo o rekrutovanju mladića za stalan kadar, upisu, ispisu i prevođenju u rezervu i oba poziva narodne vojske*, §69, 142-43.

<sup>37</sup> Photo by Agence Rol, *agence photographique*. Source: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b69335893/f1.item.r=Nisch> accessed 16.12.2020. On the conducting officers and/or soldiers see *Pravilo o rekrutovanju mladića za stalan kadar, upisu, ispisu i prevođenju u rezervu i oba poziva narodne vojske*, §77, 153. *Pravilo o rekrutovanju mladića za stalan kadar, upisu, ispisu i prevođenju u rezervu i oba poziva narodne vojske*, §77, 150. VA/Belgrade, P3, K81, F3, 7/7, #1404, 12.08.1914, Niš, MoW to the Supreme Command; DACG/Cetinje, MUD-UO, 1915/F166, #3088, 10.09.1915, Cetinje, MoW to all district chiefs; VA/Belgrade, P4/2 K89, F5, 10/85, #5049, 18.11.1919, Cetinje, KZDO to the KIIAO and *ibid*, P6, K642, F10, 12/44, #8791, 06.04.1920, Cetinje, KZDO to the Pljevlja Regimental District Command.



Barracks in Gusine were the prime example with ground floors consisting of barns, whereas on the upper floor the bedrooms and stairs were full of cracks, and windows, in addition to being weak for letting the light, were not able to close. They appeared more like as an abandoned and dangerous place than the barracks where the rank and file would have to live and whose health had to be the subject of special attention, especially in Gusine where winters were harsh.<sup>38</sup> In some parts, buildings of the civil authorities, which were also meant to embody the might of the state, were no different.<sup>39</sup> The same went for the post-1918 garrisons in certain towns of pre-1913 Montenegro which too had to be repaired given the lack of doors, stoves, and windows. That is why the military was forced during WWI and afterwards to lodge recruits in emptied warehouses, sheds, taverns or simply ship them to other areas where conditions were better.<sup>40</sup>

In fact, in the 1920s the accommodation building in the region together with other post-Ottoman territories, were evaluated as the worst in the whole SCS military. Apart from inheriting the old, destroyed, and collapsed barracks, the ruling elites has done almost nothing to enhance the situation and eliminate this evil (*zlo*), thereby condemning the rank and file to suffer and die during the cold winter days.<sup>41</sup> This situation destroyed not only the staging but

<sup>38</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MV-KMV 1914, F10, #3451, 14.05.1914, Gusinje, Jovo Bećir to the MoW; *ibid*, #7351, 19.06.1914, Gusinje, Jovo Bećir to the MoW.

<sup>39</sup> Sead Ibrić, "Trgovište 1910. godine u opisu turskog novinara Ahmed Šerifa (Rožaje prije sto godina)," *Rožajski zbornik* 15, no. 15 (2011): 309-18, here pp. 15. and Šerif, *Arnavudluk'da, Sûriye'de, Trablusgarb'de Tanîn*, II.

<sup>40</sup> Šarenac, *Top, vojnik i sećanje: Prvi svetski rat i Srbija 1914-2009*, 122-25. Vladimir J. Radojević and Dobrosav J. Milenković, *Propast srpskih regruta*, ed. Zoran Kolundžija, Srbija 1914-1918, (Beograd - Novi Sad: Prometej - Radio-televizija Srbije, 2016), 181, 84.DACG/Cetinje, MV-KMV 1914, F10, #3451, 14.05.1914, Gusinje, Jovo Bećir to the MoW; VA/Belgrade, P3, K81, F3, 7/25, 10.09.1914, Niš, MoW to the Supreme Command; *ibid*, 7/31, 20.09.1914, Kruševac, Command of Kruševac Reserve Troops to the Supreme Command and *ibid*, 7/39, 02.10.1914, Supreme Command to the MoW; *ibid*, P3, K172, F9, 8/8, #16982, 01.01.1919, Beograd, MoWN to the Supreme Command; *ibid*, P6, K644, F3, 9/3, #489, 27.03.1919, Cetinje, KZDO to the KIIAO; Dimić and Borozan, *Jugoslovenska država i Albanci*, II, #714, 19.06.1920, Skoplje, KIIIAO to the MoWN, 742.

<sup>41</sup> Dimić and Borozan, *Jugoslovenska država i Albanci*, II, #742, 03.07.1920, Skoplje, KIIIAO to the MoWN, 785-786. See also Bjelajac, *Vojaska Kraljevine SHS 1918-1921*. and Tasić, *Rat posle rata: Vojaska Kraljevine Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca na Kosovu i Metohiji i u Makedoniji 1918-1920*, 410-16.

also ruined the image of the military in the eyes of the recruited. This applied particularly to soldiers coming from the areas where they were used to the comfort of their own homes, and who had observed the outside of the barracks and their private coziness in their birthplaces, as was the case with the SCS soldiers from the post-Habsburg territories. This context, coupled with the lack of foodstuffs and military material, escalated the rise of disappointment and the decline of spirit and zeal among the recruits, who could not study, rest, or get drilled, thereby producing the feeling of being punished, if they were appointed in these areas. Thus, a severe lack of food or clothing resulted in the weakening of morale, discipline, and control over soldiers.<sup>42</sup>

But what was the purpose of this staging? It was supposed to fulfill four goals. First, recruits were meant to “feel that they [were] nursed by the father’s care,” thereby discovering suitable opportunities in the military through which they would become “defenders of the homeland” and would “take the best memory to their homes.”<sup>43</sup> Second, besides trying to reify the normality of recruiting, the ruling elites, similar to their peers in Germany, sought to hail these rites of passage between the imagined youth to real men. The masculinizing effect of military service begins began with the draft, through which they also produced a noise that drowned out individual feelings of fear, insecurity, and sadness, instilling instead in them, courage and energy. In doing so, the tacit message was aimed at and stigmatized the able-bodied who remained home as well because, by claiming the public space for themselves and filling it with a loud roar, the future soldiers were supposed to absorb the power that they would soon wield as arms-bearers and warriors. Thus, their manliness was in a way increased.<sup>44</sup>

Third, these stirring sounds (*askeri coşturan sesler*), as an Ottoman officer called them, aimed at igniting a feeling of pride (*iftihar*) in the recruits as they joined the army. This means that their superiors knew how one had to incite the so-called propositional emotions, which, as shown in the previous chapter, played an important role in the worldview of some inhabitants. In experiencing humiliation or shame, they were supposed to believe that they had thus

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<sup>42</sup> VA/Belgrade, P3, K172, F9, 8/8, #35046, 31.01.1919, Beograd, Supreme Command to the MoWN; Dimić and Borozan, *Jugoslovenska država i Albanci*, II, #646, 15.05.1920, Skoplje, KIIIAO to the MoWN, 667-668; #742, 03.07.20, Skoplje, KIIIAO to the MoWN, 786. VA/Belgrade, P4/2, K85, F3, 8/2, #41222, 13.07.1919, Beograd, Supreme Command to the KIIAO; *ibid*, P3, K172, F9, 8/8, #35046, 31.01.1919, Beograd, Supreme Command to the MoWN; *ibid*, F3, 3/4, #35.389, 05.02.1919, Beograd, Supreme Command to the MoWN and *ibid*, F12, 9/40, #46109, 11.12.1919, Beograd, Supreme Command to the MoWN.

<sup>43</sup> Kalafatović, "Ratne uspomene starešina: Prvi rekruti sa Bregalnice u Kragujevcu," 47. and Radivojević, "Bitoljski pešadijski puk u Valjevu 1914. godine," 64.

<sup>44</sup> Jürgen Link, *Versuch über den Normalismus: Wie Normalität produziert wird* (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1996). Frevert, *Die kasernierte Nation: Militärdienst und Zivilgesellschaft in Deutschland*, 229-32. and Ziemann, *War Experiences in Rural Germany, 1914-1923*, 22.

exacerbated their standing.<sup>45</sup> Finally, the building of a we-group and a nationalization effect should not be ignored because behind this were the state authorities who tried to emphasize the spontaneity of these performances. Still, “all festivals are planned” and “the carefully constructed illusion of spontaneity infused them with greater meaning.” Having been so labeled, this strategy appropriately belongs to the reign of inventing traditions.<sup>46</sup> Within this context, the family metaphor emerged as an essential part of the officers’ narrative insofar as men started to address one another as brothers, and it subsequently became a usual term of speech among soldiers.<sup>47</sup> Their units or regiments were to be considered as a new family (*jeni bir aile gibi* or *kao porodica*).<sup>48</sup> Tracing the reception of the staging is difficult but the fact that the locals appropriated and wielded this as one of their tactics, in order to conjure a new occupying power, exemplifies that its influence should not be downplayed.<sup>49</sup>

#### 4.1.2. A New House and a New Family

The family trope, however, operated differently in the barracks, meaning that the assigned patriarchal roles were subject to change in this educational and disciplinary space.<sup>50</sup> Here, the soldiers’ masculinity would be subdued. This discursive field exerted a strong pulling force on those who had already served or experienced the drill. A Serbian reserve officer noticed that upon entering, everything seemed familiar and close to him, and everything that was happening in the meantime seemed to disappear. He was bothered by his civilian suit and for this reason, he sought to find his unit soon as possible in order to fit in, whereby the trope skillfully concealed this.<sup>51</sup>

<sup>45</sup> Fevzi, *Osmanlı Efradına Maneviyat-ı Askeriye Dersleri*, II, 10, 25-29, 39-44. Martinović, *Upustva vojničkom starešinstvu za vaspitanje vojske u vojenom duhu i disciplini*, 15-16, 18-21, 29-31. and Gabriele Taylor, *Pride, Shame, and Guilt: Emotions of Self-Assessment* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985).

<sup>46</sup> George L. Moose, *The Nationalization of the Masses: Political Symbolism and Mass Movements in Germany from the Napoleonic Wars through the Third Reich* (New York: Howard Fertig, Inc., 1975), 2, 4-9, 21-23, 32-46, 73-98, 96 (citation). and Hobsbawm, "Mass-Producing Traditions: Europe, 1870-1914," 263-307. See also Beşikçi, *Birinci Dünya Savaş'ında Osmanlı Seferberliği*, 39-41, 46-77.

<sup>47</sup> "Stanje u Južnoj Srbiji pre oslobođenja," 28-29. Manević, "Ratni doživljaji Vardaraca," 32. Drag. Davidović, "Susret braće iz Južne i Severne Srbije," in *Spomenica: 20-godišnjica prvih regruta Južne Srbije 1914-1934* (Skoplje: Zadužbinska štamparija Vardarske banovine "Nemanja" - Skoplje, 1934), 38-39. and Flora Sandes, *The Autobiography of a Woman Soldier: A Brief Record of Adventure with the Serbian Army, 1916-1919* (New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company, 1927), 16-17.

<sup>48</sup> Kosta Jokić, *Vojnički bukvar*, ed. Milić J. Milićević (Beograd: Štampano u Državnoj štampariji Kralj. Srbije [Istorijski institut, Beograd], 1901 [2017]). Sretenović, *Potrebna znanja za vojnika stalnog kadra, vojne obveznike od njihove 18.-50. godine, za opštinske vlasti i za građane u opšte u njihovim odnosima prema vojnoj službi i prema vojnim vlastima s bukvarom za samouke*, 59. Arif, *Piyade Neferi*, 22. and Hüseyin Arif, *Orduda Terbiye* (İstanbul: Artif Asaturyan ve Mahdumları Matbaası, 1332), 76-77.

<sup>49</sup> BAR/Bern, E27#1000/721#12663\*, Oberst i./Gst. Karl Egli, *Bericht über meine Mission nach Serbien (November-Dezember 1915)*, 63; ÖStA/KA/Vienna, AOK Op. Abt. B-Gruppe, 507/1916, #22520, Op. Nr. 2385, 01.03.1916, 3AC to the AOK, 3; Köster, *Mit den Bulgaren: Kriegsberichte aus Serbien und Mazedonien*, 52. and DAS/Belgrade, MUDuI, OP 1919/K1, #70, 25.06.1919, Kosovska Mitrovica, Inspector of the MoI to the MoI.

<sup>50</sup> Geißler, *Erziehungsmittel*, 34-39. and Gisela Felhofer, *Die Produktion des disziplinierten Menschen* (Wien 1987: Verband der wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaften Österreichs, 1987), 53, 90-91.

<sup>51</sup> Jakovljević, *Srpska trilogija: Devestočetnaesta*, I, 25.

Although an official Serbian booklet claims that all soldiers should live like brothers in their new home, furthering the rigid hierarchization behind it is obvious because the command was considered as a family and the commander as one of many soldiers' fathers, while their peers were seen as a younger brother. Just as "in every house there is a head" who managed its business and property, "so there are military heads in the barracks that manage the army." Older soldiers might easily turn to playing the role of fathers who should accept the newcomers as their own children, although hinging on the context they could keep acting as brothers. These entitled characters were supposed to extinguish feelings of fear, sadness and homesickness, which was palpable in the uncensored letters of the soldiers, who worried about and wanted to know only how things were going their birth families, households, and their neighbors or villages.<sup>52</sup> Their Albanian-speaking Muslim peers did not differ at all. Therefore, in order to conceal the negative side of military service, naming some spaces or buildings within the discursive field was used as a strategy which aimed to interlink new routines with the old ones back home. While exercise sites symbolized their native forests and meadows, shooting ranges signified their everyday work and occupation. And yet, the officers saw a psychological advantage to this perplexity, who acted then in multiple roles, as the recruits' elders, superiors, older brothers, parents, teachers, pedagogues, and educators.<sup>53</sup>

Forging an ideal soldier from "saplings" could begin, and the family trope aimed at paving the way that would bring the latter into position of being willing to die for the imagined community. This was often emphasized to junior officers and NCOs who spent a lot time with the recruits and whose role was crucial in war since they had to be role models for the soldiers, as both sources and literature show. Here, they had to help the recruits overcome longing and sadness for their birth families and facilitate their adjustment to their new life without cruelty and cursing but gently and as a parent, while not forgetting to stress their roles.<sup>54</sup> Adhering to the trope was not a unique case since the same occurred in the Prussian, Swiss, and Russian settings, and was also used in post-Ottoman Turkey and the Kingdom of SCS.<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>52</sup> Jokić, *Vojnički bukvar*, 68 (citation). Radivojević, "Bitoljski pešadijski puk u Valjevu 1914. godine," 66. Jokić, *Vojnički bukvar i osnovne dužnosti vojnika*, 54-55. and Najdovska, *Otpretani svedoštva: Vojnički pisma od golemata vojna 1914-1918*, 110, 29, 58, 79, 94, 210, 19, 310.

<sup>53</sup> Bojović, *Vaspitavanje vojnika*, 42, 47-48. VA/Belgrade, P3, K72, F5, 22/9, 24.04.1915, Kragujevac, Supreme Command to the KOB and Goffman, "On the Characteristics of Total Institutions," 13-115, here pp. 23-24.

<sup>54</sup> VA/Belgrade, P3, K59, F1, 3/2, 08.11.1914, Kragujevac, Luka R. Zegić to the Supreme Command, vi; Bojović, *Vaspitavanje vojnika*, 42-44, 48 (citation). Stefanović, "Prvo stupanje Južnosrbijanaca u srpsku vojsku 1914. godine," 51-52. Martin Samuels, *Doctrine and Dogma: German and British Infantry Tactics in the First World War* (New York - Westport, Connecticut - London: Greenwood Press, 1992), 102. and Watson, *Enduring the Great War: Combat, Morale and Collapse in the German and British Armies, 1914-1918*, 60-62, 66-67, 108-14, 23.

<sup>55</sup> Frevert, *Die kasernierte Nation: Militärdienst und Zivilgesellschaft in Deutschland*, 245-48, 54. Kathrin Däniker, "Die Truppe - ein Weib? Geschlechtliche Zuschreibungen in der Schweizer Armee um die Jahrhundertwende," in *Soziale Konstruktionen - Militär und Geschlechterverhältnis*, ed. Christine Eifler and Ruth Seifert (Münster: Westfälisches Dampfboot, 1999), 110-34. Joshua Sanborn, "Family, Fraternity, and Nation-Building in Russia, 1905-1925," in *A State of Nations: Empire and Nation-Making in the Age of Lenin and Stalin*, ed. Ronald Grigor Suny and Terry Martin (Oxford: Oxford University Press,

Having symbolized a place of peace and emotional inland, it was supposed to foster the identification which represented the first period of socialization during draftees' military service. The family stood for unity, suggested togetherness, and aroused emotions, whereby the strength was emphasized. While it suggested separation from the outside, it insisted on the inner solidarity, whereby different areas of responsibility were defined and linked to a certain hierarchy. The relationship between father and son was usually a metaphor for a situation that was viewed positively, while in cases of disobedience, the soldiers were degraded, as being naïve and cowardly like children or traitors.<sup>56</sup> Through training the man's particular relationship with the new family was even further solidified. In severing the old interaction, the military believed that the recruit's self-reliance would be increased. The restraints or denial of privileges to families/recruits were attempts to keep the distance between a man and his birth family, to minimize their influence, and to teach the former to be a self-governing male. The interruption of intimate kin relations, which basic training accomplished, the separation, which basic training enforced, and the distance from one's family were all processes intended to insure that a recruit was fully socialized and disciplined by the military.<sup>57</sup>

Thus, the military, similar to state schooling, tended to replace family education and its apparent negative influence.<sup>58</sup> The NCOs, who were called, for example, in the Ottoman army as soldiers' "godfathers" (*büyük baba*), were supposed to "complete the education my father lacked," teaching the recruits how to become true men. One of their most important duties consisted of keeping their "children" full and healthy, which some soldiers expected from them and hence cared about their "fathers" too.<sup>59</sup> This was crucial in times of war, when a tremendous psychological mobilization was necessary, and when the NCOs and junior officers

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2001), 93-110. Selda Şerifsoy, "Aile ve Kemalist Modernizasyon Projesi, 1928-1950," in *Vatan, Millet, Kadınlar*, ed. Ayşe Gül Altınay (İstanbul: İletişim, 2016), 167-200, here pp. 182-86, 88-89. and Jokić, *Vojnički bukvar i osnovne dužnosti vojnika*, 55.

<sup>56</sup> Däniker, "Die Truppe - ein Weib? Geschlechtliche Zuschreibungen in der Schweizer Armee um die Jahrhundertwende," 125-28. Bojović, *Vaspitavanje vojnika*, 46, 55, 95, 100, 70-72, 75. and Rothacher, "Commentary: On the Effects and Noneffects of Military Socialization," 332-34.

<sup>57</sup> Arkin and Dobrofsky, "Military Socialization and Masculinity," 164-67. Goffman, "On the Characteristics of Total Institutions," 22. and Maja Apelt, "Militärische Sozialisation," in *Handbuch Militär und Sozialwissenschaft (2., aktualisierte und erweiterte Auflage)*, ed. Sven Bernhard Gareis and Paul Klein (Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 2006), 26-39.

<sup>58</sup> Sabina Loriga, "Die Militärerfahrung," in *Geschichte der Jugend*, ed. Giovanni Levi and Jean-Claude Schmitt (Frankfurt am Main: S. Fischer, 1997), 20-55. Jean-Claude Caron, "Jugend und Schule: Gymnasiasten in Frankreich und Europa (1780-1880)," in *Geschichte der Jugend*, ed. Giovanni Levi and Jean-Claude Schmitt (Frankfurt am Main: S. Fischer, 1997), 167-238, here pp. 176-78. and VA/Belgrade, P14, K11, F1, 41/1, *Godišnji izveštaj o poslovanju Đeneralštabnog odeljenja Komande Timočke divizijske oblasti u 1899. godini*, 9.

<sup>59</sup> Fevzi, *Osmanlı Efradına Maneviyat-ı Askeriye Dersleri*, I, 8-9 (citation). Vranješević, "O časti u opšte i vojničkoj časti osobeno," *Ratnik: List za vojne nauke, novosti i književnost* IV, no. 2 (1882): 133-52, here pp. 41. VA/Belgrade, P6, K509, F2, 6/21, 25.11.1915, Commander to the of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Battalion of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Regiment of 2<sup>nd</sup> Levy; Radojević and Milenković, *Propast srpskih regruta*, 194-97. and *Naš vojnik*, vol. I (Beograd: Izdanje Ministarstva vojnog, 1915), 31.

played a crucial role in maintaining their units operative, as studies have shown for the context of the Western Front amid WWI.<sup>60</sup>

But the family metaphor only paved the way for the establishing the so-called primary group in a unit, which had two principal functions for upholding combat motivation: (i) "It set and enforced group standards of behavior, and it supported and sustained the individual in stress he would otherwise not have been able to withstand" and (ii) "the group enforced its standards principally by offering or withholding recognition, respect, and approval [...], while the subjective reward for following an internalized group code enhanced an individual's resources for dealing with the situation."<sup>61</sup> Here, the camaraderie trope (*druželjublje* or *kardeşlik*, *uhuvvet*, *alay arkadaşlığı*) emerged which was supposed to promote the further societalization and to last even after military service ended.<sup>62</sup> Not only could this include other soldiers from different military branches but, in the post-1908 Ottoman setting, for example, it also embraced all those who were not part of the military family regardless of their national and/or religious belonging.<sup>63</sup> Thomas Kühne argues that this represented the most important factor in the fighting strength of a unit.<sup>64</sup> For an English-speaking nurse Flora Sandes, who joined the Serbian army in late 1915, as well as her peers, their company represented "the hub of the Universe, particularly our own platoon," while they could barely follow the movements of their battalion or regiment.<sup>65</sup>

To what extent the establishing of the primary group was successful requires further research but sources indicate that this was an utterly challenging process given the pre-military worldview of the rank and file and war developments, meaning that a naïve fiction of military brotherhood does not always help.<sup>66</sup> The Montenegrin military tried mixing the battalions with soldiers from different tribes amidst the 1912/13 War; however, the results were poor since

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<sup>60</sup> Watson, *Enduring the Great War: Combat, Morale and Collapse in the German and British Armies, 1914-1918*, Chapter 4. and Alexander Watson, "Morale," in *The Cambridge History of the First World War*, ed. Jay Winter (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 174-95.

<sup>61</sup> M. Brewster Smith, "Combat Motivations among Ground Troops," in *The American Soldier: Combat and its Aftermath*, ed. Samuel A. Stouffer et al. (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1949), 105-91, here pp. 30-31. See also Richard Cardinali, "The Significance of Socialization and Cohesion in Contemporary Society - Military Transitions," *Humanomics* 11, no. 4 (1995): 39-55, here pp. 39-41. and Geißler, *Erziehungsmittel*, 291, 94-95.

<sup>62</sup> Bojović, *Vaspitavanje vojnika*, 158-65. Sretenović, *Potrebna znanja za vojnika stalnog kadra, vojne obveznike od njihove 18.-50. godine, za opštinske vlasti i za građane u opšte u njihovim odnosima prema vojnoj službi i prema vojnim vlastima s bukvarom za samouke*, 59-61. Fevzi, *Osmanlı Efradına Maneviyat-ı Askeriye Dersleri*, I, 4. and Arif, *Piyade Neferi*, 22-23.

<sup>63</sup> Mehmed Ali, *Acemi Neferin Terbiye-i Askeriye Muallimi* (Konstantiniye: Hikmet Matbaası, 1326 [1910]), 13. Fevzi, *Osmanlı Efradına Maneviyat-ı Askeriye Dersleri*, I, 17-18. and Fevzi, *Osmanlı Efradına Maneviyat-ı Askeriye Dersleri*, II, Efrad-ı Osmaniyyeye Mahsus Beyanname, 56-58.

<sup>64</sup> Thomas Kühne, "Kameradschaft: "das Beste im Leben des Mannes". Die deutschen Soldaten des Zweiten Weltkriegs in erfahrungs- und geschlechtergeschichtlicher Perspektive," *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 22, no. 4 (1996): 504-29. and Thomas Kühne, "Der Soldat," in *Der Mensch des 20. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Ute Frevert and Heinz-Gerhard Haupt (Essen: Magnus Verlag, 2004), 344-72, here pp. 52.

<sup>65</sup> Sandes, *The Autobiography of a Woman Soldier: A Brief Record of Adventure with the Serbian Army, 1916-1919*, 17.

<sup>66</sup> Beşikçi, *Cihan Harbi'ni Yaşamak ve Hatırlamak: Osmanlı Askerlerinin Cephe Hatıraları ve Türkiye'de Birinci Dünya Savaşı Hafızası*, 12.

tribesmen preferred to only take care of their own kin.<sup>67</sup> During WWI, Serbian infantrymen were indifferent to the troubles of their peers from the artillery whose cannons were stuck in the mud, this was a sign of declining combat motivation, in which they would pass by the latter without helping them; this strongly resembled the post-1914 Ottoman setting.<sup>68</sup>

Older Serbian soldiers were another one of the factors responsible for creating a bad atmosphere because instead of acting as a role model, a great teacher or friend, they sometimes abused and stole goods from the recruits.<sup>69</sup> Pre-war hatreds between some Slavic-speaking Orthodox Christians and Albanian-speaking Muslims followed them into war as they served together under the Serbian banner. Muslim soldiers were very sensitive and easily insulted by swearing, insults, harassment, and disrespect for their religious customs in terms of prayer and nutrition, which was guaranteed by relying on the British, French and Ottoman model. However, this did not stop their Christian peers from offering them haram food or making jokes about the Quran.<sup>70</sup> The lack of those who could speak Albanian or Turkish also hindered the horizontal and vertical bonding, meaning that in this regard, the Serbian military resembled to the Habsburg counterpart during WWI.<sup>71</sup>

Swearing could also facilitate brawls. Avro Međedović did not like the Turkish-speaking Muslims from Anatolia and mockingly referred to them as *Turkoši*, who would curse his wife, sister, or faith (*din ti jebem!*), thus characterizing them as great infidels.<sup>72</sup> But the military parents could also hamper this; while some deserters emphasized that their superiors treated them kindly and only beat those who made errors and did not listen, others uttered that

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<sup>67</sup> *Stenografske bilješke o radu crnogorske Narodne Skupštine sazvane u redovan saziv 15. januara 1914. god. (I i II prethodni sastanak i I-XXX redov. sjednica)*, XV redovna sjednica, 21.02.1914, 463-465.

<sup>68</sup> Šarenac, *Top, vojnik i sećanje: Prvi svetski rat i Srbija 1914-2009*, 114. and Yücel Yanıkdağ, "Educating the Peasants: The Ottoman Army and Enlisted Men in Uniforms," *Middle Eastern Studies* 40, no. 6 (2004): 97.

<sup>69</sup> Sretenović, *Potrebna znanja za vojnika stalnog kadra, vojne obveznike od njihove 18.-50. godine, za opštinske vlasti i za građane u opšte u njihovim odnosima prema vojnoj službi i prema vojnim vlastima s bukvarom za samouke*, 61-62. and VA/Belgrade, P2, K129, F1, 32/1, #5020, 06.04.1913, Skoplje, Supreme Command to the KIIA.

<sup>70</sup> VA/Belgrade, P3, K81, F4, 8/21, #2924, 25.11.1914, Skoplje, KTNO to the Supreme Command; *ibid*, 8/63, 24.04.1915, Niš, MoW to the Supreme Command; *ibid*, K72, F5, 22/6, 29.06.1915, Srednjev, Commander of the 4<sup>th</sup> Battalion to the Commander of the 12<sup>th</sup> Infantry Regiment; *ibid*, 15.07.1915, Commander of the 4<sup>th</sup> Battalion to the Commander of the 10<sup>th</sup> Infantry Regiment; *ibid*, K72, F5, 22/9, 24.04.1915, Kragujevac, Supreme Command to the KOB. *ibid*, P7, K5, F15, 65/1, #3820, 13.07.1915, Užice, KUV to the KUB. See also Emmanuelle Cronier, "Feeding Muslim Troops during the First World War," in *Combatants of Muslim Origin in European Armies in the Twentieth Century: Far From Jihad*, ed. Xavier Bougarel, Raphaëlle Branche, and Cloé Drieu (London - New York: Bloomsbury, 2017), 47-70. and Gilbert Meynier, "Algeriens in the French Army, 1914-1918: From Military Integration to the Dawn of Algerian Patriotism," in *Combatants of Muslim Origin in European Armies in the Twentieth Century: Far From Jihad*, ed. Xavier Bougarel, Raphaëlle Branche, and Cloé Drieu (London - New York: Bloomsbury, 2017), 25-45.

<sup>71</sup> VA/Belgrade, P3, K72, F5, 22/9, 24.04.1915, Kragujevac, Supreme Command to the KOB; *ibid*, K81, F4, 8/91, 20.05.1915, #3540, Topdičar brdo, KKO to the KOB; *ibid*, P3, K72, F5, 22/6, #4692, 04.06.1915, Požarevac, Commander of the Dunav Division of 1<sup>st</sup> Levy to the People's Army to the Supreme Command and Tamara Scheer, "Language Diversity and Loyalty in the Habsburg Army, 1868-1918" (Habilitationsschrift Historisch-Kulturwissenschaftliche Fakultät der Universität Wien, 2020), chapter 7 and 8.

<sup>72</sup> Parry, *Serbo-Croatian Heroic Songs*, IV: Ženidba Smailagina sina, kazivao je Avdo Međedović s popratnim razgovorima s Međedovićem i drugim, 10, 13.



“whoever comes would beat you.”<sup>73</sup> There were always those who enjoyed harassing or abusing the rank and file regardless of the advice that they should behave as parental figures and watch their language.<sup>74</sup> They could even risk being assaulted by those they had humiliated. That is why Montenegrin officers advised their junior peers to avoid using physical violence because they could fall victim to vengeance of the soldiers.<sup>75</sup>

News of the latter could reach those who were not yet enlisted, which in turn might discourage them since the wounded soldiers on leave used to tell their relatives and others of how they were being treated, as happened in post-Ottoman Kosovo in late 1914. Soldiers of the Christian creed complained publicly that compared to their peers from the pre-1913 Serbian territories, they were not being treated equally since their superiors abused them at every step, cursing their Turkish or Bulgarian mothers depending on the region, which was used in the post-1918 context too.<sup>76</sup> These impediments notwithstanding, available examples show that establishing the primary group could nevertheless be achieved, as the case of Radomir, a Slavic-speaking Christian from Seniça, aptly illustrates. By speaking positively about the Ottoman fatherland, as well as the bad and the good of life in the army, he invoked the inner pride of a Serbian officer, who in turn tried to conceal this.<sup>77</sup> Albanian-speaking recruits nevertheless performed “miracles of heroism,” as an eyewitness romantically recalled, fighting admirably against German soldiers around the Serbian capital in late 1915.<sup>78</sup>

Providing new items left a strong positive impression on them, whereas messy, ill-fitting, dirty, or torn things could, in contrast, generate a negative one. The recruits from post-Ottoman Kosovo noticed that their superiors would first give uniforms and food to the soldiers from the pre-1913 Serbian territories, while they only obtained leftovers.<sup>79</sup> Providing regular meals, particularly the warm ones during war, could maintain motivation because Serbian soldiers

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<sup>73</sup> VA/Belgrade, P14, K11, F3, 12/1, #32, 03.05.1900, Niš, Command of Morava District to the KAV; ABH/Sarajevo, ZVS 1912, 20-47, #214, Srebrenica, Protocol compiled at the Srebrenica District Office, dated 19.06.1912. Subject: *A Serbian Deserter Jevrem Simeunović from the Užice District* and Parry, *Serbo-Croatian Heroic Songs*, IV: *Ženidba Smailagina sina*, kazivao je Avdo Međedović s popratnim razgovorima s Međedovićem i drugim, 9 (citation).

<sup>74</sup> [Proto] Kezić, "O psovci: Jedno predavanje pitomcima pešadijske podoficirske škole," *Uzdаница: Mesečni vojni list za pouku, negovanje vojničkih vrlina i vitešku zabavu* XI, no. 7 (1911): 481-88. DAS/Belgrade, MID-PO 1914, R442, F25, D1, XXV/105, #8917, 16.12.1914, Niš, Nikola Pašić to the Supreme Command and Svetomir Sveta Đukić, *Memoari*, vol. 1: *Balkanski ratovi* (Beograd: Medija centar Odbrana, 2014), 90.

<sup>75</sup> Bojović, *Vaspitavanje vojnika*, 43-45. Jokić, *Kaplar*, 93-96. Živadin T. Čokić, *Život jednog srpskog vojnika: Memoari Živadina T. Čokića* (Beograd: BMG, 1999), 88-89. and Martinović, *Upustva vojničkom starešinstvu za vaspitanje vojske u vojenom duhu i disciplini*, 37-38, 40, 56-57.

<sup>76</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MID-PO 1914, R442, F25, D1, XXV/105, unnumbered, 14.12.1914, Priština, District Chief to the MoFA; *ibid*, #8917, 16.12.1914, Niš, Nikola Pašić to the Supreme Command and Jovanović, *Jugoslovenska država i Južna Srbija 1918-1929: Makedonija, Sandžak, Kosovo i Metohija u Kraljevini SHS*.

<sup>77</sup> Šikoparija, *Sećanja srpskog oficira (1900-1918)*, 102-04.

<sup>78</sup> Vasa Eškićević, *Iz mog ratnog dnevnika (1914-1919)*, ed. Prisajedinjenje 1918, Slobodan Bjelica, (Novi Sad: Muzej Vojvodine / Prometej, 2018), 99.

<sup>79</sup> AS/Belgrade, MID-PO 1914, R442, F25, D1, XXV/105, unnumbered, 14.12.1914, Priština, District Chief to the MoFA. Bojović, *Vaspitavanje vojnika*, 49. Šikoparija, *Sećanja srpskog oficira (1900-1918)*, 59-62. and Dieter Storz, "Soldiers' Equipment," in *1914-1918-online. International Encyclopedia of the First World War* ed. Ute Daniel et al. (Berlin 2014-10-08: issued by Freie Universität Berlin, 2018), 1-3.

approached the cauldrons in awe, as if they were going to communion.<sup>80</sup> Offering food, equipment, lodging, and good behavior from their superiors represented the basis of what scholars have already labeled as a tacit military contract. Disregarding the latter might generate serious problems for the governing elites since soldiers could flee.<sup>81</sup>

Adhering to the contract was contested amidst war: four months after WWI started, apart from receiving a rifle, a Serbian conscript did not get anything else, whereas those who came naked, remained naked and whoever came barefoot, remained barefoot.<sup>82</sup> Others, besides receiving uniforms removed from dead soldiers, asked their parents at home to pray for them because they felt like dogs on the streets since there was nothing for them; not only did they have to buy bread, whose price has skyrocketed in some parts of Serbia, but water too.<sup>83</sup> However, inadequate nutrition, clothing, or accommodation did not always represent the lone factor that pushed recruits to abscond from the military because some still endured these conditions. Deserters' peace-time hearings reveal that although food and material were plentiful some soldiers would still flee.<sup>84</sup> The answer therefore depends on the context.

Donning uniforms represented one of the many so-called admission procedures, and also one of the most important rituals because it announced that the recruits had nearly become full members of the military family.<sup>85</sup> Given the emotional status of recruits, officers in the Serbian army assumed that after this external change in their appearance took place, the inner alteration in their souls and hearts was subsequently inevitable. Explaining the importance of this double transformation to them was pivotal, whereby the emphasis was first placed on the fact that they were no longer children and subjects, but adults, mature persons and the King's or Sultan's soldiers.<sup>86</sup> The military outfit, which was given by the monarch, "suit[ed] them so nicely and in which they [are] true boys and real heroes." Taking care of themselves was interwoven with the tropes of being clean, behaving manly and proper in public, and additionally having good manners. Staining the uniform with some ugly and shameful deed, such as fleeing or evasion

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<sup>80</sup> Šikoparija, *Sećanja srpskog oficira (1900-1918)*, 62. and Watson, "Morale," 174-95.

<sup>81</sup> Beşikçi, *Birinci Dünya Savaşı'nda Osmanlı Seferberliği*, 267-68. and Charalampos Minasidis, "Mobilization (Ottoman Empire/Middle East)," in *1914-1918-online. International Encyclopedia of the First World War* ed. Ute Daniel et al. (Berlin 2020-06-23: issued by Freie Universität Berlin, 2020), 3.

<sup>82</sup> VA/Belgrade, P3, K78, F1, 4/8, #73, 13.10.1914, Kragujevac, Commander of KRT to the Supreme Command. A censored letter of an unknown Slavic-speaking soldier from Köprülü dated 05.10.1914.

<sup>83</sup> VA/Belgrade, P3, K78, F1, 4/8, #73, 13.10.1914, Kragujevac, Commander of KRT to the Supreme Command. A censored letter of Dimet Danev from the village of Izvor dated 05.10.1914 and *ibid*, A censored letter of Toše Tanović from the village of Bogorodica dated 07.10.1914. Roda, *Serbisches Tagebuch*, 68-69.

<sup>84</sup> VA/ Belgrade, P14, K11, F3, 12/1, #32, 03.05.1900, Niš, Commander of Morava Division District to the Commander of Active Army, *Hearing protocol of two Ottoman deserters* and ABH/Sarajevo, ZVS 1912, 20-47, #214, Srebrenica, Protocol compiled at the Srebrenica County Office, dated 19.06.1912. Subject: *an Serbian military deserter Jevrem Simeunović from Rasište, Užice District*. On the policy of military nutrition and lodging in nineteenth-century Serbia see V. A. Dr. Popović, "K pitanju o ishrani našega vojnika," *Ratnik: List za vojne nauke, novosti i književnost* XXIV, no. III (1902): 377-84, here pp. 78-79. and Milićević, *Reforma vojske Srbije 1897-1900*, 90-94.

<sup>85</sup> Goffman, "On the Characteristics of Total Institutions," 25-26.

<sup>86</sup> Bojović, *Vaspitavanje vojnika*, 37-39, 49-50, 141-42, 44. and Jokić, *Vojnički bukvar i osnovne dužnosti vojnika*, 54.

of service, was stressed to the new soldiers, not only in this moment, but also during the basic training.<sup>87</sup>

This was crucial in order to distinguish them from “the ununiformed and undisciplined civil shapeless mass,” as certain Serbian officers would phrase it.<sup>88</sup> This uniform acted not just a piece of clothing but had a threefold purpose: it should make the soldier visible to others, it stressed their comradely support, and it made the soldier aware of his affiliation with the institution.<sup>89</sup> Any other loyalties no longer mattered because the uniform reduced its wearer to a single loyalty which should not only outrank but also overshadow all other allegiances.<sup>90</sup> Similar to the context of the Hamidiye Regiments in the Ottoman eastern provinces, the uniform, in addition to ensuring a symbolic capital, was thought to solidify ethnonational loyalty at the expense of family, tribal, religious and other allegiances. The narrative of civilizing the imagined other should not be overlooked here too.<sup>91</sup>

But, in some situations, this might backfire and hinder the desired military cohesion, as is exhibited in the example of Albanian-speaking Muslims who grasped the hidden transcript of the Serbian ruling elites not least because, donning a Serbian headgear (*šajkača*) identified the wearer as a Serb locally. In mid-1915, some soldiers openly protested during Ramadan when they were told that a Serbian mufti had exempted them from fasting, which they did not believe. They argued that they first received a headgear and now, they were being forced to eat on Ramadan; tomorrow, they could end up in a church.<sup>92</sup> Others kept carrying their own white felt hats (*qeleshe* or *plis*) under the *šajkača*, which in turn pushed some officers to invoke legal frameworks in an attempt hinder similar disobedience. They were very reluctant to display it because according to their view, it looked like a cross, thereby trying in every way to give it the shape of their local hat, if they were unable to throw it away.<sup>93</sup>

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<sup>87</sup> Ali, *Acemi Neferin Terbiye-i Askeriye Muallimi*, 25-26. Arif, *Piyade Neferi*, 15, 22, 27, 168, 70, 96. Bojović, *Vaspitavanje vojnika*, 50 (citation). and Jokić, *Vojnički bukvar i osnovne dužnosti vojnika*, 53-54, 65-66.

<sup>88</sup> Radojević and Milenković, *Propast srpskih regruta*, 182, 84.

<sup>89</sup> Suraiya Faroqhi, "Introduction, or Why and How One Might Want to Study Ottoman Clothes," in *Ottoman Costumes: From Textile to Identity*, ed. Suraiya Faroqhi and K. Neumann Christoph (İstanbul: Eren Press, 2004), 15-48, here pp. 15-17, 22-23. Ute Frevert, "Männer im Uniform: Habitus und Signalzeichen im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert," in *Männlichkeit als Maskerade: Kulturelle Inszenierungen vom Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart*, ed. Claudia Benthien and Inge Stephan (Köln - Weimar - Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 2003), 277-95, here pp. 77, 79-80, 83, 90. and Sabina Brändli, "Von "scheidigen Offizieren" und "Militärinolen": Aspekte symbolischer Männlichkeit am Beispiel preußischer und schweizerischer Uniformen des 19. Jahrhunderts," in *Militär und Gesellschaft im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, ed. Ute Frevert (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1997), 201-28.

<sup>90</sup> Frevert, "Männer im Uniform: Habitus und Signalzeichen im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert," 284. Anthony Giddens, *The Nation-State and Violence*, vol. Two of A Contemporary Critique of Historical Materialism (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1985), 230. and Odile Roynette, "Die "Fabrikation" von Soldat\*innen," in *Eine Geschichte des Krieges: Vom 19. Jahrhundert bis in die Gegenwart*, ed. Bruno Cabanes (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2020), 301-13.

<sup>91</sup> Klein, *Hamidiye Alayları: İmparatorluğun Sınır Boyları ve Kürt Aşiretleri*, 74-76, 78. See also Kühn, "Clothing the 'Uncivilized': Military Recruitment in Ottoman Yemen and the Quest for 'Native' Uniforms, 1880-1914," 143-56.

<sup>92</sup> VA/Belgrade, P3, K72, F5, 22/6, #23, 05.06.1915, Kumodraž, Commander of the 4<sup>th</sup> Battalion to the Commander of the 19<sup>th</sup> Infantry Regiment and *ibid*, P7, K7, F4, 12/1, #3713, 28.06.1915, Užice, Commander of the Užice Army to the Commander of the Užice Brigade.

<sup>93</sup> VA/Belgrade, P3, K81, F4, 8/91, 20.05.1915, #3540, Topčidersko brdo, KKO to the KOB and *ibid*, K72, F5, 22/6, #82, 16.07.1915, Commander of the 4<sup>th</sup> Battalion to the Commander of the 19<sup>th</sup> Infantry Regiment.

Even certain military brokers, such as Salih Bey and others from Yeni Pazar, labelled the discarding of the fez as being the worst of all the policies of the Serbian authorities since it was against Sharia law (sic!).<sup>94</sup> The same narrative emerged in the post-1918 setting, when some Muslim recruit cited religious reasons that forbid them from wearing the military headgear, while their peers who became gendarmes could wear the *plis* on duty.<sup>95</sup> Sources indicate that allowing or reflecting on the possibility to wear the fez, as happened in the Montenegrin context in reference to the Muslim soldiers from the pre-1913 territories or in the case of the post-1913 Greek areas, was not considered in the Serbian military during WWI.<sup>96</sup>

Through the uniform, vertical loyalty was established with the chief father of all, the monarch, who in the Ottoman military carried the title of being “our sacred father sultan” (*mukaddes padişah babamız*) under whose protection the imagined homeland stood.<sup>97</sup> The same applied in the Serbian setting because the king was “God’s chosen and anointed person,” and through him God “gives us all the earthly treasures and promises us a paradise settlement.” The likeness of the king was present on the clothes and in the military facilities, and his portrait could be found in each soldier’s room in the barracks.<sup>98</sup> He immeasurably and paternally cared not only for the soldiers’ wellbeing, progress, and happiness, but also for all other subjects. He was therefore the guarantor of the tacit contracts between the state and the populations because the families of those heroes who were destined to die in battle or were incapacitated for work would be comforted not only emotionally but also materially. In return, unconditional loyalty, obedience, and love with all their soul and body was demanded insofar as “he who serves the King, serves God” and “whoever defends the King, God himself protects him.”<sup>99</sup>

In order to aptly illustrate not only the grading between various fathers and their children, but also to emphasize the sacred camaraderie component of military service, the body metaphor which was used regularly in earlier periods (i.g. the Middle Ages) was utilized. While the head and brain embodied the ruler, who thus thinks and commands, the nerves, eyes, hearing, and other senses personified the officers, who transmitted the necessary information to the brain. Children in this case were arms, legs, other organs, thereby symbolizing the strength of the

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<sup>94</sup> Köster, *Mit den Bulgaren: Kriegsberichte aus Serbien und Mazedonien*, 55. (...) Am schlimmsten empfanden sie, dass der mohammedanische Soldat aus dem Sandschak, wenn er ins serbische Heer eintrat, den Fez ablegen musste (Denn das verstösst gegen die Scherijah).

<sup>95</sup> Tasić, *Rat posle rata: Vojska Kraljevine Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca na Kosovu i Metohiji i u Makedoniji 1918-1920*, 418. and “Odobrenje #87354 od 15.11.1919”, SVL KSHS, god. 38, 28.11.1919, br. 47, 1229-1230.

<sup>96</sup> VA/Belgrade, P3, K91, F4, 10/74, 08.02.1915, Cetinje, Proxy to the Supreme Command and Harris Mylonas, *The Politics of Nation-Building: Making Co-Nationals, Refugees, and Minorities* (Cambridge Cambridge University Press, 2012), 126.

<sup>97</sup> Fevzi, *Osmanlı Efradına Maneviyat-ı Askeriye Dersleri*, II, 5, 29-30. and Fevzi, *Osmanlı Efradına Maneviyat-ı Askeriye Dersleri*, I, 8-9, 18.

<sup>98</sup> Bojović, *Vaspitavanje vojnika*, 143 (citation). and Miljan Milković, "Označavanje vojnih objekata i prostorijski u srpskoj i jugoslovenskoj vojsci," *Obrana* XII, no. 289 (01.10.2017): 38-41.

<sup>99</sup> Jokić, *Vojnički bukvar*, 42-43, 44-46. Bojović, *Vaspitavanje vojnika*, 55-57, 143-47. and Pejović, *Vojnička čitančica za svakog vojnika*, 108 and 13 (citation).

imagined body...<sup>100</sup> Pledging the military oath was ultimately envisioned as sealing this circle of forging the horizontal and vertical loyalties, for which reason it should be performed in the most solemn manner, becoming, along with the regimental flag just, one of many sacralized, idolized, and honored practices in the military. All of which were meant to invoke the soldier's feelings...<sup>101</sup>

Having been viewed in this manner, the subject should not question its *raison d'être*, but should surrender to it fully with his heart and soul, whereby beneath this process, the hierarchization, reification, and normalization of ascribed roles were evident...<sup>102</sup> A recruit swore an oath to the chief father and the imagined homeland in the presence of his new family whereby the oath was laden with the tropes of sanctity, obedience, loyalty, and creed, thereby carrying the moral-educational, confessional, and disciplinary connotations...<sup>103</sup> If the soldier disrespected this holy and glorious oath, he then became a perjurer and inflicted not only on himself but also on his kinship and offspring the mortal and terrible sin of perjury, thereby incurring an eternal curse. It was given in the presence of God and a person, who was known to the able-bodied; clergymen, who acted now as God's intercessors. In the new family, the latter was referred to mostly under the name of military chaplain, whose role the scholarship has shown...<sup>104</sup>

Depending on the confessional belonging of recruits, ceremonies could differ but the form and obligatory presence of the regimental flag, musical band, chaplains, other soldiers and their superiors, and holy books became common elements. Both the NCOs and chaplains were

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<sup>100</sup> Bojović, *Vaspitavanje vojnika*, 146-48. Sara E. Melzer and Kathryn Norberg, "The Body Politics of French Absolutism," in *From the Royal to the Republican Body: Incorporating the Political in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century France*, ed. Sara E. Melzer and Kathryn Norberg (Berkeley / Los Angeles / London: University of California Press, 1998), 1-31. Wolfgang Schmale, *Geschichte der Männlichkeit in Europa (1450-2000)* (Wien - Köln - Weimar: Böhlau Verlag, 2003), 186-87. and Ernst H. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2016).

<sup>101</sup> *Pravila službe* I, 1-10. Hans-Martin Ottmer, "Allgemeine Überlegungen über Symbole, Formen, feierliche Formen und Zeremonielle," in *Symbole und Zeremoniell in deutschen Streitkräften vom 18. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert*, ed. Hans-Peter Stein (Augsburg: Weltbild, 1991), 9-26, here pp. 9-17, 23. Hans-Peter Stein, "Symbole," in *Symbole und Zeremoniell in deutschen Streitkräften vom 18. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert*, ed. Hans-Peter Stein (Augsburg: Weltbild Verlag, 1991), 27-125, here pp. 27-28, 32-33, 42, 86-89. and Hans-Peter Stein, "Zeremoniell," in *Symbole und Zeremoniell in deutschen Streitkräften vom 18. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert*, ed. Hans-Peter Stein (Augsburg: Weltbild Verlag, 1991), 127-304, here pp. 128-29.

<sup>102</sup> Felix Heinzer, Jörn Leonhard, and Ralf von den Hoff, "Einleitung: Relationen zwischen Sakralisierungen und Heroisierungen," in *Sakralität und Heldentum*, ed. Felix Heinzer, Jörn Leonhard, and Ralf von den Hoff (Würzburg: Ergon Verlag, 2017), 9-18, here pp. 9, 11-13, 16-18. Veronika Zink, "Das Spiel der Hingabe: Zur Produktion des Idolatrischen," in *Bewunderer, Verehrer, Zuschauer: Die Helden und ihr Publikum*, ed. Ronald G. Asch and Michael Butter (Würzburg: Ergon Verlag, 2016), 23-43. and Mary Douglas, *How Institutions Think* (New York: Syracuse University Press, 1986), 112-17.

<sup>103</sup> "Zakon o ustrojstvu vojske od 27.01.1901", *SN/Belgrade*, god. LXVIII, 01.02.1901, br. 25, §1, 1; "Zakon o ustrojstvu vojske za Knjaževinu Crnu Goru od 29. aprila/12. maja 1910," 1052-100, here pp. 93. Radomir J. Popović, "Vojnička zakletva u Srbiji u XIX i početkom XX veku: Pravni okvir," *Vojno-istorijski glasnik* LXI, no. 1 (2011): 31-44, here pp. 32-33, 43. See also Todor Petrov, "Vojnička zakletva u bugarskoj armiji," *Vojno-istorijski glasnik* LVI, no. 1-2 (2007): 83-89, here pp. 83-87.

<sup>104</sup> Jokić, *Vojnički bukvar*, 46-48. Bojović, *Vaspitavanje vojnika*, 69-63. Miljan Milković, *Verska služba u srpskoj vojsci u Prvom svetskom ratu* (Beograd: Medija centar Odbrana, 2016). Miljan Milković, "Pravno regulisanje položaja vojnosveštenečke struke u vojsci Kraljevine SHS/Jugoslavije," *Vojno-istorijski glasnik* LV, no. 1-2 (2005): 136-46. and Mehmet Beşikçi, "Askeri Modernleşme, Askeri Disiplin ve Din: Düzenli Kitle Orduları Çağında Osmanlı Ordusu'nda Tabur İmamları," *Akademik İncelemeler Dergisi* 11, no. 1 (2016): 1-33.

obligated to teach the rank and file from day one not only about the significance of the ruler, but also about the (confessional) dimension behind the military oath.<sup>105</sup>

Yet, not everyone pledged their whole heart and soul to the military, as was the case of the Albanian and Turkish-speaking Serbian conscripts of Muslim faith demonstrates since at first, they did not want to take the oath. Only after the mufti had explained what awaited them if they were disobedient, changed some of their minds. Others were persuaded by their brokers, who were put under pressure by a Serbian officer. The same happened earlier among some Slavic-speaking Christians, which, just as in the previous example, made the ruling elites believe that their protest was nationally and/or confessionally motivated, not grasping that among the able-bodied there were still those who disliked military service.<sup>106</sup>



Photo 8: Serbian Soldiers of Muslim Creed Making the Military Oath. Here, one sees a scene just before a Muslim conscript pledged the military oath in the presence of his Muslim peers, officers, and the military chaplain. The Muslim soldiers had to make ablution one day before the ritual. Interestingly, the soldier in front of the chaplain holds a regimental flag, which implies bounding to the unit, while looking at the same time at the chaplain who holds a sermon on the meaning of the oath. This was just one of many military rituals necessary for forging the primary group.<sup>107</sup>

That is why the Serbian military, for example, relied on clergymen, believing that their pastoral work was useful in taming and cementing the ideological and confessional motivations among the rank and file. Thus, in addition to taking care of the living ones, they became an integral part of the military family, just as in other armies worldwide.<sup>108</sup> In war, they provided

<sup>105</sup> *Pravila službe* I, 5-10. "Nastavni plan za pešadiju stalnog kadra od 24.04.1902", *SVL*, god. 22, 28.04.1902, br. 17, 334-344, here pp. 335-336; "Nastavni plan za konjicu od 24.05.1905", *SVL*, god. 25, 10.06.1905, br. 22, 457-470, here pp. 467-468; "Nastavni plan za konjicu od 30.01.1910", *SVL*, god. 30, 05.02.1910, br. 4, 67-86, here pp. 77-78; VA/Belgrade, P4/3, K62, F10, 13/1, #4100, 29.04.1920, Infantry Inspection to the KIII AO and "Plan i program nastave u pešadiji za 1920-1921 godinu", *SVL KSHS*, god. 39, 10.11.1920, br. 43, 2125-2156, here pp. 2155-2156.

<sup>106</sup> VA/Belgrade, P3, K81, F4, 8/42, #3968, 21.01.1915, Skoplje, KTNO to the MoW and *ibid*, P7, K58, F3, 7/4, #8540, 03.08.1915, Skoplje, KTNO to the MoW and Supreme Command. Boeckh, *Von den Balkankriegen zum Ersten Weltkrieg: Kleinstaatenpolitik und ethnische Selbstbestimmung auf dem Balkan*, 157, 59. and Jagodić, *Novi krajevi Srbije (1912-1915)*, 207-08.

<sup>107</sup> NB/Belgrade < <https://velikirat.nb.rs/items/show/321> > accessed 10/02/2021 and *Pravila službe* I, 8-9.

<sup>108</sup> Pejović, *Vojnička čitanica za svakog vojnika*, 20-21, 116. Bojović, *Vaspitavanje vojnika*, 64-65. Miljan Milkić, "Specifičnosti verskog života u vojsci Kneževine/Kraljevine Srbije," *Vojno delo* 1 (2003): 168-84. Miljan Milkić, "Socijalni status vojnih sveštenika srpske vojske 1839-1918," *Istorijski časopis* LXVI (2017): 321-40. Watson, "Mutinies and Military Morale," 197-98; Milkić, "Socijalni status vojnih sveštenika srpske vojske 1839-1918." Karen Hagemann, "German Heroes:

spiritual sustenance and psychological support, thereby inspiring the soldiers to keep fighting on, meaning that they might push the latter to the highest boundaries of their capabilities.<sup>109</sup> In fact, one sees here the mutuality between the military and the clergymen because both were keen to correct negatively deemed behaviors or in nationalizing religious or societal norms.<sup>110</sup> Participating in the oath ceremony or celebrating the regiment's Patron Saint Day offered a chance not only to solidify cohesion or to imitate assigned roles but also through these festivities, sacralization and nationalization of these practices also took place. The goal was to infuse new meanings (e.g. only a Serb celebrates the Patron Saint Day) inasmuch as marking the latter or giving a word of honor or an oath in the regional context (*besa* or *riječ*) which strongly resembled the state-fostered rituals. In a word, by using the already acceptable communal vehicles, these state patterns tended to override the locally grounded societal norms.<sup>111</sup>

By wielding the family trope and sending them to serve far from their birth families, the Serbian military lastly tended to modify the character trait (*karakterna osobina*) of the "liberated" populations since, compared to their pre-1913 counterpart, it was "different." The barracks were seen merely as one of many governmental institutions that were supposed to facilitate the "cultural conquest" (*kulturno osvajanje*), to use the wording of an official.<sup>112</sup> Other policies (e.g. schooling, building roads, medicalization), had to run parallel to this, which

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the Cult of the Death for the Fatherland in nineteenth-century Germany," in *Masculinities in Politics and War: Gendering Modern History*, ed. Stefan Dudink, Karen Hagemann, and John Tosh (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2004), 116-34, here pp. 21. Dietrich Beyrau, "Projektionen, Imaginationen und Visionen im Ersten Weltkrieg: Die orthodoxen Militärangeistlichen im Einsatz für Glauben, Zar und Vaterland," *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* 52, Themenschwerpunkt: Religion und Gesellschaft in Russland von der Revolution von 1917, no. 3 (2004): 402-20. Michael Snape and Victoria Henshaw, "Flanders and Helmand: Chaplaincy, Faith and Religious Change in the British Army," *Journal of Beliefs & Values: Studies in Religion and Education* 38, no. 2 (2017): 199-214. and Pavlina Bobič, *War and Faith: The Catholic Church in Slovenia, 1914-1918* (Leiden - Boston: Brill, 2012). See also Aykaç, "Şehitlik ve Türkiye'de Militarizmin Yeninden Üretimi: 1990-1999," 141-79.

<sup>109</sup> Kostić, "Uticaj vojnog sveštenika na moral borbenih jedinica," 105-15. Watson, "Morale," 558-60. Meynier, "Algeriens in the French Army, 1914-1918: From Military Integration to the Dawn of Algerian Patriotism," 25-45, here pp. 30. and Miljan Milkić, "Ratni put vojnog sveštenika: Svetozar Ivošević u Prvom svetskom ratu," *Mešovita građa = Miscellanea* 37 (2017): 129-51, here pp. 34, 36-37.

<sup>110</sup> Ilija Đ. Bulovan, "O potrebi narodnog vaspitanja i kakvu važnost imaju kasarne u tome," *Ratnik: Mesečni vojni list* XL, no. 3 (1924): 94-100. and Wessel, "Die Nationalisierung der Religion und die Sakralisierung der Nation im östlichen Europa," 7-14.

<sup>111</sup> *Pravila službe* I, 122-32. Pejović, *Vojnička čitanica za svakog vojnika*, 125-26. Jokić, *Vojnički bukvar*, 102. Kaser, *Hirten, Kämpfer, Stammeshelden: Ursprünge und Gegenwart des balkanischen Patriarchats*. Hasluck, *The Unwritten Law in Albania*, 164-87. and Bojan Jovanović, "Krsna slava," in *Privatni život kod Srba u devetnaestom veku: od kraja XVIII veka do početka Prvog svetskog rata*, ed. Ana Stolić and Nenad Makuljević (Beograd: Clio, 2006), 593-607. The celebration of the Patron Saint Day is evident among the Albanian- and Slavic-speaking Orthodox and Catholic Christians, and Muslims in Bosnia, Herzegovina, Dalmatia, North Albania, Kosovo and Macedonia. See Karl Kaser, "Ahnenkult und Patriarchalismus auf dem Balkan," *Historische Anthropologie* 1, no. 1 (1993): 93-122, here pp. 97, 99-01.

<sup>112</sup> VA/Belgrade, P3, K1, F1, 1a/1, General Staff Commission: First Meeting, 25.02.1914, 152-153. (...) imajući u vidu karakterne osobine regruta iz novih divizijskih oblasti u odnosu na osobine vojnika pojedinih starih divizijskih oblasti (...) Rekruti s nove teritorije treba da služe za isvestan broj godina na staroj teritoriji and DAS/Belgrade, MUD-P 1913, F15/R41, #2041, 18.05.1913, Novi Pazar, District Chief to the Police Department at the Supreme Command. U svim krajevima ima vrlo mnogo da se radi i kulturno osvajanje ovih krajeva staće mnogo više i vremena i žrtava, nego što nas je koštalo političko osvajanje. (...)

represented a previously-tested practice, having been employed in Serbia since the 1830s.<sup>113</sup> Here, it became clear who belonged to an imagined *core* and who to a *non-core group*, whereby the latter refers to “an unassimilated ethnic group” and does not run solely along the confessional line.<sup>114</sup>

The imagined character flaw encompassed many things, such as volatility, laziness, and idleness. Soldiers in general had to be honest, courageous, obedient, faithful, accurate, enduring, and skilled, just to name a few, whereby these masculine military virtues were supposed to become an integral part of their body and soul, passing thus into their blood and habits.<sup>115</sup> Hence, the military wanted to forge nationally-minded subjects from different peoples, adhering to the zeitgeist of the time, according to which each imagined community had the defining traits, which in turn determined one’s agency.<sup>116</sup> Behind the policy of mixing recruits stood the ambition to erase these unwanted traits, which the Serbian military had applied long before the Balkan Wars, namely in the context of its Romanian and Serbian/Bulgarian-speaking subjects from the eastern provinces. They were purposely mixed with other recruits, so they could learn the official language, thus serving in the provinces “where the Romanian word is not heard anywhere and where it would be harder for their families to visit them.”<sup>117</sup>

But this had a dual effect since the goal was also to increase the combat stability of the army, which the Serbian and Prussian officers understood. If a unit was made up of recruits from different regions, the possible enemy occupation did not have a demoralizing effect on the entire regiment and thus it did not lead to desertion by the whole unit.<sup>118</sup> This process certainly did not unfold without problems because many conscripts, whether they were from the pre- or post-1913 territories, did not want to serve far from their homes, which is also evident in the post-1918 context. Soldiers from the post-Habsburg territories located in Taşlıca

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<sup>113</sup> Duraković, *Serbien und das Modernisierungsproblem: Die Entwicklung der Gesundheitspolitik und sozialen Kontrolle bis zum Ersten Weltkrieg*, 9-10 (footnote #5), 43-44.

<sup>114</sup> On the core and non-core groups see Mylonas, *The Politics of Nation-Building: Making Co-Nationals, Refugees, and Minorities*, xx-xxii, 5-12, 17-48.

<sup>115</sup> *Pravila službe* I, 14-15. Jokić, *Vojnički bukvar*, 43-46. VA/Belgrade, P2, K102, F1, 54/1, 02.11.1912, Sjenica, Commander to the Supreme Command; DAS/Belgrade, MUD-P 1913, F22/R1, #965, 21.12.1912, Novi Pazar, District Chief to the Police Inspector and *ibid*, MID-PO 1913, R399, F12, D8, XII/828, #1366, 30.01.1913, Prizren, Janković to the Supreme Command.

<sup>116</sup> John Connelly, *From Peoples into Nations: A History of Eastern Europe* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2020). Leerssen, *National Thought in Europe: A Cultural History*, 57, 60-64. and Martindale, "The Sociology of National Character," 30-35, here pp. 33, 35.

<sup>117</sup> VA/Belgrade, P14, K3, F5, 58/1, #48, 12.04.1898, Beograd, Commander of Active Army to the Commander of Timok Division District and *ibid*, K11, F1, 41/1, *Godišnji izveštaj o poslovanju Đeneralštabnog odeljenja Komande Timočke divizijske oblasti u 1899. godini*, 1-9 (citation on page 9).

<sup>118</sup> VA/Belgrade, P3, K81, F3, 7/7, #1404, 12.08.1914, Niš, MoW to the Supreme Command and Schmitt, *Armee und staatliche Integration: Preußen und die Habsburgermonarchie 1815-1866. Rekrutierungspolitik in den neuen Provinzen: Staatliches Handeln und Bevölkerung*, 177.



rebelled in 1922, asking to be sent to their place of birth to perform their duty.<sup>119</sup> The Montenegrin governing elites, drawing on the Serbian model, introduced once again in 1914, mixing and as a result, annulled the tribal fabric in the Vasojevići case.<sup>120</sup> In this regard, the Serbian military, having been viewed as a school of nation, similar to the French or German cases, differed from the Habsburg army, which functioned as a school of peoples whose aim was to integrate its subjects.<sup>121</sup>

#### 4.1.3. Discipline and Punish: Training and Production of an Ideal Soldier

Military training was supposed to establish the routine of military service and represented a second period of socialization.<sup>122</sup> Officers believed that a direct connection between the soldier's mind, body, and soul emerged as they educated a recruit, and by affecting one of these, they also indirectly stimulated the others. However, only by disciplining the soul, mind, and body simultaneously and harmoniously could the end result be achieved. The mind was directly affected by teaching, the soul by awakening and developing military awareness, while physical exercises were meant to shape the body. These were to be bound by discipline, a basic virtue of all, which a soldier achieved by performing and carrying out all military regulations and orders. This had to be performed either in the presence of their parents, or when they were away to whom their unconditional submission must be given.<sup>123</sup> If this was reached, the development of masculine military values would be interwoven with discipline, just as the soul is entangled with the body.<sup>124</sup>

“Discipline is the mother of victory” and “sister of courage,” and the aim was not to produce a robot (*pokretalo*) but rather a soldier who, while enduring harsh conditions, remained

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<sup>119</sup> PA AA/Berlin, RZ 201, R 11517, #194, 11.11.1913, Belgrade, Embassy to the MoFA; *ibid*, RZ 206, R 73191, #503, 28.05.1922, Belgrade, Embassy to the MoFA, 6 and Avramovski, *Britanci i Kraljevini Jugoslaviji: Godišnji izveštaji Britanskog poslanstva u Beogradu 1921-1938*, I (1921-1930), 1923, 219. See also Bjelajac, *Vojska Kraljevine SHS 1918-1921*, 58-70.

<sup>120</sup> BIIUCG/Podgorica, F13/#18, Lj. Vešović, *Lužičko-beranski batalion and Stenografske bilješke o radu crnogorske Narodne Skupštine sazvane u redovan saziv 15. januara 1914. god. (I i II prethodni sastanak i I-XXX redov. sjednica)*, II redovna sjednica, 31.01.1914, 51 and XIII redovna sjednica, 19.02.14, 463.

<sup>121</sup> Christa Hämmerle, "Ein gescheitertes Experiment? Die Allgemeine Wehrpflicht in der multiethnischen Armee der Habsburgermonarchie," *Journal for Modern European History* 5, no. 2 (2007): 222-43, here pp. 28-29. and Christa Hämmerle, "die k. (u.) k. Armee als "Schule des Volkes"? Zur Geschichte der Allgemeinen Wehrpflicht in der multinationalen Habsburgermonarchie (1866-1914/18)," in *Der Bürger als Soldat. Die Militarisierung europäischer Gesellschaften im langen 19. Jahrhundert: ein internationaler Vergleich*, ed. Jansen and Christian (Essen: Klartext Verlag, 2004), 175-213. Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France, 1870-1914*, 298. and Frevert, "Das jakobinsche Modell: Allgemeine Wehrpflicht und Nationsbildung in Preußen-Deutschland," 17-47.

<sup>122</sup> Rothacher, "Commentary: On the Effects and Noneffects of Military Socialization," 332. and Hubert Treiber, "Wie man Soldaten macht," in *Der Krieg des kleinen Mannes: Eine Militärgeschichte von unten*, ed. Wolfram Wette (München: Piper, 1992), 379-400.

<sup>123</sup> Bojović, *Vaspitavanje vojnika*, 25-26, 36-37, 52-53. Martinović, *Upustva vojničkom starešinstvu za vaspitavanje vojske u vojenom duhu i disciplini*, 3, 5-7. „Uredba o vojnoj disciplini od 03.03.1896“, *SN*, god. LXIII, 07.03.1896, br. 52, §1, 1; „Uredba o vojnoj disciplini od 20.11.1914“, *SN*, god. LXXXII, 01.01.1915, br. 1, §1, 1 and „Uredba o vojnoj disciplini od 20.11.1914“, *SVL*, god. 38, 14.06.1919, br. 20, 439-456.

<sup>124</sup> B., "Nekoliko napomena o izvođenju regrutske škole u pešadiji," 487; Bojović, *Vaspitavanje vojnika*, 23-24, 35-37. Jokić, *Vojnički bukvar*, 43, 96.

sober.<sup>125</sup> Acting along these lines is what produces an imagined Serbian or a good SCS soldier, who would be awarded by having his military duty shortened or being granted leave. Good soldiers had to be literate, well-drilled in shooting and had to show a high comprehension of the lessons. In contrast, a bad soldier received punishment and had to attend a military court for committed offenses, crimes, or betrayals (e.g. desertion, intentional self-mutilation, theft of state property, looting in wars, blasphemes, cursing of holy objects).<sup>126</sup> Teaching and exercises were thus perceived as tools for producing good soldiers and was seen as one of the actions necessary for reaching quality (*kakvoća*) in the military. This in turn would solidify combat motivation that needed to be fostered from the very first day of joining the military.<sup>127</sup>

Targeting the body only was not sufficient; it must reach one's soul whereby the body now served as an instrument through which discipline acted profoundly on the heart, will, and inclinations. By becoming a docile body, a soldier had thereby become something that could be shaped and transformed. His superiors were involved in its architecture, anatomy, and economy. The body was now viewed as a valuable material or element that had to be guarded as property from the enemy or bad weather conditions, and whose quality was to be increased through drill. Discipline enhanced both its capacity and reversed any negative reaction by turning it into a relation of strict subjection.<sup>128</sup> Unconditional obedience and violation of societal norms were the main features that distinguished the military from other disciplinary institutions. But military discipline was coded twice because it was not enough for the soldiers to obey orders, but they also had to maintain social control within their primary groups. While social disciplining aimed at eliminating nonconformity, since it denoted the totality of the disciplining techniques which eradicated unwanted behavior, social control is defined as the social reaction to the latter. It assumes the disagreement between an imposed social order and individual behavior. Social discipline is thus close to socialization if it is understood as the assumption of norms and role expectations of a group by a peer.<sup>129</sup>

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<sup>125</sup> Sretenović, *Potrebna znanja za vojnika stalnog kadra, vojne obveznike od njihove 18.-50. godine, za opštinske vlasti i za građane u opšte u njihovim odnosima prema vojnoj službi i prema vojnim vlastima s bukvarom za samouke*, 38, 46 (citation), 87. Bojović, *Vaspitavanje vojnika*, 10. and Martinović, *Uputstva vojničkom starešinstvu za vaspitanje vojske u vojenom duhu i disciplini*, 7, 11, 32-34, 32 (citation).

<sup>126</sup> Jokić, *Vojnički bukvar*, 65, 96, 98-99. „Zakon o ustrojstvu vojske od 27.01/08.02.1901“, *SN*, god. LXVIII, 01.02.1901, br. 25, §8/II, 1; „Zakon o izmenama u Zakonu o ustrojstvu vojske“, *SN*, god. LXXXI, 10.06.1914, br. 126, §8/a i b, 2; „Privremeni plan i program nastave za bolničare“, *SVL KSHS*, god. 38, 23.12.1919, br. 50, 1325-1328, here pp. 1325-1326; „Program nastave od 21.01.1921“, *SVL KSHS*, god. 40, 13.03.1921, br. 9, 552-580, here pp. 559 and Milićević, "Regrutni sastav vojske Srbije 1883-1912. Sistem poziva i neki njegovi društveni aspekti," 9-25, here pp. 22.

<sup>127</sup> *Uput za nastavu i vežbe u vojsci*, (Beograd: Štamparska radionica Ministarstva vojnog i mornarice, 1923), 2, 17.

<sup>128</sup> Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (London: Penguin Books, 1991), 10-11, 16, 25-26, 29-30, 135-38, 40-41. Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, vol. I: An Introduction (New York: Vintage Books, 1990), 139-40. Felhofer, *Die Produktion des disziplinierten Menschen*, 83, 85, 88. DACG/Cetinje, VK, F1, unnumbered, 15.12.1912, Rožaje, Prokopije Veković to Janko Vukotić; VA/Belgrade, P7, K9, F4, 38/1, #8333, 28.09.1915, Valjevo, Š1A to the Command of Zenički Detachment; Roda, *Serbisches Tagebuch*, 103. and Radojević and Milenković, *Propast srpskih regruta*, 194, 205, 10.

<sup>129</sup> Bröckling, *Disziplin: Askeri İtaat Üretiminin Sosyolojisi ve Tarihi*, 25-26, 46-47. and Felhofer, *Die Produktion des disziplinierten Menschen*, 5-6, 58-59.

However, this does not imply the general overthrow of societal values because military discipline stands in a clear interdependent relationship with other social disciplines and represents a necessary corollary of various centralization processes of the governing elites. Thus, keeping in mind the period under examination, officers did not start from nothing but, ideally, only extended and added new meanings to the previously established social view of the rank and file.<sup>130</sup> This is obvious in the civil or military textbooks and regulations in which it was stressed that the education of the population only continued in the barracks. The main efforts were undertaken in the pre- and post-military life, in which the role of birth parents, civil officials, paramilitary leaders, teachers, and clergymen was equally important.<sup>131</sup> In brief, the grid just becomes ever denser.

Drill involved teaching the various points needed not only for overpowering the enemy in a future war but also for alleviating the transition into military life, whereby adjustment to the uniform and movements represented the first step. Increasing and building the soldier's physical strength evenly and in all parts of his body to prepare him for handling weapons was crucial, whereby NCOs had to develop a competitive spirit as well.<sup>132</sup> Its primary purpose was to ensure obedience, to prevent escape, and to consolidate the role of the primary group. Much devotion was given to the infantry training since infantry was regarded as the most important military branch, which the fate of battles and that of states depended upon.<sup>133</sup>

The basic principle was the method of repetition, beginning from simple concepts/actions, gradually moving to more complex ones. This implies that almost every day, a soldier had to repeat the same drill as many times necessary "until it enters his blood."<sup>134</sup> Each superior, also

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<sup>130</sup> Gerhard Oestreich, "Strukturprobleme des europäischen Absolutismus: Otto Brunner zum 70. Geburtstag," *Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte* 55, no. 3 (1968): 329-47, here pp. 44-47. Winfried Schulze, "Gerhard Oestreichs Begriff "Sozialdisziplinierung in der frühen Neuzeit"," *Zeitschrift für historische Forschung* 14 (1987): 265-302, here pp. 270. Winfried Freitag, "Missverständnis eines "Konzeptes": Zu Gerard Oestreichs "Fundamentalprozess" der Sozialdisziplinierung," *Zeitschrift für historische Forschung* 28, no. 4 (2001): 513-38. Geißler, *Erziehungsmittel*, 36-37. Felhofer, *Die Produktion des disziplinierten Menschen*, 9. Bröckling, *Disziplin: Askeri İtaat Üretiminin Sosyolojisi ve Tarihi*, 23-24. Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, 138, 40-41. and Leerssen, *National Thought in Europe: A Cultural History*, 140-43.

<sup>131</sup> Jovičević, *Domaće negovanje i vaspitanje djece u Crnoj Gori*, 40, 73, 80-81, 83-84. Martinović, *Upustva vojničkom starešinstvu za vaspitanje vojske u vojenom duhu i disciplini*, 8-9. Bojović, *Vaspitavanje vojnika*, 23-24, 26-28, 34-35. *Uput za nastavu i vežbe u vojsci*, 1. Nuri Doğan, *İlk ve Orta Dereceli Okul Ders Kitapları ve Sosyalleşme (1876-1918)* (İstanbul: Bağlam, 1994), 47-49, 53-55, 62, 124, 27-29, 43, 46-47, 53. Fortna, *Imperial Classroom: Islam, the State, and Education in the Late Ottoman Empire*, 6, 137-39, 51. Đurović, *Modernizacija obrazovanja u Kraljevini Srbiji 1905-1914*, 402-03, 41. Fusun Üstel, *"Makbul Vatandaş"ın Peşinde: II. Meşrutiyet'ten Bugüne Vatandaşlık Eğitimi* (İstanbul: İletişim, 2008), 15, 27, 29-32, 50, 59, 73, 78, 113, 15. and Ateş, *Asker Evlatlar Yetiştirmek: II. Meşrutiyet Dönemi'nde Beden Terbiyesi, Askerî Talim ve Paramiliter Gençlik Örgütleri*, 17-21, 28.

<sup>132</sup> Jokić, *Kaplar*, 5-6, 8, 12, 15, 17. B., "Nekoliko napomena o izvođenju regrutske škole u pešadiji," 477, 79. Bojović, *Uput za obuku rekruta u ratnoj službi*, 3, 12. *Pravila za obuku vojske u gimnastici*, (Cetinje: Štamparija Kraljevskog crnogorskog ministarstva vojnog, 1910 [1915]), 1-2, 6-7, 41, 44. *Pravila za gimnastička vježbanja*, (Cetinje: Štamparija Kraljevskog crnogorskog ministarstva vojnog, 1909), 4. and *Uput za nastavu i vežbe u vojsci*, 19-20.

<sup>133</sup> VA/Belgrade, P3, K81, F3, 7/5, #1825, 10.08.1914, Kragujevac, Supreme Command to the MoW. B., "Nekoliko napomena o izvođenju regrutske škole u pešadiji," 457-61. Kalafatović, "Rok službe u našem stalnom kadru," 1-7, here pp. 1. and Bröckling, *Disziplin: Askeri İtaat Üretiminin Sosyolojisi ve Tarihi*, 95-97.

<sup>134</sup> *Uput za nastavu i vežbe u vojsci*, 17, 20.

acting as a teacher, was responsible for training their platoon, whereby not only mistakes, but also good solutions and ideas were pointed out. Frequent exercises provided the opportunity for everyone to get familiar with each other but also notice mutual shortcomings.<sup>135</sup> Again, the role of NCOs and junior officers was indispensable here because they had regular contact with soldiers, who followed their work, readiness, and devotion. By following their example, it was expected that the soldier would do the same and, accordingly, the work would run smoothly for the officers, who had to observe the NCOs' behavior and attitude.<sup>136</sup> Serbian officers noticed that if the drill was not tiring from the beginning but was slightly adjusted to the pre-military life of soldiers, the latter were more liable to listen and learn better.<sup>137</sup> This also implies here that calculated policies stood behind every action in order to win the soldiers' hearts and minds.

One must conceptualize that every hour had been organized in such a manner that it corresponded to the notion of temporal culture, which refers to "time-related practices, conventions, values, and emotions that structures the temporal dimension of social life and fills it with meaning." The goal was to keep the soldiers constantly busy, whereby an outlined timetable split an allegedly regular and homogenous time into clearly defined durations, thereby generating time slots in each of which, a different action would be placed. Regardless of the context, idleness was seen as the enemy of order, while efficiency, punctuality, production of the skilled soldiers, and the creation of fully usable time was desired.<sup>138</sup> Depending on the time of the year, practices in the Serbian army in the 1880s lasted six hours per day, whereas in the SCS period, the schedule took four and a half hours in late 1919. Throughout every break, the soldiers were subject to surveillance and teaching, except for the Montenegrin soldiers who could go home if it was located nearby.<sup>139</sup>

Some Serbian officers focused on implanting into their children the feeling of being cautious about what they lacked or getting them used to night training since the pre-military

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<sup>135</sup> VA/Belgrade, P2, K129, F1, 32/1, #5020, 06.04.1913, Skoplje, Supreme Command to KIIA. and K. Bučović, "Godišnji raspored zanimanja pešačke brigade stajaće vojske," *Ratnik: List za vojne nauke, novosti i književnost* II, no. 3 (1880): 163-95, here pp. 63. *Uputstvo starešinama o izvođenju nastave u narodnoj vojsci*, (Cetinje Državna štamparija, 1905), 7. and *Uput za nastavu i vežbe u vojsci*, 4-5.

<sup>136</sup> Bojović, *Vaspitavanje vojnika*, 43-46. Jokić, *Kaplar*, 93-96. and B., "Nekoliko napomena o izvođenju regrutske škole u pešadiji," 463.

<sup>137</sup> B., "Nekoliko napomena o izvođenju regrutske škole u pešadiji," 454-56.

<sup>138</sup> Avner Wishnitzer, *Reading Clocks, Alla Turca: Time and Society in the Late Ottoman Empire* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2015), 7 (citation), 71-73, 75-76, 80, 82-83. Eviatar Zerubavel, *Hidden Rhythms: Schedules and Calendars in Social Life* (Berkeley / Los Angeles / London: University of California Press, 1985), xii, 1-3, 7-11, 31, 43, 44-45, 49. Felhofer, *Die Produktion des disziplinierten Menschen*, 53, 84. and Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, 149-52.

<sup>139</sup> Bučović, "Godišnji raspored zanimanja pešačke brigade stajaće vojske," 164-65, 67-74, 78. *Uputstvo starešinama o izvođenju nastave u narodnoj vojsci*, 5-6. „Nastavni plan za pešadiju stalnog kadra od 06.05.1908“ *SVL*, god. 28, 07.05.1908, br. 13, 255-262; „Nastavni plan za pešadiju stalnog kadra od 10.04.1909“ *SVL*, god. 29, 11.04.1909, br. 17, 332-340 „Nastavni plan za pešadiju od 16.04.1910“ *SVL*, god. 30, 18.04.1910, br. 14, 347-360; *Uput za nastavu i vežbe u vojsci*, 25. „Nastavni plan i program“, *SVL*, god. 43, 25.01.1924, br. 4, 140-141. VA/Belgrade, P4/3, K57, F8, 14/125, #1425, 08.12.1919, Kosovska Mitrovica, XXIVPP KIDO and Wishnitzer, *Reading Clocks, Alla Turca: Time and Society in the Late Ottoman Empire*, 76, 80-81.

lifeworld revolved mainly around working the fields during the day-time.<sup>140</sup> During WWI, both Ottoman and Serbian soldiers of Muslim creed were careless and timid in patrols and fights during the night when they often imagined certain things, which according to the witnesses was a result of the lack of training.<sup>141</sup> For Flora Sandes, this adjustment lasted for three months and after which “I had begun to feel as though I had never known any other kind of life, for I seemed to take to soldiering like a duck to water.”<sup>142</sup> Avro Međedović who spent one whole year at Ottoman NCO school in Selanik describes his experience with the timetable of the Ottoman army in the following manner:

God do not let me go there anymore! For a year we used to, sir, only on Thursday wash our laundry and clean our rifles, [whereas we had] two hours in a row on Fridays, when they let me walk in the town. Out of twenty-four hours we had only six hours for lying, sleeping; and the rest was invested in the drill. And they had not allowed us to lie down at once, but sleep for two hours, then, they get you up to drill. Either at night the theory, or there on guard or where it is not necessary or until dawn – when we were on the training ground – or until noon [...]. From noon you could sit, wipe your sweat and light the cigar which five of us had shared. [Then], the trumpet shouted again, and in theory [...] until two hours before the evening prayer [*akşam*]. Two hours before the evening prayer [...] we used to go out and together with music made a prayer to the Emperor. [And this] was both in winter and summer.<sup>143</sup>

Training the rank and file in this manner became an integral part of the broader context whose aim was to reach the imagined West. The governing elites considered their populations and polities as lagging “behind” Europe and hence, there was no time to lose.<sup>144</sup> Every recruit had to learn how to walk for the prescribed length and assigned speed/time and how to take a proper stance. Bodily irregularities while moving, the position of the overall posture, or that of hands and fingers while saluting should be suppressed from the very beginning since it went against the perceived image of how a proper soldier should look.<sup>145</sup> This instrumental coding of the bodies (Michel Foucault) was also wielded when the soldier learned how to use a rifle and for this reason, developing muscles so that the latter could handle a weapon more easily was pivotal. Besides showing its usage, junior officers and NCOs had to speak personally about the importance of weapons for a successful fight, whereby citing folk/epic songs or proverbs in which the rifle was praised, and which soldiers knew from their pre-military life, became part of their vocabulary. The strategy beneath this was to inspire soldiers to become more efficient

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<sup>140</sup> Bojović, *Uput za obuku rekruta u ratnoj službi*, 7, 63-64, 72.

<sup>141</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MID-PP 1903, I-8, Pov. Br. 154, 17.08.1903, Javor, Upravnik carinarnice MID-u and VA/Belgrade, P7, K39, F3, 25/1, 04.10.1915, unnumbered, Commander of the 4<sup>th</sup> Battalion to the Commander of the 10<sup>th</sup> Infantry Regiment.

<sup>142</sup> Sandes, *The Autobiography of a Woman Soldier: A Brief Record of Adventure with the Serbian Army, 1916-1919*, 17.

<sup>143</sup> Parry, *Serbo-Croatian Heroic Songs*, IV: Ženidba Smailagina sina, kazivao je Avdo Međedović s popratnim razgovorima s Međedovićem i drugim, 8.

<sup>144</sup> Wishnitzer, *Reading Clocks, Alla Turca: Time and Society in the Late Ottoman Empire*, 83-84, 152-56.

<sup>145</sup> B., "Nekoliko napomena o izvođenju regrutske škole u pešadiji," 457-63. *Pravila za gimnastička vježbanja*, 1. Wishnitzer, *Reading Clocks, Alla Turca: Time and Society in the Late Ottoman Empire*, 72-73. and Bröckling, *Disziplin: Askeri İtaat Üretiminin Sosyolojisi ve Tarihi*, 97-100.

shooters.<sup>146</sup> It represented the bright weapons of the chief father, the ruler, which were yielded to them in the name of God and under the holy regimental flag. Thus, they were advised to love their holy rifles since in war it was both a mother and a father, and they should be proud of it, and to keep it clean, as their honor was clean.<sup>147</sup>

Military parents played with images of masculinity in order to discipline and invoke emotions among the soldiers, which might yield the desired result, as the case of the “liberated” Serbian brethren illustrates. Their post-war narratives unearth a burning wish to possess a rifle, the joy at the moment of receiving it, competitions among those who would have more hits in combat shooting and mourning, if they did not receive the rifle upon entering the military since they interpreted this as a sign of distrust towards them. Others shot off rifles in the town, celebrating the end of training.<sup>148</sup> Owning a rifle in the Montenegrin context implied a symbolic capital, which as a result, made the outsiders believe that the imagined Montenegrin possessed a natural proclivity for firearms, just as the imagined Albanian. Because it was seen as the preferred decoration that enables access, some even insisted on buying a weapon before turning the military age. People would start to appreciate its carrier by putting more expectations on him, with one saying being that whoever likes a weapon, would be a hero. A rifle passed to the son as a testament, was the most glorious decoration in the house, and the son would hope to reach the esteem of his father or grandfather.<sup>149</sup>

Possessing a weapon even outweighed national loyalty in some parts of the region. For example, in Tašlica, a Slavic-speaking Orthodox Christian would rather prefer for his native area to belong to Montenegro than to Serbia because under the former he could own a rifle.<sup>150</sup> The governing elites thus fostered discipline by adhering to the previously established norms which through the process of sacralization, gradually gained new meanings. Similar to a firearm, losing a cannon was considered the most severe form of shame among Serbian artillery officers, whereby artillerymen would even kiss worn-out barrels before having to leave and destroy them.<sup>151</sup>

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<sup>146</sup> Jokić, *Kaplar*, 18, 21-23, 27. B., "Nekoliko napomena o izvođenju regrutske škole u pešadiji," 463-65. Bojović, *Vaspitavanje vojnika*, 57-58. and Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, 153-55.

<sup>147</sup> Bojović, *Vaspitavanje vojnika*, 58. Jokić, *Vojnički bukvar*, 73. Fevzi, *Osmanlı Efradına Maneviyat-ı Askeriye Dersleri*, I, 4-5, 9, 11-14, 22-23, 26. Fevzi, *Osmanlı Efradına Maneviyat-ı Askeriye Dersleri*, II, 11-12, 17-20, 39, 43-44. and Arif, *Piyade Neferi*, 27-28.

<sup>148</sup> Manević, "Ratni doživljaji Vardaraca," 31. Naumović, "Vardarci," 54. Radivojević, "Bitoljski pešadijski puk u Valjevu 1914. godine," 64-66. Kalabić, "Formiranje Bregalničkog pešadijskog puka u Kragujevcu 1914. g.," 74-75. *Naš vojnik*, I, 30. and VA/Belgrade, P3, K81, F3, 7/70, 23.10.1914, Kruševac, KKRT to the Supreme Command. See also Fevzi, *Osmanlı Efradına Maneviyat-ı Askeriye Dersleri*, II, 24-25.

<sup>149</sup> Jovičević, *Domaće negovanje i vaspitanje djece u Crnoj Gori*, 53-54. Nik. M. Vukotić, "Nekoliko reči o Crnogorcima kao vojniku," *Ratnik: Mesečni vojni list XXXI*, no. 5-6 (1909): 860-71, here pp. 60-61, 65-66. and NMCG-ABO/Cetinje, N. I, 1913/F66, #18, 15.03.1913, Turski poručnik novi Srbin Milan Milovanović, *Tašlica 60. Alayı Nizamiye ve Redif Kıtıatı*, 6.

<sup>150</sup> Durković-Jakšić, *Pljevlja i manastir sv. Trojica: Borba protiv rasrbljivanja do oslobođenja od Turaka 1912*, 1297.

<sup>151</sup> Šarenac, *Top, vojnik i sećanje: Prvi svetski rat u Srbija 1914-2009*, 112, 19.

In the period of WWI, the drill in the Serbian army had been radically shortened and at the same time, accelerated (two months duration, eight hours per day). That is why a soldier from Macedonia stated that extensive training and marching in the mountains and valleys had torn up his shoes before he was even sent to the front. The goal was still to produce a good and fearless fighter as soon as possible, whereby superiors had to uphold morale and readiness. To this end, recruits' training consisted of working together with old soldiers or reservists, whereas regulations on military discipline and penal codes were to be taught in relatively less time.<sup>152</sup> Hinging on the context, various reasons obstructed establishing discipline and the bonding among troops. In addition to a small number of teaching staff, their limited or complete lack of any professional qualifications did not produce results since the latter were in fact the newly produced officers/cadets of the Military Academy and NCO schools. Not only did climate conditions greatly hinder the teaching but also the lack of corporals, sergeants, and company commanders constructed a field in which there were no rules. Still, a commanding officer believed that soldiers could be used for combat purposes.<sup>153</sup> But as soon as the latter joined their front-line units, they were labeled as insufficiently trained and undisciplined, having often been evaluated in fights as being more harmful than helpful.<sup>154</sup>

This is why they had to endure further training, which was generally organized when there were operations at the front, whose goal was to improve the ability of untrained conscripts both from the pre- and post-1913 territories. Time worked against the superiors since they wanted to enhance the performance of the conscripts in the fastest possible way. If one considers all together: the clothing, lodging, and nutrition issue that weakened the soldiers' body, contagious diseases that emerged in late 1914 in Serbia, health issues caused by the new climate, absence of enthusiasm and attention for fighting in such conditions, and the lack of training staff who knew Albanian and Turkish, it is then not difficult to contextualize the setting.<sup>155</sup>

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<sup>152</sup> VA/Belgrade, P2, K129, F1, 32/1, #5020, 06.04.1913, Skoplje, Supreme Command to KIIA; *ibid*, P3, K81, F3, 7/7, #1404, 12.08.1914, Niš, MoW to the Supreme Command; *ibid*, K78, F1, 4/8, #73, 13.10.1914, Kragujevac, KKRT to the Supreme Command. A censored letter of Angelčev A. Gigov dated 04.10.1914 and *ibid*, K72, F5, 22/6, #82, 16.07.1915, Commander of the 4<sup>th</sup> Battalion to the Commander of the 19<sup>th</sup> Infantry Regiment.

<sup>153</sup> VA/Belgrade, P3, K81, F3, 7/75, 25.10.1914, #151, Kruševac, KKRT to the Supreme Command; *ibid*, K72, F5, 22/6, #23, 05.06.1915, Kumodraž, Commander of the 4<sup>th</sup> Battalion to the Commander of the 19<sup>th</sup> Infantry Regiment and James Lyon, *Serbia and the Balkan Front, 1914: The Outbreak of the Great War* (London: Bloomsbury, 2015), 85.

<sup>154</sup> VA/Belgrade, P3, K81, F4, 8/23, Valjevo, KIA to the Supreme Command and *ibid*, F4, 8/91, 20.05.1915, #3540, Topčidersko brdo, KKO to the KOB.

<sup>155</sup> VA/Belgrade, P3, K81, F3, 7/7, #1404, 12.08.1914, Niš, MoW to the Supreme Command; *ibid*, 7/75, 25.10.1914, #151, Kruševac, KKRT to the Supreme Command; *ibid*, P7, K81, F3, 10/1, #2132, 13.12.1914, KUV to the KUB; *ibid*, F4, 8/57, #310, 24.03.1915, Niš, KNRT to the Supreme Command; *ibid*, F4, 8/63, 24.04.1915, Niš, MoW to the Supreme Command; *ibid*, F4, 8/91, 20.05.1915, #3540, Topčidersko brdo, KKO to the KOB; Duraković, *Serbien und das Modernisierungsproblem: Die Entwicklung der Gesundheitspolitik und sozialen Kontrolle bis zum Ersten Weltkrieg*, 185-86, 91. Lyon, *Serbia and the Balkan Front, 1914: The Outbreak of the Great War*, 87-88. Goran Čukić, "'Srpska, prva faza" suzbijanje epidemija 1914. i 1915. godine," *Vojnosanitetski preglad* 75, no. 11 (2018). and Roger Cooter, "Of War and Epidemics: Unnatural Couplings, Problematic Conceptions," *The Journal of the Society for the Social History of Medicine* 16, no. 2 (2003): 283-302, here pp. 284-86. See also Chris Gratien, "Malaria and the Legacy of the First World War in the Ottoman Empire," in *The Long End of*

In the wake of disobedience or defeat, certain officers were inclined to place all the blame on the soldier and his “lack” of the desired character, which was evident in the case of the non-core groups, whereby attributing nonconformity to an imagined group ran along the national/religious lines. A captured Ottoman officer complained that including the bilingual Muslims *en masse* into one battalion was never a good idea because they loved to demolish harmony, disturb the public peace, and lie. In addition to being a natural malice, they enjoyed plundering too, which fit into the general Ottoman picture of the imagined Albanian.<sup>156</sup> “Their character and moral traits amidst WWI in the Serbian context, which were outlined so their military parents could treat them in the most rational and proper way, were no different. This goes in particular for the Albanian-speaking recruits who were characterized as silent, narrow-minded, closed off, stubborn (which they of course brought from home), and were more inclined towards trade or the exchange of objects in general, showing their sympathy only for their fellow tribesmen or village inhabitants. Because they were physically strong, they easily mastered all practical exercises but the inner change on their souls did not materialize because the lack of direct communication with their superiors was established only via interpreters or their NCOs. Thus, establishing military discipline, which they did not tolerate, and the primary group or invoking those emotions necessary for upholding the combat effectiveness was contested. Relying on the paternal narrative, officers sought to forge contact with them, but this also failed because the former interpreted this kind approach as a sign of their weakness.”<sup>157</sup>

Desertion, the proclamation of Ottoman holy war, and the lack of trustworthy NCOs and privates evoked the fear for using such troops in combat whose rank and file consisted predominantly of the post-1913 Muslim subjects. In order to form sufficiently hardened combat units, officers suggested that the latter should be sent in various units.<sup>158</sup> In this context, some turned to the narrative of ancient hatreds because the imagined Albanian was a century-old enemy of the Serbs who had been encouraged by the Habsburgs to hate them, whereby his

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*the First World War: Ruptures, Continuities and Memories*, ed. Katrin Bromber et al. (Frankfurt/New York: Campus Verlag, 2018), 67-83.

<sup>156</sup> NMCG-ABO/Cetinje, N. I, 1913/F66, #18, 15.03.1913, Turski poručnik novi Srbin Milan Milovanović, *Taşhca 60. Alayı Nizamiye ve Redif Kitaatı*, 6. See also Frederick F. Anscombe, "Albanians and "Mountain Bandits", in *The Ottoman Balkans, 1750-1830*, ed. Frederick F. Anscombe (Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers, 2006), 87-113. Gingeras, *Sorrowful Shores: Violence, Ethnicity, and the End of the Ottoman Empire, 1912-1923*. and Ahmet Diriker, *Cephelerde Bir Ömür: Tuğgeneral Ahmet Nuri Diriker'in Anıları* (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2013), 20-21.

<sup>157</sup> VA/Belgrade, P3, K72, F5, 22/9, 24.04.1915, Kragujevac, Supreme Command to the KOB; *ibid*, K81, F4, 8/91, 20.05.1915, #3540, Topčidersko brdo, KKO to the KOB; *ibid*, K72, F5, 22/6, #23, 05.06.1915, Kumodraž, Commander of the 4<sup>th</sup> Battalion to the Commander of the 19<sup>th</sup> Infantry Regiment and *ibid*, 22/6, #82, 16.07.1915, Commander of the 4<sup>th</sup> Battalion to the Commander of the 19<sup>th</sup> Infantry Regiment.

<sup>158</sup> VA/Belgrade, P3, K72, F5, 22/1, 06.05.1915, #3414, Topčidersko brdo, KKO to the KOB; *ibid*, K81, F4, 8/91, 20.05.1915, #3540, Topčidersko brdo, KKO to the KOB; *ibid*, K72, F5, 22/6, #23, 05.06.1915, Kumodraž, Commander of the 4<sup>th</sup> Battalion to the Commander of the 19<sup>th</sup> Infantry Regiment; *ibid*, 22/6, #629, 18.07.1915, Položaj, Commander of the 19<sup>th</sup> Infantry Regiment to the KKO; *ibid*, 22/6, #4692, 04.06.1915, Požarevac, Commander of the Dunav Division of 1<sup>st</sup> Levy of the People's Army to the Supreme Command and *ibid*, 22/6, #125, 20.07.1915, Commander of the 19<sup>th</sup> Infantry Regiment to the KKO.



displeasure only increased by including him into the army.<sup>159</sup> This also had something to do with the pre-1913 idea of the imagined Albanian in the Serbian public and intellectual discourse.<sup>160</sup>

Mutual distrust intensified when some superiors discovered the soldiers' tactics of pretending not to speak the language of command. This is why many proposed the establishment of units which consisted of the trustworthy element whose primary goal would be to discipline and keep them in control during fight. It is not clear whether these superiors fell under the category of those who adhered to, or as a result of war developments, turned to cursing at and abusing soldiers because one could such junior officers and NCOs in these units, which in turn had a demoralizing effect on the rank and file.<sup>161</sup> This had nothing to do with them being Muslim *per se* but this narrative gradually gained a clear ethno-national dimension, although others had rather positive experiences with the latter and warned other officers not to look at them through the group narrative. Their Slavic-speaking Muslim peers from the region were labeled, for example, as a completely different element insofar as there was not a communication problem and they were thus supporting "our national cause." Officers wrote positively about the latter since their results in training had exceeded their expectations. Whoever witnessed the battalion marching, rearranging, maneuvering, and singing to the beat of Serbian military songs could not believe that it was a Muslim battalion.<sup>162</sup>

These officers adhered to the pre-1913 narrative according to which these Muslims were Serbs who had been Islamized in the past, just as those living in Habsburg Bosnia-Herzegovina who were waiting to be liberated. Therefore, similar to the Ottoman context in which the imagined Turk was preferred in the army because he was viewed as the most reliable element which the nationalizing and centralizing empire was built, so too did the pre-1913 Serbian subject represent the most trustworthy material which every officer desired to have in their unit.

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<sup>159</sup> VA/Belgrade, P3, K72, F5, 22/6, #125, 20.07.1915, Commander of the 19<sup>th</sup> Infantry Regiment to the KKO.

<sup>160</sup> See the articles of Aleksandar Pavlović, Aleksandra Ilić-Rajković, Milan Miljković, and Ana Petrov in *Figura neprijatelja: Preosmišljavanje srpsko-albanskih odnosa*, ed. Aleksandar Pavlović et al. (Beograd: IFDT & KPZ Beton, 2015). Also Aleksandar Pavlović and Aleksandra Ilić-Rajković, "'Fierce Warriors' of 'Bloodthirsty Savages': Albanians in Serbian Textbooks (1882-1941)," in *Myths and Mythical Spaces: Conditions and Challenges for History Textbooks in Albania and South-Eastern Europe*, ed. Claudia Lichnofsky, Enriketa Pandelajmoni, and Darko Stojanov (Göttingen: V & R unipress, 2018), 225-35. and Olivera Milosavljević, *U tradiciji nacionalizma ili stereotipi srpskih intelektualaca XX veka o "nama" i "drugima"* (Beograd: "Zagorac", 2002).

<sup>161</sup> VA/Belgrade, P3, K59, F1, 3/2, 08.11.1914, Kragujevac, Luka R. Zegić to the Supreme Command, vii; *ibid*, K72, F5, 22/6, #23, 05.06.1915, Kumodraž, Commander of the 4<sup>th</sup> Battalion to the Commander of the 19<sup>th</sup> Infantry Regiment; *ibid*, 22/6, 29.06.1915, Srednjev, Commander of the 4<sup>th</sup> Battalion to the Commander of the 12<sup>th</sup> Infantry Regiment; *ibid*, 22/6, #135, 29.06.1915, Srednjeva, the Commander of the 12<sup>th</sup> Infantry Regiment to the Commander of the Braničevo Detachment; *ibid*, 22/6, #82, 16.07.1915, Commander of the 4<sup>th</sup> Battalion to the Commander of the 19<sup>th</sup> Infantry Regiment; *ibid*, 22/6, #629, 18.07.1915, Commander of the 19<sup>th</sup> Infantry Regiment to the KKO and *ibid*, K72, F5, 22/6, 15.07.1915, Commander of the 4<sup>th</sup> Battalion to the Commander of the 10<sup>th</sup> Infantry Regiment.

<sup>162</sup> VA/Belgrade, P3, K72, F5, 22/6, 15.07.1915, Položaj, Commander of the 4<sup>th</sup> Battalion to the Commander of the 10<sup>th</sup> Infantry Regiment; *ibid*, K81, F4, 8/91, 20.05.1915, #3540, Topčidersko brdo, KKO to the KOB and *ibid*, K72, F5, 22/6, #4149, 21.07.1915, KKO to the Supreme Command.

They were to fill out the units that would drill and oversee the unreliable element since the former successfully passed the 1912/13 test, thus becoming “of excellent quality” or “the first-class material,” with which “nature has endowed us,” as a Serbian officer writes prior to 1914.<sup>163</sup>

In order to uphold military discipline and indirectly combat morale, the officers, parallel to the practical training, turned to theoretical strategies, such as hygiene, confession, and literacy classes. In addition to changing dress regularly, the soldiers were vaccinated in the first days upon entering into army. Military doctors were supposed to explain to the recruits that the goal was to protect their future offspring from any infection and death. Being healthy and able to defend the imagined homeland meant they could one day get married, have healthy offspring, and conveyed the message of looking manlier in public. Their personal honor was also entangled with the notion of cleanliness (*temizlik insanın şanındandır*), and they were always instructed to wash their body well with soap and take care of themselves in the garrison, on the march, and in the camp. Keeping in good health and maintaining a strong and sturdy body was also necessary for enduring hunger, thirst, rain, wind, heat, and fatigue in war. Maintaining order and cleanliness in each room within the barracks fell under the responsibility of the so-called room superiors. The soldiers had to pay heed to their commands as they demonstrated how one washes, paints, cleans, and airs out the room.<sup>164</sup>

The hidden transcript was the belief that this type of education would become a habit of those who served out their duty and thus, after returning to their homes, would now act as educators and enlighten the other locals. In this regard, the military functioned as a school of public health (*škola za narodno zdravlje*), to use the phrase of a SCS officer, that participated, too, with other institutions in a biopolitics of the population. It propagated the level of health and life expectancy, seeking simultaneously to enhance the usefulness and docility of its subjects' body under the pretext of looking after the common good and public health.<sup>165</sup>

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<sup>163</sup> Bojović, *Vaspitavanje vojnika*, 66, 132-33, 51. Sretenović, *Potrebna znanja za vojnika stalnog kadra, vojne obveznike od njihove 18.-50. godine, za opštinske vlasti i za građane u opšte u njihovim odnosima prema vojnoj službi i prema vojnim vlastima s bukvarom za samouke*, 21. VA/Belgrade, P3, K81, F4, 8/91, 20.05.1915, #3540, Topčidersko brdo, KKO to the KOB; *ibid*, K72, F5, 22/1, #3414, 06.05.1915, Topčidersko brdo, KKO to the KOB; *ibid*, 22/6, #629, 18.07.1915, Commander of the 19<sup>th</sup> Infantry Regiment to the KKO; *ibid*, 22/6, #4149, 21.07.1915, KKO to the Supreme Command; Kalafatović, "Rok službe u našem stalnom kadru," 2 (citation). Beşikçi, *Birinci Dünya Savaşı'nda Osmanlı Seferberliği*, 268-69. and Beşikçi, "Topyekûn Savaş Çağında Askerî İşgücünü Seferber Etmek: Birinci Dünya Savaşı Öncesinde ve Esnasında Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Zorunlu Askerlik Hizmeti," 523-56, here pp. 29.

<sup>164</sup> Sretenović, *Potrebna znanja za vojnika stalnog kadra, vojne obveznike od njihove 18.-50. godine, za opštinske vlasti i za građane u opšte u njihovim odnosima prema vojnoj službi i prema vojnim vlastima s bukvarom za samouke*, 7-8, 14-15, 60. Jokić, *Vojnički bukvar*, 69-71. Jokić, *Vojnički bukvar i osnovne dužnosti vojnika*, 56, 66-67. Bojović, *Vaspitavanje vojnika*, 52-53. Ali, *Acemi Neferin Terbiye-i Askeriye Muallimi*, 23-24. Fevzi, *Osmanlı Efradına Maneviyat-ı Askeriye Dersleri*, I, 26. and Arif, *Piyade Neferi*, 158, 64-69, 90-200.

<sup>165</sup> VA/Belgrade, P3, K81, F4, 8/91, 20.05.1915, #3540, Topčidersko brdo, KKO to the KOB; Jokić, *Vojnički bukvar*, 70-71. Jokić, *Vojnički bukvar i osnovne dužnosti vojnika*, 56. Bojović, *Vaspitavanje vojnika*, 53. Fevzi, *Osmanlı Efradına Maneviyat-ı Askeriye Dersleri*, I, 21. Arif, *Piyade Neferi*, 214-15. Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, I: An Introduction, 25-26, 139-41. Michel Foucault, "Society Must be Defended": *Lectures at the Collège de France 1975-76* (New York: Picador, 2003), 242-

Here, soldiers emerged as so-called sanitary citizens who possessed a new medical understanding of their bodies, health, illnesses, practicing hygiene, and depending on the medical staff when they were sick. They would engage in enhancing community participation in public health and thereby in the civilizing mission of the state, which is also seen in Habsburg BH or in post-1918 Poland.<sup>166</sup> This process certainly experienced challenges since the locals perceived the aim of the governing elites as further encroaching into their daily routine, who in turn mockingly dubbed the Serbian authorities as *kultur tregeri*, ones who craved to control all local social activities.<sup>167</sup> The post-1913 civil/military powers labeled their living conditions as primitive, while the health condition of the populations, for instance, around Tašlica was characterized as relatively good. In addition to syphilis, which Ottoman soldiers left both in town and in the villages, the main problem was consumption of rectified spirit. Both were seen in the pre-1913 Serbian context as a sign that led to the weakening of the entire imagined national body and/or race.<sup>168</sup>

A Montenegrin official from the Lower Vasojevići stated that if one went to observe the cleanliness of the locals, it would be clear that in a few days “we will get Asian cholera in addition to freckles.” Hence, the goal was to enhance the prestige of the state, as other happy peoples did, for instance, in the Belgian Congo (sic!).<sup>169</sup> In the Yeni Pazar region, lodging conditions of the Christian and Muslim populations in the countryside were miserable but, in some instances, better than those in some parts of pre-1913 Serbia. Still, an official spotted a general degeneration among the Muslims since there were more cases of those who were deaf,

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53. and Foucault, "Governmentality," 87-104, here pp. 94-95. Dalibor Velojić, "Higijenske prilike u garnizonima i zdravstveno stanje vojnika u vojsci Kraljevine SHS/Jugoslavije 1920-1934," *Vojno-istorijski glasnik* LXVI, no. 2 (2016): 66-87. and Vladimir Jovanović, "Zdravlje i nega tela," in *Privatni život kod Srba u devetnaestom veku: od kraja osamnaestog veka do početka Prvog svetskog rata*, ed. Ana Stolić and Nenad Makuljević (Beograd: Clio, 2006), 359-84. See also Dalibor Velojić, "Uloga vojske u vaspitanju omladine: Saradnja sa sportskim savezima u Nišu 1918-1941," *Vojno-istorijski glasnik* LXI, no. 1 (2011): 180-93.

<sup>166</sup> On the notion of sanitary citizenship and (un)sanitary citizens see Charles L. Briggs and Clara Mantini-Briggs, *Stories in the Time of Cholera: Racial Profiling During a Medical Nightmare* (Berkeley / Los Angeles / London: University of California Press, 2003), xvi, 10, 33, 35-36, 251, 96, 319-20. Charles L. Briggs, "Why Nation-States and Journalists Can't Teach People to be Healthy: Power and Pragmatic Miscalculation in Public Discourses on Health," *Medical Anthropology Quarterly* 17, no. 3 (2003): 287-321, here pp. 288-89. Also see Katrin Steffen, "Who Belongs to the Healthy Body of the Nation? Health and National Integration in Poland and the Polish Army after the First World War," in *From the Midwife's Bag to the Patient's File: Public Health in Southeastern Europe*, ed. Heike Karge, Friederike Kind-Kovács, and Sara Bernasconi (New York: Central European University Press, 2018), 119-44, here pp. 28-33. Duraković, *Serbien und das Modernisierungsproblem: Die Entwicklung der Gesundheitspolitik und sozialen Kontrolle bis zum Ersten Weltkrieg*, 43-44. and Brigitte Fuchs, "Orientalizing Disease: Austro-Hungarian Policies of "Race", Gender, and Hygiene in Bosnia and Herzegovina," in *Health, Hygiene and Eugenics in Southeastern Europe to 1945*, ed. Christian Promitzer, Sevasti Trubeta, and Marius Turda (New York: Central European University Press, 2011), 87-125, here pp. 58, 84.

<sup>167</sup> IA/Užice, AMB 1914, #199, 21.02.1914, Nova Varoš, Milan Borisavljević to Aleksa and Mihailo Borisavljević.

<sup>168</sup> S. J. Dž. jeromonah, „Naši dopisi“, *Carigradski glasnik*, god. VII, 04.01.1901, br. 2; Serafim Džarić, „Kako živi naš seljak“, *Carigradski glasnik*, god. XIII, 12.01.1907, br. 2; DACG/Cetinje, MUD-UO, 1913/F135, #1535(1), 1298, 01.05.1913, Pljevlje, Šijak to the MoI; Vladimir Jovanović, "Alkohol: zadovoljstvo, navika ili porok," in *Privatni život kod Srba u devetnaestom veku: od osamnaestog veka do početka Prvog svetskog rata*, ed. Ana Stolić and Nenad Makuljević (Beograd: Clio, 2006), 567-90. and Duraković, *Serbien und das Modernisierungsproblem: Die Entwicklung der Gesundheitspolitik und sozialen Kontrolle bis zum Ersten Weltkrieg*, 48, 297-300.

<sup>169</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MUD-UO, 1915/F166, #3081, br. 6776, 23.06.1915, Cetinje, MoI to the Berane District Chief.

mute or unintelligent, or who suffered from goiter or syphilis, for which reason their Christian neighbors were more cultivated.<sup>170</sup> Accordingly, some Serbian officers noticed that some Albanian-speaking soldiers of Muslim creed were very unclean.<sup>171</sup> These evaluations were unsurprising since by 1914, the ruling elites of these countries fell under the influence of Social Darwinism, eugenics, and racial stereotypes, as in other worldwide settings. Hence, ascribing particular mental characteristics and diseases to the *Other* became commonplace, and the same labels were used for the pre- and post-1913 subjects.<sup>172</sup>

Introducing religion classes and allowing military chaplains to act alongside was crucial for maintaining the officers' narrative. Getting the rank and file familiar with the basics of faith practices was seen as a strategy that would cement the soldiers' ascribed duties.<sup>173</sup> Military service thus offered an opportunity for the joint action of different social disciplines since both Serbian and Ottoman officers, for instance, evaluated the conscripts' notion of faith and religion as being low. While some Serbian soldiers of Orthodox Christian creed did not know how to make the sign of the cross, their Turkish-speaking Muslim peers did not practice normative Islam but mixed it with many beliefs which were deemed unorthodox and did even know the name of the Prophet.<sup>174</sup> Local tribesmen from the region, regardless of their confessional belonging, were no different. They believed in supernatural beings and binding spells, which a Montenegrin teacher labeled as one of their biggest flaws. One was considered to be a hero if he was brave enough to travel freely at night, and an even greater one if he entered a church at night because the church was full of monsters. In the Vasojevići, the practices and frequency of rites or regular prayers were unknown.<sup>175</sup>

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<sup>170</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MUD-P 1913, F22/R1, #965, 21.12.1912, Novi Pazar, District Chief to the Police Inspectorate and *ibid.*, MUD-P 1913, F15/R41, #2041, 18.05.1913, Novi Pazar, District Chief to the Police Department at the Supreme Command.

<sup>171</sup> VA/Belgrade, P3, K81, F4, 8/91, 20.05.1915, #3540, Topčidersko brdo, KKO to the KOB.

<sup>172</sup> Jovičević, *Domaće negovanje i vaspitanje djece u Crnoj Gori*, 21, 39, 41, 47. Bojović, *Vaspitavanje vojnika*, 3-9. Mike Hawkins, "Social Darwinism and Race," in *A Companion to Nineteenth-Century Europe 1789-1914*, ed. Stefan Berger (Malden, Oxford, Carlton: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), 224-35. Christian Promitzer, "Typhus, Turks, and Roma: Hygiene and Ethnic Difference in Bulgaria, 1912-1944," in *Health, Hygiene and Eugenics in Southeastern Europe to 1945*, ed. Christian Promitzer, Sevasti Trubeta, and Marius Turda (New York: 2011), 87-125, here pp. 88-89. Duraković, *Serbien und das Modernisierungsproblem: Die Entwicklung der Gesundheitspolitik und sozialen Kontrolle bis zum Ersten Weltkrieg*, 7-10, 40, 42-46, 48, 51, 112, 19, 54-56, 211, 13, 15. and Mustafa Aksakal, *Harb-i Umumi Eşiğinde: Osmanlı Devleti Son Savaşına Nasıl Girdi* (İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2010), 33.

<sup>173</sup> Jokić, *Vojnički bukvar*, 99-104. Bojović, *Vaspitavanje vojnika*, 53. „Nastavni plan za pešadiju“, *SVL*, god. 24, 08.04.1904, br. 12, 259-267, here pp. 260; „Nastavni plan za pešadiju“, *SVL*, god. 30, 18.04.1910, br. 14, 347-360, here pp. 356; VA/Belgrade, P3, K81, F4, 8/21, #2924, 25.11.1914, Skoplje, KTNO to the Supreme Command; „Plan i program nastave u pešadiji“, *SVL KSHS*, god. 40, 13.03.1921, br. 9, 526-580, here pp. 559 and Beşikçi, "Askeri Modernleşme, Askeri Disiplin ve Din: Düzenli Kitle Orduları Çağında Osmanlı Ordusu'nda Tabur İmamları," 4, 6, 7-9, 12-13, 19-26.

<sup>174</sup> VA/Belgrade, P14, K11, F1, 41/1, *Godišnji izveštaj o poslovanju Đeneralštabnog odeljenja Komande Timočke divizijske oblasti u 1899. godini*, 8-9 and Yanıkdağ, "Educating the Peasants: The Ottoman Army and Enlisted Men in Uniforms," 95-96.

<sup>175</sup> Lalević and Protić, "Vasojevići u crnogorskoj granici," 563. Vešović, *Pleme Vasojevići u vezi sa istorijom Crne Gore i plemenskim životom susjednih Brda*, 450. Cemović, *Vasojevići: Istorijska istraživanja*, 47-49. Jovičević, *Domaće negovanje i vaspitanje djece u Crnoj Gori*, 74-75. and Mihačević, *Durch Albanien: Reise-Eindrücke*, 32-33.

But, governmental and ecclesiastical powers had to fight with the mystical world everywhere and not only in this context.<sup>176</sup> Thus, both education and prayers became part of the military timetables that enforced “true” confessional practices, whereby military and religious disciplines were entangled. While the Ottoman time schedule repeatedly emphasized that all five prayers were to be performed on a daily basis (recall Avro’s narrative of having trained until *akşam*), in the Serbian army, a soldier was supposed to cross himself every time before and after eating, in the morning, and at bedtime. Every Sunday, or on holidays, a number of soldiers had to visit the church, whereas their Muslims peers could perform all five prayers too.<sup>177</sup> Similar to the British colonial army in India, by which certain attitudes and forms of religiosity had spread and at the same time, were confined, which Nile Green refers to as a “barracks Islam,” so the Ottoman and Serbian armies hence did the same.<sup>178</sup> However, in the latter two settings, the sacralization and/or nationalization of religion went hand in hand.

Religious conversion was not allowed even if a soldier of Muslim creed asked to convert, as happened in mid-1915 when a Slavic-speaking Muslim recruit from Seniče posed this question in front of the military chaplain and his peers. His superior scolded him in the presence of the entire battalion, exclaiming that they did not come here to change their confession but to serve the King and the homeland, and to liberate the brethren in BH. This had a strong influence on all of them and some of the soldiers even wanted to kiss the officer’s hand.<sup>179</sup> This was necessary not only due to the enemy agents’ rumors (e.g. religious practices were not respected) but was also aimed at encouraging the soldiers to be more tolerant of their Muslim/Christian brothers. If not, some escaped even before being drafted, meaning, respecting confessional rules was important to them as they underlined afterwards.<sup>180</sup> In contrast, others complained that their rights were not being valued, as the case of Greek- and Slavic-speaking Ottoman soldiers of Orthodox creed shows who, while serving in Gusine, had to endure torments (*muke*). The

<sup>176</sup> Hugh McLeod, *Religion and the People of Western Europe, 1789-1989* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 55-57, 67.

<sup>177</sup> *Pravila službe I*, 130-32. Sretenović, *Potrebna znanja za vojnika stalnog kadra, vojne obveznike od njihove 18.-50. godine, za opštinske vlasti i za građane u opšte u njihovim odnosima prema vojnoj službi i prema vojnim vlastima s bukvarom za samouke*, 17-18. Jokić, *Vojnički bukvar*, 100. Bojović, *Vaspitavanje vojnika*, 50. BIIUCG/Podgorica, K85, unnumbered, 04.10.1912, Đurđević Stupovi, An Order of Janko Vukotić to the Commanders of Brigades; DAS/Belgrade, MPs-C, FI, R71, without number, Niš, 21.01.1915, Mufti of Niš to the Ministar; VA/Belgrade, P4/3, K57, F8, 14/125, #1425, 08.12.1919, Kosovska Mitrovica, XXIVPP to the KIDO; Wishnitzer, *Reading Clocks, Alla Turca: Time and Society in the Late Ottoman Empire*, 74-78, 89. and Beşikçi, "Askeri Modernleşme, Askeri Disiplin ve Din: Düzenli Kitle Orduları Çağında Osmanlı Ordusu'nda Tabur İmamları," 14-18.

<sup>178</sup> Nile Green, *Islam and the Army in Colonial India: Sepoy Religion in the Service of Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009). See also Nathalie Clayer and Xavier Bougarel, *Europe's Balkan Muslims: A New History* (London: Hurst & Company, 2017), 31-40, 74, 76-77.

<sup>179</sup> VA/Belgrade, P3, K72, F5, 22/6, 15.07.1915, Commander of the 4<sup>th</sup> Battalion to the Commander of the 10<sup>th</sup> Infantry Regiment.

<sup>180</sup> BOA/Istanbul, DH.EUM.KADL, 4/24, 10 M 1329 [11/01/1911]; *ibid*, 8/9, 17 S 1329 [17/02/1911]; DAS/Belgrade, MID-PO 1915, R466, F19, D2, XIX/167, 05.05.1915, Bašabos, various individuals from Darlobosa to Serbian authorities; VA/Belgrade, P7, K61, F4, 24/1, #5562, 22.04.1915, Skoplje, KTNO to the MoW; *ibid*, K5, F15, 65/1, #3820, 13.07.1915, Užice, KUV to the KUB and Gülsoy, *Osmanlı Gayrimüslimlerinin Askerlik Serüveni*, 142-43, 57-58.

military parents of Muslim creed did not allow them to fast and forced them to wash themselves every day, which they translated as disrespect of their confessional values.<sup>181</sup>

In this regard, they resembled to their Albanian-speaking Serbian peers who did not believe that a Serbian mufti freed them from Ramadan fast since their military parents insisted that drilling came first, which produced a mutual distrust in the unit.<sup>182</sup> It is hard to tell whether officers forbid the norms simply because the latter belonged to the *Other*.<sup>183</sup> Raising this question is pivotal because the same taught their children to pray to God in the most difficult and dangerous moments, viz. during battle, in order to regain their strength and courage so that they could move forward. As later scholarship revealed, this functioned as one of the many employed tactics both in the Balkan Wars and WWI that helped soldiers cope with the ever-increasing war pressure.<sup>184</sup> Again, the role of military chaplains should not be forgotten because their unemployment could exacerbate the situation in a unit. Still, regardless of which creed they belonged to, “their” character traits were labeled in the post-1918 context almost always in the superlative, being reliable, honest, influential, and some acted as great patriots.<sup>185</sup>



Photo 9: Serbian Soldiers Amidst the First Balkan War Reading a Newspaper. Coupled with the introduction of mandatory primary education (1882), the Serbian army participated in spreading literacy. But the ruling elites considered the result insufficient. The number of the illiterate in the post-Ottoman territories after WWI was over 80%. Still, learning how to write, read, and speak was performed mainly within a primary group, which in turn hardened its cohesion and was knowingly wielded in the case of the Slavic-speaking Muslims. Here, one sees how all four soldiers are keen to read the newspapers while taking a pause in front of the unknown building. Note their footwear and compare them with the rifles. Investing enormous sums of money into its

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<sup>181</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MID-PPO 1912, R119, 01.03.1912, Gusinje, A group of fifty eight soldiers to a Prizren-based Orthodox Bishop.

<sup>182</sup> VA/Belgrade, P3, K72, F5, 22/6, #23, 05.06.1915, Kumodraž, Commander of the 4<sup>th</sup> Battalion to the Commander of the 19<sup>th</sup> Infantry Regiment; *ibid*, P7, K7, F4, 12/1, #3713, 28.06.1915, Užice, KUV to the KUB and *ibid*, P3, K72, F5, 22/6, 15.07.1915, Commander of the 4<sup>th</sup> Battalion to the Commander of the 10<sup>th</sup> Infantry Regiment.

<sup>183</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MPs-C, F5, R135, #2106, 21.09.1915, Niš, MEaCA to the MoW.

<sup>184</sup> *Pravila službe I*, 11-12. Jokić, *Vojnički bukvar*, 100. Bojović, *Vaspitavanje vojnika*, 61, 63-64, 154-57. Watson, *Enduring the Great War: Combat, Morale and Collapse in the German and British Armies, 1914-1918*, chapter 3. and Spyridon Tsoutsoumpis, "Morale, Ideology and the Barbarization of Warfare among Greek Soldiers," in *The Wars of Yesterday: The Balkan Wars and the Emergence of Modern Military Conflict, 1912-13*, ed. Katrin Boeckh and Sabine Rutar (New York; Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2018), 207-41.

<sup>185</sup> AJ/Belgrade, 69-159-244, Ocena za 1921. godinu, Hafis Mehmed Mustafe Ahmetamović; *ibid*, Ocena za 1922. godinu, Joakim V. Bjedov; *ibid*, Ocena za 1922. godinu, Alojzi F. Dejak and Tasić, *Rat posle rata: Vojska Kraljevine Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca na Kosovu i Metohiji i u Makedoniji 1918-1920*, 417-18.

military capabilities caused the lack of necessary funds for the infrastructure and other governmental services in pre-1913 Serbia.<sup>186</sup>

If there is something, however, which defined the Serbian and SCS armies, it was the literacy classes. Not only did the soldiers learn how to read, write and count, which was a must, but they also expanded their agricultural knowledges, mainly in the post-1918 period, which was also introduced in the context of the Habsburg paramilitaries, as shown previously. The teachers of illiterate recruits were their NCOs, junior officers, military chaplains, civil teachers, and their literate peers.<sup>187</sup> Thus, the barracks were also viewed as a school for educating illiterate soldiers, similar to those in the Italian or French settings. Besides the practical technical side, a confessional and national indoctrination ran alongside it as well, whose outcome was hard to gauge. The soldiers learned about the state administration, hygiene, national history (including the biographies of “our famous heroes”), how to sing or read in a group, and recite the masculine military values. This in turn was supposed to ennoble their heart and soul, and whose effects should echo in the post-military time. The hidden transcript was also to overpower the widespread superstitions of the rank and file.<sup>188</sup>

That is why a clergyman in the pre-1913 Serbian setting, while addressing those who were not yet drafted, claimed that many useful things could be learned under the banner; not only was a literate man worth twice as much, but he also turned out to be the best man. A captured Ottoman officer was jealous of a Serbian pack-train carrier who while directing a military coach with one hand, passionately read a newspaper “because to us this was surprising.”<sup>189</sup>

The Serbian officers adhered to this policy even during WWI in reference to the Slavic-speaking Muslim soldiers and their NCOs who knew only how to write and read in Ottoman Turkish. In other units, however, soldiers who did not know any language other than Albanian

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<sup>186</sup> ÖStA/HHStA/Vienna, PA I 824-1-37, <https://www.archivinformationssystem.at/detail.aspx?ID=4001829> accessed 16.12.2020; Milićević, "Regrutni sastav vojske Srbije 1883-1912. Sistem poziva i neki njegovi društveni aspekti," 9-25, here pp. 18-19, 22. Dalibor Velojić, "Analfabetски kursevi u vojsci Kraljevine SHS/Jugoslavije 1918-1941," *Istorija 20. veka* 37, no. 1 (2019): 39-40. and Grandits, Judson, and Rolf, "Towards a New Quality of Statehood: Bureaucratization and State-Building in Empires and Nation States before 1914," 41-116, here pp. 99-00.

<sup>187</sup> Jokić, *Vojnički bukvar*, 67-68. Sretenović, *Potrebna znanja za vojnika stalnog kadra, vojne obveznike od njihove 18.-50. godine, za opštinske vlasti i za građane u opšte u njihovim odnosima prema vojnoj službi i prema vojnim vlastima s bukvarom za samouke*, 6-7, 66. „Nastavni plan za pešadiju od 16.04.1910“, *SVL*, god. 30, 18.04.1910, br. 14, 347-360, here pp. 356; „Nastavni plan za mitraljeska odeljenja za 1910. godinu“, *SVL*, god. 30, 08.05.1910, br. 17, 395-400, here pp. 398; VA/Belgrade, P4/3, K62, F10, 13/8, #165, 15.07.1920, Beograd, Infantry Inspection to the KIIIAO; „Plan i program nastave u pešadiji“, *SVL KSHS*, god. 40, 13.03.1921, br. 9, 526-580, here pp. 551-552, 559; Jokić, *Vojnički bukvar i osnovne dužnosti vojnika*, 55, 73, 103-05. and Bulovan, "O potrebi narodnog vaspitanja i kakvu važnost imaju kasarne u tome," 98-100.

<sup>188</sup> St. Stokić, "Pogled na vaspitavanje vojnika," *Ratnik: List za vojne nauke, novosti i književnost* I, no. 1 (1879): 98-107, here pp. 03-04. „Izveštaji, referati i projekti“, *SVL*, god. I, 18.11.1881, br. 48, 1123-1126, here pp. 1123-1124; Mišković, "O razvijanju vrlina u našem narodu," 113-22, here pp. 16-17, 21. Jokić, *Vojnički bukvar*, 43. Sretenović, *Potrebna znanja za vojnika stalnog kadra, vojne obveznike od njihove 18.-50. godine, za opštinske vlasti i za građane u opšte u njihovim odnosima prema vojnoj službi i prema vojnim vlastima s bukvarom za samouke*, 20. Jokić, *Vojnički bukvar i osnovne dužnosti vojnika*, 33-49; Velojić, "Analfabetски kursevi u vojsci Kraljevine SHS/Jugoslavije 1918-1941," 37-52, here pp. 41-42. Rovinello, "Italya'da Askere Çağırma ve Çağırılanlar (1861-1914)," 459-96, here pp. 88, 91-92. and Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France, 1870-1914*, 298-300.

<sup>189</sup> Pejović, *Vojnička čitančica za svakog vojnika*, 10, 51, 56, 106, 34, 39. and Bahri Yüzbaşı Selanikli, *Balkan Savaşı'nda Sırp Ordusu ve Batı Ordusu* (İstanbul: Alfa, 2012), 15-16 (citation).

were forbidden from speaking it. For the Muslims from the borderlands, officers provided materials which helped them master the official language by writing letters to their birth families too, together with the influence of their superiors they hoped to foster this bonding. While marching to the beat of Serbian military songs, they would first begin to sing their local folk songs and gradually turned to the former, which some post-1908 Ottoman officers complained were lacking.<sup>190</sup> Singing and moving together at the same time was supposed to establish muscular and emotional building through repetition, through which new meanings were attached.<sup>191</sup>

This was a tested strategy since the officers noticed how singing was practical in calming fears and other unwelcome emotions among the recruits, thus combining it with marching. Some purposefully chose those who could sing folk or heroic tunes whereby mixing the newer soldiers with the older ones followed. Songs that ignited military spirit and camaraderie were on the repertoire. The same applied for organizing games during free time in which soldiers raced, jumped, wrestled with one another, threw stones, or learned in unison through games which identified sides of the world or geo-physical traits of particular areas.<sup>192</sup> Games therefore represented an indirect means of education by which officers disciplined their children in an informal way, fostering roles, coordination of movements, and cooperation.<sup>193</sup> If one also considers here the peasant consent, various state coercive strategies (e.g. shooting at soldiers if they try to flee), and the actual deeds, it is not hard to conceptualize how these armies kept their ranks together despite of various war challenges.<sup>194</sup> The only thing which lacked here was providing meaning to someone's death but this was also provided in parallel.

#### 4.1.4. Heroes of the Imagined Communities, Soldiers, and the Military

Heroes are understood here as historical or fictional characters that are presented as having or are ascribed certain heroic qualities. The process of ascribing virtues engenders the interactions between them and their followers whereby the imitation and appropriation of heroic actions and behaviors follows. Heroic figures, heroization and heroism thus have a multiple

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<sup>190</sup> VA/Belgrade, P3, K72, F5, 22/6, 15.07.1915, Commander of the 4<sup>th</sup> Battalion to the Commander of the 10<sup>th</sup> Infantry Regiment; DAS/Belgrade, MPs-C, F5, R135, #2106, 21.09.1915, Niš, MEaCA to the MoW and S. Kenan, *Zamanımızda Zabı ve Terbiye-i Askeriye* (İstanbul: Ruşen Matbaası, 1325 [1909]), 16.

<sup>191</sup> McNeill, *Keeping Together in Time: Dance and Drill in Human History*, 2-10, 33, 37-38, 52, 65-66.

<sup>192</sup> B., "Nekoliko napomena o izvođenju regrutske škole u pešadiji," 455-56, 87-90. and Bojović, *Vaspitavanje vojnika*, 52.

<sup>193</sup> Geißler, *Erziehungsmittel*, 182, 86-87, 81, 208-10, 87. and Berger and Luckmann, *Die gesellschaftliche Konstruktion der Wirklichkeit: Eine Theorie der Wissenssoziologie*, 85.

<sup>194</sup> John Horne and Len Smith, "The Soldiers' War: Coercion or Consent?," in *The Legacy of the Great War*, ed. Jay Winter (Columbia/London/Kansas City: University of Missouri Press - The National World War I Museum, 2009), 91-122. *Pravila službe I*, 21-22. and Sveta Đukić, *Memoari*, 1: Balkanski ratovi, 93.



function in which appellative, iconic, and imaginative potentials exist.<sup>195</sup> The focus here is placed namely on those actors that defined, transmitted, and negotiated heroic norms and values in the military. Upholding discipline, furthering nation-building projects, and preparing the soldiers to lay down their lives on the altar of the homeland was accomplished by venerating these figures. Soldiers appear here as the target figure; yet, connecting to the ideal figure is always selective and does not indicate the totality of his/her features. Not only did this process enable legitimization of the ruling elites, subsequent actions in war, or the heroization among the recruits but also the presence of the heroic model received a special urgency, thus becoming alive in the present.<sup>196</sup> The policy of wielding the hero as a symbolic political instrument and its nationalization started in Revolutionary France and did not bypass the militaries under investigation.<sup>197</sup> Where did this discourse come from? What was the function of these invented heroes? Under what circumstances were they used? And what was their significance?

The discourse about the heroic in Serbia and Montenegro stemmed from several areas: the “golden age” of the Serbian state under the medieval Nemanjić Dynasty, the myth and epic songs that revolved around the Battle of Kosovo (1389), the epic songs about the Serbian Uprisings, and oral folklore about tribal heroes.<sup>198</sup> Through the process of framing and coding, folklore has been instrumentalized as a legitimizing claim. Labeling these along the ethno-national axis enabled the mapping of (future) political borders of the imagined communities. Certainly, folklore did not constitute a foundation on which the nascent nation-states rested, but rather the construction of the national erected a foundation on which studies and appropriation

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<sup>195</sup> Ralf von den Hoff et al., "Helden - Heroisierungen - Heroismen: Transformationen und Konjunkturen von der Antike bis zur Moderne. Konzeptionelle Ausgangspunkte des Sonderforschungsbereichs 948," *helden. heroes. héroes. E-Journal zu Kulturen des Heroischen* 1, no. 1 (2013): 7-14, here pp. 7-11.

<sup>196</sup> Ronald G. Asch, "The Hero in the Early Modern Period and Beyond: An Elusive Cultural Construct and an Indispensable Focus of Social Identity?," *helden. heroes. héroes. E-Journal zu Kulturen des Heroischen* 1, Special Issue (2014): 5-14, here pp. 5-7, 11. and Ralf von den Hoff et al., "Imitation heroica: Zur Reichweite eines kulturellen Phänomens," in *Imitation heroica: Heldenangleichung im Bildnis*, ed. Ralf von den Hoff et al. (Würzburg: Ergon Verlag, 2015), 9-33, here pp. 9, 13-15, 29, 31-32.

<sup>197</sup> Michel Vovelle, "Heldenverehrung und Revolution: Die Produktion von Helden zur Zeit der französischen Revolution," in *Kultur zwischen Bürgertum und Volk*, ed. Jutta Held (Berlin: Argument Verlag, 1983), 98-116. Martin Papenheim, "Die Helden Roms und die Helden Frankreichs: Die Vaterlandsliebe in Antike und Französischer Revolution," *Francia: Forschungen zur westeuropäischen Geschichte* 21, no. 2 (1994): 241-44. For the German context see: Ute Frevert, "Herren und Helden: Vom Aufstieg und Niedergang des Heroismus im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert," in *Erfindung des Menschen: Schöpfungsträume und Körperbilder 1500-2000*, ed. Richard van Dülmen (Wien: Böhlau, 1998), 323-44. and René Schilling, "Kriegshelden": *Deutungsmuster heroischer Männlichkeit in Deutschland, 1813-1945* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2002). See also Christina Schröner, "Helden im Dienst der Revolution. Symbolpolitische Strategien zur Sakralisierung des Nouveau Régime (1789-1799)," in *Sakralität und Heldentum*, ed. Felix Heinzer, Jörn Leonhard, and Ralf von den Hoff (Würzburg: Ergon Verlag, 2017), 187-213. and Benjamin Marquart, "Held und Nation: Französische Napoleon-Biografien zwischen Restauration und zweitem Kaiserreich," *helden. heroes. héroes. E-Journal zu Kulturen des Heroischen* 1, no. 1 (2013): 15-26.

<sup>198</sup> On the battle and myth of Kosovo see Dušan Lj. Kašić, "Koreni kosovke misli," in *Sveti Knez Lazar: Spomenica o šestoj stogodišnjici Kosovskog boja, 1389-1989*, ed. Episkop raško-prizrenski Pavle et al. (Beograd: Sveti arhijerejski sinod SPC, 1989), 11-24. Sima M. Ćirković, "Kosovska bitka kao istorijski problem," in *Kosovska bitka u historiografiji (okrugli sto)*, ed. Sima Ćirković (Beograd: Istorijski institut, 1990), 109-18. Olga Zirojević, "Kosovo in the Collective Memory," in *The Road to War in Serbia: Trauma and Catharsis*, ed. Nebojša Popov (New York: Central European University Press, 2000), 189-211. Ivan Čolović, *Smrt na Kosovu polju: Istorija kosovskoj mita* (Beograd: Biblioteka XX veka, 2017). On the national coding of the epic see Aleksandar Pavlović, *Epika i politika: Nacionalizovanje crnogorske usmene tradicije u prvoj polovini XIX veka* (Beograd: Biblioteka XX vek, 2014).

of oral traditions leaned. This was evident in other areas worldwide too.<sup>199</sup> Closely linked to this process was the so-called medievalism which provided “rich, protean sources of images, tropes and narrative motifs” and hence, offered a framework for constructing continuity between the immediate and distant past. By viewing the present through a prism of the medieval past, which denoted the continuing process of creating the Middle Ages, a link between the past, present and future was established.<sup>200</sup>

This primordial character is palpable in the myth of Kosovo. It included historical and/or fictional characters and a whole cycle of epic poems that were created, recorded, and reformulated. They included the argument that the Serbian people were enslaved ever since the battle was lost to the Ottomans. Three characters dominate the narrative: Prince Lazar, who died amid the battle, thus passing into eternal life by sacrificing his life for the imagined community; Miloš Obilić, a fictional figure and a knight, who killed the Ottoman Sultan, thereby exhibiting his courage and loyalty to his prince and nation; and Vuk Branković, a historical character, who allegedly betrayed the prince, his father-in-law, and left the battle, thus deserting the army. Legends and poems that referred to the myth and to other subsequent battles contained messages of moral principles, loyalties, bravery, infidelity, camaraderie, and of an unending fight between the imagined Christian/Serb and Muslim/Turk. The Montenegrin ruling elites used these, for instance, while enforcing peace between various tribes.<sup>201</sup> By surrendering life as a Christian martyr one became a national martyr, meaning that here the boundaries between state-fostered and local cultures were blurred.<sup>202</sup> Its canon was thus weaponized against the Ottoman Empire, within which a new constructed site of memory was

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<sup>199</sup> Timothy Baycroft, "Introduction," in *Folklore and Nationalism in Europe during the Long Nineteenth Century*, ed. Timothy Baycroft and David Hopkin (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 1-10, here pp. 1-4, 6-8. Joep Leerssen, "Oral Epic: The Nation Finds a Voice," in *Folklore and Nationalism in Europe during the Long Nineteenth Century*, ed. Timothy Baycroft and David Hopkin (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 11-26, here pp. 11, 17-18. Pertti Anttonen, "Oral Traditions and the Making of the Finnish Nation," in *Folklore and Nationalism in Europe during the Long Nineteenth Century*, ed. Timothy Baycroft and David Hopkin (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 325-50, here pp. 50. Atanasovski, *Mapiranje Stare Srbije: Stopama putopisaca, tragom narodne pesme*. and Holm Sundhaussen, *Geschichte Serbiens: 19.-21. Jahrhundert* (Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 2007), 81-97. For instance, see Richard M. Dorson, *The British Folklorist: A History* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1968). William A. Wilson, *Folklore and Nationalism in Modern Finland* (Bloomington and London: Indiana University Press, 1978). Sharon Macdonald, *Ours once more: Folklore, Ideology, and the Making of Modern Greece* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1982). and Arzu Öztürkmen, *Türkiye'de Folklor ve Milliyetçilik* (İstanbul: İletişim, 2016).

<sup>200</sup> Stefan Goebel, *The Great War and Medieval Memory: War, Remembrance and Medievalism in Britain and Germany, 1914-1940* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 1, 3-4, 12-14, 39, 42, 55, 57, 62-63. See also Stefan Berger, "The Power of National Pasts: Writing National History in Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Europe," in *Writing the Nation: A Global Perspective*, ed. Stefan Berger (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 30-62.

<sup>201</sup> Zirojević, "Kosovo in the Collective Memory," 189-211. Čolović, *Smrt na Kosovu polju: Istorija kosovskoj mita*, 157-61. Jevto M. Milović, "O kletvi," in *Kosovski boj u istoriji, tradiciji i stvaralaštvu Crne Gore*, ed. Milosav Babović (Titograd: CANU, 1990), 65-80. and Blagota Mrkačić, "Kosovo u djelu Petra I Petrovića Njegoša," in *Kosovski boj u istoriji, tradiciji i stvaralaštvu Crne Gore*, ed. Milosav Babović (Titograd: CANU, 1990), 125-34.

<sup>202</sup> Ernst H. Kantorowicz, "Pro Patria Mori in Medieval Political Thought," *The American Historical Review* 56, no. 3 (1951): 472-92. Ljubomir Zuković, "Od narodnog do Njegoševog Miloša Obilića," in *Kosovski boj u istoriji, tradiciji i stvaralaštvu Crne Gore*, ed. Milosav Babović (Titograd: CANU, 1990), 113-23. Čolović, *Smrt na Kosovu polju: Istorija kosovskoj mita*, 41-48. Goebel, *The Great War and Medieval Memory: War, Remembrance and Medievalism in Britain and Germany, 1914-1940*, 12. and Leerssen, *National Thought in Europe: A Cultural History*, 192-93, 97.

located: the cradle of Serbhood, Kosovo, which functioned as something between the site of mourning, memory and mobilization.<sup>203</sup> Binary opposition revolved around the myth (e.g. “We/Us” vs. “They/Theirs,” the martyr/hero vs. the traitor/renegade) became a cult. It served as an inspiration for revenge and rebirth of the nation.<sup>204</sup>

After becoming a state holiday in Serbia in 1889, the governing elites organized annual services on the day of the battle (i.e. the 500<sup>th</sup> anniversary), which falls on the day of St. Vitus, therefore *Vidovdan*. The military participated not least because, on the same day, the “memorial of Serbian fighters who died for their faith and homeland” was prepared, which raised the eyebrows of the Hamidian elites.<sup>205</sup> In pre- and post-1913 Montenegro, the ecclesiastical powers also prepared a memorial service. Yet, by nurturing good relations with the Empire, the Montenegro ruling elites did not organize this so obviously in public whereby the imagined Albanian of Muslim creed began to occupy the first place in the public discourse, thus replacing the imagined Turk.<sup>206</sup> In pre-1913 Serbia, certain military buildings or various units were named after these national heroes.<sup>207</sup>

The regiments celebrated the day of their heroic death, which then became their Patron Saint Days, or participated in ceremonies of erecting monuments to the latter, which was very similar to German context.<sup>208</sup> After 1918, *Vidovdan* was also a state holiday; still, it had to exemplify that one single nation, with three tribes, sees common ancestors in Kosovo’s heroes, what was

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<sup>203</sup> Cornelia Siebeck, Erinnerungsorte: Lieux de Mémoire 2017. *Docupedia-Zeitgeschichte*, 02.03.2017, <http://dx.doi.org/10.14765/zzf.dok.2.784.v1> accessed 22.09.2020; Pierre Nora, "Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire," *Representations* 26, Special Issue: Memory and Counter-Memory (1989): 7-24. Sundhaussen, *Geschichte Serbiens: 19.-21. Jahrhundert*, 97-115. Jay Winter, *Sites of Memory. Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014). and Goebel, *The Great War and Medieval Memory: War, Remembrance and Medievalism in Britain and Germany, 1914-1940*, 3-5.

<sup>204</sup> Svetozar Koljević, *The Epic in the Making* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980). Thomas A. Emmert, *Serbian Golgotha: Kosovo, 1389*, East European Monographs, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990), 1, 79-142. Alan Dundes, "Binary Opposition in Myth: The Propp/Lévi-Strauss Debate in Retrospect," *Western Folklore* 56, no. 1 (1997): 38-50. and Stephen Wilson, "Introduction," in *Saints and their Cults: Studies in Religious Sociology, Folklore and History*, ed. Stephen Wilson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 1-53.

<sup>205</sup> Ljubomir Durković-Jakšić, "Ustanovljenje u vaskrsloj Srbiji 1889. Vidovdana za državni praznik," in *Sveti Knez Lazar: Spomenica o šestoj stogodišnjici Kosovskog boja, 1389-1989*, ed. Episkop raško-prizrenski Pavle et al. (Beograd: Sveti arhijerejski sinod SPC, 1989), 365-88.; "Naredba od 15.06.1889", *SVL*, god. IX, 15.07.1889, br. 28, 833-834; "Red svetkovine kosovske petstogodišnjice", *SVL*, god. IX, 12.05.1889, br. 19 i 20, 581-592 and Mucize Ünlü, "Sirpların I. Kosova Zaferi'nin 500. Yıldönümünü Kutlama Girişimleri," *Osmanlı Tarihi Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi Dergisi* 28, no. Güz (2010): 107-18.

<sup>206</sup> Jovan R. Bojović, "O Vidovdanu u Crnoj Gori," in *Sveti Knez Lazar: Spomenica o šestoj stogodišnjici Kosovskog boja, 1389-1989*, ed. Episkop raško-prizrenski Pavle et al. (Beograd: 1989), 393-406, here pp. 397-400. *Stenografske bilješke o radu crnogorske Narodne Skupštine sazvane u redovan saziv 15. januara 1914. god. (I i II prethodni sastanak i I-XXX redov. sjednica)*, II prethodni sastanak, 27.01.1914, 34. and Andrijašević, *Crnogorska ideologija, 1860-1918: Državna ideologija Crne Gore u vrijeme vladavine Nikole I Petrovića Njegoša*, 512-14, 98, 694-700.

<sup>207</sup> „Rešenje #5333 and 5334 od 15/16.06.1889”, *SVL*, god. 9, 15.07.1889, br. 28, 835-836 and „Govor...“, *SVL*, god. 24, 29.06.1904, br. 21, 459-462; "Naredba od 06.04.1888," in *Zbornik zakona i uredaba u Kraljevini Srbiji izdatih od 01.01.1887. do 01.06.1888.* (Beograd: Kraljevska-srpska Državna štamparija, 1888), 178-82. and Milić J. Milićević, "Imena srpskih pukova" *Glasnik Istorijskog arhiva Valjevo* 33 (1999): 115-21.

<sup>208</sup> "Naredba #2629 od 03.04.1888", *SVL*, god. 8, 13.04.1888, br. 15 i 16, 441-444; „Izveštaji i referati“, *SVL*, god. 12, 08.08.1892, br. 31 i 32, 927-930; „Na znanje“, *SVL*, god. 19, 08.05.1899, br. 18, 529-530; „Saopštenje od 30.10.1903“, *SVL*, god. 23, 30.10.1903, br. 43 i 44, 809-814; „Na znanje“, *SVL KSHS*, god. 39, 15.06.1920, br. 24, 961-962; Hagemann, "German Heroes: the Cult of the Death for the Fatherland in nineteenth-century Germany," 116-34. and Moose, *Fallen Soldiers: Reshaping the Memory of the World Wars*, chapter 3.

a centuries-old goal.<sup>209</sup> Thus, performing, staging and re-experiencing the past prior to and after the wars was ensured.<sup>210</sup> The existence of this secondary and heroic crowd facilitated control over the pre-1913 subjects. They might not have been able to see the second crowds but through the brokers and the ruling elites, they could hear and admire their positive values. These were always bigger and stronger precisely due to its merits, which depending on the context, were subject to change.<sup>211</sup>

At the outset of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, a soldier in the Serbian army was told that if he were to die, not only would the church pray for their soul, but his family and the whole imagined community would also praise his heroic death and merits, as was the case with other heroes. The king would also take care of the soldier's family, which would have God's blessing and hence, their life and properties would be prosperous. A similar narrative was given for those who did not betray their military oath insofar as they would be respected and rewarded here on earth. Thus, by sacrificing their lives, the rank and file became members of the heroic and undying circle.<sup>212</sup> The deaths of these heroes offered the soldier and his family a chance to accommodate the human cost of the war in a vision of historical continuity, similar to the British or German contexts amid and after WWI.<sup>213</sup> In this regard, the combination of the locals and state-driven cultural norms is seen once because, for instance, in the tribal/kinship fabrics, a comprehensive and detailed oral tradition preserved the memory of the local heroes. It functioned as a memory bank, whose canon the state authorities sought to control. This tradition served to enculturate young males into their roles as warriors.<sup>214</sup> It is doubtful whether this narrative motivated the soldiers during war because, for instance, certain German soldiers made

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<sup>209</sup> Čolović, *Smrt na Kosovu polju: Istorija kosovskoj mita*, 297-99, 302, 07-12, 14-16. and „Propisi, naređenja i objašnjenja od 16.03.1920“, *SVL*, god. 39, 26.03.1920, br. 12, 369-374, here pp. 369-370. See also Andrew Baruch Wachtel, *Making a Nation, Breaking a Nation: Literature and Cultural Politics in Yugoslavia* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998). and Pieter Troch, *Nationalism and Yugoslavia: Education, Yugoslavism and the Balkans before World War II* (London - New York: I. B. Tauris, 2015).

<sup>210</sup> Maria Bucur and Nancy M. Wingfield, "Introduction," in *Staging the Past: The Politics of Commemoration in Habsburg Central Europe, 1848 to the Present*, ed. Maria Bucur and Nancy M. Wingfield (West Lafayette, Indiana: Purdue University Press, 2001), 1-9. Jay Winter, "Introduction. The Performance of the Past: Memory, History, Identity," in *Performing the Past: Memory, History, and Identity in Modern Europe*, ed. Karin Tilmans, Frank van Vree, and Jay Winter (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2010), 11-23. and Peter Burke, "Co-memorations. Performing the Past," in *Performing the Past: Memory, History, and Identity in Modern Europe*, ed. Karin Tilmans, Frank van Vree, and Jay Winter (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2010), 105-18. On the politics of commemoration in the Serbian and SCS context see Melissa Bokovoy, "Scattered Graves, Ordered Cemeteries: Commemorating Serbia's Wars of National Liberation, 1912-1918," in *Staging the Past: The Politics of Commemoration in Habsburg Central Europe, 1848 to the Present*, ed. Maria Bucur and Nancy M. Wingfield (West Lafayette, Indiana: Purdue University Press, 2001), 236-54. and Danilo Šarenac, "Remembering Victory: The Case of Serbia/Yugoslavia," in *The First World War and the Balkans: Historic Event, Experience, Memory*, ed. Wolfgang Höpken and Wim van Meurs (Berlin - Bern - Brüssel - New York - Oxford: Peter Lang, 2018), 225-45.

<sup>211</sup> Elias Canetti, *Masse und Macht* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 1985), 66-67, 71.

<sup>212</sup> Bojović, *Vaspitavanje vojnika*, 55, 61-63, 75. and *Stenografske bilješke o radu crnogorske Narodne Skupštine sazvane u redovan saziv 15. januara 1914. god. (I i II prethodni sastanak i I-XXX redov. sjednica)*, II prethodni sastanak, 27.01.1914, 34.

<sup>213</sup> Šarenac, *Top, vojnik i sećanje: Prvi svetski rat i Srbija 1914-2009*, 83. and Goebel, *The Great War and Medieval Memory: War, Remembrance and Medievalism in Britain and Germany, 1914-1940*, 42.

<sup>214</sup> Vukotić, "Nekoliko reči o Crnogorcu kao vojniku," 865-66. Boehm, *Montenegrin Social Organization and Values: Political Ethnography of a Refuge Area Tribal Adaptation*, 22, 66, 75-76, 78-79. and Boehm, *Blood Revenge: The Enactment and Management of Conflict in Montenegro and Other Tribal Societies*, 47, 79.

jokes about the concept of *Heldentod* after seeing the front. Still, some Serbian ego-documents show that some had used it.<sup>215</sup>

In Montenegro, the myth claimed that its inhabitants were the direct offspring of the Serbs who had fled from Kosovo after 1389, finding refuge in the nearly inaccusable mountains, the unconquered fortress of the imagined Serbhood and Orthodoxy. Its soldiers were identified as sons of Miloš Obilić and hence, the highest military decoration carried his name. While discussing colonization measures in post-Ottoman areas, a Montenegrin Minister used the same expressions that invoked the primordial narrative by referring to “the centuries-old silenced Serb hearths,” implying that they should be reawakened.<sup>216</sup> Thus, this myth ran to and fro differently within the Montenegrin and Serbian public discourse fields because they “did not share the idea of liberating the oppressed Serbs, nor do we now share it,” as a Montenegrin official writes.<sup>217</sup>

A piece of clothing which has been frequently mentioned throughout this study – the Montenegrin cap – allegedly symbolizes this narrative. This small and circular headgear consisted of the black part on the sides which conveyed the message of mourning for the overthrown medieval homeland, and of the red part on the top, which signified the blood shed to avoid that death. In addition to the initials of the king on the top or cross, five gold semicircle of a rising sun symbolized the five centuries since the Battle of Kosovo had occurred. After the cradle was no longer used, a child started to wear it and, thus, became part of his/her life, which soon absorbed other meanings. A Norwegian officer noticed that this cap reminded a Montenegrin sailor who lived away from his homeland every day, and his people, thereby became as important to him as a national flag or symbol.<sup>218</sup>

But this myth in the Serbian context was also introduced in elementary and high schools, where children learned about how to become honest and hardworking subjects like their national heroes. New generations were thus subject to indoctrination policies.<sup>219</sup> A Montenegrin or Serbian peasant or boy who were not of not-military age, heard about the heroes before entering into the barracks or participating in drill, as outsider accounts and ego-

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<sup>215</sup> Watson, *Enduring the Great War: Combat, Morale and Collapse in the German and British Armies, 1914-1918*, 155. and Radojević and Milenković, *Propast srpskih regruta*, 200.

<sup>216</sup> *Stenografske bilješke o radu crnogorske Narodne Skupštine sazvane u redovan saziv 15. januara 1914. god. (I i II prethodni sastanak i I-XXX redov. sjednica)*, XV redovna sjednica, 21.02.1914, 434 (citation). Čolović, *Smrt na Kosovu polju: Istorija kosovskoj mita*, 164-66. Novica Rakočević, "Kosovski kult u Crnoj Gori tokom 19. i na početku 20. vijeka," in *Sveti Knez Lazar: Spomenica o šestoj stogodišnjici Kosovskog boja, 1389-1989*, ed. Episkop raško-prizrenski Pavle et al. (Beograd: Sveti arhijerejski sinod SPC, 1989), 389-92, here pp. 89-91. See also Brunnbauer and Pichler, "Mountains as "lieux de mémoire": Highland Values and Nation-Building in the Balkans," 77-100.

<sup>217</sup> VA/Belgrade, P2, K18, F1, 8/2, #215, 24.11.1912, Rožaje, District Chief to a Serbian Commander.

<sup>218</sup> Jovičević, *Domaće negovanje i vaspitanje djece u Crnoj Gori*, 36. Cozens-Hardy, "Montenegro and Its Borderlands," 385-405, here pp. 389. Rovinski, *Crna Gora u prošlosti i sadašnjosti*, II: Etnografija, 347 and footnote #3, 48. Angell, *Herojski narod: Priče iz Crne Gore*, 13, 19, 65. and Ippen, *Novibazar und Kossovo (Das alte Rascien): Eine Studie*, 16-17.

<sup>219</sup> Ilić, *Udžbenici i nacionalno vaspitanje u Srbiji 1878-1918*, 73, 75, 111-12, 23-25.

documents illustrate. While witnessing military training in Montenegro (1903), a contemporary saw that heroism filled a large place in the mind of the Montenegrin. Thus, they saw these figures as if they were celebrities and they became a constituent part of their communicative and social memories.<sup>220</sup>

One notices the uniformity of the heroic among the Serbian social disciplines, which was lacking in the pre-1913 Ottoman context. This does not mean that Ottoman officers did not try to educate their children about Ottoman heroes and their self-sacrifice. However, hinging on the ideological context and intellectual background of the brokers, the consistency of the Ottoman heroic narrative prior to, during and after military service is missing. While officers spoke about those soldiers, viziers, sultans, and even women (e.g. Kara Fatma) who expended and defended the political borders of, or lay down their lives for the imagined community, others, such as pan-Turkish intellectuals, would focus on the pre-Islamic pagan Turkic world.<sup>221</sup> In the regional context, the bilingual Muslim populations had its own division of heroes whose self-sacrifice was praised but the inner-feature were not ethno-nationally, though they were still religiously laden.<sup>222</sup>

By attending the school and the military, a nationally laden memory in the pre-1913 Serbian context could strongly shape both the memories of its subjects, whereby mental images become icons, stories, and myths whose most important feature was their persuasiveness and ability to affect emotions.<sup>223</sup> In the barracks, the officers and NCOs adhered to the medievalization together with other brokers. As an infantry curriculum openly advises, “when the soldiers are together and when the weather is poor, heroic folk songs are to be read to them more often.” The more they were subjected to the latter, the more they absorbed this narrative as being natural.<sup>224</sup> This “tradition”, as an officer calls it, excited and instigated the soldier because it “aroused courage and the desire for revenge and the return of glory and greatness of the Serbs,”

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<sup>220</sup> Raewyn W. Connell and James W. Messerschmidt, "Hegemonic Masculinity: Rethinking the Concept," *Gender & Society* 19, no. 6 (2005): 829-59, here pp. 49-50. Durham, *Through the Lands of the Serb*, 273. and Tomašević, *Life and Death in the Balkans: A Family Saga in a Century of Conflict (Kindle Edition)*, 212, 50, 64, 322, 28.

<sup>221</sup> Fevzi, *Osmanlı Efradına Maneviyat-ı Askeriye Dersleri*, I, 38-52. Fevzi, *Osmanlı Efradına Maneviyat-ı Askeriye Dersleri*, II, 45-48. Ümit Kurt, *Türk'ün Büyük, Biçare Irkı: Türk Yurdu'nda Milliyetçiliğin Esasları (1911-1916)* (İstanbul: İletişim, 2012). Yaşar Tolga Cora, "Asker-Vatandaşlar ve Kahraman Erkekler: Balkan Savaşları ve Birinci Dünya Savaşı Dönemlerinde Beden Terbiyesi Aracılığıyla İdeal Erkekliğin Kurgulanması," in *Erkek Millet, Asker Millet: Türkiye'de Militarizm, Milliyetçilik, Erkek(lik)ler*, ed. Yeşim Nurseli Sünbuloğlu (İstanbul: İletişim, 2013), 45-74. and Ümit Kurt and Doğan Gulpınar, "The Young Turk Historical Imagination in the Pursuit of Mythical Turkishness and its Lost Grandeur (1911-1914)," *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 43, no. 4 (2016): 560-74.

<sup>222</sup> Mihailović, *Raonička buna*, 63. and AJ/Belgrade, 14-181-672, #14, 22.01.1920, Novi Pazar, District Chief to the MoI-DPS.

<sup>223</sup> Alaida Asman, *Duga senka prošlosti: Kultura sećanja i politika povesti* (Beograd: Biblioteka XX vek, 2011), 19-28, 31-32, 35-36, 39-45. and Doğan, *İlk ve Orta Dereceli Okul Ders Kitapları ve Sosyalleşme (1876-1918)*, 14.

<sup>224</sup> D. Đurić, "Sv. Sava i vojna nastava," *Ratnik: List za vojne nauke, novosti i književnost* IX, no. 2 (1887): 73-88. „Program predmeta prijemnoga ispita za Nižu školu Vojne akademije od 01.01.1889“, *SVL*, god. 9, 18.02.1889, br. 7, 227-232, here pp. 217-225. Martinović, *Upustva vojničkom starešinstvu za vaspitanje vojske u vojenom duhu i disciplini*, 21, 29-30. “Nastavni plan za pešadiju stalnog kadra u godini 1900. i 1901 od 15.11.1900”, *SVL*, god. XX, 25.11.1900, br. 47, 1109-1120, here pp. 1120 (citation) and „Nastavni plan za pešadiju od 16.04.1910“, *SVL*, god. XXX, 18.04.1910, br. 14, 347-360, here pp. 356 (citation).

thereby uplifting and filling their chests, souls, and hearts with Serbian history, Serbian lands, pleasure, and the aspiration to be celebrated in the heroic struggle.<sup>225</sup> By singing epic songs and reading about heroic ancestors, the officers tended to remodel a soldier's perception of revenge and honor along the ethno-national line since the goal was to awaken his desire for glory. They rewrote the local notion of the *code of honor*, thereby aiming to become their *honor group* (note the previous chapter). Thus, a local's sense of honor was entangled with that of the military, the imagined homeland, and their birth family. In this regard, the material gain was supposed to lose its value.<sup>226</sup>

Their military fathers sought to control the soldiers' emotions by constructing a collective trauma which was fueled by experiences of pain and suffering of the imagined community. They acted as symbolic or cultural creators in the process of symbolic-*cum*-emotional representation of social suffering.<sup>227</sup> By hearing this same narrative before, during, and after the military service/drill, Montenegrin or Serbian soldiers were expected to be the ones to seek revenge and return the lost glory of the medieval Serbian homeland. They were taught to look through the primordial perspective at the constructed past, which resonated on the eve of the 1912/13 War.<sup>228</sup> This represented the testament of Kosovo and the soldiers, who, by being addressed as the avengers of Kosovo (*kosovski osvjetnici*), would obtain eternal glory, just as those who fell in 1389. The literacy classes transmitted this notion. The narrative is embodied in the phrase of "our" five-century-old oppressor or enemy, which various Slavic-speaking Christians – both male and female – appropriated while filing petitions.<sup>229</sup> Since 1389, the imagined Turk had been killing, robbing and demolishing the personal property of the imagined brethren. Desecrating the places of worship, burning and mocking their God, selling the

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<sup>225</sup> Bojović, *Vaspitavanje vojnika*, 28-29.

<sup>226</sup> Vranješević, "O časti u opšte i vojničkoj časti osobeno," 2-6. DACG/Cetinje, MID, 1908/F158a, #3045, br. 1176, 16.08.1908, Žabljak, PPK to the MoFA; Martinović, *Upustva vojničkom starešinstvu za vaspitanje vojske u vojenom duhu i disciplini*, 20. Lundera Vogt and Arnold Zingerle, "Zur Aktualität des Themas Ehre und zu seinem Stellenwert in der Theorie," in *Ehre: Archaische Momente in der Moderne*, ed. Lundera Vogt and Arnold Zingerle (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1994), 9-34. and Andreas Dörner, "Die symbolische Politik der Ehre: Zur Konstruktion der nationalen Ehre in den Diskursen der Befreiungskriege," in *Ehre: Archaische Momente in der Moderne*, ed. Lundera Vogt and Arnold Zingerle (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1994), 78-95.

<sup>227</sup> Bojović, *Vaspitavanje vojnika*, 33, 88, 95, 100, 29-30, 51. Ron Eyeran, Jeffrey C. Alexander, and Elizabeth Butler Breese, "Introduction: On Social Suffering and its Cultural Construction," in *Narrating Trauma: On the Impact of Collective Suffering*, ed. Ron Eyeran, Jeffrey C. Alexander, and Elizabeth Butler Breese (Boulder - London: Paradigm Publishers, 2011), xi-xxxv. and Ivana Spasić, "The Trauma of Kosovo in Serbian National Narratives," in *Narrating Trauma: On the Impact of Collective Suffering*, ed. Ron Eyeran, Jeffrey C. Alexander, and Elizabeth Butler Breese (Boulder - London: Paradigm Publishers, 2011), 81-105. See also Florian Bieber, "Nationalist Mobilization and Stories of Serb Suffering: The Kosovo Myth from 600th Anniversary to the Present," *Rethinking History* 6, no. 1 (2002): 95-110.

<sup>228</sup> „Crnogorci od 26.09.1912“, *GC*, god. XLI, 26.09.1912, br. 42, 1; „Srpskom narodu od 05.10.1912“, *SN*, god. LXXIX, 06.10.1912, br. 226, 1-2, here pp. 1 and Danilo Šarenac, "“The Final Push Against the Eternal Enemy”: The Serbian Preparations for the First Balkan War," *International Journal of Political Science & Urban Studies* 7, no. 1 (2019): 55-66.

<sup>229</sup> „Naredba od 15.06.1904“, *SVL*, god. 24, 29.06.1904, br. 21, 457-458; „Govor...“, *ibid*, 459-462, here pp. 461-462; Martinović, *Upustva vojničkom starešinstvu za vaspitanje vojske u vojenom duhu i disciplini*, 22. Bojović, *Vaspitavanje vojnika*, 29, 76. DACG/Cetinje, MID, 1908/F163, #4231, 141/1908, 20.04.1908, Cetinje, Mara Popović from Brezovica to the MoFA; *ibid*, MID, 1912/F207, #21, 18.01.1911, Cetinje, Radun Kuć from Gornja Ržanica to the MoFA. and *ibid*, MUD-UO, 1911/F120, #4862(2), 29.08.1911, Cetinje, Luka Bjelanović iz Velika to the MoW.

brethren as slaves, or teaching them to be enemies of their Serbian families and the Orthodox faith were all acts committed by this “oppressor.”<sup>230</sup>

This is why a soldier in pre-1913 Serbia also learned about how lucky he and his birth family were to live in this golden freedom. Hence, this narrative was important both for the inner (legitimizing rule), used earlier in France or the Habsburg Monarchy, and the outer setting (redeeming freedom for and protecting the imagined brethren).<sup>231</sup> The second one fostered the belief of the necessity to conduct a “defensive” war.<sup>232</sup> This imperialistic war affected some. Similar to the number of British soldiers who, by believing in the ideology of sacrifice, fought in France during WWI, so too did Montenegrin soldiers during the Balkans Wars travel all the way from the USA to fight “for the liberation of our oppressed brothers from a five-century-old enemy.”<sup>233</sup> Thus, not only educating the rank and file, but also mapping the imagined national territory and fostering national loyalty was relaxed. Depending on a soldier’s place of birth, the officers would deliberately lay emphasis on a hero that hailed from the same area as the latter. In the Serbian context, talking about Hajduk Veljko was used for remodeling recruits from the eastern provinces. Having died fighting against the Ottoman army, he was equal to Miloš Obilić and other Kosovo heroes, who were labelled as the best or greatest heroes (*najbolji* or *div-junaci*). While training how to use the rifle and bayonet, the NCOs often reminded the soldier of these heroes.<sup>234</sup>

The same strategy was utilized after the “liberated” brethren from the Pirlepe region in post-Ottoman Macedonia, began to serve under the banner. In their case, Marko Kraljević, a historical person from the Middle Ages whose palace was located in the town, was the local hero.<sup>235</sup> Officers were so engulfed by their role that one of these recruits wrote in a censored letter, “we are dead sick when they tell us about Kraljević Marko.”<sup>236</sup> Still, others from post-

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<sup>230</sup> Bojović, *Vaspitavanje vojnika*, 76-77. Pejović, *Vojnička čitančica za svakog vojnika*, 96-106. and Jovičević, *Domaće negovanje i vaspitanje djece u Crnoj Gori*, 2.

<sup>231</sup> Bojović, *Vaspitavanje vojnika*, 75, 77, 88, 95, 100, 05, 33, 35-36, 76-77. Martinović, *Upustva vojničkom starešinstvu za vaspitanje vojske u vojenom duhu i disciplini*, 27. Božidar Jezernik, "Uvod: Stereotipizacija "Turčina", in *Imaginarni Turčin*, ed. Božidar Jezernik (Beograd: Biblioteka XX veka, 2010), 9-29, here pp.16, 22. and Rajko Muršić, "O simboličkom drugojačenju: "Turčin" kao preteče Drugo," in *Imaginarni Turčin*, ed. Božidar Jezernik (Beograd: Biblioteka XX veka, 2010), 31-44. See also Marko Šuica, "Percepcija Osmanskog carstva u Srbiji," in *Imaginarni Turčin*, ed. Božidar Jezernik (Beograd: Biblioteka XX veka, 2010), 285-98, here pp. 85-86, 90-91.

<sup>232</sup> Bojović, *Vaspitavanje vojnika*, 69, 132, 45. and Sretenović, *Potrebna znanja za vojnika stalnog kadra, vojne obveznike od njihove 18.-50. godine, za opštinske vlasti i za građane u opšte u njihovim odnosima prema vojnoj službi i prema vojnim vlastima s bukvarom za samouke*, 65-66.

<sup>233</sup> Alexander Watson and Patrick Porter, "Bereaved and Aggrieved: Combat Motivation and the Ideology of Sacrifice in the First World War," *Historical Research* 83, no. 219 (2010): 146-64. and DACG/Cetinje, MUD-UO, 1913/F140, #3431, 20.11.1913, Crmnica, Milo Mitrov Živanović to the Mol.

<sup>234</sup> Geißler, *Erziehungsmittel*, 106, 09-12, 15-16, 24. Bojović, *Vaspitavanje vojnika*, 55 (footnote #1), 96, 105, 71. and Jokić, *Kaplar*, 65.

<sup>235</sup> Mišković, "O razvijanju vrlina u našem narodu," 115-16, 20. and Bojović, *Vaspitavanje vojnika*, 11-12. See also Svetozar Koljević, "Introduction," in *Marko the Prince: Serbo-Croat Heroic Songs*, ed. Anne Pennington and Peter Levi (London: Duckworth, 1984), xiii-xvii.

<sup>236</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MID-PPO 1914, R469, #272, 16.05.1914, Valjevo, Commander of Bitolj Infantry Regiment to the Commander of Drina Division District.



Ottoman Macedonia could identify themselves with the latter. While passing through some populated areas in late 1914, the Macedonian recruits boasted publicly that they were descendants of Marko Kraljević and were going to liberate Bosnia, which also was used in the post-war setting.<sup>237</sup> Since all people are mortal, and heroes are people, heroes have to die but a soldier would receive admiration even after death. Dying, death, and heroic action were placed in relation to one another whereby the same soldier became an audience of these figures. On the Patron Saints Day, he had to hear about and remember the fallen heroes/brothers of his unit.<sup>238</sup>

The officers sought to transmit desired values and certain functions by describing the death of these persons or by citing the epic songs, such as that of Boško Jugović, one of nine brothers who participated and died in the Battle of Kosovo while defending the greatest military shrine, the flag. Losing it also meant losing military honor.<sup>239</sup> Yet, if a regiment was distinguished by heroism, or stole the enemy's flag, their chief father decorated either their regimental flag with an order or a medal for bravery or decorated their soldiers personally, which in turn was supposed to make the latter proud of serving in a particular regiment.<sup>240</sup> This was not without a reason since the governing elites and officers realized that the passion for decorations, for instance, in the Montenegrin setting could be pit certain fraternities against each other. If a soldier was honored for heroism, he wore a medal of bravery every day, even if was plowing or mowing.<sup>241</sup> The historical and fictional heroes also helped to foster camaraderie and hierarchization, becoming something like the heroes with a thousand faces.<sup>242</sup> Obeying their superiors was necessary because disobedience and treason had ruined the mediaeval empire and "thrown Serbs into powerlessness and slavery [which lasted for] 500 years."<sup>243</sup>

Degrading those who did not follow this narrative as lower men and expecting the rank and file to become giant heroes implies that the military tended to distinguish this type of

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<sup>237</sup> VA/Belgrade, P3, K73, F1, 2/37, #3164, 18.12.1914, Skoplje, KTNO to the MoW; Davidović, "Susret braće iz Južne i Severne Srbije," 38-39. Davidović, "Ideja o proslavi," 44. and Svetislav T. Simović, "Drugi bataljon Kosovskog pešadijskog puka," in *Spomenica: 20-godišnjica prvih regruta Južne Srbije 1914-1934* (Skoplje: Zadužbinska štamparija Vardarske banovine "Nemanja" - Skoplje, 1934), 62-63, here pp. 62.

<sup>238</sup> Cornelia Brink and Nicole Falkenhayner, "Einleitung," in *Helden müssen sterben: Von Sinn und Fragwürdigkeit des heroischen Todes*, ed. Cornelia Brink and Nicole Falkenhayner (Baden-Baden: Ergon Verlag, 2019), 9-12, here pp. 9-11. and Bojović, *Vaspitavanje vojnika*, 67-69, 75, 80, 125, 27.

<sup>239</sup> Jokić, *Vojnički bukvar*, 48. Bojović, *Vaspitavanje vojnika*, 176-79. and Jokić, *Vojnički bukvar i osnovne dužnosti vojnika*, 72.

<sup>240</sup> Bojović, *Vaspitavanje vojnika*, 167-71, 79-82.

<sup>241</sup> Vukotić, "Nekoliko reči o Crnogorcu kao vojniku," 863-64. IAR/Novi Pazar, F284, Savo Ćaković, *Hronika Sjenice*, 76; Vešović, *Pleme Vasojevići u vezi sa istorijom Crne Gore i plemenskim životom susjednih Brda*, 324-25, 42. and Watson, *Enduring the Great War: Combat, Morale and Collapse in the German and British Armies, 1914-1918*, 61-62.

<sup>242</sup> Joseph Campbell, *The Hero with a Thousand Faces* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2004).

<sup>243</sup> Martinović, *Upustva vojničkom starešinstvu za vaspitanje vojske u vojenom duhu i disciplini*, 3, 65 (citation). Sretenović, *Potrebna znanja za vojnika stalnog kadra, vojne obveznike od njihove 18.-50. godine, za opštinske vlasti i za građane u opšte u njihovim odnosima prema vojnoj službi i prema vojnim vlastima s bukvarom za samouke*, 59, 65. and Bojović, *Vaspitavanje vojnika*, 69, 71, 73-74, 100, 35-36, 42, 58, 62.

masculinity from other forms. All other men had to position themselves in relation to the heroes. Thus, one was able to speak about a hegemonial masculinity, whereby hegemony signifies that other forms of masculinity were displaced by this one, which was praised in this institution as a norm. The ideal masculinity was thus used to construct the ideal self-image of the nation, just as in the British or German cases.<sup>244</sup> Wolfgang Schmale, for instance, claims that a hegemonic concept of masculinity hardly affected these parts of the world given the dominant persistence of traditional personal dependency structures. Having been “the healthiest, strongest and youngest – the most capable of all the other people in our nation,” their bodies, which now embodied the heroic values, served as weapons to defeat the imagined enemy.<sup>245</sup> The soldiers’ call was utterly difficult in peace, let alone in war. They had to endure harsh conditions, for which reason they must have good health, a sturdy body, male strength and a strong will.<sup>246</sup>

This endurance also applied to those who fall into enemy hands, demanding that they remain loyal. If they complied or surrendered themselves, then, they became traitors and perjurers, meaning that their national obligation did not cease but rather continued.<sup>247</sup> This is crucial to bear in mind because in pages ahead, this study thematizes what happened to these “traitors” after joining the enemy army.

But the military hegemonic masculinity, which did play a role in war, as recent studies have shown, did not always correspond to the lifeworld of the locals. It was not fixed but was embedded in specific environments. Locally seen, it was metaphorically represented through the interplay of specific masculine practices that had local significance.<sup>248</sup> Thus, alternative masculinities were important that could be defined as anti-types of the hegemonic model, including all those non-core groups.<sup>249</sup> But how the bilingual Muslims responded to the Serbian

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<sup>244</sup> Connell and Messerschmidt, "Hegemonic Masculinity: Rethinking the Concept," 829-59, here pp. 32-33, 35. John Tosh, "Hegemonic Masculinity and the History of Gender," in *Masculinities in Politics and War: Gendering Modern History*, ed. Stefan Dudink, Karen Hagemann, and John Tosh (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2004), 41-58, here pp. 42-43, 46-49, 51. Schmale, *Geschichte der Männlichkeit in Europa (1450-2000)*, 152-53, 74-90, 95-200. Martin Dinges, "Hegemoniale Männlichkeit": Ein Konzept auf dem Prüfstand," in *Männer - Macht - Körper: Hegemoniale Männlichkeiten von Mittelalter bis heute*, ed. Martin Dinges (Frankfurt am Main/New York: Campus Verlag, 2005), 7-33. John Horne, "Masculinity in Politics and War in the Age of Nation-States and World Wars, 1850-1950," in *Masculinities in Politics and War: Gendering Modern History*, ed. Stefan Dudink, Karen Hagemann, and John Tosh (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2004), 22-40, here pp. 30-32. and Hagemann, "German Heroes: the Cult of the Death for the Fatherland in nineteenth-century Germany," 116-34.

<sup>245</sup> Bojović, *Vaspitavanje vojnika*, 141-42 (citation); Schmale, *Geschichte der Männlichkeit in Europa (1450-2000)*, 153. and Michael Messner, "When Bodies are Weapons," *Peace Review: A Journal of Social Justice* 4, no. 3 (1992): 28-31.

<sup>246</sup> Jokić, *Vojnički bukvar i osnovne dužnosti vojnika*, 66-67. Bojović, *Vaspitavanje vojnika*, 64, 169-71. and Vešović, *Memoari: autobiografija, dnevni, besjede, polemike, suđenja, pisma*, 36.

<sup>247</sup> *Pravila službe* I, 24-25. Bojović, *Vaspitavanje vojnika*, 169-71. and Walzer, *Obligations: Essays on Disobedience, War, and Citizenship*, 146-47, 56-57.

<sup>248</sup> Connell and Messerschmidt, "Hegemonic Masculinity: Rethinking the Concept," 836-39, 49-51. Raewyn W. Connell, "Masculinities and Globalization," *Men and Masculinities* 1, no. 1 (1998): 3-23. Jeff Hearn, "Introduction: International Studies on Men, Masculinities, and Gender Equality," *Men and Masculinities* 17, no. 5 (2014): 455-66, here pp. 61. and Jiří Hutečka, *Men under Fire: Motivation, Morale and Masculinity among Czech Soldiers in the Great War, 1914-1918* (New York - Oxford: Berghahn, 2020).

<sup>249</sup> Schmale, *Geschichte der Männlichkeit in Europa (1450-2000)*, 227.

heroic narrative, remains unknown. Still, upon closer examination of the Vasojevići, it becomes clear that their reading of masculinities did not overlap with that of the ruling elites. The former, at certain times, despised the local Christians who did not belong to their tribe and thereby they viewed them as less worthy. They used to label them as *Srblji*, *Srbljaci* or *(H)Ašani* (Tr. *aşağı*, meaning inferior) since they were not Serbs enough, nor were they as manly as tribesmen. This term possessed a derogatory and subordinating reading similar to those of *Arnautash*, *Grecoman* or *Bulgarofil*.<sup>250</sup> Even though post-war accounts depict their relations as being ideal, this was not the case. In mid-1909 the *(H)Ašani* leaders separated and sought to cooperate with the Ottoman authorities, even planning to wipe out the Vasojevići.<sup>251</sup> However, they mostly acted as one towards outsiders, as seen in the case of Rugova, where weaker brotherhoods of different tribes combined with the stronger ones because of their protective function.<sup>252</sup>

The Vasojevići also deemed the Christians from the Plava-Gusine region as less manly because they were destitute (*ubijeni u pojam*), and fear had become part of their body.<sup>253</sup> One finds a similar narrative towards the imagined Serbian (*Srbijanac*) from the pre-1913 Serbian territories, who given the state policy, could not carry a weapon publicly, which in the eyes of a tribesman automatically conveyed the message that they were less worthy.<sup>254</sup> This was evident when a tribesman saw the official headgear of the Serbian army in post-Ottoman Āpek. A Montenegrin officer, after noticing that a certain number of the new rank and file consisted of the locals wear the *šajkača*, instructed them to buy the fez “because you are not a soldier under that hat.”<sup>255</sup> The Montenegrin authorities dubbed the headgear as being a scum’s hat (*fukarska kapa*), ordering even the locals not to display it; if do, they would be arrested. Wearing the latter was interwoven with the notion of (hegemonic) masculinity or honor, and offending it could easily incite dispute, physical violence and even push one to become a brigand.<sup>256</sup>

<sup>250</sup> Vešović, *Pleme Vasojevići u vezi sa istorijom Crne Gore i plemenskim životom susjednih Brda*, 344-45. Lalević and Protić, "Vasojevići u crnogorskoj granici," 564. Lalević and Protić, "Vasojevići u turskoj granici," 694-733, here pp. 03. and Vukosavljević, *Istorija seljačkog društva: Seoske zajednice i oblici ponašanja u njima*, 5, 104.

<sup>251</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MID, 1909/F166, #426, br. 426, 06.06.1909, Andrijević, Protić to the MoFA; Vukosavljević, *Istorija seljačkog društva: Seoske zajednice i oblici ponašanja u njima*, 5, 104. Vukosavljević, *Istorija seljačkog društva: Seoske ustanove i uredbe*, 4, 257. Vešović, *Pleme Vasojevići u vezi sa istorijom Crne Gore i plemenskim životom susjednih Brda*, 348. and Milovan Đilas, *Besudna zemlja* (Beograd: Politika - Narodna knjiga, 2005), 218. See also Jelić, *Vasojevički zakon od dvanaest točaka*, §1/1, 36-39.

<sup>252</sup> Vukosavljević, *Istorija seljačkog društva: Seoske zajednice i oblici ponašanja u njima*, 5, 104. and Barjaktarović, "Rugova," 165-241, here pp. 184.

<sup>253</sup> NMCG-ABO/Cetinje, N. I 1912/F62, #103, 27.11.1912, Gusinje, M.M. Radonjić to the Supreme Command and DACG/Cetinje, MUD-UO, 1913/F137, #2498, 16.09.1913, Gusinje, Đuro Vujošević to the MoI.

<sup>254</sup> VA/Belgrade, P2, K18, F1, 8/2, #215, 24/11/1912, Rožaje, Sima Kastratović to a Commander.

<sup>255</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MV-VS, 1913/F9, #74, 25.09.1913, Peć, Fifth Platoon to the Royal Inquiring Commission.

<sup>256</sup> VA/Belgrade, P2, K54, F1, 16/8, #23, 29.03.1913, Istok, County Chief to the District Chief; Đilas, *Besudna zemlja*, 115. and Babić, *Politika Crne Gore u novooslobođenim krajevima 1912-1914*, chapter 3. See Milan Vujaklija, *Leksikon stranih reči i izraza* (Beograd: Prosveta, 1980), 983, entry "fukara".

Sources do not reveal to what extent these locally grounded hegemonic masculinities hampered these nationalization attempts; however, the case of the Romani population aptly shows that this could be possible. The word “Gypsy” in pre-1913 Montenegro held an offensive connotation, and one could be prosecuted for using the term; however, this did not stop the authorities from using it during WWI when they compared infectious diseases with this hidden non-core grouping.<sup>257</sup> Allegedly, in the borderlands, only the Romani wanted to become a blacksmith since the vocation was considered a disgrace and those death in this trade were labelled as the lowest people. In pre-1913 Serbia, the majority of peasants did not want to deal with making a sink or becoming a trumpet player. That is why the Romani were generally appointed in the military as trumpeters.<sup>258</sup>

In the Plava-Gusine region the locals forbade them from worshipping together in the same mosque, even refusing to make pilgrimage together to the Kaaba. If they were farmers in the countryside, they were not entirely part of peasant society, although they had the right to enjoy the collective land. Still, there were no mixed marriages, the Romani could not become godparents of Orthodox Christians, and in the tribal context, they could not carry firearms, meaning that no one would kill or avenge their death.<sup>259</sup> Thus, it does not come as any surprise that in the Serbian army no one wanted to eat together with the Romani soldiers, since they were equated with the notion of filthiness and illness, as an officer noticed.<sup>260</sup> In short, this means that pre-military prejudices were becoming embedded into military which the ruling elites somewhat tried to minimize. But what about those who fled from the army?

#### 4.2. Izdajnik, Krivokletnik, Nevernik, Kukavica, Izrod, Kačak, Alčak: Desertion, Avoidance, and the Military

Q: What does it mean to cheat in order not to join the army? A: It means leaving my door open to the enemy; allowing him to take the veil of my mother, elder sister, fiancée. Plus, even if I was to say “I am not joining the army because I became a woman” my mother, elder sister, fiancée are Ottomans. They would consider this a matter of womanhood and Ottomanism. They would drive me out of humanity [*insanlık*]. They would take up the arms themselves. They would run at my place. They would guard their honor. They are the females of the heroes. They are the mother of Ottoman lions. [...] If my fiancée sees that I have fled from the military, she would say “Have

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<sup>257</sup> Angell, *Herojski narod: Priče iz Crne Gore*, 62. DACG/Cetinje, MUD-UO, 1915/F162, #2004(20), br. 3278, 29.03.1915, Cetinje, Vuletić to the MoW and *ibid*, OuBP, F5, #19, br. 1087, 06.05.1915, Bijelo Polje, OuBP to all district and municipality authorities. On the notion of the hidden minorities see Kristijan Promicer, "(Ne-)vidljivost skrivenih manjina na Balkanu: Neka teorijska zapažanja," in *Skrivene manjine na Balkanu*, ed. Biljana Sikimić (Beograd: SANU Balkanološki institut, 2014), 11-24.

<sup>258</sup> Jovičević, "Plavsko-gusinjska oblast, Polimlje, Velika i Šekular," 384-587, here pp. 480. Serdar Janko Vukotić, *Uspomene iz tri rata* (Beograd: Službeni list SRJ, 1996), 95-98. Đilas, *Besudna zemlja*, 163, 219. Vukosavljević, *Istorija seljačkog društva: Sociologija seljačkih radova*, 3, 395, 98. and Danilo Šarenac, "A View of the Disaster and Victory from below: Serbian Roma Soldiers, 1912-1918," *Social Inclusion* 8, Gypsy Policy and Roma Activism: From the Interwar Period to Current Policies and Challenges, no. 2 (2020): 277-84, here pp. 79.

<sup>259</sup> Jovičević, "Plavsko-gusinjska oblast, Polimlje, Velika i Šekular," 480; Vukosavljević, *Istorija seljačkog društva: Sociologija seljačkih radova*, 3, 395. Hasluck, *The Unwritten Law in Albania*, 113. and Jelić, *Krvna osveta i umir u Crnoj Gori i Severnoj Arbaniji: Istorijsko-pravna studija*, 47.

<sup>260</sup> M. M. Pećinar, *Od Srbije do Jugoslavije: hronika događaja kako ih je doživeo i ocenio jedan savremenik* (Beograd: Institut za vodoprivredu Jaroslav Černi, 2004), 112-13.

you not even drawn the lesson from the dogs guarding the borders of your country for the sake of the homeland.” She refuses the deserter to avoid having Ottoman grandchildren of a bloodless and soulless coward [*alçak*]!

An Ottoman Officer Ömer Fevzi around 1909.<sup>261</sup>

Deserters became the most despised persons in the officers’ eyes, and they sought to fox this into the minds of the soldiers. They claimed that among the rank and file, there were not those who were cowards (*kukavica*), who would leave their loved ones, their home and property, and shamefully run away to save their own lives. Such renegades (*izrod*) were no longer born to Serbian mothers, who just like to their peers in the Ottoman context, brought forth only future heroes and lions.<sup>262</sup> The medievalization resonates in this context as well; the imagined deserter is often personified in the historical medieval character of Vuk Branković. He allegedly left at the most crucial moment of the Battle of Kosovo with his knights, betraying his military family.<sup>263</sup> A Montenegrin Minister of War state after the Balkan Wars that this treachery represented a historical truth, meaning, the myth was wielded against those who did not act in accordance with it. That is why this “cursed” Vuk was used to represent the deserter, being labeled as an infidel (*nevernik*) and oath breaker (*krivokletnik*).<sup>264</sup>

This was not without reason since among the Vasojevići, Vuk’s last name was a synonym for traitor (*izdajnik*).<sup>265</sup> Thus, the hidden message was that it was better to die gloriously, as other heroes, than to betray everyone and live shamefully, albeit only for a short time, just as the “damned” Vuk, since the Ottomans quickly killed him. Not only was a soldiers’ masculinity at stake, as the cited paragraph reveals, but also his honor.<sup>266</sup> In the Ottoman setting, an officer sought to convey the message that those who absconded had neither have a place among the people, nor any honor; they were ungrateful cowards (*nankör alçak*), and the burden of the imagined homeland (*vatanın yükü*).<sup>267</sup>

Besides these moral categories, thematized in pages ahead, the language of official records is less melodramatic. In the Montenegrin, Serbian, and SCS contexts, the *Vuk* was simply called a military fugitive (*vojni b(j)egunac*) while fleeing from the army was dubbed as escape (*b(j)egstvo*) and lesser as desertion (*dezertiranje*). The Ottoman authorities labelled a deserter in the same manner, *firari*, which has a broader meaning, or *asker kaçağı*, meaning a military

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<sup>261</sup> Fevzi, *Osmanlı Efradına Maneviyat-ı Askeriye Dersleri*, II, 23-25.

<sup>262</sup> Bojović, *Vaspitavanje vojnika*, 55, 74. Fevzi, *Osmanlı Efradına Maneviyat-ı Askeriye Dersleri*, I, 7, 26, 53. and Fevzi, *Osmanlı Efradına Maneviyat-ı Askeriye Dersleri*, II, 14, 26, 45-46.

<sup>263</sup> Bojović, *Vaspitavanje vojnika*, 63, 73, 95, 100, 58, 59, 70, 77-78.

<sup>264</sup> *Stenografske bilješke o radu crnogorske Narodne Skupštine sazvane u redovan saziv 15. januara 1914. god. (I i II prethodni sastanak i I-XXX redov. sjednica)*, VI redovna sjednica, 10.02.1914, 176. Istorijska je istina da su Srbi zbog nesloge izgubili carstvo na Kosovu (...) and Bojović, *Vaspitavanje vojnika*, 46, 62-63, 95, 100, 58-59, 70, 77-78.

<sup>265</sup> Jelić, *Vasojevički zakon od dvanaest točaka*, §6/11, 65.

<sup>266</sup> Sretenović, *Potrebna znanja za vojnika stalnog kadra, vojne obveznike od njihove 18.-50. godine, za opštinske vlasti i za građane u opšte u njihovim odnosima prema vojnoj službi i prema vojnim vlastima s bukvarom za samouke*, 59, 65. and Bojović, *Vaspitavanje vojnika*, 69, 71, 73-75, 100, 35-36, 42, 58, 62.

<sup>267</sup> Fevzi, *Osmanlı Efradına Maneviyat-ı Askeriye Dersleri*, I, 15, 27.

fugitive.<sup>268</sup> The Montenegrin and Serbian military legislation adhered to the same categories; yet, it distinguished between those who randomly fled (*samovoljno udaljavanje*) or escaped from the army, for which they issued penalties depending on whether it was peace or war time. But these two legal categories often overlapped, which contemporaries long before the Balkan Wars had already stressed.<sup>269</sup> Hence, in order to avoid unnecessary confusion, the present subchapter labels both these categories as desertion, escape, or fleeing, while soldiers who fled from the army are referred as deserters. Avoidance is used both for the population, which was not yet enlisted, and deserters, who attempted not to be remobilized into the rank. Still, the state perspective of looking at this phenomenon in times of peace and war is preserved, whereby the handling of military justice is excluded.

#### 4.2.1. Avoidance, Desertion, and the Military in Peacetime

##### 4.2.1.1. Reasons for Desertion and Tactics of Avoiding Military Service

The authorities' decision to prolong the length of active military duty could easily provoke soldiers to abscond from the Ottoman army and overall, this represented an Empire-wide issue.<sup>270</sup> Even gossip about the latter could drive the rank and file to flee. After hearing that they would not be discharged from the army despite serving for six years, a couple Ottoman soldiers decided to desert to Serbia. In order to legitimize their actions, they simply argued that they were "already tired of serving," which was their reason for running run away.<sup>271</sup> The behavior of the military parents also made some flee. In fact, this represented the most frequently mentioned reasons for why soldiers deserted. Even NCOs fell under this category, among whom some served a six-year-long term. They underlined that they fled due to tyranny and inhumane treatment from their superiors, demanding protection from the Serbian

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<sup>268</sup> BOA/Istanbul, DH.MKT, 1931/53, 11 Şaban 1309 [11/04/1892] MoI to the Vilayet of Kosova (...) Sırbiiye'ye firari edip (...); *ibid*, MV 151/74, leff 2, 25 Rabiulahir 23 [29/06/1905] (...) mükellefiyet-i askeriyeden dolayı firar edenlerin hizmet-i askeriyelerini vilayetleri dahilinde ifa etmeleri (...); VA/Belgrade, P3, K55, F4, 7/44, #2115, 26.07.1915, Novi Pazar, Commander to the Supreme Command. (...) uhvaćeno bez otpora deset vojnika begunaca (...); DACG/Cetinje, MUD-UO, 1915/F157, #7566/484, br. 467, 02.09.1915, Berane, District Chief to the MoI (...) masa bjegunaca (...) and VA/Belgrade, P4/3, K58, F6, 4/8, #12.692, 14.10.1920, Belgrade, MoWN to the KIIIAO. (...) radi pronalaska vojnih begunaca (...). Milutin Miljković, "O begstvu (dezertiranju)," *Ratnik: List za vojne nauke, novosti i književnost* XVIII, no. 35 (1896): 641-63. and Beşikçi, *Birinci Dünya Savaşı'nda Osmanlı Seferberliği*, 270. See also Şemseddin, *Kamus-i Türki*, entry 'firar' and 'firari,' 985'. Firar: 1) kaçma, savaşma, izinsiz ve gizliden kaçma: firar etmek; 2) Bir askeri veya diğer memurun mevkiini terkle gizliden kurtulup gitmesi: askerlikten firarin cezası ağırdır; Firari: 1) firariye, firara mensup ve müteallik; 2) firar eden, kaçkın, kaçak: firarileri; firarileri tutular.

<sup>269</sup> Miljković, "O begstvu (dezertiranju)," 642-43. *Vojni-krivični zakonik*, (Beograd: Knjižara izdavač Geca Kon, 1915), see §57-58, 63-69, p. 34-37. and "Vojno-krivični zakon za Knjaževinu Crnu Goru od 20. jula/2. avgusta 1910," in *Crnogorski zakonic: Pravni izvori i politički akti od značaja za istoriju državnosti Crne Gore*, ed. Branko Pavićević and Radoslav Raspopović (Podgorica: Istorijski institut Crne Gore, 1998), 1119-50, see §70-71, 73-74, 76, 78, p. 32-33.

<sup>270</sup> Hartmann, *Die Reichweite des Staates: Wehrpflicht und moderne Staatlichkeit im Osmanischen Reich 1860-1910*, 186.

<sup>271</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MUD-P 1903, F29, R142, 12.08.1902, Protocol compiled at the Vranje District Office, Subject: *An Ottoman Deserter Mustafa Asanović from Izmir* and *ibid*, Subject: *An Ottoman Deserter Alija Alilović from Izmir*. (...) a meni se je već dosadilo da služeći, ja sam zato i pobegao and (...) pa mi se je dosadilo pa zato sam i pobegao.

authorities.<sup>272</sup> The deserters from the pre-1913 Serbian army also provided the same reasons. Those who fled to Bosnia implored that they could no longer tolerate the injustices of being beaten or being forced to buy certain things for their NCOs because their regular salaries were so low.<sup>273</sup> If they had been abused and beaten several times or if someone stole money from them, a soldier might decide to flee, after enduring only one month under the banner.<sup>274</sup>

The Slavic-speaking Christians from Ottoman Pirlepe who served in the region had to run because they were abused by their superiors and their Muslim peers. The latter could not endure these cruelties and eventually ended up in Bosnia-Herzegovina.<sup>275</sup> Ottoman soldiers from Anatolia who identified in their petition filed to the Montenegrin authorities as Arabs of the Catholic faith emphasized the same issues.<sup>276</sup> Yet, relying on their narratives, it is hard to gauge whether they had only been abused because they were Christians. Among those who took refuge in Montenegro, one also finds soldiers who deserted in order to save their lives since they belonged to another political fraction. In the post-1908 context, these rank and file were condemned to being hanged since twenty of them defended the Sultan in the 1909 counter-coup. How some managed to reach Montenegro remains unknown, but Ajder, a soldier from Akova, had killed two soldiers on the way.<sup>277</sup> In the post-1918 setting, the SCS officers also believed that soldiers ran away due to the subversive agitation made by the communists or certain Croatian agrarian parties.<sup>278</sup> Others would flee to Serbia for killing Ottoman subjects, for instance, which eased their extradition to the Ottoman authorities.<sup>279</sup>

Disregarding the tacit contract also represented one of the most commonly cited reasons for desertion which in turn created a chain reaction and exacerbated the security contract, including various actors in the process as well. This was demonstrated during an event which happened

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<sup>272</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MUD-P 1906, F5, R54, 30.12.1902, Protocol compiled at the Vranje District Office, Subject: *Ottoman Deserters Mehmed Ibrahimović and Alija Ahmetović*. See also other examples DAS/Belgrade, MUD-P 1901, F31, R60, #158, 05.01.1903, Vranje, District Chief to the MoI. See also DACG/Cetinje, MID, 1909/F166, #417, 02.02.1909, Stari Bar, District Chief to the MoFA.

<sup>273</sup> ABH/Sarajevo, ZVS 1912, 20-47, #214, Srebrenica, Protocol compiled at the Srebrenica District Office, dated 19.06.1912. Subject: *A Serbian Deserter Jevrem Simeunović from Rasište, Užice District* and *ibid*, Subject: *a Serbian Deserter Ivan Tutić from Rasište, Užice District*.

<sup>274</sup> ABH/Sarajevo, ZVS 1912, 20-47, #102, 04.03.1912, Vardište, Protocol compiled at the Višegrad District Office. Subject: *A Serbian Deserter Mladen Terzić from Bivoke, Užice District*.

<sup>275</sup> ABH/Sarajevo, ZVS 1912, 20-47, #3004, Protocol compiled at the Višegrad District Office, dated 29.03.1912. Subject: *Ottoman Deserters Jordan Murgu, Vasilj Botovce, Jovo Siljen and Bretan Donče, all from Pirlepe*. See also ABH/Sarajevo, ZVS 1912, 20-47, #132, 10.02.1912, Uvac, k. u. k. Gendarmeriekorps to the Višegrad District Office.

<sup>276</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MID 1912/F207, #82, 10.04.1912, Cetinje, Ottoman Deserters to the MoFA.

<sup>277</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MUD-UO, 1910/F96, #649(2), 17.02.1910, Cetinje, Kasom Ajder Pašić to the MoFA.

<sup>278</sup> VA/Belgrade, P4/3, K58, F6, 4/8, #12.692, 14.10.1920, Belgrade, MoNW to the KIIIAO; *ibid*, P3, K172, F12, 9/49, #5218, 10.12.1919, Sarajevo, KIIIAO to the Supreme Command and Avramovski, *Britanci i Kraljevini Jugoslaviji: Godišnji izveštaji Britanskog poslanstva u Beogradu 1921-1938*, I (1921-1930), 1921, 86; 22, 155, 23, 219 and 24, 277.

<sup>279</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MUD-P 1903, F29, R142, §14.982/902,02.01.1903, Beograd, MoI to the MoFA; *ibid*, Protocol compiled at the Niš District Office. Subject: *An Ottoman Deserter Mustafa Asanović*; *ibid*, #59, 22.08.1902, Vranje, Ottoman Consulate to the Vranje District Chief; *ibid*, 23.08.1902, Protocol compiled at the Vranje District Office. Subject: *Ottoman Deserters Alija Alilović and Mustafa Asanović*; *ibid*, #20.699, 27.08.1902, Beograd, MoI to the District Chief; *ibid*, #826, 24.01.1901, Vranje, District Chief to the MoI.

in Ottoman Berane. Since soldiers did not receive their salaries, two hundred soldiers (!) simply left their posts in 1902 and went to Yeni Pazar armed in order to exert influence on the local powers, reminding them plainly about their part of the deal.<sup>280</sup> Also here, exists the reason of why the Ottoman authorities had a problem maintaining their presence among the Lower Vasojevići. Still, “tacit contracts do not necessarily exclude the possibility of rebellion or massive state coercion, but they always allow new negotiations between particular groups and the imperial center or its representatives.”<sup>281</sup> This action additionally engulfed those in the reserves and their superiors who now spoke for the troops. Fulfilling their conditions (e.g. giving their salaries) would thereby stop the appearance of evil (*fenalıklar*), meaning that the state authorities sought to avoid an open revolt.<sup>282</sup>

What pushed them to act were the salary remunerations and bad conditions in the barracks. In the case of the junior officers who, for example, served in Gusine, they did not receive their paycheck for five months and as a result, not only did they have to borrow money, but they also could not pay off their debts. This affected their birth families too since the officers could not relieve their pain as they had to endure hunger, which in turn left them incapable of reaching their military honor (*haysiyet-i askeriyemiz*).<sup>283</sup> If negotiations failed, the soldiers could easily turn to coercive methods, as happened in Seniçe (1903). They locked the regional governor in a stable and kept him there all day and all night, giving him only the bad bread which they themselves had also received as provisions.<sup>284</sup>

However, they also worsened public security by looting foodstuffs and livestock from the locals, which the Serbian and Montenegrin authorities instantly encoded along the national/religious line. Also, here one must pay heed to the stolen food and supplies; it was cheese, sour milk, socks, cattle, and eggs, basically all things the soldiers had been missing.<sup>285</sup> For the SCS military authorities, this represented the main cause for desertion in the 1920s.<sup>286</sup> But, in the Ottoman context, this also led many to question the legitimacy of the sultan, as happened again in Seniçe (1911). Reservists refused a marching order, saying in front of the barracks and publicly in the taverns “What kind of a sultan is he when he starves us, while we have to walk naked and barefoot to and fro; we are not doing this even if they would kill us all

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<sup>280</sup> BOA/Istanbul, Y.PRK.ASK, 184/77, leff 1, 12 C 1320 [16/09/1902], Serasker to Yıldız Saray.

<sup>281</sup> Bozarlan, "Afterword," 262-81, here pp. 62-63.

<sup>282</sup> BOA/Istanbul, TFR.I.KV, 1/82, 22 N 1320 [23/12/1902], Üsküp, Commander to the Inspectorate-General of Macedonia.

<sup>283</sup> BOA/Istanbul, Y.MTV, 191/161, leff 3, [1899], Lieutenant Mehmed in the name of *Redif* and *İlave* Officers. See also *ibid*, 27 S 1317 [07/01/1899], Serasker to Yıldız Saray.

<sup>284</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MID-PP 1903, I-8, #26, 03.03.1903, Javor, Manager of Customs Office to the MoFA.

<sup>285</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MID-PP 1903, I-8, unnumbered, 17.04.1903; *ibid*, #49, 19.04.1903; *ibid*, #141, 25.07.1903; *ibid*, #151, 11.08.1903; *ibid*, #153, 17.08.1903 and #159, 24.08.1903, Javor, Manager of Customs Office to the MoFA. See, for example, also DACG/Cetinje, PPKŽ, F3, #38, 05.03.1909, Glisnica, Radosav Joksimović to Vule Knežević and *ibid*, MID 1911/F199, #3378, 12.10.1911, Lubnice, Milutin Dabetić to Radomir Vešović.

<sup>286</sup> VA/Belgrade, P4/3, K58, F6, 4/8, #12.692, 14.10.1920, Belgrade, MoNW to the KIIIAO.



here.”<sup>287</sup> They also represented a security threat for the brokers, whereby now the soldiers themselves exerted pressure on them, forcing them to defend their appeals vis-à-vis the state, as happened in the case of the soldiers who came to Yeni Pazar.<sup>288</sup> This was not a unique case for the borderlands, but was an Empire-wide problem, engulfing the civil authorities as well.<sup>289</sup> These overdue payments provoked mutinies in Anatolia, Iraq, and Syria whereby the outbreak of violence had an immediate effect and was used as the only means to obtain what belonged to them.<sup>290</sup>

In other cases, it was rather a mixture of motives, such as getting tired of serving and of enduring the tyranny of their commanders.<sup>291</sup> Available sources do not indicate in which situation and under which conditions this mistreatment emerged and why some soldiers in particular had been abused in the barracks. Avro Međedović, for example, stated that some Ottoman soldiers would even shoot at the NCOs in order to get even, meaning that this depended rather on the inner composition and interaction of the unit.<sup>292</sup> After killing NCOs, it seemed that the only option left for the rank and file was to run.<sup>293</sup> However, when referring to the mishandling of soldiers, one should always keep in mind that there were always those who had endured these abuses and who did not flee but stayed in the army. Thus, in all these instances, the armies in question were no different from those in the pre-1914 German or Habsburg settings.<sup>294</sup>

However, the rumors about soldiers being mistreated or about bad conditions in the army did not remain solely within the barracks since this gossip reached not only the soldiers' families but they also discouraged those who were about to be drafted.<sup>295</sup> That is why some

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<sup>287</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MID-PPO 1911, R17, #258, 31.07.1911, Javor, Manager of Customs Office to the MoFA. See also DAS/Belgrade, MID-PP 1904, R119, 19.06.1904, Carigrad, Legation to the MoFA.

<sup>288</sup> BOA/Istanbul, Y.PRK.ASK, 184/77, leff 2, 01/09/1320 [14/09/1902], Üsküp, Provincial Governor of Kosova to Yıldız Saray. (...) Yeni Pazar ulemâ ve eşrâfindan bazıları efrad-ı mermumenin yanlarına gidip nush u pend eyledikleri sırada (...)

<sup>289</sup> Teyfur Erdoğan, "Civil Officialdom and the Problem of Legitimacy in the Ottoman Empire (1876-1922)," in *Legitimizing the Order: The Ottoman Rhetoric of State Power*, ed. Maurus Reinkowski Hakan T. Karateke (Leiden - Boston: Brill, 2005), 213-32. and Hartmann, *Die Reichweite des Staates: Wehrpflicht und moderne Staatlichkeit im Osmanischen Reich 1860-1910*, 182.

<sup>290</sup> Hartmann, *Die Reichweite des Staates: Wehrpflicht und moderne Staatlichkeit im Osmanischen Reich 1860-1910*, 181-85, 91-92.

<sup>291</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MUD-P 1903, F29, R142, 13.11.1902, Vranje. Protocol compiled at the Vranje District Office, Subject: *Ottoman Deserters Alija Alijavić from Izmir and Memed Bekirović from Izmir* and DAS/Belgrade, MUD-P 1903, F29, R142, #171, 03.01.1903, Beograd, MoI to the Vranje District Chief.

<sup>292</sup> Parry, *Serbo-Croatian Heroic Songs*, IV: Ženidba Smailagina sina, kazivao je Avdo Međedović s popratnim razgovorima s Međedovićem i drugim, 9.

<sup>293</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MUD-UO, 1911/F111, #1207/4276, br. 553, 28.03.1911, Kolašin, District Chief to the MoI.

<sup>294</sup> Frevert, *Die kasernierte Nation: Militärdienst und Zivilgesellschaft in Deutschland*, 250, 67-70. Serhiy Choliy, "Military Desertion as a Counter-Modernization Response in Austro-Hungarian Society, 1868-1941," *Revista Universitaria de Historia Militar* 9, no. 18 (2020): 269-89. and Christa Hämmerle, "Desertion vor Gericht: Zur Quellenproblematik von Militärgerichtsakten am Beispiel der k. (u.) k. Armee 1868-1914/18," *Wiener Zeitschrift zur Geschichte der Neuzeit* 8, *Deserteure*, no. 2 (2008): 33-52, here pp. 51.

<sup>295</sup> DACG/Cetinje, PPKŽ, F3, #38, 05.03.1909, Glisnica, Radosav Joksimović, to Vule Knežević and *ibid*, F7, #46, 20.02.1911, Prenčani, unknown to Vule Knežević. See also DAS/Belgrade, MID-PPO 1911, R365, #696, 24.03.1910, Skoplje, General Consul to the MoFA.

locals of Christian creed considered serving in the Ottoman army as *corvée* (*kuluk*), which was harder than all the state-imposed levies, forcing them to try and find a way to escape, either by bribing or cheating the officials. Those who already served would write to their male family members, warning them not to join kindly.<sup>296</sup> The fact that these rumors did led the able-bodied to evade the conscription, is aptly shown in an example which happened at the Ottoman-Serbian borderland (1912). The Slavic-speaking Christians did not want to be enlisted since they feared they would be abused or tortured.<sup>297</sup> That is why some from the Tašlica region escaped to Habsburg Bosnia after hearing their neighbors, who were former soldiers, speak about how badly their peers were treated.<sup>298</sup> After not hearing a word from their drafted kin for months at a time, disheartened the locals who, after finding out that their turn had come, simply left their properties and families behind in order to dodge the military.<sup>299</sup>

But, given the distance and infrastructures in both the Ottoman and SCS settings, sending letters was difficult even though officers advised their sons to write home.<sup>300</sup> This applied to everyone regardless of creed. Having spent several years in the provinces and being around languages they did not understand; the Ottoman Muslim soldiers did not receive any news of whether their birth families were still alive. They did not get leave one time ever since being drafted.<sup>301</sup> It comes as no surprise why in some situations, their families or clergymen assisted their Christian peers in avoiding going into the Ottoman army.<sup>302</sup> Others continued wielding the old tactic of enrolling in religious schools, which was used after 1913 and 1918.<sup>303</sup>

Many did not wait for an official invitation because it was clear that they would not serve in their place of birth but rather across the sea, “where Serbian is not spoken.”<sup>304</sup> Ottoman Yemen and Anatolia petrified the locals due to their hot climate, distance, rebellions, and

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<sup>296</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MID-PP 1911, R365, #1275, 19.06.1910, Skoplje, General Consul to the MoFA; ABH/Sarajevo, ZVS 1912, 20-47, #609, 19.12.1911, Mioče, k. u. k. Gendarmeriekorps to the Višegrad District Office and *ibid*, #162374/12, Protocol compiled at the Sarajevo District Office, dated 31.05.1912. Subject: *An Ottoman Deserter Novica Cerović from Plevlja*.

<sup>297</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MID-PP 1911, R365, unnumbered, 02.11.1911, Beograd, MoI to the MoFA.

<sup>298</sup> ABH/Sarajevo, ZVS 1912, 20-47, #4617, Protocol compiled at the Višegrad District Office, dated 19.05. and 20.05.1912. Subject: *An Ottoman Deserter Ranko Kojadinović from Uvac*.

<sup>299</sup> ABH/Sarajevo, ZVS 1912, 20-47, #57148, Protocol compiled at the Višegrad District Office, dated 15.02.1912, Subject: *An Ottoman Deserter Đorđe Ječmenica from Rudnice, Plevlje District*.

<sup>300</sup> Jokić, *Vojnički bukvar*, 64. Bojović, *Vaspitavanje vojnika*, 52. Jokić, *Vojnički bukvar i osnovne dužnosti vojnika*, 55. and Tasić, *Rat posle rata: Vojska Kraljevine Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca na Kosovu i Metohiji i u Makedoniji 1918-1920*, 414-15.

<sup>301</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MUD-P 1903, F29, R142, 12.08.1902, Protocol compiled at the Vranje District Office. Subject: *An Ottoman Deserter Mustafa Asanović from Izmir* and *ibid*, Subject: *An Ottoman Deserter Alija Alilović from Izmir*.

<sup>302</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MID-PP 1911, R365, #53, 25.11.1911, Skoplje, General Consul to the MoFA; VA/Belgrade, P4/3, K58, F6, 4/8, #12.692, 14.10.1920, Belgrade, MoWN to the KIIIAO and Tasić, *Rat posle rata: Vojska Kraljevine Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca na Kosovu i Metohiji i u Makedoniji 1918-1920*, 411, 15.

<sup>303</sup> AJ/Belgrade, 69-158-243, #2218, 27.11.1919, Skoplje, Local Mufti to the MoRA and AJ/Belgrade, 69-158-243, #90247, 02.12.1919, Beograd, MoWN to the MoRA; Bein, "Politics, Military Conscription, and Religious Education in the Late Ottoman Empire," 283-301. and Tasić, *Rat posle rata: Vojska Kraljevine Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca na Kosovu i Metohiji i u Makedoniji 1918-1920*, 429.

<sup>304</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MID-PP 1911, R365, #1275, 19.06.1910, Skoplje, General Consul to the MoFA; *ibid*, unnumbered, 02.11.1911, Beograd, MoI to the MoFA; ABH/Sarajevo, ZVS 1912, 20-47, #4617, Protocol compiled at the Višegrad District Office, dated 19.05.1912 and *ibid*, 20.05.1912. Subject: *An Ottoman Deserter Ranko Kojadinović from Uvac*.

diseases, which resulted in some deciding to take refuge in Bosnia.<sup>305</sup> This is evident in other Ottoman areas since marching orders to the inhospitable regions caused the locals and soldiers to flee in increasingly high numbers.<sup>306</sup> This is apparent in a petition submitted by a Turkish-speaking Ottoman deserter Şefket Hasanov who fled with others to Montenegro since they refused to march to North Africa where they would fight against Italian troops.<sup>307</sup> In this context, the authorities also occasionally translated the draft evasion along the national and/or religious line, as the post-1918 elites did.<sup>308</sup>

Sources reveal that the avoidance of the local Christians under Ottoman rule did not occur simply because they were Christians. Among them, one could nonetheless find those who had endured and performed their military duty in Ottoman Syria or Yemen.<sup>309</sup> The Ottoman ruling elites once conceived from the local Muslims from the areas of Seniçe, Akova, Kolaşin-i Zir, and Peşter, that they would serve in Hejaz because they know that due to differences in climate (*ihtilaf-ı akalim*) they would refuse to go. Serving in this climate meant death (*telef ve zaiyat*) for them. Therefore, the authorities were advised to tell them about their destination in a softer language.<sup>310</sup> Thus, the reasons were not nationally or confessionally clear-cut but rather, a multitude of reasons forced them to flee regardless of creed.

Hearing that one might end up in Yemen could also push certain officers to question where their loyalty lay, as the case of Ottoman Captain Sabri Bey illustrates. After realizing that he was about to be transferred again to Yemen, where he had gotten sick, he decided to desert with the firm resolved to never return to the Empire, to which he had given fifteen years of his service (!) and in whose army he was never rebuked or punished, always being a proper soldier. Still, Sabri Bey found the allocation as a great injustice, for which reason he reached out to the Serbian diplomatic mission in Greece. The reason for choosing Serbia – whose official language was known by Sabri – stemmed from the fact that his parents hailed from Niş, he considered it to be his real homeland. Although the diplomatic official tried to dissuade him, Sabri Bey stuck to his choice.<sup>311</sup> However, this does not mean that others did not hope to flee

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<sup>305</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MID-PP 1911, #18, 05.02.1911, Javor, Customs Office to the MoFA; ABH/Sarajevo, ZVS 1912, 20-47, #609, 19.12.1911, Mioče, k. u. k. Gendarmeriekorps the Višegrad District Office; *ibid*, #14189, 19.12.1911, Protocol compiled at the Višegrad District Office, dated 20.12.1911. Subject: *An Ottoman Deserter Savo Minić from Stolac, Plevlje District and DACG/Cetinje, PPKŽ, F7, #50, br 165, 17.03.1911, Žabljak, Knežević to the MoFA.*

<sup>306</sup> Hartmann, *Die Reichweite des Staates: Wehrpflicht und moderne Staatlichkeit im Osmanischen Reich 1860-1910*, 171.

<sup>307</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MID, 1910-1911/F187, #3582, 11.11.1911, Cetinje, Şefket Asanov to the MoFA.

<sup>308</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MUDuI, OJB 1919-1920/K3, #43.603, 03.12.1919, Beograd, MoNW to the MoI.

<sup>309</sup> IAR/Novi Pazar, F284, Savo Čakanović, *Hronika Sjenice*, 67 and DACG/Cetinje, PPKŽ, F7, #50, 26.02.1911, Pljevlja, M to Knežević.

<sup>310</sup> BOA/Istanbul, DH.MKT, 2168/1, 09 Şevval 1899 [20/02/1899], MoI to the MoW. See Sait Š. Šabotić, "Pobuna Bihoraca povodom regrutacije mladića za osmansku vojsku 1880. godine," *Almanah: časopis za proučavanje, prezentaciju i zaštitu kulturno-istorijske baštine Bošnjaka/Muslimana* 73-74 (2017): 223-31.

<sup>311</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MID-PP 1907, R265, unnumbered, 25.01.1907, Atina, Protocol compiled at the Legislation Office, Subject: *An Ottoman Deserter Capetan Sabri Bey* and *ibid*, #2, 26.01.1907, Atina, Charge d'affaires to the MoFA. Also other Ottoman officers were afraid of not being send to Yemen. Ahmet Diriker, an Ottoman and after 1918 a Turkish officer, accepted to be

from Yemen even after their homeland was now under Serbian rule, as the following example fittingly shows

On 5 March 1914, an Ottoman military deserter Sulajman Tucović from Tašlica was escorted from Albania to Prizren. He was serving in the standing army for seven years in Yemen. He escaped from the barracks to the Russian consulate, which sent him to İzmir on a Russian ship, and [then] he boarded on a Habsburg ship and reached Dıraç. In Dıraç, the authorities took all his documents and sent him on guard [...] to our border where they handed him over to our guard. Tucović, who speaks excellent Serbian, complains about the abuse of Ottoman superiors and says that there are even now a large number of our subjects from the Sandžak and the vicinity of Prizren in Yemen, who suffer great pain [because] their superiors are pouring all their anger on them for the downfall of the Empire.<sup>312</sup>

This escape overseas is unsurprising because sources indicate that locals who were banished or served in the Ottoman eastern provinces managed to find their way to home.<sup>313</sup> Thus, both in the regional and Empire-wide setting, Yemen and its murderous climate became a synonym for death, sickness, and a place from which soldiers rarely returned. Its image embodied all the problems that the army had to struggle with (e.g. poor supplies, wages owed, and delayed dismissals). The locals thus shared a common point with their Muslim peers from Anatolia whose folk songs (*türküler*) broadcasted the image of Yemen as being the grave of the Ottoman soldier. They conveyed the idea that young lives had been wasted to keep a distant and unknown piece of land within the empire.<sup>314</sup> However, similar things could be said after 1918 as well since, for the post-Habsburg SCS subjects and some locals, the borderlands belonged to an imagined Yugoslav Siberia.<sup>315</sup>

#### 4.2.1.2. “Measures to Stop this Evil”

Authorities sought to halt this evil (*zlo*), as the SCS military called it, by wielding various strategies but these did not prove successful everywhere.<sup>316</sup> The Lower Vasojevići serve as a telling example, where amnesty was announced for roughly 320 persons. They were not exempt from military service but rather the pardon ensured that they would not be prosecuted for the act of avoiding the army. The authorities even offered them even the chance serve in the

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shipped to Yemen, even though he wished another post. While being informed about his new assignment, he uttered that he and his regiment could go anywhere, just not Yemen (*Yemen olmasin da her yere gideriz*). Diriker, *Cephelerde Bir Ömür: Tuğgeneral Ahmet Nuri Diriker'in Anıları*, 40.

<sup>312</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MID-PO 1914, R420, F7, D11, VII/547, #373, 16.03.1914, Beograd, MoW to the MoFA.

<sup>313</sup> See, for instance BOA/Istanbul, DH.MKT, 07 CA 1304 [30/12/1889], MoW to Sadaret (...) bunların birinde menası olan Yemen'den Karadağ'a firarla Berane'deki hanesiz avdet eden Panto (...); DAS/Belgrade, MID-PP 1912, R119, 08.08.1912, Beograd, Radoš Tomić to the MoFA (...) to su vojni begunci srpčad iz Novo-Pazarskog Sandžaka jurena po azijskoj Turskoj i kad izmučeni jedva u Carigrad stigli uskoili su na jednu rusku lađu koja ih je skinula u Odesi, gde su ih i zatvorili odmah (...). Also Hartmann, *Die Reichweite des Staates: Wehrpflicht und moderne Staatlichkeit im Osmanischen Reich 1860-1910*, 171-73.

<sup>314</sup> Zürcher, "Ölümle Firar Arasında: Birinci Dünya Savaşı'nda Osmanlı Askerinin Deneyimleri," 173-99, here pp. 96-97. and Hartmann, *Die Reichweite des Staates: Wehrpflicht und moderne Staatlichkeit im Osmanischen Reich 1860-1910*, 187-88.

<sup>315</sup> Dragiša Vasić, *Dva meseca u jugoslovenskom Sibiru* (Beograd: Skver, 2005). and Uroš Miketić, "From a "Yugoslav Siberia". The Difficulties of the Patriarchal Monastery of Peć 1919-1929," *Tokovi istorije* 3 (2020): 53-68.

<sup>316</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MUDuI, OJB 1919-1920/K3, #43.603, 03.12.1919, Beograd, MoNW to the MoI. (...) mere kako bi se ovom zlu stalo na put (...)

Ottoman Balkan provinces, but this did not make them return nor accept military duty, whereby the influence of the Montenegrin authorities did not help either.<sup>317</sup> The local Ottoman authorities thus issued an order according to which a person could be killed immediately if they were caught anywhere outside at midnight, meaning that the situation was sensitive not least because the post-1908 conscription and reduction of the tribal autonomy coincided locally.<sup>318</sup> In the areas around Ottoman Tašlica, the policy consisted of catching conscripts by surprise during the night, which only further exacerbated the situation because the locals then ran to the woods or into the neighboring polities.<sup>319</sup> This then forced the authorities to put more troops at the political border or send police forces to the countryside in order to supervise and maintain control over those who were about to be drafted.<sup>320</sup> Others, after hearing that certain soldiers were planning to flee, as happened in the case of the Slavic-speaking Macedonian recruits in the Serbian army, took necessary measures in order to impede their escape.<sup>321</sup>

Not issuing passports represented just one of the many employed strategies that hit those who worked abroad particularly hard since this money was needed for the survival of their families.<sup>322</sup> The Ottoman authorities sought to conjure the officers or the rank and file who were about to rebel by giving medals or paying out their salaries on particular holidays. Yet, the regular wages were not given as a debt but presented as a gift generously given by the state and/or the sultan.<sup>323</sup> The SCS military advised special attention be paid to the treatment of soldiers, including their letters, whereby the military courts had to apply the maximum penalties for deserters. Its gendarmerie had to invest more energy and time in catching deserters, while at the same time, providing materials and foodstuffs regularly was emphasized.<sup>324</sup> In some areas, the SCS authorities advised the deserters to surrender themselves voluntarily and not through violence.<sup>325</sup> Paying heed to the subversive agitations was also advised, not least

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<sup>317</sup> BOA/Istanbul, MV 151/74, leff 2, 13 Mart 1911 (?) [26/03/1911]; DACG/Cetinje, MID-1911/F195, #2143, br. 3071, 01.08.1911, Cetinje, MoFA to the MoEEA and *ibid*, MID 1911/F193, #1553, br. 183, 08.06.1911, Andrijevića, District Chief to the MoI.

<sup>318</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MID, 1910/F180/a, #1055, 28.06.1910, Trepča, Protić to the MoFA.

<sup>319</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MID 1911/F194a, #1979, br. 131, 17.07.1911, Žabljak, Vule Knežević to the MoFA and DAS/Belgrade, MID-PP 1911, R365, #53, 25.11.1911, Skoplje, General Consul to the MoFA.

<sup>320</sup> ABH/Sarajevo, ZVS 1912, 20-47, #4617, Protocol compiled at the Višegrad District Office, dated 19.05. and 20.05.1912. Subject: *An Ottoman Deserter Ranko Kojadinović from Uvac*; *ibid*, #57148, Protocol compiled at the Višegrad District Office, dated 15.02.1912, Subject: *An Ottoman Deserter Đorđe Ječmenica from Rudnice, Plevlje District*; DACG/Cetinje, MID, 1910/F180/a, #1055, 28.06.1910, Trepča, Protić to the MoFA and *ibid*, 1911/F194a, #1979, br. 131, 17.07.1911, Žabljak, Vule Knežević to the MoFA.

<sup>321</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MID-PP 1914, R469, #267, 14.05.1914 and Valjevo, Commander of Bitolj Infantry Regiment to the Commander of Drina Division District and *ibid*, #272, 16.05.1914, Valjevo, Commander of Bitolj Infantry Regiment to the Commander of Drina Division District.

<sup>322</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MID-PP 1911, R365, #696, 24.03.1910, Skoplje, General Consul to the MoFA.

<sup>323</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MID-PP 1904, R119, 19.06.1904, Carigrad, Legation to the MoFA and Hartmann, *Die Reichweite des Staates: Wehrpflicht und moderne Staatlichkeit im Osmanischen Reich 1860-1910*, 182.

<sup>324</sup> VA/Belgrade, P3, K171, F5, 6/60, #14631, 14.07.1919, Beograd, Supreme Command to the NOO; *ibid*, P4/3, K58, F6, 4/8, #12.692, 14.10.1920, Belgrade, MoNW to the KIIIAO and Avramovski, *Britanci i Kraljevini Jugoslaviji: Godišnji izveštaji Britanskog poslanstva u Beogradu 1921-1938*, I (1921-1930), 218-19.

<sup>325</sup> Dimić and Borozan, *Jugoslovenska država i Albanci*, II, #712, 18.06.1920, Priština, KKDO to the KIIIAO, 737-739.

because the government representatives considered their influence to be negative.<sup>326</sup> That is why certain scholars rightfully argue that policies aimed at hampering desertion at the same time, offered the state an opportune chance to once again solidify again its presence locally.<sup>327</sup> Here as well, the role of brokers was required who had to persuade deserters to return to the Empire.<sup>328</sup> This was necessary since desertion had a negative effect on the Empire's prestige and also caused financial and material problems. Ottoman diplomatic representatives in Serbia and Montenegro were obliged to return weapons and uniform when deserters were submitted to the Ottoman border authorities.<sup>329</sup>

The governing elites also tried by means of the so-called active immunization to overcome this evil by ascribing symbolic and negative meanings to desertion, as Christian Jahr labels this process for the British and German context during WWI.<sup>330</sup> This policy was not exclusively employed in times of war but was wielded in peacetime as well, as the labels at the start of the present subchapter exhibit. The locals were taught in school that they had to be obedient and not rebellious, which the military also sought while they were under the banner.<sup>331</sup> Every dishonorable act meant the decline of the soldier's status, thereby resulting in the loss of his subjecthood rights. Fleeing from the army was interlinked with the act of betraying the imagined homeland and, with the soldier's personal honor and that of his unit.<sup>332</sup>

In this interplay, the birth family played a crucial role not least because they were expected to take part in the search for deserters. It was forbidden to host and/or support the latter.<sup>333</sup> Soldiers were taught that everyone would avoid the deserter and run away from him like a mangy animal. Ultimately, he was undesirable, could not marry, and if he was married, then his wife despised him. A dishonest man was not worthy of being called a king's soldier, or of wearing a military uniform and weapons. Every soldier was obligated to dedicate his life to

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<sup>326</sup> VA/Belgrade, P4/3, K58, F6, 4/8, #12.692, 14.10.1920, Belgrade, MoNW to the KIII AO; AJ/Belgrade, 14-4-14, #273, 11.08.1920, Plevlja, District Chief to the MoI and *ibid*, 14-177-650, #9014, 08.05.1922, Beograd, MoI to the Skoplje District Chief.

<sup>327</sup> Beşikçi, *Birinci Dünya Savaşı'nda Osmanlı Seferberliği*, 269-70. and Hartmann, *Die Reichweite des Staates: Wehrpflicht und moderne Staatlichkeit im Osmanischen Reich 1860-1910*, 175-79.

<sup>328</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MID, 1911/F189a, #445, br. 17, 01.1911, Andrijević, Vojvodić to the MoFA.

<sup>329</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MUD-P 1906, F5, R54, br. 4144, 30.12.1902, Ristovac, Manager of Railway Station to the Commissioner or Railway Police; *ibid*, MUD-P 1904, F5, R54, #15015, 16.12.1904, MoI to the MoFA; *ibid*, MUD-P 1906, #2677, Beograd, 06.03.1906, MoFA to the MoI; DAS/Belgrade, MUD-P 1907, F24, R28, #3870, 03.04.1907, Beograd, MoFA to the MoI and Hartmann, *Die Reichweite des Staates: Wehrpflicht und moderne Staatlichkeit im Osmanischen Reich 1860-1910*, 172. Not in every situation this was feasible because some sold both their uniform and weapon upon crossing the political border so as to buy a civilian outfit needed for blending in the new context. See DAS/Belgrade, MUD-P 1907, F24, R28, #4574, 17.04.1907, Raška, County Chief to the Čačak District Chief and *ibid*, #6797, 01.05.1907, Požarevac, District Chief to the MoI.

<sup>330</sup> Jahr, *Gewöhnliche Soldaten: Desertion und Deserteure im deutschen und britischen Heer, 1914-1918*, 181. See for the Habsburg context Oswald Überegger, "Auf der Flucht vor dem Krieg: Trentiner und Tiroler Deserteure im Ersten Weltkrieg," *Militärgeschichtliche Zeitschrift* 62, no. 2 (2003): 374-75.

<sup>331</sup> VA/Belgrade, P4/3, K58, F6, 4/8, #12.692, 14.10.1920, Belgrade, MoNW to the KIII AO. (...) da se moralnom i vaspitnom delu obuke pokloni puna pažnja od strane sviju starešina u vojsci (...) and Doğan, *İlk ve Orta Dereceli Okul Ders Kitapları ve Sosyalleşme (1876-1918)*, 47-50, 52-55, 127-29, 54-55.

<sup>332</sup> Bojović, *Vaspitavanje vojnika*, 166.

<sup>333</sup> Jahr, *Gewöhnliche Soldaten: Desertion und Deserteure im deutschen und britischen Heer, 1914-1918*, 181.

defending the honor of his king, his homeland and his army.<sup>334</sup> The “stigmatized” and the “normal” are two sides of the same coin and they were not persons, but rather perspectives. The military thus wanted to create deviant behaviors along a black-or-white perspective through which conforming behaviors could be easily praised.<sup>335</sup>

Although considering disobedience as an illness did not emerge at this point, as happened in WWI Germany, “character traits” of the deserter coincided to a certain degree with those of an imagined criminal or of suspicious persons.<sup>336</sup> Still, the question remains to what extent this policy actually produced a result. The ruling elites wanted to wield an honor card by including the birth family whose obvious goal was to out their family members that had committed the “act of treason.” In this manner, a deserter would be fully isolated from the imagined community; he no longer belonged to pantheon of the heroes, and as such, his name would be erased from sources or the plate in which he was mentioned.<sup>337</sup>

The governing elites thus tended to override the locally grounded societal norms because they knew, for example, that traitors in the tribal/kin-based fabric, including their families, were expelled if they failed to answer the call in times of need.<sup>338</sup> But, this was not always possible since the birth family often assisted their kinship members in avoiding being drafted, meaning that the result was gradual. This is why the SCS military exerted influence on the former by ordering that the deserters’ families should carry the expenses used for the maintenance of the military units which were sent to capture their kin.<sup>339</sup> Other strategies, such as billeting soldiers in the deserters’ households, which was practiced in Napoleonic Europe or in post-1878 Montenegro, were only employed against the families of bandits after 1918.<sup>340</sup>

#### 4.2.1.3. Outside Actors, Locals, and Desertion/Avoidance

Some authors, such as Fikret Adanır, argue that the Serbian governing elites, among others, condemned the draft of Ottoman Christians and their full integration in the post-1908 context.<sup>341</sup> However, sources reveal a different narrative. In early 1910, the authorities and

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<sup>334</sup> Bojović, *Vaspitavanje vojnika*, 166. and Fevzi, *Osmanlı Efradına Maneviyat-ı Askeriye Dersleri*, II, 26.

<sup>335</sup> Jahr, *Gewöhnliche Soldaten: Desertion und Deserteure im deutschen und britischen Heer, 1914-1918*, 37.

<sup>336</sup> “Karakterne crte i odnosi zločinaca i sumnjivih lica,” *Policija* 5, no. 12-13 (1914): 381-84. Bröckling, *Disziplin: Askeri İtaat Üretiminin Sosyolojisi ve Tarihi*, 26-27, 258-61, 63-64, 84-88. and Ulrich Bröckling, “Psychopatische Minderwertigkeit? Moralischer Schwachsinn? Krankhafter Wandertrieb? Zur Pathologisierung von Deserteuren im Deutschen Kaiserreich von 1914,” in *Armee und ihre Deserteure: Vernachlässigte Kapitel einer Militärgeschichte der Neuzeit*, ed. Michel Sikora and Ulrich Bröckling (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998), 161-86.

<sup>337</sup> *Vojni-krivični zakonik*, §23, 23.

<sup>338</sup> Jelić, *Vasojevički zakon od dvanaest točaka*, §6/11, 65-66. and Hasluck, *The Unwritten Law in Albania*, 161, 207.

<sup>339</sup> VA/Belgrade, P3, K164, F1, 3/23, #41.657, 25.11.1919, Beograd, MoNW to the Supreme Command.

<sup>340</sup> BIIUCG/Podgorica, F137/II, Vojvoda Sima Popović, *Glava I - Muhamedanci u Crnoj Gori*, 29-30; Loriga, “Die Militärerfahrung,” 34. Alexander Grab, “Conscription and Desertion in Napoleonic Europe” *Wiener Zeitschrift zur Geschichte der Neuzeit* 8, *Deserteure*, no. 2 (2008): 14-32, here pp. 27. and Tasić, *Paramilitarism in the Balkans: Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, and Albania, 1917-1924*, 107.

<sup>341</sup> Fikret Adanır, “Nicht-Muslime in der osmanischen Armee und die Balkankriege 1912/13. Zur Rolle christlicher und jüdischer Minderheiten im Osmanischen Reich,” in *Am Rande Europas? Der Balkan - Raum und Bevölkerung als*

brokers conveyed a discouraging message to those who had considered fleeing, nothing would be provided to facilitate their arrival in Serbia. If someone insisted on crossing the political border, the officials had to let him go but only after making it clear that no assistance should be expected.<sup>342</sup> Although using force was not allowed such cases did occur. In late 1911, Serbian soldiers forcibly returned a Christian who cried and retorted that he would try again even if they had to shoot him.<sup>343</sup> He was not lying because in the end, the border authorities could not help but accept a group of ten draft dodgers from the region, which made a civil border official wonder if this action might be harmful for the imagined brethren back in the Empire.<sup>344</sup>

One notices the same stance among their Montenegrin peers, not only towards the Lower Vasojevići, but also towards other Ottoman subjects.<sup>345</sup> Those who wanted to flee could neither count on material nor moral help; they were advised to respond to the call in any way possible and obey the Ottoman authorities.<sup>346</sup> Some even made fun of the deserters by mocking their manhood insofar as if they could endure the Albanian cruelties, it would be much easier for them to serve in the military since there was no violence in the unit in which they had to serve.<sup>347</sup> But, why would the Montenegrin and Serbian governing elites keep insisting on that the Ottoman able-bodied of Christian creed had to serve under the banner? Behind this policy existed the fear that if the draft resistance continued, the brethren's number would begin to dwindle. Closely tied to this was the irredentist claim that "tomorrow, when the first liberation rifle is fired, we will have only old men and women in the Sandžak, to whom we cannot entrust weapons for defense."<sup>348</sup>

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*Wirkungsfelder militärischer Gewalt*, ed. Bernhard Chiari und Gerhard P. Groß (München: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 2009), 213-32. and Fikret Adanır, "Non-Muslims in the Ottoman Army and the Ottoman Defeat in the Balkan War of 1912-1913," in *A Question of Genocide: Armenians and Turks at the End of the Ottoman Empire*, ed. Ronald Grigor Suny, Fatma Müge Göçek, and Norman M. Naimark (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 113-25, here pp. 18.

<sup>342</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MID-PP 1911, R365, #696, 24.03.1910, Skoplje, General Consul to the MoFA; *ibid*, #1163, 02.12.1910, Priština, Vice Consul to the MoFA; *ibid*, unnumbered, 02.02.1911, Beograd, MoFA to the Raška Customs Office; *ibid*, unnumbered, 27.09.1911, Beograd, MoI to the MoFA and *ibid*, MID-PPO 1912, R119, unnumbered, 04.02.1912, Vranje, District Chief to the MoI.

<sup>343</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MID-PP 1911, R365, unnumbered, 27.09.1911, Beograd, MoI to the MoFA and *ibid*, unnumbered, 02.11.1911, Beograd, MoI to the MoFA.

<sup>344</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MID-PP 1912, R119, #105, 23.12.1911, Raška, Main Customs Office to the MoFA.

<sup>345</sup> This, however, does not only apply for pre-1913 Serbia and Montenegro, but for Bulgaria also because their authorities, too, furthered the same policy, at least in early 1910. See DAS/Belgrade, MID-PP 1911, R365, #696, 24.03.1910, Skoplje, General Consul to the MoFA.

<sup>346</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MID, 1910/F178/a, #787, 30.03.1910, Andrijevića, MoFA to Lakić Vojvodić; *ibid*, 1910/F180/a, #1055, 28.06.1910, Trepča, Protić to the MoFA; *ibid*, 1910/F180/a, #1055, 429, 19.07.1910, Andrijevića, Protić to the MoFA; *ibid*, MUD-UO, 1910/F108, #5038, br. 2592, 31.12.1910, Podgorica, District Chief to the MoI; *ibid*, 1911/F114, 2253(1), 27.05.1911, Cetinje, MoI to the Vasojevići District Chief.

<sup>347</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MID, 1910/F180/a, #1294/a, 07.07.1910, Cetinje, MoFA to Protić.

<sup>348</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MID-PP 1911, R365, unnumbered, 02.11.1911, Beograd, MoI to the MoFA; *ibid*, unnumbered, 03.11.1911, Beograd, MoI to the MoFA, *ibid*, #53, 25.11.1911, Skoplje, General Consul to the MoFA; *ibid*, MID-PPO 1912, R119, #105, 23.12.1911, Raška, Main Customs Office to the MoFA (citation) and DACG/Cetinje, MID, 1912/F201a, #589, 02.03.1912, Andrijevića, District Chief to the MoFA.



In some instances, having relatives or acquaintances on the other side of the political border, the deserters would even bring along their family members who stayed behind.<sup>349</sup> Some believed that Ottoman authorities might also punish parents of the draft evaders or the latter after returning, meaning they also exacerbated the situation locally with their actions.<sup>350</sup> In other cases, fleeing abroad implied that the evader had lost both his home and his place of birth, for which reasons, some could not return. This in turn worsened the fiscal situation given the low-density level, and as a consequence, pushed the authorities to sell the property of those who had left in order to compensate the losses in the state treasury.<sup>351</sup>

The refusal of the Lower Vasojevići to surrender their able-bodied could easily incite a rebellion, which neither side wanted due to adjacent Albanian revolts; but they happened anyway.<sup>352</sup> These evaders, upon arriving in the borderlands, could question the monopoly on violence of these governing elites since, besides bringing weapons with them, they gradually became more prone to violence, as seen earlier in the case of the Lower Vasojevići.<sup>353</sup> This was palpable in the areas which still remained contested to border guards, which evaders used to their own benefit because, after paying a certain amount of money, skilled guides easily transferred them to the other side.<sup>354</sup> These governing elites ultimately believed that by fulfilling their duty towards the Ottoman Empire, the local Christians would then become their full subjects.<sup>355</sup>

However, the ruling elites were gradually pulled into this game because the narrative that they were a protector was at stake. As a Montenegrin border officer remarked, the people's mood towards Montenegro and its king was improving locally since, among other things, the state authorities started to let evaders pass over the political border, providing them with food, money, and lodging.<sup>356</sup> Since one could find a considerable number of artisans among them, others even suggested even certain relief in terms of paying less municipal taxes.<sup>357</sup> This was

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<sup>349</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MID-PP 1911, R365, #538, 17.12.1911, Beograd, MoW to the MoFA and DAS/Belgrade, MID-PP 1911, R365, #430, 29.12.1911, Beograd, General Administration of „Srpska braća“ to the MoFA-KO.

<sup>350</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MID-PP 1912, R119, #105, 23.12.1911, Raška, Main Customs Office to the MoFA; DACG/Cetinje, MID, 1910/F178/a, #787, 30.03.1910, Andrijevića, MoFA to Lakić Vojvodić; *ibid*, #641, br. 163, 12.04.1910, Andrijevića, Vojvodić to the MoFA.

<sup>351</sup> AS/Belgrade, MID-PP 1911, R365, #53, 25.11.1911, Skoplje, General Consul to the MoFA; DACG/Cetinje, MID 1912/F201a, #589, 01.03.1912, Andrijevića, PPK to the MoFA and *ibid*, 02.03.1912, Andrijevića, District Chief to the MoFA.

<sup>352</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MID 1910/F178/a, #641, br. 163, 12.04.1910, Andrijevića, Vojvodić to the MoFA; DAS/Belgrade, MID-PP 1911, R365, #868, 15.04.1910, Skoplje, General Consul to the MoFA and *ibid*, unnumbered, 04.10.1911, Cetinje, Telegram of the Serbian Legation to the MoFA.

<sup>353</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MUD-UO, 1910/F101, #2274(2), br. 4813, 14.06.1910, Cetinje, MoI to the Cetinje District Chief.

<sup>354</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MID-PP 1909, R740, 21.09.1909, Beograd, MoFA to all consuls; *ibid*, 1912, R119, unnumbered, 04.02.1912, Vranje, District Chief to the MoI and *ibid*, 1911, R365, #538, 17.12.1911, Beograd, MoW to the MoFA.

<sup>355</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MUD-UO, 1911/F114, #2253(1), 27.05.1911, Cetinje, MoI to the Vasojević District Chief.

<sup>356</sup> DACG/Cetinje, PPK Žabljak, F8/276, #1140, 06.11.1911, Žabljak, Vule Knežević to the MoFA; *ibid*, MUD-UO, 1911/F110, #472(2), undated, Cetinje, MoI to the Podgorica District Chief and NMCG-ABO/Cetinje, N. I 1911/F58, #183, *Spisak arbanaških imigranata, koji imaju primiti po jedan napoleon, kao putni trošak za povratak kući*.

<sup>357</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MUD-UO, 1910/F102, #2629(2), 14.07.1910, Cetinje, Aleksandar Popović to the MoI.

necessary since the goal was to end the assistance as soon as they had regular earnings. Until then, they were under the control of the authorities.<sup>358</sup> Other patriotic groupings also exerted pressure on the governing elites, reminding them of their self-ascribed duty to shield and protect the imagined brethren, as happened in Serbia.<sup>359</sup>

This is evident in the case of those who had deserted the Ottoman army but were located in other foreign countries, such as pre-1913 Greece. Between late 1911 and mid-1912, the Serbian Embassy had to extract a dozen Ottoman deserters of Christian creed from Greek custody and ship them to Serbia via Trieste. Their frequent arrival in the Habsburg port town forced the authorities to stop accepting them, which then created a problem for the Embassy since it had to provide them with food. In the end, they were shipped via Italy to Serbia.<sup>360</sup>

Most of them served in Ottoman Epirus and, after being arrested by the Greek police, they contacted the diplomatic representatives. Since they were seen as incompetent (*neumešni*) peasants, as the Ambassador wrote, “we cannot leave them without help.” Sending only particular deserters, depending on their place of birth in the Empire, was not wise because they would notice a stark difference, which would leave a bad impression on them nationally.<sup>361</sup> But these “incompetent” peasants understood the context perfectly insofar as sources unveil that they knowingly utilized this figuration in which a myriad of actors were involved. The evaders used all possible means to escape from service, one of them being purposely creating conflicts with the local Muslims. This led to a situation in which they and their kin could not remain in the Empire. Others deliberately deceived the diplomatic representatives in order to get permission to settle down in Serbia or abscond to Bosnia-Herzegovina.<sup>362</sup> Upon vowing that they would obey Habsburg laws and that they would never act against their new homeland, they hoped to bring their families as soon as they obtained a residence permit.<sup>363</sup> They also knowingly changed their confessional belonging in order to avoid being extradited to their homeland. The case in point is Jusuf Mustafić, a Turkish-speaking Muslim from Bursa, who explains his personal trajectory as follows:

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<sup>358</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MUD-UO, 1911/F110, #472(2), undated, Cetinje, MoI to the Podgorica District Chief.

<sup>359</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MID-PP 1911, R365, #430, 29.12.1911, Beograd, General Administration of „Srpska braća“ to the MoFA-KO.

<sup>360</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MID-PP 1911, R365, #120, 26.10.1911, Atina, Embassy to the MoFA; *ibid*, #123, 04.11.1911, Atina, Embassy to the MoFA and *ibid*, #144, 22.12.1911, Atina, Embassy to the MoF.; *ibid*, #21, 11.04.1912, Atina, Embassy to the MoFA; *ibid*, #44, 11.05.1912, Atina, Embassy to the MoFA and *ibid*, #107, 08.06.1912, Atina, Embassy to the MoFA.

<sup>361</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MID-PP 1911, R365, #135, 20.11.1911, Atina, Embassy to the MoFA and *ibid*, #126, 27.11.1911, Atina, Embassy to the MoFA (citation).

<sup>362</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MID-PP 1911, R365, #538, 17.12.1911, Beograd, MoW to the MoFA; DACG/Cetinje, PPKŽ, F7, #46, 18.02.1911, Prenčani, „Peštarski“ to Knežević and *ibid*, 62, 10.03.1911, Prenčani, Miloica Peruničić to Kneževiću.

<sup>363</sup> ABH/Sarajevo, ZVS 1912, 20-47, #12734, 16.11.1911, Višegrad, Protocol compiled at the Višegrad County Office, dated 16.11.1911. Subject: *An Ottoman Deserter Danilo Penezić from the Ottoman Empire* and *ibid*, #2586780, 20.11.1911, Sarajevo, Regional Administration to the Višegrad District Office. See also ABH/Sarajevo, ZVS 1912, 20-47, #57148, 15.02.1912, Višegrad, Protocol compiled at the Višegrad County Office, Subject: *An Ottoman Deserter Đorđa Ječmenica from the village of Rudnice, Plevlje County*.

My name is Jovan Dimitrijević, a day laborer. Now I live in Svilajnac [Serbia, but] I was born in Bursa, in Anatolia, 32 years old, have never been convicted, unmarried. Now I am of the Orthodox Christian faith [...] I fled to Serbia via [the] Javor [Mountain] in 1897, [...] As an Ottoman soldier, I served in the 69<sup>th</sup> Infantry Battalion in Yeni Pazar and was there for three years. [...] From Valjevo I went to Čuprija, where I was baptized three years ago [...] Ilija Dimitrijević, an economist at the Čuprija hospital was my godfather. Here in Čuprija I served in the shop of Dmitrije Cvetković from which I resinged on January 3<sup>rd</sup> this year...<sup>364</sup>

Dorđe Mihailović, a Serbian deserter, employed the same tactic, meaning, he was familiar with the Empire's policy and the fact that their willingness or refusal to extradite foreign deserters was based on their confessional affiliation. Converting to Islam or Christianity in the Empire or Bulgaria seems to have been a tactic since in the former, those who became Muslims or Christians were not expected to serve...<sup>365</sup> One should understand religious indifference not as a form of irreligion but rather that it describes a situation where this loyalty has lost much of its social and individual relevance. It entailed a frame in which communal separations and polarities are minimized, which in turn might facilitate an accommodation in the new setting...<sup>366</sup> However, after finding refuge in these countries, the situation for deserters was not ideal...<sup>367</sup> Even after obtaining permission to stay, they still remained under the close gaze of the state organs...<sup>368</sup> Aiding them represented a serious burden for Montenegro given its limited financial capabilities. Some deserters were left to starve and as a result, they were forced to approach the state authorities once again...<sup>369</sup> Finding a job in an unknown setting, where they had to master the language represented another issue, which in turn pushed them to return to the Ottoman Empire...<sup>370</sup> By contrast, others learned local languages and ensured their livelihood by working in inns, pastry shops, or as day laborers...<sup>371</sup>

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<sup>364</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MUD-P 1903, F29, R142, Protocol compiled at the Office of the Morava District, dated 11.03.1903. Subject: *Jovan Dimitrijević*.

<sup>365</sup> DAS/Belgrade, KuS 1909/F50, #301, 23.05.1909, Priština, Vice Consulate to the Skoplje General Consulate and Hartmann, *Die Reichweite des Staates: Wehrpflicht und moderne Staatlichkeit im Osmanischen Reich 1860-1910*, 168, 70, 73-74. See also DAS/Belgrade, MUD-P 1903, F29, R142, #16.169, 06.07.1903, Beograd, MoI to the Morava District Chief and Clay and Bougarel, *Europe's Balkan Muslims: A New History*, 30.

<sup>366</sup> Siegers, "Religious Indifference and Religious Rites of Passage," 171-92, here pp. 72. and Grandits, *Multikonfesionalna Hercegovina: Vlast i lojalnost u kasnoosmanskom društvu*, 11-24.

<sup>367</sup> VA/Belgrade, P14, K3, F1, 5/1, #362, 25.10.1893, Beograd, MoW to the Commander of Morava Division District; ABH/Sarajevo, ZVS 1912, 20-47, #214, Srebrenica, Protocol compiled at the Srebrenica District Office, dated 19.06.1912. Subject: *A Serbian Deserter Jevrem Simeunović from Rasište, Užice District and Cholij*, "Military Desertion as a Counter-Modernization Response in Austro-Hungarian Society, 1868-1941," 282, 84-85.

<sup>368</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MUD-P 1902, #407, 03.01.1902, Vranje, District Chief to the MoI; *ibid*, #408, 04.01.1902, Vranje, District Chief to the MoI; *ibid*, MUD-P 1903, #386, 05.01.1903, Vranje, District Chief to the MoI; *ibid*, #962, 11.01.1903, Požarevac, District Chief to the MoI; *ibid*, 1180, 13.01.1903, Smederevo, District Chief to the MoI; #7386, *ibid*, 27.03.1903, Beograd, MoI to the MoFA; ABH/Sarajevo, ZVS 1912, 20-47, #102, 04.03.1912, Vardište, k. u. k. Gendarmeriekorps to the Višegrad District Office and *ibid*, #2225/12, 09.03.1912, Višegrad, District Office to the Regional Administration in Sarajevo.

<sup>369</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MUD-UO, 1911/F119, #4516(2), br. 2422, 27.10.1911, Podgorica, District Chief to the MoI; *ibid*, MID 1912/F201, #404, 07.02.1912, Bar, District Chief to the MoFA and DACG/Cetinje, MUD-UO, 1911/F110, #614/2, 15.02.1911, Cetinje, Đordije Đoković to the MoI.

<sup>370</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MUD-P 1903, F29, R142, Protocol compiled at the Vranje District Office, dated 13.11.1902. Subject: *Ottoman Deserters Alija Alijavić and Memed Bekirović*; *ibid*, #171, 03.01.1903, Beograd, MoI to the Vranje District Chief and *ibid*, #311, 09.01.1903, Vranje, District Chief to the MoI.

<sup>371</sup> ABH/Sarajevo, ZVS 1912, 20-47, #162374/12, Protocol compiled at the Sarajevo District Office, dated 31.05.1912. Subject: *An Ottoman Deserter Novica Cerović from Plevlja District*; DAS/Belgrade, MUD-P 1903, F29, R142, Protocol compiled at the Office of the Morava District, dated 11.03.1903. and *ibid*, #16.169, 06.07.1903, Beograd, MoI to the Morava District.

#### 4.2.2. Avoidance, Desertion, and the Military in Wartime

##### 4.2.2.1. Desertion on the Winning Side (1912/13), and Reasons for Desertion (WWI)

Scholars are right in claiming that either winning or losing a war strongly affected the rank and file, and pushed some to abscond. However, this does not always fit with the picture on the ground because even when an army was winning, desertion might occur due to the worldview of the locals. The case in point is the pre-1913 Montenegrin army during the Balkan Wars when various soldiers did not want to perform their duty in the logistic service, thereby causing long-term issues for the proper functioning of the military.<sup>372</sup> In some areas of pre- and post-1913 Montenegro carrying provisions was exclusively designated for women.<sup>373</sup> That is why at the beginning of the war, soldiers already were pretending that they were ill. Without being checked or after obtaining a dismissal paper from their officers, they left their post, went to the hospital, and occupied beds which were needed for the wounded.<sup>374</sup>

Thus, their superiors, believing that this duty “naturally” belonged to women, not only knowingly gave them discharge papers, but also let them leave their post at the rear and join their kin on the front line without punishing them.<sup>375</sup> Thus, the higher authorities rightfully criticized these tribal officers who, instead of controlling the rank and file, actually supported them.<sup>376</sup> The lack of sources does not allow one to know the extent of this problem but the Ministry of War emphasized that a large number of soldiers assigned to the logistic service were merely hidden in their homes and tribal captaincies.<sup>377</sup> Both Ministry and higher officers ordered and threatened that every one of them would be court martialed if they did not immediately return to their duties. In the end, all efforts to return such soldiers were unsuccessful because the local powers could not dissuade.<sup>378</sup>

Another reason for desertion was the unequal share of the burden concerning the requisition of draft animals. Tribal captains in some helmets within the Upper Vasojevići, for example, complained that they were not able to seize hidden horses given the overwhelming disobedience

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<sup>372</sup> BIIUCG/Podgorica, K85, unnumbered, 07.10.1912, Murina, Commander of the Vasojevići Battalion to Janko Vukotić and *ibid*, unnumbered, 13.10.1912. Proxy of the MoW to Janko Vukotić.

<sup>373</sup> Vukosavljević, *Istorija seljačkog društva: Sociologija seljačkih radova*, 3, 391-95, 97-99. and Vukosavljević, *Istorija seljačkog društva: Seoske zajednice i oblici ponašanja u njima*, 5, 475-81.

<sup>374</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MV-KMV, 1912/F6, #6371/932, 12.10.1912, Cetinje, Proxy of the MoW to the Command of Eastern Detachment; NMCG-ABO/Cetinje, N. I 1912/F60, #219, 12.10.1912, Kruševac, Martinović to the Command of Zeta Detachment and BIIUCG/Podgorica, K85, unnumbered, 30.10.1912, Iličković to Janko Vukotić.

<sup>375</sup> BIIUCG/Podgorica, K85, unnumbered, 07.10.1912, Murina, Commander of the Vasojevići Battalion to Janko Vukotić and *ibid*, unnumbered, 09.10.1912. Kolašin, Jovičević to Janko Vukotić.

<sup>376</sup> BIIUCG/Podgorica, K85, unnumbered, 13.10.1912 and *ibid*, #290 (2724) 25.10.1912, Cetinje, Proxy of the MoW to Janko Vukotić.

<sup>377</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MV-KMV, 1912/F6, #7526/1034, 27.11.1912, Cetinje, Proxy of the MoW to the Cetinje, Podgorica, Nikšić, Kolašin, Andrijević i Bar Regional Administrations.

<sup>378</sup> BIIUCG/Podgorica, K85, unnumbered, 09.10.1912. Kolašin, Jovičević to Janko Vukotić; *ibid*, 29.09.1912, Bijelo Polje, Serdar Janko Vukotić to the MoW; DACG/Cetinje, MV-KMV, 1912/F6, #6371/932, 12.10.1912, Cetinje, Proxy of the MoW to the Command of Eastern Detachment and *ibid*, 1912/F6, #7526/1034, 27.11.1912, Cetinje, Proxy of the MoW to the Cetinje, Podgorica, Nikšić, Kolašin, Andrijević i Bar Regional Administrations.

and disorder locally. Hence, they could not carry the remaining ammunition.<sup>379</sup> The same soldiers that were deserting from the units clandestinely took them. Even if one encountered those who were wounded among the latter, they would also appropriate state rifles and ammunition, which only created a shortage of ammunition in the army.<sup>380</sup>

However, what tribal captains did not reveal was the fact that while conducting requisition in the name of the state, they committed numerous abuses because the requisition spiraled into physical violence and kidnapping animals. They used the horses to their own personal benefit whereby on some occasions, the requisition was not paid out either. Soldiers who returned home saw that the animals were actually used by their neighbors and fellow tribesmen.<sup>381</sup> The same thing resurfaced during WWI, which combined with the growing war pressure, famine, and the billeting of soldiers from other tribes devastated the soldiers at the front and their families.<sup>382</sup> This did not only put the tacit security contract between the able-bodied and the state at risk but the tacit family agreement was also at stake, as exemplified in the following chapter.

The war mood of the winning side was subject to change due to the burden and the length of war. Pre-1913 Serbia during the Balkan Wars is another revealing example, where four months after the war began, the subjects' mood had sharply fallen. The farmers, who made up ninety percent of the population, impatiently longed for the imminent peace treaty. However, the change of Ottoman government (following the 1913 coup) made a rather uncomfortable impression on the broader population because it meant the war would continue. The time to till the fields was getting closer and if this was neglected, the former feared a famine would occur given the inadequate previous harvest (1911). The townspeople were no longer bellicose either. A possible war with the Monarchy and the desire to send more troops to the front only exacerbated this attitude even further.<sup>383</sup> This is why the response to a new army reinforcement was low, which was clearly evident just several days before the Second Balkan War broke out. An event concerning the number of those exempted under protection or under the pretext of being completely unfit was discovered. Their number amounted to around 60,000 (!), of which,

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<sup>379</sup> BIIUCG/Podgorica, K85, unnumbered, 08.10.1912, Lijeva Rijeka, Milutinović and Popović to Janko Vukotić.

<sup>380</sup> BIIUCG/Podgorica, K85, unnumbered, 07.10.1912, Murina, Commander of the Vasojevići Battalion to Janko Vukotić; *ibid*, #6025, 19.10.1912, Cetinje, Proxy of the MoW to Janko Vukotić and NMCG-ABO/Cetinje, N. I 1912/F61, #150, 30.10.1912, Andrijevića, Jovović to the King's Adjutant.

<sup>381</sup> *Stenografske bilješke o radu crnogorske Narodne Skupštine sazvane u redovan saziv 15. januara 1914. god. (I i II prethodni sastanak i I-XXX redov. sjednica)*, V redovna sjednica, 08.02.1914, 144-145; XI redovna sjednica, 17.02.14, 323; XII redovna sjednica, 18.02.14, 328-329 and XXX redovna sjednica, 19.03.14, 923-924.

<sup>382</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MID-PO 1915, R458, F12, D2, XII/78, #95, 13.02.1915, Cetinje, Serbian Legation to the MoFA and DACG/Cetinje, MUD-UO, 1915/F163, #2166(2), 12.06.1915, Popovići, Milovan R. Đukić to the MoI and DAS/Belgrade, MID-PO 1915, R458, Ф12, Д5, 12/311, 12/312, #475, 09.09.1915, Cetinje, Serbian Legation to the MoFA.

<sup>383</sup> PA AA/Berlin, RZ 201, R 14218, #65, 10.10.1912, Belgrad, Embassy to the Reichskanzler; *ibid*, R 14227, #10, 29.01.1913, Belgrade, Embassy to the Reichskanzler; *ibid*, R 11517, #13, 05.02.1913, Belgrade, Embassy to the Reichskanzler and Lyon, *Serbia and the Balkan Front, 1914: The Outbreak of the Great War*, 75. On the 1913 coup see Erik Jan Zürcher, *Modernleşen Türkiye'nin Tarihi* (İstanbul: İletişim, 2017), 165-67.

about 5,000 were from the Belgrade area, and only as a result of the new mustering, were about 20, 000 military obligors sent to various units.<sup>384</sup>

Similar to the peacetime context, the reasons for desertion during WWI could be manifold. For example, with the Montenegrin pack-train carrier (*komordžije*) deserters from the Habsburg-Montenegrin front, the birth family now emerged as a legitimizing tool. Despite knowing that desertion was punishable, some Muslim carriers, being driven by the great need and domestic scarcity, were forced to flee. Among them, was a father of ten family members (*čeljade*).<sup>385</sup> The same is evident in the Serbian context, when the miserable conditions of the refugee population (in late 1914) had a negative effect on the moral of the soldiers who had either heard such stories or witnessed them personally while marching. In most cases, this was what cause the conscripts to just randomly leave the command.<sup>386</sup>

Again, disregarding the tacit contract pushed some to run because enduring winter months and marching without boots or warm food was painstakingly difficult.<sup>387</sup> The problem of not having sufficient food or equipment also beset the Serbian army particularly in late 1915 when war fatigue was obvious and when they had to endure the joint attack of Bulgarian, German, and Habsburg troops. Both soldiers and their NCOs managed to leave their units either by taking refuge in their homes or lending themselves to the enemy at large who had already occupied their hearths.<sup>388</sup> In contrast to the Western Front, where the units had dug themselves in, long distances and the mobility of war in the Balkans helped to ease desertion.<sup>389</sup> But, also here, one must keep an eye on those soldiers and recruits who endured these conditions and who still adhered to their service.<sup>390</sup>

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<sup>384</sup> Denda, "Završni izveštaji austrougarskog vojnog atašea u Beogradu o srpskoj vojsci u Balkanskim ratovima 1912/1913," 149-50. and Savo Skoko, *Drugi balkanski rat 1913*, vol. I: Uzroci i pripreme rata (Beograd: Vojnoistorijski institut, 1968), 253-54.

<sup>385</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MV-VS, 1914/F10, #3/br. 4-V-914-4, 26.10.1914, Protocol compiled at the District Office on the occasion of a military escape of Suto Kos from Bijelo Polje and Milan Šćekić, "Crnogorski vojni bjegunci (1914-1916)," *Matica: časopis za društvena pitanja, nauku i kulturu* 18, no. 71 (2017): 301-38. The word *čeljade* has two meanings: (i) household and (ii) family, mostly children and women. See Vujaklija, *Leksikon stranih reči i izraza*, entry "kolektiv", 434 and "familija", 954.

<sup>386</sup> VA/Belgrade, P3, K55, F3, 6/29, #6934, 10.11.1914, Kragujevac, Supreme Command to various military commands and units.

<sup>387</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MV-VS, 1914/F10, #3/br. 4-V-914-4, 27.10.1914, Protocol compiled at the District Office on the occasion of a military escape of Elmaz Korišik from the Tašlica region and DACG/Cetinje, MV-VS, 1914/F11, #39/br. V-1914-56, 07.12.1914, Protocol compiled in the Office of Military Court on the occasion of a military escape of Mihailo Laketić. See also *ibid*, 07.12.1914, Protocol compiled in the Office of Military Court on the occasion of military escape of Ilija Lukić.

<sup>388</sup> VA/Beograd, P7, K9, F2, 15/1, #2317, 16.11.1915, Ž. Milanović to the Commander of the 4<sup>th</sup> Regiment of 3<sup>rd</sup> Levy; *ibid*, 15/4, #2317, 13.11.1915, KUO to the Commander of the the 4<sup>th</sup> Regiment of 3<sup>rd</sup> Levy; *ibid*, 15/1, #5170, 17.11.1915, Rakoš, Dunav Division of 2<sup>nd</sup> Levy to the KUO; *ibid*, 15/1, #5263, 25.11.1915, KUO to the Commander of Dunav Division of 2<sup>nd</sup> Levy and *ibid*, K10, F1, 5/1, #212, 16.11.1915, Commander of Studenica Unit to the KUO.

<sup>389</sup> Jürgen Angelow, "Der Erste Weltkrieg auf dem Balkan. Neue Fragestellungen und Erklärungen," in *Durchhalten! Krieg und Gesellschaft im Vergleich 1914 - 1918*, ed. Arnd Bauerkämper and Élise Julien (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2010), 178-94, here pp. 80-84. Watson, *Enduring the Great War: Combat, Morale and Collapse in the German and British Armies, 1914-1918*, 60. and Lyon, *Serbia and the Balkan Front, 1914: The Outbreak of the Great War*, 4.

<sup>390</sup> Radojević and Milenković, *Propast srpskih regruta*, 38-55, 57, 62-65, 72-74.

Others would openly leave in front of their superiors, who allegedly did not even protest. Having been left without spare clothes, some informed their entire platoons about the plan before leaving. In the Montenegrin army, it was an established practice and commonplace to visit home and come back to the front in some units.<sup>391</sup> For example, in the case of Milovan Konatar, a Slavic-speaking Orthodox Christian from Akova, his reasons included low morale, hunger, and the desertion of other peers. That is why he uttered, “I am as guilty as the whole brigade.”<sup>392</sup>

But Milovan has a great deal in common with some Serbian soldiers from the pre-1913 territories. In late 1914, they had to endure bad conditions and their combat motivation dropped given the initial success of the Habsburg campaigns which threatened their place of birth. The low number of superiors just facilitated desertion because on one occasion, as they were retreating during the battle, about 400 soldiers simply fled, dropping their weapons and changing their uniforms with peasant clothing. Others, even if their superiors were present, simply declared that they would return home. At this moment, the officers and the remaining soldiers were eager to apply coercive methods in order to persuade them to come back since they were unarmed. Firing shots into the air might suffice because, after grasping that they might be killed, the deserters insisted that they were sorry for their conduct, asking only to receive shoes, bread, and trousers.<sup>393</sup> Hence, they were ready to negotiate again about the tacit military contract but developments at the front could also influence this. If the soldiers were armed, the latter was not feasible, as an example which happened in late 1914 around Tašlica shows. Around 80 rank and file from the Lower Vasojevići Brigade took off (*odmanuti se*) and simply went to their homes, for which reason the authorities had to disarm them because on the way they were stealing.<sup>394</sup>

However, when a conscript belonged to the imagined non-core group, beatings, humiliation, and hunger could have far-reaching consequences because, according to some scholars, they

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<sup>391</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MV-VS, 1914/F10, #7/br. 4-V-914-7, 07.11.1914, Čajniče, Protocol compiled at the Military Court, dated 31.10.1914, on the occasion of military escape of Trifun Kovačević; *ibid*, #9/V-914-10, 30.10.1914, Čajniče, Protocol compiled at the Military Court on the occasion of a military escape of Mušo Marsenić and Đukan Marsenić; *ibid*, 1914/F11, #39, br. 3660-229-9141, 07.11.1914, Pljevlja, Protocol compiled at the Pljevlja Captancy Office. Subject: Hearing of Šefto Lindrika and *ibid*, #39/V-1914-56, 18.12.1914. Protocol compiled at the Military Court on the occasion of military escape of Suvo Purišić, Šaban Asandikić, Bajro Luković and Ahmet Srdanović.

<sup>392</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MV-VS, 1914/F11, #48, 20.12.1914, Protocol compiled in the Office of Military Court on the occasion of military escape of Milovan Konatar from the Akova region.

<sup>393</sup> VA/Belgrade, P3, K55, F3, 6/13, #2664, 04.11.1914, Bemanovce, KIHA to the Supreme Command; *ibid*, 6/16, #6733, 06.11.1914, Kragujevac, Supreme Command to the Commander of Kruševac and *ibid*, 6/21, #39, 07.11.1914, Kruševac, Commander to the Supreme Command. On the Habsburg offensives against Serbia and Montenegro see Lyon, *Serbia and the Balkan Front, 1914: The Outbreak of the Great War*, 123-232. and Daniela Schanes, *Serbien im Ersten Weltkrieg: Feind- und Kriegsdarstellungen in österreichisch-ungarischen, deutschen und serbischen Selbstzeugnissen* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2011), 151-69, 87-205, 12-28.

<sup>394</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MUD-UO, 1914/F153, #4227(4), br. 638, 06.11.1914, Plevlje, District Chief to the MoI.

were the first to desert.<sup>395</sup> In the case of the bilingual Serbian soldiers of Muslim creed, they were mocked by their Christian peers; yet this only became known after the former had deserted and been put on military trial. Insulting their confessional belonging with cruel jokes and offering them food that was considered haram created distrust, for which reason their desertion also produced a detrimental effect on the entire unit.<sup>396</sup> Something similar happened in the Montenegrin army as well because some Muslim pack-train carrier fled due to great cruelties, after having been abused every day. Other front-line soldiers and corporals used to spill their dinner as they ate, while at the same time, they had to endure walking naked and barefoot, meaning, harsh conditions did not push them to desertion (!). Soon the abuse obtained a new dimension since the soldiers and NCOs cursed their creed, mothers, and sisters. That is why, a deserter stated, "I was worse than a slave."<sup>397</sup>

These two examples aptly illustrate that for some, practicing confessional rules was pivotal in contrast to those soldiers who would just change their faith. In these and similar instances, the proclamation of the Ottoman holy war could give results insofar as the able-bodied Muslim populations were advised to evade and flee from the Entente armies. This did not bypass Serbia since brochures on jihad reached were circulated and reached its able-bodied Muslim subjects through Bulgaria or Habsburg BH as well.<sup>398</sup> The Ottoman holy war should not be downsized in this setting since examples show that *some* Serbian soldiers of Muslim creed surrendered themselves to the Habsburg army because the Sultan was their ally.<sup>399</sup> It might be that they could use this as a tactic since they became POWs.

But the question is whether bilingual Serbian soldiers of Muslim creed were prone to fleeing just because they were Muslims. Asking this question is crucial given the narrative of the ruling elites, who believed that Muslims ran simply because they are Muslims, which some scholars accepted unconditionally.<sup>400</sup> The authorities knew about the Ottoman holy war and the flyers being circulated among the subjects, whereby desertion only solidified their belief that the

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<sup>395</sup> Watson, *Enduring the Great War: Combat, Morale and Collapse in the German and British Armies, 1914-1918*, 192-93.

<sup>396</sup> VA/Belgrade, P7, K5, F15, 65/1, #3820, 13.07.1915, Užice, Commander of the Užice Army to the Commander of the Užice Brigade.

<sup>397</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MV-VS, 1915/F12, #11, 29.01.1915, Protocol compiled at the Military Court on the occasion of a military escape of Zamil Čekgić, Jašar Vranović, Avdo Dulić and Latif Ramović.

<sup>398</sup> BOA/Istanbul, DH.EUM.KLU, 6/4A, leff 4 and 6, 02/10/1330 [15/12/1914], MoI to the MoFA; Šaljić, "Muslimani novih oblasti Srbije u srpskoj vojsci tokom Prvog svetskog rata," 349-63, here pp. 51-53. and Jovana D. Šaljić and Milun S. Stijević, "Regrutacija Albanaca u srpsku vojsku 1915. godine: Uzroci i posledice," in *Vek srpske golgote (1915-2015): Knjiga I Istorija*, ed. Dalibor Elezović (Kosovska Mitrovica: Filozofski fakultet Univerziteta u Prištini, Kosovska Mitrovica, 2016), 455-70, here pp. 59, 65.

<sup>399</sup> Roda, *Serbisches Tagebuch*, 69. „Und ich“, sagte ein Türke, „habe mich ergeben, weil ihr verbündet seid mit dem Sultan dewleti Ali („Majestät“). Da seid ihr wie meine Brüder.“ See also VA/Belgrade, P7, K25, F3, 25/1, 04.10.1915, Commander of the 4<sup>th</sup> Battalion to the Commander of the 10<sup>th</sup> Infantry Regiment.

<sup>400</sup> Šaljić, "Muslimani novih oblasti Srbije u srpskoj vojsci tokom Prvog svetskog rata," 352. and Miljan Milkić, "From Ottoman Vassals to Serbian Soldiers: Muslim Population in Serbian Army 1914-1915," in *The Great War in 1915*, ed. Dalibor Denda and Mario Christian Ortner (Beograd: Heeresgeschichtliches Museum/Militärhistorisches Institut - Strategic Research Institute, 2017), 315-24, here pp. 20, 23.



confessional motive was *the* reason for fleeing. That is why they gradually began to label the Muslim soldiers as being harmful, dangerous, unreliable, and insecure.<sup>401</sup> However, this depended on the inner life of a given unit, implying, the building of primary groups was successful in some cases. Hence, some would flee given the disrespectful behavior and abuse, whereas others would die alongside their Christian peers, as examples of the fighting in and around the Serbian capital in late 1915 shows.<sup>402</sup>

This also applies to their Christian peers. Being forced to act as scapegoats could also drive experienced soldiers to run. For example, despite participating in the both Balkan Wars, Vojislav Milovanović, absconded to Bulgaria since his peers convinced him that he had stolen a wrist watch.<sup>403</sup> Both core and non-core groups deserted; thus, the reasons for fleeing have to be contextualized. Fixing categories along national and/or religious lines or along old vs. new territories do not always help since this was the logic of the ruling elites. Other superiors even emphasized this, claiming that desertion could not serve as a measure “for assessing the reliability of that element” since “the war’s impact on confessional practice was not necessary clear-cut.”<sup>404</sup>

The same officers who believed that their subordinates fled due to the Ottoman holy war, in fact outlined the problems that mitigated the bonding of these soldiers (e.g. poor food or lodging conditions, illness, inadequate training, physical deficiency, insufficient number of trustworthy soldiers and NCOs, wearing the Serbian headgear, behavior of other peers, their superiors’ swearing, and, above all, not knowing Albanian and Turkish).<sup>405</sup> If here, one additionally considers the lost hope and faith in the success of the Serbian army and the fact that the enemy army occupied the hearths of some soldiers, it becomes clear why a large number of the soldiers left regardless of confessional and/or national loyalty.<sup>406</sup>

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<sup>401</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MID-PO 1915, R466, F19, D1, XIX/7, #3002, 12.01.1915, Niš, MoW to the MoFA; *ibid*, XIX/36, 14.02.1915, Niš, MoW to the MoEaRA; VA/Belgrade, P3, K172, F4, 14/17, 18.02.1915, Supreme Command to various military units; K72, F5, 22/6, #112 V, 06.06.1915, Torlak, Commander of the 19<sup>th</sup> Infantry Regiment to the KKO; *ibid*, 22/6, #629, 18.07.1915, Commander of the 19<sup>th</sup> Infantry Regiment to the KKO; *ibid*, 22/6, 15.07.1915, Commander of the 4<sup>th</sup> Battalion to the Commander of the 10<sup>th</sup> Regiment; *ibid*, #1328, 15.07.1915, the Commander of the 10<sup>th</sup> Regiment to the KKO and *ibid*, 22/6, #4149, 21.07.1915, KKO to the Supreme Command.

<sup>402</sup> AHG/Novi Pazar, Bećir Hodžić-Šećerović, *Istorija Novog Pazara (1389-1925)*, 38 and Bogoslav Vojnović-Pelikan, "Agonija Beograda u Svetskom ratu," in *Agonija Beograda u Svetskom ratu*, ed. Izdanje grupe živih branilaca Beograda iz 1914. i 1915. godine (Beograd: Jedinstvo, 1931), 183-248.

<sup>403</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MID-PO 1915, R466, F19, D1, XIX/63, 21.04.1915, Niš, MoI to the MoW.

<sup>404</sup> VA/Belgrade, P3, K72, F5, 22/6, 15.07.1915, Commander of the 4<sup>th</sup> Battalion to the Commander of the 10<sup>th</sup> Infantry Regiment (citation) and Xavier Bougarel, Raphaëlle Branche, and Cloé Drieu, "Introduction," in *Combatants of Muslim Origin in European Armies in the Twentieth Century: Far From Jihad*, ed. Xavier Bougarel, Raphaëlle Branche, and Cloé Drieu (London; Oxford; New York; New Delhi; Sydney: Bloomsbury, 2017), 1-23, here pp. 12-13, 17 (citation), 19. See also Jagodić, *Novi krajevi Srbije (1912-1915)*, 217-25.

<sup>405</sup> VA/Belgrade, P3, K81, F4, 8/91, 20.05.1915, #3540, Topčidersko brdo, KKO to the KOB; *ibid*, K72, F5, 22/6, #23, 05.06.1915, Kumodraž, Commander of the 4<sup>th</sup> Muslim Battalion to the Commander of the 19<sup>th</sup> Infantry Regiment; *ibid*, #3995, 07.07.1915, Commander of Combined Detachment to the Commander of the 19<sup>th</sup> Infantry Regiment and *ibid*, #82, 16.07.1915, Commander of the 4<sup>th</sup> Battalion to the Commander of the 19<sup>th</sup> Infantry Regiment.

<sup>406</sup> VA/Belgrade, P7, K25, F1, 10/4, #829, 08.10.1915, Commander of the 19<sup>th</sup> Infantry Regiment to the Commander of Varović Detachment; *ibid*, 10/5, 6p. 58, 08.10.1915, Commander of the 4<sup>th</sup> Battalion to the Commander of the 19<sup>th</sup> Infantry Regiment;

The conviction that the imagined Other was prone to running away also has something to do with the pre-WWI experience of certain Serbian officers. A useful example is that of Dušan L. Tufekdžić, one of the commanding officers of the units assigned to the defense of the Serbian capital during WWI. Before the war, he was commander of an infantry regiment consisting of the “liberated” Christian brethren. Leaning on his “personal and abundant” pre-war experience, he could draw no favorable conclusion about the true combat value of the Muslims and their national loyalty. Numerous cases of their shameful escape illustrated the mentality and the character trait of the brethren from post-Ottoman Macedonia, which negatively influenced “our soldiers from the old territory” to join them. If they represented unstable elements, then, their Muslim peers only reached a higher level given the current war with the Ottoman Empire. Thus, the imagined Serbian of Muslim creed was not the only *Other* in the Serbian military since among some officers, the imagined Macedonian took the second place.<sup>407</sup>

In the post-war setting, the soldier from Macedonia was depicted by the same commanders (!) in the highest regard; desertion was never mentioned, and they only saw what they wanted to see. But they could not grasp the fact that at that time, there were still those who despised military service given its negative call during peacetime or sought to avoid the war because they did not consider it as their wars.<sup>408</sup> Thus, in this regard, the “liberated” brethren shared a common trait with the Czech-, Italian- and Slovene-speaking Habsburg soldiers, including the bilingual German rank from Alsace-Lorraine, whose state loyalty had also been doubted even before WWI had begun.<sup>409</sup>

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*ibid*, P6, K509, F2, 6/4, #2828, 07.11.1915, Commander of the Morava Division of 2<sup>nd</sup> Levy to the KTNO; *ibid*, 6/14, #1161, 12.11.1915, Ribarska pl. Sedlari, Commander of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Regiment of 2<sup>nd</sup> Levy to the Commander of the Morava Division of 2<sup>nd</sup> Levy; *ibid*, K108, F3, 16/1, #1795, Radovac, 13.11.1915, Commander of 5<sup>th</sup> Regiment of 2<sup>nd</sup> Levy to the Commander of the Drina Division of 2<sup>nd</sup> Levy and *ibid*, 16/2, #5890, 13.11.1915, Commander of the Drina Division of 2<sup>nd</sup> Levy to the KIA.

<sup>407</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MID-PP 1914, R469, #267, 14.05.1914, Valjevo, Commander to the Bitolj Infantry Regiment to the Commander of the Drina District; VA/Belgrade, P3, K72, F5, 22/6, #4149, 21.07.1915, KKO to the Supreme Command (citation) and *ibid*, 22/6, #125, 20.07.1915, Commander of the 19<sup>th</sup> Infantry Regiment to the KKO.

<sup>408</sup> Radivojević, "Bitoljski pešadijski puk u Valjevu 1914. godine," 64-66. See also VA/Belgrade, P7, K25, F1, 10/5, #831, 08.10.1915, Commander of the 19<sup>th</sup> Infantry Regiment to the Commander of Varovič Detachment; *ibid*, K58, F3, 7/4, #8540, 03.09.1915, Skoplje, KTNO to the MoW and the Supreme Command; DAS/Belgrade, MID-PO 1915, R466, F19, D1, XIX/61, unnumbered and undated, MoFA to the MoI and Jagodić, *Novi krajevi Srbije (1912-1915)*, 115-52.

<sup>409</sup> Martin Zückert, "Antimilitarismus und soldatische Resistenz: Politischer Protest und armeerfeindliches Verhalten in der tschechischen Gesellschaft bis 1918," in *Glanz - Gewalt - Gehorsam: Militär und Gesellschaft in der Habsburgermonarchie (1800 bis 1918)*, ed. Laurence Cole, Christa Hämmerle, and Martin Scheutz (Essen: Klartext Verlag, 2011), 199-218. Richard Lein, "Zwischen Pflichterfüllung und Nationalgefühl. Die tschechischen Soldaten der k. u. k. Armee," in *Minderheiten-Soldaten: Ethnizität und Identität in den Armeen des Ersten Weltkriegs*, ed. Oswald Überegger (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2018), 25-43. Rok Stergar, "Die Bevölkerung der slowenischen Länder und die Allgemeine Wehrpflicht," in *Glanz - Gewalt - Gehorsam: Militär und Gesellschaft in der Habsburgermonarchie (1800 bis 1918)*, ed. Laurence Cole, Christa Hämmerle, and Martin Scheutz (Essen: Klartext Verlag, 2011), 129-51. Volker Prott, "Die fragmentierte Front. Elsässische und lothringische Soldaten im Ersten Weltkrieg," in *Minderheiten-Soldaten: Ethnizität und Identität in den Armeen des Ersten Weltkriegs*, ed. Oswald Überegger (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2018), 85-101. and Oswald Überegger, "Politik, Nation und Desertion. Zur Relevanz politisch-nationaler und ideologischer Verweigerungsmotive für die Desertion österreichisch-ungarischer Soldaten im Ersten Weltkrieg," *Wiener Zeitschrift zur Geschichte der Neuzeit* 8, Deserteure, no. 2 (2008): 109-19, here pp. 12-13, 17-18.

#### 4.2.2.2. “And this evil can be overcome:” Strategies vs. Tactics, and Outsider Players

Desertion represented a serious challenge because in wartime it caused a chain reaction, which thus became an acute problem that went beyond the military.<sup>410</sup> Yet some also believed that also “this evil [could] be overcome.”<sup>411</sup> Deserters or soldiers in the Montenegrin context might act in certain moments as bandits and, as such, could easily question the state monopoly. In the areas under Serbian rule, upholding public law was not contested until late 1915.<sup>412</sup> Other Montenegrin soldiers continued stealing war materials even after leaving the army. In a short run, this only further exacerbated the situation both in the military, which needed them to respect the tacit contract, and among the populations, who once again had to surrender foodstuffs or draft animals.<sup>413</sup> In some parts of pre-1913 Serbia, this had become rather routine in mid-1914.<sup>414</sup>

Military units constantly looted the property of the villagers in the Serbian western parts. The news on these robberies discouraged their military brothers from going near these areas and they became extremely indignant. They only appeared after being told that the state would compensate for the damage, whether it was caused by the enemy or by these renegades.<sup>415</sup> However, in the regional setting, this behavior meant the breaking of all tacit contracts, as occurred in late 1915 when the Serbian military, state authorities, and their families retreated through the region.<sup>416</sup> Not only did many soldiers, regardless of creed, leave their battalions, but the deserters, the remaining soldiers, and refugees, provoked one hostilities in some areas by committing robberies against the bilingual Muslims.<sup>417</sup> This in turn pushed the Muslims to align with the approaching Habsburg troops in order to protect themselves and their families

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<sup>410</sup> Mehmet Beşikçi, "When a Military Problem Became a Social Issue: Ottoman Desertions and Deserters in World War I," in *War and Collapse: World War I and the Ottoman State*, ed. M. Hakan Yavuz and Feroz Ahmad (Salt Lake City: The University of Utah Press, 2015), 480-91. and Beşikçi, *Birinci Dünya Savaşı'nda Osmanlı Seferberliği*, 270, 72-78, 91-92, 94, 97-98, 309-15.

<sup>411</sup> VA/Belgrade, P3, K59, F1, 3/2, 08.11.1914, Kragujevac, Luka R. Zegić to the Supreme Command. (...) I ovome se zlu može doskočiti (...)

<sup>412</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MUD-UO, 1914/F151, #3800(35), br. 167, 02.09.1914, Bijelo Polje, District Chief to the MoI.

<sup>413</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MUD-UO, 1914/F152, #4024(4), br. 551, undated and *ibid*, #4033(2), br. 677, 15.10.1914, Pljevlje, District Chief to the MoI.

<sup>414</sup> VA/Belgrade, P6, K410, F6, 17/1, #676, 13.08.1914, Pričinović/Jevremovac, Commander of the Šumadija Division of 1<sup>st</sup> Levy to the Commander of the Timok Division of 2<sup>nd</sup> Levy and *ibid*, VA/Belgrade, P3, K55, F3, 6/11, #1360, 03.11.1914, Kragujevac, Traffic Department to the Operation Department.

<sup>415</sup> VA/Belgrade, P3, K59, F1, 3/2, 08.11.1914, Kragujevac, Luka R. Zegić to the Supreme Command, viii.

<sup>416</sup> On the 1915 offensive of the Central Powers against Serbia and Montenegro and the retreat in general see Živko G. Pavlović, *Rat Srbije sa Austro-Ugarskom, Nemačkom i Bugarskom 1915. godine* (Beograd: Medija centar Odbrana, 2017). Milan Zelenika, *Rat Srbije i Crne Gore 1915* (Beograd: Vojnoizdavački zavod "Vojno delo", 1954). Šarenac, "Golgotha: the Retreat of the Serbian Army and Civilians in 1915-16," 236-59. and Miloš Ković, *Jedini put: Sile Antante i odbrana Srbije 1915. godine* (Beograd: Filip Višnjić, 2016).

<sup>417</sup> VA/Belgrade, P3, K73, F2, 2/60, #10766, 06.11.1915, Priština, KTNO to the Supreme Command; *ibid*, P6, K509, F2, 6/4, #2828, 07.11.1915, Commander of the Morava Division of 2<sup>nd</sup> Levy to the KTNO; *ibid*, K351, F1, 2/2, #5051, 11.11.1915, Gornja Klina, Commander of the Dunav Division of 2<sup>nd</sup> Levy to various military units; *ibid*, K509, F2, 6/14, #1161, 12.11.1915, Ribarska pl. Sedlari, Commander of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Regiment of 2<sup>nd</sup> Levy to the Commander of the Morava Division of 2<sup>nd</sup> Levy and *ibid*, K108, F3, 16/2, #5890, 13.11.1915, Commander of the Dunav Division of 2<sup>nd</sup> Levy to the KIM and *ibid*, K512, F4, 99/2, #2682, Трыгубац, 18.10.1915, Commander of the Morava Division of 2<sup>nd</sup> Levy to soldiers.

from the retreating soldiers who had also looted in the Lower Vasojevići or from their peers, given the widespread hunger and despair.<sup>418</sup>

Both the locals who had not yet been drafted and the deserters had various tactics at their disposal which helped them not be (re-)mobilized. Living in the Montenegrin-Serbian or Albanian-Serbian borderlands simplified the escape of conscripts who paid the experienced local guides and used them to reach the other side of the political border.<sup>419</sup> This was risky since after encountering the border authorities, an armed clash might erupt because the deserters owed firearms and could therefore be killed.<sup>420</sup> However, reaching post-1913 Albania or Bulgaria did not mean they had found safe haven since upon arrival they could be robbed, beaten, killed, used as labor for building roads, or unable to find work, which pushed some of them to return.<sup>421</sup>

However, the number of those who fled to the Iškodra region, for instance, included up to 2,000 fugitives and deserters in late 1915.<sup>422</sup> But even at the front or at the rear, there were existed numerous hideouts (e.g. nearby houses or ravines) which the Serbian soldiers, just as to their German peers, utilized to avoid fighting.<sup>423</sup> The armed locals knowingly used forests or their homes in the countryside since both were contested spaces, where the presence of authorities had been always challenged and which they could now turn into a base where it was possible to organize raiding parties.<sup>424</sup> They also skillfully used spaces within towns by working in hotels, taverns, shoemakers, tailors, and other craft workshops. Others blended in at

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<sup>418</sup> ÖStA/HHStA/Vienna, PA I 975/32g, #1<sup>a</sup>, 24.09.1916, Mitrovica, Julius Ledinegg to the MdÄ, 1; DAS/Belgrade, VGG, 8-46, #13.711, 17.09.1916, Belgrade, MGG/S to the Department 8; ÖStA/KA/Vienna, AOK Qu. Abt, 2469/1917, #133.833/S, 28.09.1917, AOK to the KM; VA/Belgrade, P6, K351, F1, 2/4, #5198, 21.11.1915, Rožaj, Commander of the Dunav Division of 2<sup>nd</sup> Levy to the Commander of the 9<sup>th</sup> Infantry Division of 2<sup>nd</sup> Levy and *ibid*, 2/5, #5355, 04.12.1915, Kralje, Commander of the Dunav Division of 2<sup>nd</sup> Levy to various military units.

<sup>419</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MID-PO 1915, R466, F19, D1, XIX/8, #3005, 12.01.1915, Niš, MoW to the MoFA and *ibid*, D4, XIX/296, #497, 28.08.1915, Cetinje, Telgram of the Serbian Legation to the MoFA. A Montenegrin guide was ready for 200 dinars in late 1915 to transfer Serbian soldiers to Montenegro, where they “would live very nicely.” VA/Belgrade, P3, K55, F4, 8/35, #10011, 03.12.1915, Andrijevac, Mišić to Supreme Command and *ibid*, 8/40, #11319, 08.12.1915, Nanšati, KTNO to the Supreme Command.

<sup>420</sup> VA/Belgrade, P3, K55, F4, 7/40, #2060, 17.07.1915 and *ibid*, 8/22, #10540, 21.10.1915, Novi Pazar, KIDO to the Supreme Command.

<sup>421</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MID-PO 1915, R466, F19, D2, XIX/204, #340, 04.06.1915, Tetovo, District Chief to the MoFA; *ibid*, D1, XIX/61, unnumbered and undated, MoFA to the MoI and *ibid*, D2, XIX/103, 13.04.1915, Valandov, Ali Beljaga from Kanadona to Serbian Authorities.

<sup>422</sup> AS/Belgrade, MID-PO 1915, R466, F19, F4, XIX/269, 11.09.1915, Cetinje, Telgram of the Serbian Legation to the MoFA and VA/Belgrade, P3, K55, F4, 8/23, #7476, 22.11.1915, Cetinje, Petar Pešić to the First Adjutant of the Crown Prince.

<sup>423</sup> VA/Belgrade, P3, K59, F1, 3/2, 08.11.1914, Kragujevac, Luka R. Zegić to the Supreme Command, iii and Jahr, *Gewöhnliche Soldaten: Desertion und Deserteure im deutschen und britischen Heer, 1914-1918*, 191-92.

<sup>424</sup> DACG/Cetinje, OuBP, F5, #31, br. 4477, 05.10.1914, Bijelo Polje, District Chief to the MoI; VA/Belgrade, P3, K55, F3, 6/31, #487, 05.01.1915, Beograd, Commander of the Dunav District to the Supreme Command and *ibid*, F4, 6/43, 23.07.1915, Niš, MoW to the Supreme Command and *ibid*, 8/24, 27.10.1915, Raška, Chief of the Studenica County to the Mayor of Belgrade and the Government Commissioner.

taverns, parks, promenades, markets, or in various shops.<sup>425</sup> Thus, some even wore women's clothes in order to go unnoticed in public.<sup>426</sup>

The role of their kin was pivotal here as well. The Serbian military authorities discovered (in early 1915) that in some parts of post-Ottoman Macedonia, the soldiers' sisters, who worked as teachers, informed their kin that either their mothers, children, or wives were sick or dying. After being granted leave, some of the soldiers fled to Greece, for which reason the authorities would often punish the teachers as severely as possible.<sup>427</sup> Others sent their wives to Selanik and used their networks to obtain a Greek pass in someone else's name, which they used as they fled to Bulgaria or Greece.<sup>428</sup> The able-bodied Bjelopavlići and Kuči tribesmen travelled with their families to the post-1913 territories, hoping to remain unnoticed.<sup>429</sup>

Elsewhere, a joint enterprise of officers, municipality presidents and mukhtars allowed the locals to dodge the military in exchange for paying 50 Ottoman Liras each to the local commander. Together with villagers, the brokers collected money to pay the required amount for the needy inhabitants as well. This deal failed due to the protests of townspeople, but only the entrepreneurs were sued and went to prison, while the commander was freed, which in turn produced a negative atmosphere among the locals.<sup>430</sup> In other cases, the state officials let the able-bodied flee by concealing them in crates for packing goods, after they paid a certain price.<sup>431</sup> Also, some Muslim religious municipalities offered support by issuing birth certificates at the request of the able-bodied, whereas others adhered to an old tactic of attending religious schools.<sup>432</sup>

Feigning illnesses or forging medical reports was another tactic employed in wartime. A telling case is that of Miro Beličković, a Slavic-speaking Christian from the Akova region, who avoided the military for a full 108 days before he finally got caught.<sup>433</sup> Their number was not low which in turn could hamper the combat effectiveness of certain units.<sup>434</sup> Among the wounded Serbian privates and NCOs, one could find those who were released on sick leave

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<sup>425</sup> VA/Belgrade, P3, K55, F4, 7/35, #50.220, 10.07.1915, Kragujevac, Commander of the Šumadija District to the Supreme Command and Radojević and Milenković, *Propast srpskih regruta*, 182, 84.

<sup>426</sup> ASANU/Belgrade, 13315, #85, *Snaha, svekrva i vojni begunac*, 1.

<sup>427</sup> VA/Belgrade, P3, K55, F4, 7/53, #4392, 15.02.1915, Skoplje, KTNO to the Supreme Command.

<sup>428</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MID-PO 1915, R466, F19, D2, XIX/189, #209, 15.05.1915, Skoplje, Command of the Regimental District Command to the Commander of the Vardar District.

<sup>429</sup> DACG/Cetinje, OuP, F13, #376, 23.10.1915 and *ibid*, F16, #386, 01.11.1915, Peć, District Chief to the MoI.

<sup>430</sup> ASANU/Belgrade, 13316, #97, *Voja Nenadić: Učitelj, trgovac, bankar, štampar, političar i komesar za finansije na Cetinju...*, 1-2.

<sup>431</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MID-PO 1915, R466, F19, D4, XIX/312, #6628, 15.09.1915, Niš, MoW to the MoFA.

<sup>432</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MID-PO 1915, R450, F6, D1, VI/20, #1634, 28.04.1915, Solun, Consulate to the MoFA and Jagodić, *Novi krajevi Srbije (1912-1915)*, 508-10.

<sup>433</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MV-VS, 1915/F12, #21, 20.05.1915, Samari above Goražde, Protocol compiled at the Military Court on the occasion of a military escape of Miro Beličković. See the similar case also from Akova DACG/Cetinje, OuBP, F5, #38, br. 3861, 21.03.1915, Bijelo Polje, District Chief to Janko Vukotić.

<sup>434</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MUD-UO, 1915/F165, #2927(13), br. 8753/6343, 21.08.1915, Cetinje, MoW to the MoI and NMCG-ABO/Cetinje, N. I 1915/F73, #11, 18.10.1915, Petar Pešić to the Lovćen Detachment.

from overcrowded hospitals but had intentionally kept their wounds open in a skillful way to prolong their stay at home.<sup>435</sup> Both the non-drafted locals and soldiers mutilated themselves, believing that this would save or discharge them from the military. In contrast to times of peace, this tactic emerged exclusively during wartimes. Some had to flee to Montenegro because they were sentenced to death for wounding themselves.<sup>436</sup>

At the Habsburg-Serbian front (in late 1914), a considerable number of soldiers injured themselves either in the arms or legs so skillfully that it was difficult for doctors to determine whether or not the person did this to themselves or not. Others achieved this by stretching out their arms or legs from a sheltered trench during the rapid firing of enemy infantry.<sup>437</sup> In this regard, they did not differ from those Serbian soldiers amidst the 1876/78 Ottoman-Serbian Wars who applied the same tactic.<sup>438</sup> Even after being captured, claiming that they were illiterate, that they did not know that desertion was punishable or that they did only what others already had done belonged to the tactics.<sup>439</sup> This strongly resemble the peasants in nineteenth-century Italy who avoided the draft process and it was not always as a result of state indifference or as a denial of military service. Rather, they misunderstood it since they did not grasp that they had turned military age, which could be applied to a certain degree in some areas of the region.<sup>440</sup> But, this might also be read as a hidden transcript, not least because the military criminal laws labelled ignorance of military duty as a mitigating circumstance, if it was a first offence. Deserters must have known this since they were claiming the same ignorance in order to dodge ten years of prison or being shot.<sup>441</sup>

Various state strategies corresponded to the number of diverse tactics. They aimed ideally to reach all the able-bodied population because in Serbia (by late 1914) it was clear that some regimental districts had been exhausted. The aim was thus to find and catch all male subjects between the ages of 20 to 50.<sup>442</sup> This was further necessary since deserters knowingly spread rumors about the conditions in the military. Similar to peacetime, the policies led to the growing presence of the state(-backed) actors locally and in the contested spaces where the state

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<sup>435</sup> VA/Belgrade, P3, K59, F1, 3/2, 08.11.1914, Kragujevac, Luka R. Zegić to the Supreme Command, v.

<sup>436</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MUD-UO, 1914/F154, #4458(10), br.115, 22.10.1914, Peć, District Chief to the MoI and *ibid*, #4459/2, br.780, 07.11.1914, Cetinje, Serbian Legation to the MoFA.

<sup>437</sup> VA/Belgrade, P3, K59, F1, 3/2, 08.11.1914, Kragujevac, Luka R. Zegić to the Supreme Command, iv.

<sup>438</sup> Jovan Mišković, *Beležnice I (I-XV)*, ed. Aleksandar M. Savić (Bor Grafomed, 2020), 192-93.

<sup>439</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MV-VS, 1914/F10, #3/br. 4-V-914-4, 26.10.1914, Protocol compiled at the District Office on the occasion of a military escape of Suto Kos from Bijelo Polje (...) Nijesmo mi o tom znali ništa and *ibid*, #9/V-914-10, 30.10.1914, Čajniče, Protocol compiled at the Military Court on the occasion of a military escape of Mušo Marsenić and Đukan Marsenić (...) Nijesam znao da je kažnjava, ali čuo sam od oficira, da se ne smije bježati iz vojske (...)

<sup>440</sup> Rovinello, "Italija'da Askere Çağırma ve Çağrılanlar (1861-1914)," 477.

<sup>441</sup> "Vojno-krivični zakon za Knjaževinu Crnu Goru od 20. jula/2. avgusta 1910," 1119-50, here § 31, 24; *Vojni-krivični zakonik*, §28, 25. and DACG/Cetinje, MV-VS, 1915/F12, #21, 20.05.1915, Samari above Goražde, Protocol compiled at the Military Court on the occasion of a military escape of Miro Beličković (...) nepismen, neosuđivan, vojna pravila i propise ne znam.

<sup>442</sup> VA/Belgrade, P7, K61, F4, 24/1, #5562, 22.04.1915, Skoplje, KTNO to the MoW and *ibid*, P3, K55, F4, 7/35, #50.220, 10.07.1915, Kragujevac, Commander to the Šumadija District to the Supreme Command.

monopoly was challenged due to war developments.<sup>443</sup> Border authorities had to prevent the deserters from crossing the political borders, whereas joint cooperation of police and military authorities in the inner territories was demanded.<sup>444</sup>

The gendarmerie overlooked all roads leading from the battlefield to the rear, including railway stations, whose cavalry patrols frequented the countryside and had to stop “this demoralizing phenomenon that leads to disaster.” In this context, the authorities could also use the influential people as brokers.<sup>445</sup> Suspicious recruits from the post-Ottoman territories were not allowed to leave the barracks and in order to control their conduct, their private correspondence would be read.<sup>446</sup> Pursuing detachments were formed in late 1915 in each regimental district whose duty was to control the able-bodied and to cruise constantly, while the regimental district commanders had to stay in close contact with one another. Officers could also send these patrols consisting of the front-line soldiers in order to capture those who had wandered around at the rear.<sup>447</sup>

The underlying goal was not to shoot at or kill deserters, at this was only allowed as a last resort. Rather, the ruling elites wanted to negotiate with and remobilize them, if necessary by force.<sup>448</sup> Those deserters who were located in the Iškodra region, for example, had to be reassembled, rearmed, and re-drilled.<sup>449</sup> The state powers were at the beginning gentle with those who voluntarily expressed remorse for “this mistake,” after returning which is evident in the post-1914 Ottoman context as well.<sup>450</sup> Besides negotiating the extradition of fugitives and deserters, the Montenegrin and Serbian governing elites agreed (in early 1915) that both armies could mutually mobilize their subjects regardless of whether they held Montenegrin or Serbian

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<sup>443</sup> VA/Belgrade, P3, K55, F4, 7/53, #4392, 15.02.1915; *ibid*, P7, K61, F4, 24/1, #5562, 22.04.1915, Skoplje, KTNO to KTNO to the Supreme Command and the MoW respectively and *ibid*, P3, K55, F4, 7/35, #50.220, 10.07.1915, Kragujevac, Commander to the Šumadija District to the Supreme Command.

<sup>444</sup> VA/Belgrade, P3, K55, F3, 6/2, #22, 21.09.1914, Niš, KNRT to the Supreme Command and *ibid*, 6/6, #1076, 03.10.1914, Valjevo, Traffic Department to the Operation Department of the Supreme Command.

<sup>445</sup> VA/Belgrade, P3, K55, F3, 6/11, #1360, 03.11.1914; *ibid*, 6/14, #1372, 04.11.1914, Kragujevac, Traffic Department to the Operation Department and VA/Belgrade, P3, K55, F3, 6/16, #6733, 06.11.1914, Kragujevac, Supreme Command to the Commander of the Town of Kruševac; DAS/Belgrade, MID-PO 1915, R466, F19, D2, XIX/204, #340, 04.06.1915, Tetovo, District Chief to the MoFA.

<sup>446</sup> VA/Belgrade, P3, K55, F3, 6/2, #4272, 24.09.1914, Valjevo, Supreme Command to the KNRT.

<sup>447</sup> VA/Belgrade, P3, K55, F3, 6/31, #7722, 23.11.1914, Kragujevac, Supreme Command to all division districts in the pre-1913 territories; *IBID*, #487, 05.01.1915, Beograd, Command of the Duvan District to the Supreme Command and *ibid*, F4, 7/35, #50.220, 10.07.1915, Kragujevac, Commander of the Šumadija District to the Supreme Command; *ibid*, P7, K9, F2, 15/4, #2317, 13.11.1915, KUO to the Commander of the 4th Regiment of 3<sup>rd</sup> Levy and *ibid* 15/1, #2340, 18.11.1915, Banja, ŠUO to commanders of the Studenica Detachment of the 4<sup>th</sup> Regiment of 3<sup>rd</sup> Levy.

<sup>448</sup> VA/Belgrade, P3, K55, F3, 6/13, #2664, 04.11.1914, Bemanovce, KIIIA to the Supreme Command; *ibid*, 6/13, #6566, 04.11.1914, Kragujevac, Supreme Command to the Commander of the 4<sup>th</sup> (Užice) Regimental District; *ibid*, 6/21, #39, 07.11.1914, Kruševac, the Commander of the Town of Kruševac to the Supreme Command; *ibid*, 6/31, #487, 05.01.1915, Beograd, Command of the Duvan District to the Supreme Command and *ibid*, P7, K9, 15/1, #5263, 25.11.1915, Rožaje, Commander of the Dunav Division of 2<sup>nd</sup> Levy to the KUO.

<sup>449</sup> VA/Belgrade, P3, K55, F4, 8/23, #7476, 23.11.1915, Cetinje, Petar Pešić to the First Adjutant of the Crown Prince.

<sup>450</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MID-PO 1915, R466, F19, D1, XIX/176, 29.05.1915, Niš, MoW to the MoFA; *ibid*, D2, XIX/204, #340, 04.06.1915, Tetovo, District Chief to the MoFA; VA/Belgrade, P3, K55, F4, 6/43, #23.07.1915, Niš, MoW to the Supreme Command and Beşikçi, *Birinci Dünya Savaşı'nda Osmanlı Seferberliği*, 319.

subjecthood.<sup>451</sup> This was necessary because the Montenegrin side had noticed that many of their able-bodied who lived in Serbia avoided their duty in both polities.<sup>452</sup> Longing to fulfill all these aims and the picture on the ground did not always overlap inasmuch as one of the difficulties was the lack of police authorities who had been left without their personnel. This situation was so acute that some municipalities were at risk of being closed. Both civil and military authorities in the Bulgarian-Serbian borderlands did not perform their duties so eagerly. This is why the higher military authorities were allowed to deal harshly with those who did not carry out orders.<sup>453</sup>

The governing elites had to apply this harder approach not least because the remaining line soldiers demanded such an attitude. They adhered to the equal share of sacrifice or tacit security and military contracts, and were thus demoralized by the lack of initiative from the local powers, what was seen as being the greatest condemnation amid WWI and in the post-1918 period too. Accordingly, even the military criminal law was changed in mid-1915 in Serbia, whereby a soldier would be penalized for the first escape either with prison or death, while for the second time they fled, they were sentenced to death.<sup>454</sup> This aptly shows that the strategies of inducement did not produce results everywhere; however, for those who stuck to the tacit contracts, the authorities were ready to endorse them, while leaving a space for possible negotiation with deserters.

However, these would not apply to the (disability) benefits or pensions during or after the war, just as with their birth families. Desertion, purposely falling ill, surrendering to the enemy, or mutilating oneself disqualified them benefitting from the state-funded aid policies.<sup>455</sup> Certain Serbian officers, similar to their Ottoman peers, suggested that deserters should be shot in front of their unit as an example for this “heinous act,” including those who crippled themselves (so-called *prstaši*). The end goal of this act was supposed to enhance combat

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<sup>451</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MID-PO 1915, R466, F19, D4, XIX/268, 31.08.1915, Cetinje, Serbian Legation to the MoFA; *ibid*, R458, F12, D2, XII/72, #1888, 11.11.1915, Kragujevac, Supreme Command to the MoW and DACG/Cetinje, MUD-UO, 1915/F157, #668(2), br. 1783/1436, 18.02.1915, Cetinje, MoW to the MoI and *ibid*, #1891, Cetinje, MoI to the MoW.

<sup>452</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MID-PO 1915, R458, F12, D2, XII/72, #1888, 11.11.1915, Kragujevac, Supreme Command to the MoW.

<sup>453</sup> VA/Belgrade, P3, K55, F3, 6/6, #1076, 03.10.1914, Valjevo, Traffic Department to the Operation Department of the Supreme Command; *ibid*, 6/12, #1977, 01.11.1914, Zaječar, KTDO to the Supreme Command and *ibid*, 6/13, #6566, 04.11.1914, Kragujevac, Supreme Command to the Commander of the 4<sup>th</sup> (Užice) Regimental District.

<sup>454</sup> VA/Belgrade, P3, K55, F3, 6/31, #487, 05.01.1915, Beograd, Command of the Duvan District to the Supreme Command; *ibid*, F4, 6/43, #23.07.1915, Niš, MoW to the Supreme Command; VA/Belgrade, P3, K55, F4, 7/39, #1915, 13.07.1915, Kragujevac, Supreme Command to its Operation Department; *Vojni-krivični zakonik*, §63, 36. and VA/Belgrade, P3, K172, F3, 3/4, #35.389, 05.02.1919, Beograd, Supreme Command to the MoW. See also *Stenografske beleške Narodne Skupštine sazvane ukazom od 12. jula 1914 u vanredan saziv u Nišu, a ukazom od 16. jula 1916. radi produženja sedncia u varoši Krfu (od 42-68 sastanka)*, (Krf: Štampano u Državnoj štampariji Kraljevine Srbije, 1918), 48-50.

<sup>455</sup> „Zakon o izmenama i dopunama u Zakonu o potpori vojnih invalida i porodica poginulih, od rana umrlih ili nestalih vojnika od 10.04.1914“, *SN*, god. LXXXI, 13.04.1914, br. 82, 493-395, §3, 493; DAS/Belgrade, VGG, 9-pov. 9, zu Präs. Nr. 16318 von 1916, *Provisorische Instruktion*, 4 and „Invalidski zakon od 17.11.1925“, *SN KSHS*, god. VII, 21.11.1925, br. 268, 1-14, §6, 1-2.



morale.<sup>456</sup> The same strategy was used against those who attempted to flee from the front or surrender themselves to the enemy. Their superiors or peers were authorized to kill them, and the occasional use of artillery was not rare either.<sup>457</sup>

Even if they applied coercive methods such as imprisonment, this still might not be effective. Similar to their German peers, some Albanian-speaking Serbian soldiers did not consider prison as a difficulty but as a resting place (*uzurluk*). Certain strategies targeted those in particular who had helped deserters for months, be it their kin or local powers.<sup>458</sup> Their birth families sometimes became a target as well, just as the above-mentioned female teachers, who now had to serve in the unknown areas.<sup>459</sup> The authorities sometimes harassed the families of those who fled, as a case which happened in postMacedonia shows, where a wife, wrote a letter and begged her husband to reply, which in turn would enable her to dissuade the authorities that he was not a deserter.<sup>460</sup> While applying these strategies, the state gradually aspired to re-encroach in all these contested areas or private spaces.

This was crucial due to the outsider players, such as Bulgarian paramilitaries, bandits, as well Bulgarian, Italian, and Spanish consuls. They could get in (in-)direct contact with those recruits who wanted to flee or speak to their interests before the Serbian authorities, while paramilitaries could also forcefully drive the able-bodied men and their families to flee, participating thus (un-)knowingly in dispossessing Serbia from its material.<sup>461</sup> One could also find merchants and Bulgarian or Habsburg agents with hidden political agendas who also encouraged conscripts to escape. While fleeing, they were supposed to wear or carry some object which was red in color. That is why border authorities had to monitor all persons who wore the Serbian uniform.<sup>462</sup> This should not come as any surprise because one notices similar

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<sup>456</sup> VA/Belgrade, P3, K55, F3, 6/14, #1372, 04.11.1914, Kragujevac, Traffic Department to the Operation Department; VA/Belgrade, P6, K412, F7, 7/1, #505, Lojanica, 06.08.1914, Commander of the Šumadija Division of 1<sup>st</sup> Levy to the KIIA; *ibid*, 7/2, #12, Bojović to the Commander of the Šumadija Division of 1<sup>st</sup> Levy and Beşikçi, *Birinci Dünya Savaşı'nda Osmanlı Seferberliği*, 317.

<sup>457</sup> VA/Belgrade, P7, K25, F1, 10/4, #829, 08.10.1915, Commander of the 19<sup>th</sup> Infantry Regiment to the Commander of Varović Detachment; *ibid*, P3, K55, F4, 8/24, #10019, Prokuplja, 30.10.1915, IIA to the Supreme Command and *ibid*, P7, K9, F2, 15/1, #5170, 17.11.1915, Rakoš, Dunav Division of 2<sup>nd</sup> Levy to the KUO.

<sup>458</sup> VA/Belgrade, P3, K72, F5, 22/6, Srednjev, 29.06.1915, Commander of the 4<sup>th</sup> Battalion to the Commander of the 12<sup>th</sup> Infantry Regiment; *ibid*, K55, F4, 7/39, #3638, 30.06.1915, Bagrdan, Combined Division of 1st Levy of the People's Army to KIIIA; *ibid*, F4, 6/43, #23.07.1915, Niš, MoW to the Supreme Command.

<sup>459</sup> VA/Belgrade, P3, K55, F4, 7/53, #4392, 15.02.1915, Skoplje, KTNO to the Supreme Command.

<sup>460</sup> Najdovska, *Otpretani svedoštva: Vojnički pisma od golemata vojna 1914-1918*, 23.06.1915, Kundino, Cana Panović to Milan Panović, 465.

<sup>461</sup> VA/Belgrade, P3, K55, F3, 6/2, #22, 21.09.1914, Niš, KNRT to the Supreme Command; DAS/Belgrade, MID-PO 1915, R467, F19, D7, XIX/609, 20.01.1915, Niš, MoFA to the MoI; *ibid*, R459, F13, D1, XIII/35, #3658, 08.03.1915, Niš, MoW to the MoFA and *ibid*, R466, F19, D1, XIX/8, #4282, 23.04.1915, Niš, MoW to the MoFA.

<sup>462</sup> VA/Belgrade, P3, K55, F3, 6/6, #1076, 03.10.1914, Valjevo, Traffic Department to the Operation Department of the Supreme Command; *ibid*, #4756, 03.10.1914, Valjevo, Supreme Command to the MoW; *ibid*, K81, F4, 8/15, 16.11.1914, Kragujevac, Supreme Command to the various units. DAS/Belgrade, MID-PO 1915, R466, F19, D2, XIX/101, 24.04.1915, Valandov, Ajatil Ibrahim from Tatarli to Serbian authorities and *ibid*, XIX/167, 05.05.1915, Bašabos, various individuals from Darlobosa to Serbian authorities

actors in the post-1914 Ottoman context as well.<sup>463</sup> But difficult conditions of service and complex issues such as the procurement of quality food might make the rank and file susceptible to the influence of such propaganda, similar to the post-1918 context.<sup>464</sup>

In brief, by placing the emphasis on the complexity of strategies and tactics and on actors involved, one clearly notices that binary categories did not function and that it is unreasonable to claim that one ran from the army simply because they were a Christian or a Muslim. Some did desert because their confessional practices were not being respected, while others stayed; yet, at this point it is utterly hard to elucidate why this was the case. Opting exclusively for one single factor among many is misleading since the answer lies rather in conceptualizing and contextualizing the situation of those who were mobilized. It gives the impression that various strategies that were used kept the army functioning. This is why the present chapter sought to exemplify multiply strategies that, while acting at the same time, produced the desired result. This implies that in this interplay, multiple factors convinced a soldier to stay loyal to the cause even in moments of severe and brutal war conditions. Sources, however, do not allow one to gauge how many people from the region, regardless of national and/or confessional belonging, followed the army through post-1913 Albania and how many fled.

It is known that around 29,509 conscripts from the post-Ottoman Serbian territories between the ages of 21 to 45 either fled or remained abroad until July 1915. From that number, 21,877 were Christians, 7,197 Muslims, and 435 were Jews, while the figure of the post-1913 population amounted 1,666,178 (1913). The number of those of the Muslim creed, for instance, was 700,000, but it is not clear how many of them belonged among the fit conscripts and, most importantly, there is no data concerning deserters from the pre-1913 territories.<sup>465</sup> This means that in the post-Ottoman territories there was still enough of “living material”, to use Dieter Storz’s phrase, that could be used by the Habsburg Monarchy whose army by mid-1916, was hit particularly hard by WWI.<sup>466</sup> But what is about the soldier’s family? Why does it always emerge in the officers’ narrative, even when they tried to minimize its influence? Why was the birth family so crucial?

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<sup>463</sup> Beşikçi, *Birinci Dünya Savaşı'nda Osmanlı Seferberliği*, 303-05, 07.

<sup>464</sup> Avramovski, *Britanci i Kraljevini Jugoslaviji: Godišnji izveštaji Britanskog poslanstva u Beogradu 1921-1938*, I (1921-1930), 1922, 155.

<sup>465</sup> VA/Belgrade, P7, K58, F3, 7/4, #8540, 03.09.1915, Skoplje, KTNO to the MoW and Jagodić, *Novi krajevi Srbije (1912-1915)*, 115-38.

<sup>466</sup> Dieter Storz, "Personelle und materielle Rüstung: Europäische Armeen des Jahres 1916 im Vergleich," in *Materialschlachten 1916: Ereignis, Bedeutung, Erinnerung*, ed. Christian Stachelbeck (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2017), 199-230, here pp. 199-207.

## 5 Objects to Protect, Passive Bystanders, or Social Actors? Women, Children, and Mobilization

Apart from the occasional mention of women in previous chapters, nothing has thoroughly discussed their envisioned role, position, and status in a given context. Choosing not to focus on this issue would tacitly suggest that women were not to be found in the vicinity of the army and/or within the armed forces, further implying that the ruling elites had not been thinking what their place in this game should look like. In doing so, a certain mistake is made because one needs to question the relationship between male/female subjects and the state as debating about mobilization. Women became part of the mobilization efforts, not only as soldiers' mothers and wives, but also as daughters of the military-nation and part of the officers' narrative, meaning that they had always been present.<sup>1</sup> Therefore, integrating gender perspectives opens up new avenues through which additional interpretations of wars and mobilization might be presented. This is crucial, given the goal of revealing a more complex narrative of the wars seen through the lens of gender.<sup>2</sup> Just as various authorities engaged in conceptualizing and reifying an ideal soldier, man, and manhood, women and children represented a constituent piece of the equation – *powerless women/children > family > state*.

Gender is an interpersonal category and both sides have an indissoluble relationship with each other; therefore, one cannot be fully grasped without the other. If one is lacking, the equation would face failure and, by the same token, influence the intended mobilization.<sup>3</sup> Why is family so important that various elites persistently kept trying to link its fate to that of the imagined community? Can one explain this only by looking at the mobilization or is there something more behind the claim that seeks to merge these two? What meanings are ascribed to the terms “man” and “woman”? Why is it so vital to label and hierarchize their connotations and confine one to the *masculinized* front and the other to the so-called *feminized* home front? While asking these questions in the first subchapter, it is crucial not to single out gender at the

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<sup>1</sup> Nira Yuval-Davis, "Militär, Krieg und Geschlechterverhältnisse," in *Soziale Konstruktionen - Militär und Geschlechterverhältnis*, ed. Christine Eifler and Ruth Seifert (Münster: Westfälisches Dampfboot, 1999), 18-43, here pp. 18. Christa Hämmerle, "Von den Geschlechtern der Kriege und des Militärs: Forschungseinblicke und Bemerkungen zu einer neuen Debatte," in *Was ist Militärgeschichte?*, ed. Thomas Kühne and Benjamin Ziemann (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2000), 229-62, here pp. 40. and Altinay, *The Myth of the Military-Nation: Militarism, Gender, and Education in Turkey*, 50-52.

<sup>2</sup> Karen Hagemann and Stefanie Schüler-Springorum, "Preface," in *Home/Front: The Military, War, and Gender in Twentieth-Century Germany*, ed. Karen Hagemann and Stefanie Schüler-Springorum (Oxford; New York: Berg, 2002), ix-xii, here pp. x. Nicole Ann Dombrowski, "Soldiers, Saints, or Sacrificial Lambs? Women's Relationship to Combat and the Fortification of the Home Front in the Twentieth Century," in *Women and War in the Twentieth Century: Enlisted with or without Consent*, ed. Nicole Ann Dombrowski (New York - London: Routledge, 2004), 1-28, here pp. 3-4. and Susan R. Grayzel and Tammy M. Proctor, "Introduction," in *Gender and the Great War*, ed. Susan R. Grayzel and Tammy M. Proctor (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017), 1-9, here pp. 1, 8.

<sup>3</sup> Thomas Kühne, "Männergeschichte als Geschlechtergeschichte," in *Männergeschichte - Geschlechtergeschichte: Männlichkeit im Wandel der Moderne*, ed. Thomas Kühne (Frankfurt/New York: 1996), 7-30, here pp. 10-11. and Nira Yuval-Davis, *Gender and Nation* (Los Angeles - London - New Delhi - Singapore - Washington DC, 1997), 12.

expense of other relevant categories, such as nation pt confession, but rather aim to intertwine and historicize them, methodologically speaking. They mutually affect each other in a dynamic relationship.<sup>4</sup> It is equally necessary to think about how a discursive field reflects and produces different meanings in this regard. Gender characters were linked to national stereotypes and projects, becoming one of their central aspects and, in turn, emphasized their close connection.<sup>5</sup>

Implementation of the male-only compulsory military service and accommodation of the soldiers in barracks led to the emergence of the dichotomy between the military front and the “home front,” where in the former, men had a near unchallenged monopoly of power and influence. In this manner, military service became one of the sources for maintaining gender inequality by defining men and women’s relationships to the state.<sup>6</sup> However, it is generally accepted in scholarship that WWI generated a rupture, or rather, reconsideration of such gender placements because armies necessitated fresh supplies in terms of sending new bodies and materials following extended war operations. Women began working in professions that had been exclusive to men prior to the war.<sup>7</sup> Therefore, women were increasingly employed on the home front in all areas of the economy which were to the war effort throughout the Habsburg Empire, Great Britain, Italy, Germany and Russia. They participated in war relief, nursing, and were even mobilized into the corps known as the auxiliary working battalions while being deployed not only in the army rear, but also at the front.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Sylvia Walby, "Woman and Nation," *International Journal of Comparative Sociology* 33, no. 1-2 (1992): 81-100, here pp. 96. Amila Buturović and Ārvin Cemil Schick, "Introduction," in *Women in the Ottoman Balkans: Gender, Culture and History*, ed. Amila Buturović and Ārvin Cemil Schick (London: I. B. Tauris, 2007), 1–9, here pp. 3. Joan Wallach Scott, "Gender: Still a Useful Category of Analysis?," *Diogenes* 225 (2010): 7-14, here pp. 9. Yuval-Davis, "Militär, Krieg und Geschlechterverhältnisse," 21. and Yuval-Davis, *Gender and Nation*, 129.

<sup>5</sup> Heinz-Gerhard Haupt and Charlotte Tacke, "Die Kultur des Nationalen. Sozial- und kulturgeschichtliche Ansätze bei der Erforschung des europäischen Nationalismus im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert," in *Kulturgeschichte Heute*, ed. Wolfgang Hardtwig and Hans-Ulrich Wehler (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996), 255-83, here pp. 73-74. and Achim Landwehr, *Historische Diskursanalyse* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus Verlag, 2008).

<sup>6</sup> Ruth Seifert and Christine Eifler, "Einleitung," in *Soziale Konstruktionen - Militär und Geschlechterverhältnis*, ed. Christine Eifler and Ruth Seifert (Münster: Westfälisches Dampfboot, 1999), 7-16, here pp. 7-8. Hämmerle, "Von den Geschlechtern der Kriege und des Militärs: Forschungseinblicke und Bemerkungen zu einer neuen Debatte," 232-33, 50. Frevert, "Bürgersoldaten: Die allgemeine Wehrpflicht im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert," 49-65, here pp. 58-59. and Altinay, *The Myth of the Military-Nation: Militarism, Gender, and Education in Turkey*, 79.

<sup>7</sup> Hämmerle, "Von den Geschlechtern der Kriege und des Militärs: Forschungseinblicke und Bemerkungen zu einer neuen Debatte," 236, 51.

<sup>8</sup> For the general overview see Karen Hagemann, "Home/Front: The Military, Violence and Gender Relations in the Age of the World Wars," in *Home/Front: The Military, War, and Gender in Twentieth-Century Germany*, ed. Karen Hagemann and Stefanie Schüler-Springorum (Oxford; New York: Berg, 2002), 1-41, here pp. 7. Susan R. Grayzel, "Women and Men," in *A Companion to World War I*, ed. John Horne (Oxford-Malden: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), 263-78. and Jensen, "Gender and Citizenship," 10-26, here pp. 12-17. For Germany, for instance, see Ute Daniel, *Arbeiterfrauen in der Kriegsgesellschaft: Beruf, Familie und Politik im Ersten Weltkrieg* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1989). and Bianca Schönberger, "Motherly Heroines and Adventurous Girls: Red Cross Nurses and Women Army Auxiliaries in the First World War," in *Home/Front: The Military, War, and Gender in Twentieth-Century Germany*, ed. Karen Hagemann and Stefanie Schüler-Springorum (Oxford; New York: Berg, 2002), 87-113. For Italy, for instance, see Matteo Ermacora, "Women behind the Lines: The Friuli Region as a Case Study of Total Mobilization, 1915-1917," in *Gender and the First World War*, ed. Christa Hämmerle, Oswald Überegger, and Birgitta Bader Zaar (Houndmills; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 16-35. For the Habsburg Empire see Christa Hämmerle, *Heimat/Front: Geschlechtergeschichte/n des Ersten Weltkriegs in Österreich-Ungarn* (Wien: Böhlau, 2014).

Couched within this broader context, one sees the same occurrence in the Ottoman Empire, Serbia and Montenegro; in the case of the latter two, supplementary women working units had never been established. What distinguishes women in the Ottoman Empire, Serbia, and Montenegro from other settings is that from 1912 they actively contributed to war efforts by raising money, caring for refugees, assisting military units, and nursing.<sup>9</sup> Thus, new studies undoubtedly show how the home front and war front, imagined as two separate spheres, were in fact, closely linked in many different ways, meaning that they cannot be specifically associated with men or women in general.<sup>10</sup> The traditional demarcation between men and women, which military elites had enthusiastically preserved, was blurred by the altered demands of warfare.<sup>11</sup>

However, participating in warfare did not mean *per se* that women's societal position would be drastically improved or that the military belonged strictly to the men.<sup>12</sup> In the setting of the Vasojevići tribe, women's participation in the military was widely accepted during the Balkan Wars and WWI, whereby women adhered to their assigned position. How can this be explained? In order to grasp this concept, one must look beyond the region and take the Montenegrin army as a separate case-study. Do the ruling elites in Montenegro conceptualize the military differently from other neighboring states and their armies? What did women do in the military during the wars? What were their obligations? What motivated women to become part of the

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<sup>9</sup> For the Ottoman Empire, for example, see Nicole van Os, *Feminism, Philanthropy and Patriotism: Female Associational Life in the Ottoman Empire* (Zutphen: CPI Koninklijke Wöhrmann, 2013). Zeynep Kutluata, "Ottoman Women and the State during World War I" (Sabancı Üniversitesi, 2014). Yavuz Selim Karakışla, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Savaş Yılları ve Çalışan Kadınlar: Kadınları Çalıştırma Cemiyeti (1916-1923)* (İstanbul: İletişim, 2015). Yavuz Selim Karakışla, *Osmanlı Ordusunda Kadın Askerler: Birinci Kadın İşçi Taburu (1917-1919)* (İstanbul: Akıl Fikir Yayınları, 2015). Yavuz Selim Karakışla, "Osmanlı Ordusunda Kadın Askerler: Birinci Kadın İşçi Taburu (1917-1919)," in *1914'ten 2014'e 100'üncü Yılında Birinci Dünya Savaşı'nı Anlamak: Uluslararası Sempozyum 20-21 Kasım 2014, İstanbul*, ed. Zekeriya Türkmen (İstanbul: Harp Akademileri Basımevi, 2015), 215-61. Eyal Ginio, *The Ottoman Culture of Defeat: The Balkan Wars and their Aftermath* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016). and Elif Mahir Metinsoy, *Ottoman Women during World War I: Everyday Experiences, Politics, and Conflict* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017). For Serbia, for example, see Monika Kripner, *Žene u ratu: Srbija 1915-1918* (Beograd: Narodna knjiga, 1986). Stefanović, "Nation und Geschlecht: Frauen in Serbien von der Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts bis zum Zweiten Weltkrieg." Svetlana Milovanović, *Heroine Velikog rata* (Beograd: Karić fondacija, 2014). Ana Stolić, "Država i Beogradsko žensko društvo: (Re)produkcija rodni uloga i društvenih pozicija žena kao deo strategije upravljanja (1875-1914)," in *Država i politike upravljanja (18-20. vek)*, ed. Petar V. Krešić (Beograd: Istorijski institut, 2017), 149-73. and Stanojka Koprivica Kovačević, *Istorija sestrinstva u Srbiji: od manastirskih bolnica do kraja Drugog svetskog rata* (Beograd: Medija centar "Odbrana", UMST KCS, "Sestrinstvo", Licej, Beograd, 2018). For Montenegro see Martinović, *Crnogorska vojska 1854-1916 (naučna monografija)*, 153-67.

<sup>10</sup> Tammy M. Proctor, *Civilians in a World at War, 1914-1918* (New York and London: New York University Press, 2010). Christa Hämmerle, Oswald Überegger, and Birgitta Bader Zaar, "Introduction: Women's and Gender History of the First World War - Topics, Concepts, Perspectives," in *Gender and the First World War*, ed. Christa Hämmerle, Oswald Überegger, and Birgitta Bader Zaar (Houndmills; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 1-15, here pp. 5-6. and Karen Hagemann, "Die Heimatfront," in *Eine Geschichte des Krieges: Vom 19. Jahrhundert bis in die Gegenwart*, ed. Bruno Cabanes (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2020), 181-202.

<sup>11</sup> Hagemann, "Home/Front: The Military, Violence and Gender Relations in the Age of the World Wars," 7. and Nancy M. Wingfield and Maria Bucur, "Introduction: Gender and War in Twentieth-Century Eastern Europe," in *Gender and War in Twentieth-Century Eastern Europe*, ed. Nancy M. Wingfield and Maria Bucur (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2006), 1-20, here pp. 4.

<sup>12</sup> Yuval-Davis, "Militär, Krieg und Geschlechterverhältnisse," 19.

army? This is the topic of the second subchapter. The position of women in one tribal-based fabric can be analyzed by leaning on the notion of patriarchy.<sup>13</sup>

Women – paradoxical as it may sound – should not be viewed in this context exclusively as objects in the hands of the male elders and state institutions but rather as those who were able to oppose the governmental policies, thereby making their voices heard. In brief, just like *der kleine Mann* forced the ruling elites with their tactics to re-evaluate their policies in certain cases, so too did *die kleine Fraue* grow capable of accomplishing the same.<sup>14</sup> An appreciation of women's agency is therefore key for understanding the military in this setting.

Relying namely on state reports, literature and partially on petitions filed by women, the last subchapter focuses on the corollaries of armed conflicts and that of the mobilization of women and children in Montenegro during WWI, bringing into question what happens when male breadwinners were mobilized. What were the main problems they encountered and how did they manage to solve them? Petitions, important governmental tools, were viewed here not only as a means to enact mutual adjustments between the state and the population, but also to define the very relationship between various social players. It represented a political field in which notions of legitimation or state, national and/or confessional loyalties were articulated and negotiated. Women were capable of employing identitarian language or the patriotic discourse on sacrifice so as to remind the state about a tacit contract and its obligation to take care of soldiers' wives and families. In doing so, women adopted the social and political roles attributed to them as soldiers' wives and mothers.<sup>15</sup> This is significant since the goal of the last subchapter is to give space to women's memory and voices in the case where archival sources generally include a male-only-perspective.<sup>16</sup>

It is unfortunately unfeasible, due to the lack of records, to address the question of children separately from the narrative on women. It must be accepted though, that children are capable

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<sup>13</sup> Astrid Albrecht-Heide, "Militär und Patriarchat," in *Die Zukunft des Militärs in Industriegesellschaften*, ed. Wilfried Karl and Thomas Nielebock (Baden-Baden: Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft, 1991), 109-31. Kaser, *Hirten, Kämpfer, Stammeshelden: Ursprünge und Gegenwart des balkanischen Patriarchats*. and Kaser, *Patriarchy after Patriarchy: Gender Relations in Turkey and in the Balkans, 1500 - 2000*, 33, 35, 37-46.

<sup>14</sup> Wette, "Militärsgeschichte von unten. Die Perspektive des "kleinen Mannes"," 9-47.

<sup>15</sup> Sheila Fitzpatrick, "Editor's Introduction: Petitions and Denunciations in Russian and Soviet History," *Russian History* 24, no. 1/2 (1997): 1-9. Lex Heerma van Voss, "Introduction," in *Petitions in Social History*, ed. Lex Heerma van Voss (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 1-10. Nora Lafi, "Petitions and Accommodating Urban Change in the Ottoman Empire," in *Istanbul as Seen from a Distance: Centre and Provinces in the Ottoman Empire*, ed. Elisabeth Özdalga, M. Sait Özvarlı, and Feryal Tansuğ (Istanbul: Swedish Research Institute in Istanbul, 2011), 73-82. Gkara, Kabadayı, and Neumann, "Introduction: Ottoman Subjects as Political Actors. Historiographical Representations." Hale Yılmaz, "Petitions as a Source in Women's History of the Republican Period," in *Women's Memory: the Problem of Sources*, ed. D. Fatma Ture and Birsen Talay Keşoğlu (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2011), 81-93. Akın, "War, Women, and the State: The Politics of Sacrifice in the Ottoman Empire during the First World War," 12-35. Metinsoy, "Writing the History of Ordinary Ottoman Women during World War I," 18-39. and Kutluata, "Ottoman Women and the State during World War I," 69-76.

<sup>16</sup> Tilly Vriend, "Women's Memory, Whose Memory?," in *Women's Memory: the Problem of Sources*, ed. D. Fatma Ture and Birsen Talay Keşoğlu (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2011), 2-5. and Altınay, *The Myth of the Military-Nation: Militarism, Gender, and Education in Turkey*, 52.

of communal action. However, it is hard not to mention or bypass them since they belong to the home front narrative, implying that they accompany women and are often case in the role of someone who has to be shielded given their powerless image. Therefore, although many sources refer to children's experiences "as appendages to adult experiences," as Nazan Maksudyan rightfully criticizes this approach, children's involvements are tackled.<sup>17</sup>

## 5.1. Becoming Objects to Protect: Women/Children > Family > State

### 5.1.1. The Imagined Homeland Turns into Motherland and the Ascribed Duties of Men

As seen in the previous chapter, family was used during recruits' training and education as both a metaphor and archetype in order to establish hierarchies, foster discipline, and enhance cohesion. Wielding the family was not limited only to this context but was employed as part of the nation- and state-building processes. National connotations had been knowingly inserted into the military through the metaphors *otadžbina*, *otačestvo*, and *domovina* in Montenegro, Serbia, and the Kingdom of SCS or *memleket* and *vatan* in the case of the Ottoman Empire because they bore emotionally loaded local and family meanings. Thus, there is constant interplay between various notions of territoriality, both within and between locals, including between the latter, their localities, and state powers, which is made obvious in the literature published by officers.<sup>18</sup> However, for the sake of clarity, all these expressions are summarized here under the label of the *homeland*.

At the heart of national projects lies the family, functioning as a central metaphor. It operated under patriarchal domination similar to state sovereignty because its masculine character coexists with the masculine feature of familia domination, within which a person's

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<sup>17</sup> Nazan Maksudyan, "A New Angle of Observation: History of Children and Youth for Ottoman Studies," *Journal of the Ottoman and Turkish Studies Association* 3, no. 1 (2016): 119-22. On the history of children and that of youth policy in the post-1913 Ottoman and Habsburg worlds, for instance, see Healy, *Vienna and the Fall of the Habsburg Empire: Total War and Everyday Life in World War I*. Eyal Ginio, "War, Civic Mobilization and the Ottoman Home-Front during the Balkan Wars: The Case of Children," in *The Wars before the Great War: Conflict and International Politics before the Outbreak of the First World War*, ed. Andreas Rose, Dominik Geppert, and William Mulligan (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 92-113. Friederike Kind-Kovács, "The Great War, the Child's Body and the American Red Cross," *European Review of History* 23, no. 1-2 (2015): 33-62. Nazan Maksudyan, "Agents or Pawns? Nationalism and Ottoman Children during the Great War," *Journal of the Ottoman and Turkish Studies Association* 3, no. 1 (2016): 147-72. Nazan Maksudyan, *Ottoman Children and Youth during World War I* (Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 2019). Guidi, "Youth and Generations between two Empires: Changing Sociabilities from Ottoman to Italian Rule in Rhodes." For the French context, however, see Manon Pignot, "French Boys and Girls in the Great War: Gender and the History of Children's Experiences, 1914-1918," in *Gender and the First World War*, ed. Christa Hämmerle, Oswald Überegger, and Birgitta Bader Zaar (Houndmills; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 163-75.

<sup>18</sup> George W. White, *Nationalism and Territory: Constructing Group Identity in Southeastern Europe*, Geographical perspectives on the human past, (Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 2000), 31-39. Nenad Makuljević, *Umetnost i nacionalna ideja u XIX veku* (Beograd: Zavod za udžbenike i nastavna sredstva, 2006), 143. Martinović, *Upustva vojničkom starešinstvu za vaspitanje vojske u vojenom duhu i disciplini*, 13, 21-22, 39. Jokić, *Vojnički bukvar*, 109. Bojović, *Vaspitavanje vojnika*, 6-7, 24, 27-28, 30, 35-36, 48, 53-54, 57. Bulovan, "O potrebi narodnog vaspitanja i kakvu važnost imaju kasarne u tome," 94-100, here pp. 98-99. Fevzi, *Osmanlı Efradına Maneviyat-ı Askeriye Dersleri*, I, 4-5, 14-17, 26-27, 35-36. Ahmet Refik, "Vazife-i Askeriye," *Mecmua-i Fünûn-i Askeriye* 7 (Eylül 1326 [Eylül/Ekim 1910]): 367-84, here pp. 78-79. and Arif, *Piyade Neferi*, 7-8, 19. See also Karpát, *The Politicization of Islam: Reconstructing Identity, State, Faith, and Community in the Late Ottoman State*, 329-31.

position also determines his/her status in a given polity. Women and children, in their connect to the family, personified “the ruled” in the dichotomy between the rulers and the ruled, whereby they are also among those who are protected and preserved. Thus, the creation of a holy occurs where the family, home, women, and children symbolized a sacred part of the imagined community, whereas man is interwoven with state-building or shielding. Hence, the morality of the ideal subject was molded by the relationships which existed in the family between women and men, as well as between children and adults. This even shaped even the subject/state bond, in which everyone was aware of his/her duties and responsibilities, implying that clear hierarchies and differences had been established and reified not only in a given polity but also within the family. The outcome was that women and children became a category to be protected. This process represented a global phenomenon, one which Serpil Sancar aptly calls the construction of subjecthood according to gender differences.<sup>19</sup>

Through the process of gendering, an imagined homeland becomes *a* gender, albeit an implicit one. Hinging on this momentary context, it can be either imagined as a father or a mother, which develops into a valuable tool given its duty outlined in the tacit security contract: simultaneously, it offers protection but also asks to be safeguarded. Yet, in this particular context, the gender of the homeland is translated and naturalized through patriarchal familism being symbolized as the mother country whose envisioned female body overlaps with that of the political/imagined borders of the homeland. In a word, it becomes the mother/woman of “us all.” In this process, *she* is both sexualized and desexualized, but her maternal body dramatizes both motherhood and the homeland, thereby representing safety “through the boundaries of her body and morality.” Accordingly, it becomes *majka Srbija*, or as officers would say, *die Landesmutter Helvetia* or *Germania*.<sup>20</sup> In Ottoman political cartoons, produced by men for a primarily (yet not solely) male audience, the female figure of the imagined nation, dubbed as “Turkey” (*Türkiye*), “Freedom” (*Hürriyet*) or “Constitutionalism” (*Meşrutiyet*) symbolized the ideals of freedom, integrity, vulnerability, community, and love. Other states, specifically those

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<sup>19</sup> Serpil Sancar, *Erkeklik: İmkânsız İktidar. Ailede, Piyasada ve Sokakta Erkekler* (İstanbul: Metis, 2016), 153-57. and Serpil Sancar, *Türk Modernleşmesinin Cinsiyeti: Erkekler Devlet, Kadınlar Aile Kurar* (İstanbul: İletişim, 2017), 197-98, 200-02, 09. See also Ayşe Gül Altınay, "Giriş: Milliyetçilik, Toplumsal Cinsiyet ve Feminizm," in *Vatan, Millet, Kadınlar*, ed. Ayşe Gül Altınay (İstanbul: İletişim, 2016), 15-32, here pp. 21. Murat Belge, *Militarist Modernleşme: Almanya, Japonya ve Türkiye* (İstanbul: İletişim, 2014), 675-77. and Jensen, "Gender and Citizenship," 11-12.

<sup>20</sup> Ute Frevert, "Nation, Krieg und Geschlecht im 19. Jahrhundert," in *Nation und Gesellschaft in Deutschland: Historische Essays*, ed. Manfred Hettling and Paul Nolte (München: C. H. Beck, 1996), 151-70. Joane Nagel, "Masculinity and Nationalism: Gender and Sexuality in the Making of Nations," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 21, no. 2 (1998): 242-69, here pp. 54-56. Däniker, "Die Truppe - ein Weib? Geschlechtliche Zuschreibungen in der Schweizer Armee um die Jahrhundertwende," 110-34, here pp. 21. and Zillah Eisenstein, "Writing Bodies on the Nation for the Globe," in *Women, States, and Nationalism: At home in the nation?*, ed. Sita Ranchod-Nilsson and Mary Ann Tetreault (New York: Routledge, 2000), 35-54, here pp. 37, 41-43. Makuljević, *Umetnost i nacionalna ideja u XIX veku*, 114-15.



that posed as a menace to the Empire, were represented as men, regularly decked out in military uniform.<sup>21</sup>

In the context of nineteenth-century Iran, male attachment and assigned duties were facilitated through the figure of women because in Iran the imagined homeland was embodied in female form. The old idiom of *vatan*, as one's birthplace, signifying love for the familiarity, stability, and safety of home, was not replaced but rather new feature of *vatan* emerged, which came to imply "bounded territory within which the collectivity of national brothers resided." It also created the whole discourse on protecting, loving, and possessing the woman/homeland/state. It became a body to kill and die for.<sup>22</sup> This process, which Thongchai Winichakul fittingly labels the "geo-body," had discursive connotation, meaning that it was not exclusively about space or territory, but also referred to "a component of the life of a nation." Having been identified with the trope of the motherland, it invoked the new objectification of a common soil, mutually absorbing the human loyalty initially given to the land. In this manner, "not only was the geo-body naturalized but it was also given the primordial sentiment by the soil."<sup>23</sup> As such, it fits within the realm of invented traditions.<sup>24</sup>

A confessional dimension was certainly part of this interplay. For Iran, which had once connected with its confessional affiliation to the concept of honor, this shift announced the change from a religious dimension (*namus-i Islam*) to a national one (*namus-i Iran*). Neglecting to protect the female body of *vatan* meant that men who did not answer the call were put to shame insofar as territorial losses were mourned in patriotic writings as harm done to both a beloved female and mother. Not surprisingly, as the beloved, she remains a voiceless object of male adoration and love, denoting that not only is she silenced by the patriarchy in this manner, but also with no claim on her lover, she becomes regularly mute.<sup>25</sup> As shown earlier, tapping into the micro-solidarity of the grassroots enables the longevity and effectiveness of state-building. This is the reason why, roughly speaking, nationalist discourses were framed in ways that invoked intimate caring of family, hearth, and tribe, paving the way to gain a foothold

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<sup>21</sup> Palmira Brummett, "New Woman and Old Nag: Images of Women in the Ottoman Cartoon Space," in *Political Cartoons in the Middle East*, ed. Fatma Müge Göçek (Princeton: Markus Wiener Publisher, 1998), 13-57, here pp. 29-31.

<sup>22</sup> Afsaneh Najmabadi, "The Erotic Vatan [Homeland] as Beloved and Mother: to Love, to Possess, and to Protect," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 39, no. 3 (1997): 442-67, here pp. 42, 51, 59.

<sup>23</sup> Thongchai Winichakul, *Siam Mapped. A History of the Geo-Body of a Nation* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1994), x, 16, 17, 131-32 and 37.

<sup>24</sup> Hobsbawm, "Mass-Producing Traditions: Europe, 1870-1914," 263-307. See also Hobsbawm, "Introduction: Inventing Traditions," 1-14, here pp. 1-4, 6-7, 12, 14.

<sup>25</sup> Najmabadi, "The Erotic Vatan [Homeland] as Beloved and Mother: to Love, to Possess, and to Protect," 444-46, 62. and Eisenstein, "Writing Bodies on the Nation for the Globe," 41.

within them. They represented a framework upon which these projects were built since the latter is characterized by deep emotional and moral attachments.<sup>26</sup>

Therefore, it comes as no surprise that during WWI, the British and German ruling elites wielded gender as a tool to gain support for mobilization. Recruitment techniques varied from emphasizing the need for fathers to protect their daughters to encouraging women to hand out white feathers, an emblem of cowardice, in order to publicly shame those who did not volunteer into the military. This was followed by the narratives of how it was heroic men's duty to defend innocent women and children.<sup>27</sup> In Serbia amidst WWI, the enemy's egregious atrocities (*nečuvena zverstva*) against the pre-1913 population during the Habsburg offensives provoked not only disgust but also a latent desire for revenge among the soldiers.<sup>28</sup>

However, this also contained another dimension since it became a useful strategy for upholding combat morale and keeping the non-core groups in the army. For example, after the Second Balkan War, some junior officers instructed their children to remember and tell their offspring back home "who and what the Bulgarians are, so that, God forbid, they [children] would be able to guard themselves" in future wars. Rumors claimed that the Bulgarian soldiers peeled the skin from the faces, noses and lips of captured Serbian soldiers.<sup>29</sup> Similar tactics were used by the Russian military during WWI in which the imagined German was used to stress the immense cruelties against the population in order to inspire Estonian-speaking subjects to fight. Serbian officers and soldiers used a similar approach with the imagined German-speaking Austrian. Albanian and Slavic-speaking soldiers from the post-1913 territories uttered that the former would tell them "only go to the Austrians if you dare – they will fry you alive," which occasionally yielded the desired result.<sup>30</sup>

Still, in reference to the family, if *he* is a true and whole man, then as a soldier, *he* has to be ready to sacrifice *his* life for the family/homeland because only such a man was considered as faithful and capable. In sum, this discourse was not only limited to mobilization efforts, but also was strongly connected to the nation-building process, within which gender roles were clearly

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<sup>26</sup> Malešević, "The Foundations of Statehood: Empires and Nation-States in the Longue Durée," 145-61, here pp. 55-56. and Malešević, *Grounded Nationalisms: A Sociological Analysis*, 84-85.

<sup>27</sup> Grayzel, "Women and Men," 263-65, 67. and Anne Schmidt, "'Kämpfende Männer - Liebende Frauen". Geschlechterstereotype auf deutschen Propagandaplakaten des Ersten Weltkrieges," in *Geschlecht und Nationalismus in Mittel- und Osteuropa 1848-1918*, ed. Sophia Kemlein (Osnabrück: fibre Verlag, 2000), 215-53, here pp. 18-19, 32-34.

<sup>28</sup> VA/Belgrade, P3, K55, F3, 6/29, 10.11.1914, Kragujevac, Supreme Command to Nikola Pašić and Jakovljević, *Srpska trilogija: Devestočetnaesta*, I, 50.

<sup>29</sup> and Šikoparija, *Sećanja srpskog oficira (1900-1918)*, 182.

<sup>30</sup> Roda, *Serbisches Tagebuch*, 69-70 (citation). and Liisi Esse, "Estonian Soldiers and the Others in World War One: Imagining and Encountering Friends and Foes," *First World War Studies* 9, no. 2 (2018): 151-66, here pp. 52-54. On the enemy images in the Habsburg and Serbian context before and amid WWI see Christian Promitzer, "The South Slavs in the Austrian Imagination: Serbs and Slovenes in the Changing View from German Nationalism to National Socialism," in *Creating the Other: Ethnic Conflict and Nationalism in Habsburg Central Europe*, ed. Nancy M. Wingfield (New York - Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2003), 183-215, here pp. 183-84, 91-93. and Schanes, *Serbien im Ersten Weltkrieg: Feind- und Kriegsdarstellungen in österreichisch-ungarischen, deutschen und serbischen Selbstzeugnissen*.

defined. Ultimately, the fate of women/children/family were associated with the geo-body/state/honor and it was the man's duty to protect and military service maintained this obligation.<sup>31</sup>

However, in this interplay, a hierarchization is being fostered insofar that if the state fell victim to the enemy, it denoted that the fate of the hearth was put into question. Their fates could become entangled and mean the same thing, but the protection of the state or the imagined homeland would come first. This ordering and imagining the borders of the geo-body is echoed in the literature used for educating recruits while they were serving, whereby the latter had been educated in a very similar manner.<sup>32</sup> Again, although the reception among soldiers is being infeasible to heed, this narrative deserves to be addressed because certain manuals were written based on the officers' experience. In Ömer Fevzi's textbook (1909), this arrangement is given in question-and-answer format as follows:

Homeland [*Vatan*] – The Mother of the Soldier [*Askerin Anası*] Q: Who is your greater mother than that in your home? A: My homeland! Q: Soldier! Where is the homeland? A: It is an Ottoman country [*ülke*]! Q: Why do you love so much the homeland? A: Because my humanely existence, my honor [*namus*], reputation [*nam-i nişan*] depend on it. My home [*evim*], my place [*yerim*], my native land [*yurdum*], all my property, ancestors, descendants are in her arms [*onun kucagındadır*]. The black forest at the bottom of the village, the cold spring, the flowering mountain at the beginning of the village, the green plain, the foggy hill are always in her breast [*onun göğüsündedir*]. She gives my passion, my bread, my water. She feeds us and our animals with her air, sun, shadow and flower. In order to live with my honor, the bosom of the homeland [*vatanın bağı*] must be safe at all. Otherwise, a human without homeland is like a vague, undefined man.<sup>33</sup>

Around the same time (1908), Fevzi's colleague in Serbia, Jovan M. Sretenović reflected on the Serbian imagined homeland:

What is a homeland [*otadžbina*], what is our homeland, what is its name? The homeland is a country [*zemlja*] – a state [*država*] in which one is born, in which he lives alone, in which his ancient and most ancient ancestors lived, and in which a people of one custom, one religion and one language live. Our homeland is Serbia, inhabited by Serbs, who speak Serbian as we do, who are Orthodox Christians and all have identical customs. We and all our ancestors were born in Serbia, and therefore Serbia is our mother [*majka*], our homeland. (...) We should not only love our homeland and respect it, but we should die for it when needed. Just as we need to defend our

<sup>31</sup> Frevert, "Soldaten, Staatsbürger: Überlegungen zur historischen Konstruktion von Männlichkeit," 69-87, here pp. 82. Karen Hagemann, "Tod für das Vaterland: Der Patriotisch-nationale Heldenkult zur Zeit der Freiheitskriege," *Militärgeschichtliche Zeitschrift* 60 (2001): 307-42, here pp. 28-30. Martina Kessel, "The 'Whole Man': The Longing for a Masculine World in Nineteenth-Century Germany," *Gender and History* 15, no. 1 (2003): 1-31. Karen Hagemann, "Krieg, Militär und Mainstream: Geschlechtergeschichte und Militärgeschichte," in *Geschichte und Geschlechter: Revisionen der neueren deutschen Geschichte*, ed. Karen Hagemann and Jean H. Quataert (Frankfurt: Campus Verlag, 2008), 92-129, here pp. 00-03. Angelika Schaser, "Nation, Identität und Geschlecht: Nationalgeschichtsschreibung und historischer Frauen- und Geschlechterforschung," in *Geschichte und Geschlechter: Revisionen der neueren deutschen Geschichte*, ed. Karen Hagemann and Jean H. Quataert (Frankfurt: Campus Verlag, 2008), 64-91, here pp. 79. and Altınay, *The Myth of the Military-Nation: Militarism, Gender, and Education in Turkey*, 79.

<sup>32</sup> For the Serbian and SCS case, for instance, see Pejović, *Vojnička čitanica za svakog vojnika*, 34, 61. Drag Ž Tešović, "Otađbina," *Vojni vesnik/Vojni vjesnik/Vojaški vestnik* 2, no. 7 (1922): 24-26. Jokić, *Vojnički bukvar i osnovne dužnosti vojnika*, 72-74. and Bulovan, "O potrebi narodnog vaspitanja i kakvu važnost imaju kasarne u tome," 98-100. For the Ottoman Empire, for example, see Mehmed Ali, *Küçük Zabıtlere Nasihat* (İstanbul: Yeni Osmanlı A. Aznavur Matbaası, 1326 [1910]), 3, 13-14. Arif, *Piyade Neferi*, 7-8, 176. Arif, *Orduda Terbiye*, 81-82. and Belge, *Militarist Modernleşme: Almanya, Japonya ve Türkiye*, 727.

<sup>33</sup> Fevzi, *Osmanlı Efradına Maneviyat-ı Askeriye Dersleri*, I, 10-11.

own house [*naša kuća*], family and children, our field and our inheritance [*tekovina*], we should also safeguard our homeland, because it is the mother of us all, because it is our common house [*opšta kuća*], it is our field and meadow, our family and children and our all that is holy [*sveto*], common and dear to us.<sup>34</sup>

The imagined homeland thus becomes the same as one's house (*kuća, evim, yerim*), family and children (*porodica i deca*), or birth place and region (*yurdum, ülkem*). Yet *she* (the woman) is at the same time bigger and more important (*onun kucağında, onun göğüsünde, opšta/zajednička kuća, majka*) than one's home because *she* provides the air that one breathes and food that one eats, *she* represents the nature that is part of one's environment and surroundings, *she* offers safety, she symbolizes one's honor and reputation (*namus, nam-i nişan*), and also the place where one's ancestors (*ecdât, precî*) used to dwell and where future descendants (*ahfât*) would reside. It is therefore one's duty to guard her and to lay down his/her life at the altar of the homeland (*treba i da poginemo za nju*) because by protecting the imagined homeland, one at the same time, protects their family.<sup>35</sup>

This intertwining was crucial because among the locals in the region, family was equaled to the symbolic home (*kuća, dom, dim*), whereby the latter does not just signify the inhabitants of one house, but rather, everything attached to it: the estate, the livestock, the good or bad reputation (*glas*), or the entire fraternity. Thus, the *kuća/dom* implies morality (*moral*).<sup>36</sup> Encompassing and linking one's home, family, landscapes, nature, and settlements with the fate of the state was necessary.<sup>37</sup> The same process occurred in pre-1914 Germany where the trope *Heimat* was constructed as an interchangeable representation of the local, regional, and national communities, embracing woman, children, nature and localities as well.<sup>38</sup> Behind this also existed the intention to encourage the idea among recruits that the homeland does not represent merely the native land or soil where one is born (*memleket, toprak*) but "the whole Ottoman land [*memleket*] is considered the homeland [*vatan*] of every Ottoman."<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> Sretenović, *Potrebna znanja za vojnika stalnog kadra, vojne obveznike od njihove 18.-50. godine, za opštinske vlasti i za građane u opšte u njihovim odnosima prema vojnoj službi i prema vojnim vlastima s bukvarom za samouke*, 21.

<sup>35</sup> Bojović, *Vaspitavanje vojnika*, 7, 24, 57, 77, 95.

<sup>36</sup> DAS/Belgrade, VGG, 8-1107, 12.04.1917, Amir Ismailović to the Novi Pazar District Chief (...) a njihove kuće i čeljad su sad pale na teret i moje izdržavanje. Kako sam sad sam ostao na mojoj kući, a o njihovim kućama moram se starati; Cvetić, *Novopazarski sandžak*, 29. Rovinski, *Crna Gora u prošlosti i sadašnjosti*, II: Etnografija, 146. Aleksandra Vuletić, *Porodica u Srbiji sredinom 19. veka* (Beograd: Istorijski institut, 2002), 25-26. Kütükoğlu, *Osmanlı'nın Sosyo-Kültürel ve İktisâdi Yapısı*, 5-18.

<sup>37</sup> Makuljević, *Umetnost i nacionalna ideja u XIX veku*, 143-44. That is why particular animals or landscapes have become "national" symbols. See Canetti, *Masse und Macht*, 187-93. and Naoum Kaytchev, "Children into Adults, Peasants into Patriots: The Army and Nation-Building in Serbia and Bulgaria (1878-1912)," in *Childhood in the Late Ottoman Empire and After*, ed. Benjamin C. Fortna (Leiden - Boston: Brill, 2015), 115-40, here pp. 23-28. See also Naum Kaychev, *Makedonijo, vuzzhelana: Armijata, uchilishte i gradezhut na nacijata v Surbiya i Bulgariya (1878-1912)* (Sofia: Paradigma, 2003).

<sup>38</sup> Alon Confino, "The Nation as a Local Metaphor: Heimat, National Memory and the German Empire, 1871-1918," *History and Memory* 5, no. 1 (1993): 42-86, here pp. 44-45, 50, 62, 65, 70-71.

<sup>39</sup> Ali, *Küçük Zabıtlere Nasihat*, 13. (...) Vatan yalnız doğduğumuz memleket, toprak olmayıp bütün Osmanlı memleketi her Osmanlı'nın vatani sayılır (...)

The conscription and nationalization of local meanings and notions of honor among residents in the region went hand-in-hand. Through the latter, the ruling elites found support for wars particularly in areas where inhabitants were illiterate and where the spoken word played a crucial role, as scholars have shown the case in of the Ottoman Empire during WWI.<sup>40</sup> One should pay heed to the latter namely because in the 1850s, hearing the word *vatan* meant nothing more to Ottoman recruits than the villages which they hailed from. The same applies to Serbian peasants many of whom had never seen the world outside of their own close environment and whose range of contact at the time rarely extended beyond the surrounding villages. Serving in the military before 1913 in Serbia meant that every recruit, who made up over 80% of those drafted, had to spend some time in the barracks which were located in either large or small urban environments.<sup>41</sup>

This domestication was closely tied to the obligation to die for the homeland, meaning that one had to die when the state instructed it for the sake of the homeland's security (in Ömer's paragraph *selâmet*) because not every death was the same. A Serbian textbook proclaims that "whoever dies has died [*umro*] for his family; yet whoever is killed [*pogine*], he is killed for his family, homeland, and his whole nation", implying that even death exists as a hierarchy.<sup>42</sup> This becomes even more palpable in the SCS case, where the soldier of post-1918 era exhibits continuities since pre-1914 Serbian textbooks and army regulations were regularly used in parts of the SCS army.<sup>43</sup>

By forging the homeland in this manner, the recruits were also taught about the borders of their geo-body. Both in the Ottoman and Serbian case, information on the political borders of their homelands, as well as that of the neighboring polities, became part of the military curriculum.<sup>44</sup> One should not underestimate the latter because it played a crucial role in building the so-called defensive patriotism and endurance among the recruits while also acting as one of the most significant driving factors for fighting in WWI, as shown.<sup>45</sup> However, in the Serbian context, it is not only about imbuing defensive patriotism but also about constructing a mental map in the recruits' heads of where other Serb lands are located in the Ottoman (Old Serbia and

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<sup>40</sup> Beşikçi, *Birinci Dünya Savaşı'nda Osmanlı Seferberliği*, 77-95.

<sup>41</sup> Ahmet Cevdet Paşa, *Ma'ruzat*, ed. Yusuf Halaçoğlu (İstanbul: Çağrı Yayınları, 1980), 114. (...) Ammâ bizde 'vatan', denilirse askerın köylerindeki meydanlar hâırlarına gelir. (...); Vuletić, *Porodica u Srbiji sredinom 19. veka*, 29. and Milićević, "Regrutni sastav vojske Srbije 1883-1912. Sistem poziva i neki njegovi društveni aspekti," 9-25, here pp. 17.

<sup>42</sup> Walzer, *Obligations: Essays on Disobedience, War, and Citizenship*, 77-79. Jokić, *Vojnički bukvar*, 110. (...) Ko umre, taj je umro za svoju familiju; a ko pogine, taj je poginuo i za svoju familiju i za otadžbinu i za ceo narod svoj.

<sup>43</sup> VA/Belgrade, P3, K170, F3, 5/10, OBr. 35778, #70.969, 25.08.1919, Beograd, MoWN to the Supreme Command and Jokić, *Vojnički bukvar i osnovne dužnosti vojnika*, 48-49, 90-91, 103-05. See also Bjelajac, *Vojska Kraljevine SHS 1918-1921*.

<sup>44</sup> Salahaddin, *Küçük Zabıt Numune Taburu Efradı Tedris Olunmak üzere Gayret-i Muhtasar-ı Coğrafya ve Ordu Teşkilatı*, 7-8, 23-24. and Sretenović, *Potrebna znanja za vojnika stalnog kadra, vojne obveznike od njihove 18.-50. godine, za opštinske vlasti i za građane u opšte u njihovim odnosima prema vojnoj službi i prema vojnim vlastima s bukvarom za samouke*, 64.

<sup>45</sup> Watson, *Enduring the Great War: Combat, Morale and Collapse in the German and British Armies, 1914-1918*, 57-58. and Oliver Janz, *14: Der Grosse Krieg* (Frankfurt/New York: Campus Verlag, 2013), 98-99.

Macedonia) or Habsburg (Bačka, Banat, Srem, Slavonia, Baranya, Croatia, Istria, Dalmatia, Bosnia, and Herzegovina) empires, as well as in pre-1913 Bulgaria (the Vidin and Sofia region).<sup>46</sup> These were the Serb regions under foreign rule (*pod tuđom vlašću*), whereas Montenegro, along with Serbia, was one of the Serb and free countries.<sup>47</sup>

Thus, the Serbian fictional geo-body did not coincide with that of its polity, which was a narrow homeland (*uža otadžbina*) but went far beyond it. The national feature of these lands changed after 1918, becoming thereon the SCS or “our all lands where our nation lives.”<sup>48</sup> The Montenegrin ruling elites also had its own vision of the “Serb” lands (Old Serbia, Herzegovina, North Albania/Skenderija, the Bay of Kotor) in which the latter claimed to have a historical right.<sup>49</sup> Having being categorized thus, the texts bear a direct message that the Serbian/Montenegrin soldier had to safeguard not only Serbia or Montenegro, but should also be ready to defend of the other imagined parts of his geo-body.<sup>50</sup> But, behind this, Charles Maier’s notion of territoriality echoes.

However, military service did not represent first contact where a recruit started to become familiar with the imagined geo-body. Obtaining this knowledge was an integral part of the school curriculum already in elementary schools. Due to the cyclical model of teaching, pupils in Serbia learned about the borders and where the Serb lands were located as early as the age of nine (3<sup>rd</sup> grade). They were taught that “every Serb has to be a soldier, meaning, every Serb has to be ready to give his life for the sake of the homeland.”<sup>51</sup> After hearing the same narrative in high school, an able-bodied man is repeated this narrative for a third time upon being drafted. In addition to studying where the Serb lands were, children in Montenegro learned the notion of homeland (*domovina*) in the third grade of a elementary school and most importantly that one has to “protect from the enemy more than his/her own life.” This was summarized with the

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<sup>46</sup> Also the post-1878 Ottoman textbooks claimed that Algeria, Tunisia and Romania belong to the Ottoman Empire but it is not clear whether this claim had a national feature since scholars have drawn so far different conclusions. See Selçuk Akşin Somel, *Osmanlı'da Eğitim Modernleşmesi (1839-1908)* (İstanbul: İletişim, 2015), 250. and Doğan, *İlk ve Orta Dereceli Okul Ders Kitapları ve Sosyalleşme (1876-1918)*, 106.

<sup>47</sup> Sretenović, *Potrebna znanja za vojnika stalnog kadra, vojne obveznike od njihove 18.-50. godine, za opštinske vlasti i za građane u opšte u njihovim odnosima prema vojnoj službi i prema vojnim vlastima s bukvarom za samouke*, 65-66.

<sup>48</sup> Bojović, *Vaspitavanje vojnika*, 66, 151-54. and Sretenović, *Potrebna znanja za vojnika stalnog kadra, vojne obveznike od njihove 18.-50. godine, za opštinske vlasti i za građane u opšte u njihovim odnosima prema vojnoj službi i prema vojnim vlastima s bukvarom za samouke*, 20-21. and Jokić, *Vojnički bukvar i osnovne dužnosti vojnika*, 33, 72-73.

<sup>49</sup> Đuro Popović and Jovan Roganović, *Zemljopis Kraljevine Crne Gore za učenike trećeg razreda osnovnijeh škola* (Cetinje: Kr. C. Državna štamparija, 1911), 29, 31. and Andrijašević, *Crnogorska ideologija, 1860-1918: Državna ideologija Crne Gore u vrijeme vladavine Nikole I Petrovića Njegoša*, 480.

<sup>50</sup> Bojović, *Vaspitavanje vojnika*, 63, 69, 132. Sretenović, *Potrebna znanja za vojnika stalnog kadra, vojne obveznike od njihove 18.-50. godine, za opštinske vlasti i za građane u opšte u njihovim odnosima prema vojnoj službi i prema vojnim vlastima s bukvarom za samouke*, 66. and Andrijašević, *Crnogorska ideologija, 1860-1918: Državna ideologija Crne Gore u vrijeme vladavine Nikole I Petrovića Njegoša*, 694-99, 701-02, 06.

<sup>51</sup> Ilić, *Udžbenici i nacionalno vaspitanje u Srbiji 1878-1918*, 61-63, 66 (citation).

sentence “there is nothing more beautiful than being a soldier/guardsman [*vojnîk/branič*] of your dear homeland.”<sup>52</sup>

Relying on the state curriculum, schooling was meant to strengthen the national belonging among the pupils and to transfer from the “little Montenegrin” into a great Montenegrin/fighter, preparing them to sacrifice their lives for the vital national and patriotic mission. In an attempt to achieve this goal and instill the martyr narrative, the Montenegrin governing elites gave greater importance to primary rather than to classical high schools because primary education included a much larger part of the population.<sup>53</sup> In the Ottoman Empire before 1912, as well as teaching children that *vatan* does not indicate *köy*, *kasaba* or *şehir* but that it could also signify the imagined Ottoman homeland, loving and defending the latter was branded as the holy duty ordered by Islam. Military service, in contrast, was presented as the most salient of all the subjects’ responsibilities.<sup>54</sup> That is why scholars aptly conclude that the moral training and behavior of students in Ottoman civil schools actually did not vary in this regard from that of the Empire’s military schools because the efforts were made to establish even a unified curriculum.<sup>55</sup>

As stated in a textbook published in 1910, learning about the Ottoman geo-body in Orthodox Christian schools of the Slavic-speaking population did not differ because one’s birthplace was embedded within the imagined and broader Ottoman homeland.<sup>56</sup> However, the Ottoman geo-body was hampered by the Serb geo-body since the same textbooks which taught the pupils in Serbia about the scope of their geo-body and willingness to die for it had been illegally imported into the Ottoman Empire. Teachers who originally hailed from myriad “Serb lands” relied heavily on these texts and educated the Slavic-speaking pupils about the Serb geo-body in a Serbia-backed theological high school (Prizrin) and in a classical high school (Taşlıca). At the same time, these centers represented places where scholars coming from various parts of the imagined Serb lands met, slept, and studied together.<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>52</sup> Popović and Roganović, *Zemljopis Kraljevine Crne Gore za učenike trećeg razreda osnovnijeh škola*, 3, 4, 29, 31.

<sup>53</sup> Andrijašević, *Crnogorska ideologija, 1860-1918: Državna ideologija Crne Gore u vrijeme vladavine Nikole I Petrovića Njegoša*, 469-70, 74, 77-78.

<sup>54</sup> Doğan, *İlk ve Orta Dereceli Okul Ders Kitapları ve Sosyalleşme (1876-1918)*, 106-07, 54. Üstel, “*Makbul Vatandaş'ın Peşinde: II. Meşrutiyet'ten Bugüne Vatandaşlık Eğitimi*”, 59, 73-74, 78, 83-84, 87-88, 97-105. Somel, *Osmanlı'da Eğitimin Modernleşmesi (1839-1908)*, 240-49. Fortna, *Imperial Classroom: Islam, the State, and Education in the Late Ottoman Empire*, 165-201. and Boyar, *Ottomans, Turks and the Balkans: Empire Lost, Relations Altered*, 9-11, 13-16, 18, 21, 23-24, 26-27, 40.

<sup>55</sup> Fortna, *Imperial Classroom: Islam, the State, and Education in the Late Ottoman Empire*, 239.

<sup>56</sup> Spira Hadži Ristić and Gliša Elezović, *Elifbâ-ı Osmanî / Turski bukvar sa vežnjanjima i rečnikom* (Skoplje: Kosova Vilayet-i Matbaası / Državna štamparija Kosovskog vilajeta 1910), 37. Otadžbina – Vatan: Vatan nedir? Vatan içinde doğduğumuz, bildiğimiz memleketlerdir. Biz Osmanlıyız, bütün Osmanlı memleketleri bizim vatanımızdır. Bir vatanda doğanlar o vatanın evladlarıdır. Bir vatanın evladları birbirinin kardeşidir. Vatan kardaşlarımızı sevelim. Bunları sevmek için borcumuzdur. (...)

<sup>57</sup> Novakov, “*Srednje srpske škole u Osmanskom carstvu (1878-1912)*,” 71-72, 76, 104, 17, 227, 663-64, 99 and Pejović, *Politika Crne Gore u Zatarju i Gornjem Polimlju 1878-1912*, 163-65.

As a direct result, the Hamedan elites devoted considerable attention to the controlling and banning of the unauthorized texts, maps or visual sources which depicted the Serb mediaeval heroes, rulers, and lands, something which the literature and archival sources aptly illustrate.<sup>58</sup> Thus, considering civil and military social disciplines as two separate fronts is not always helpful because here, they acted as one discursive field which was preserved also in the post-Ottoman period.<sup>59</sup> This enabled a field within which the close cooperation of various state actors and brokers became clearly evident, as shown. Ultimately, it comes as no surprise that the SHS military in mid-1920 demanded that they be sent “good and willing teachers” in order to “enlighten and nationalize the peoples” in the region.<sup>60</sup>

Through the latter, duties in the Serbian and Ottoman armies were tacitly mediated, namely that of the guard service (*stražarska služba* or *nöbetçilik*, *bekçilik*), this narrative also further nationalized and consecrated both the inner and newer meanings of honor, and the image of the potential enemies. If the latter enters the homeland, then he disturbs the soldier’s honor (*ırz*) resulting in his heart aching (*yüreğimin başı sızlar*). The soldier therefore cannot thus turn his back on the enemy because if this were to happen, then his “mother” is trampled upon by his enemy (*anasını düşmana çiğnetmiş olur*).<sup>61</sup> This duty not only refers to protecting his other family, the military family, but also implies that the soldier watches over the parts/borders of the geo-body, i.e. his home within the larger homeland. “Being a soldier means the guardian of the homeland.” In the Ottoman case, fulfilling guard duty was even embodied in the expression of protecting the homeland, referred to as *vatanı beklemek*.<sup>62</sup>

A proclamation made in late 1914 by the Montenegrin king illustrates what could happen to their village, hearth, children and property, if the soldiers failed to stop the advance of the enemy. The enemy would kill, torment, dishonor and enslave them.<sup>63</sup> Since it is “evaluated with the Ottoman body, measurable with human limbs/organs, it is precious. Regardless of which place the enemy nail touches, the moan of my ancestors [note the second crowd] comes

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<sup>58</sup> Fortna, *Imperial Classroom: Islam, the State, and Education in the Late Ottoman Empire*, 220. and Boyar, *Ottomans, Turks and the Balkans: Empire Lost, Relations Altered*, 14, 21. For example, see BOA/Istanbul, TFR.I.KV, 49/4822, leff 1 and *ibid*, Y.MTV, 235/64, leff 2 and 3, 1 Teşrinievvel 1318 [15/10/1902], General Staff at the Yıldız Palace to the Seraskerlik General Staff.

<sup>59</sup> Ayşe Gül Altınay quotes a Turkish Minister of Culture as follows “Just as the army is a school, so is the school an army,” implying that the discourse of national education bears in itself an idea of preparing the yet not-ready boys for the future military service. See Altınay, *The Myth of the Military-Nation: Militarism, Gender, and Education in Turkey*, 8, 119 (citation), 22, 24, 32, 34, 37, 41. 8 and 119 (citation).

<sup>60</sup> Dimić and Borozan, *Jugoslovenska država i Albanci*, II, #714, 16.06.1920, Skoplje, KIIIIO to the MoWN, 742.

<sup>61</sup> Fevzi, *Osmanlı Efradına Maneviyat-ı Askeriye Dersleri*, I, 5.

<sup>62</sup> Fevzi, *Osmanlı Efradına Maneviyat-ı Askeriye Dersleri*, I, 2, 15-16. and Arif, *Piyade Neferi*, 214-15.

<sup>63</sup> NMCG-ABO/Cetinje, N. I 1914/F70, #638, 21.10.1914, Cetinje, Supreme Command to the Commander of Lovćen Detachment.



from the ground!”<sup>64</sup> Being a guardsman is thus entangled with one’s honor and is characterized as a sacred service (*sveta služba* or *mukaddes bir vazife*), thereby gaining a confessional dimension (*Allah bunu böyle emir etmiştir*). Only at that one moment, does he prove that he is a true soldier and man who is capable to endure anything, acting thus independently, and even dying at this duty is performed.<sup>65</sup> This was, among other reasons, why Serbian officers were furious to learn that some Albanian-speaking recruits did not take their guard duty seriously, allowing their peers to leave the camp, the battle line or to take military materials.<sup>66</sup>

#### 5.1.2. The Imagined Homeland Turns into Fatherland and the Ascribed Duties of Women

In times of war, the imagined homeland, solidified by the soldiers’ family, emerges also as a home front, where the domestic non-combatant population needed to be protected. This in turn established a gendered attribute for the latter. The ruling elites reinforced this notion and at the same time stigmatized those able-bodied people behind front lines as being unfit for service. In doing so, they all became bystanders since in war propaganda such black-and-white perceptions worked efficiently in selling the war was eased, meaning that the maintenance of these roles was pivotal.<sup>67</sup> This does not mean *per se* that the imagined homeland does not act because in this context it becomes a protector of the soldiers’ family on the home front, implying that it presented itself as something fixed through its territorial integrity, political system or military. In short, it became a caring fatherland.<sup>68</sup> This was the case in Russia during WWI, because soldiers were called up to defend the state and thereby guard their own families, and the state had the moral obligation to protect the soldiers’ families.<sup>69</sup>

Serbian governing elites, for instance, knew that family hardships amidst war would tempt men to neglect their military duty because for many of them loyalty to their kin came first. A myriad of examples from late 1914/15 aptly confirms this claim. The authorities wanted to stop the village population from fleeing because they feared it would spread confusion and panic among the army and the rest of the subjects. Their misery and the deaths of small children had

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<sup>64</sup> Fevzi, *Osmanlı Efradına Maneviyat-ı Askeriye Dersleri*, I, 17. (...) Vatanımın taşı; ecdâdımın kemiği, toprağı vücutlarının külçesi ve toprağın yaşı, kahraman kanıdır. Bu yerlerin her harşı, ağaçların her dalı; Osmanlı vücuduyla, insan a’zasiyla ölçülür, tartılır, pahalıdır. Hangi noktasına düşman tırnağı dokunsa taşından toprağından ecdâdımın iniltisi gelir!

<sup>65</sup> Jokić, *Vojnički bukvar*, 89. Sretenović, *Potrebna znanja za vojnika stalnog kadra, vojne obveznike od njihove 18.-50. godine, za opštinske vlasti i za građane u opšte u njihovim odnosima prema vojnoj službi i prema vojnim vlastima s bukvarom za samouke*, 42, 44. Jokić, *Vojnički bukvar i osnovne dužnosti vojnika*, 106-08. Ali, *Küçük Zabıtlere Nasihat*, 55. and Arif, *Piyade Neferi*, 214.

<sup>66</sup> VA/Belgrade, P3, K81, F4, 8/91, 20.05.1915, #3540, Topčidersko brdo, KKO to the KOB and VA/Belgrade, P3, K72, F5, 22/6, 29.06.1915, Srednjeve, Commander of the 4<sup>th</sup> Battalion to the Commander of the 12<sup>th</sup> Infantry Regiment.

<sup>67</sup> Susan R. Grayzel, *Women's Identities at War: Gender, Motherhood, and Politics in Britain and France during the First World War* (Chapel Hill and London: The University of North Carolina Press, 1999), 3. Proctor, *Civilians in a World at War, 1914-1918*, 4-5, 7, 9. Çiğdem Akgül, *Militarizmin Cinsiyetçi Suretleri: Devlet, Ordu ve Toplumsal Cinsiyet* (Ankara: Dipnot Yayınları, 2011).

<sup>68</sup> Confino, "The Nation as a Local Metaphor: Heimat, National Memory and the German Empire, 1871-1918," 73.

<sup>69</sup> Sanborn, "Family, Fraternity, and Nation-Building in Russia, 1905-1925," 93-100, here pp. 97-98, 00.

a very bad effect on the morale of soldiers who had seen or heard about these events. This in turn pushed a number of soldiers and conscripts to abandon their posts. Desertion among military ranks skyrocketed after some found out that their homes had fallen under the enemy occupation.<sup>70</sup>

These Serbian rank and file were not any different from the Habsburg paramilitaries. Concerned about their families who were threatened by bandits in late 1918, and having preferred, what Habsburg officers called “the adventurous life” over combat in the trenches, they escaped.<sup>71</sup> However, in Montenegro during, 200 soldiers once fled, not due to the enemy offensives, but because they had somehow learned that their peers from other tribal battalions were being billeted in their houses. While some threatened to settle score with the latter, others wanted to set fire to their homes before going abroad, and an even smaller number of them were eager to complain to the king.<sup>72</sup> A British consul based in New York faced problems with transporting Montenegrin volunteers to the Balkan front simply because the volunteers sought to bring their families along, something which the consul firmly rejected firmly.<sup>73</sup> This close bond to the family is clearly evident elsewhere, such as in the Ottoman Empire after 1914.<sup>74</sup>

The promise to look after the soldiers’ kin as being a state duty is also tangible in proclamations. In one of these statements, the Montenegrin king assured subjects that “the families of the needy soldiers will be supplied with foodstuffs.” But as the war progressed, soldiers on both sides had heard similar assurances many times.<sup>75</sup> In this “fatherless society,” how Maureen Healy calls it, a ruler, a surrogate father, and various state powers had to protect the soldiers’ families, as was discussed in previous chapters.<sup>76</sup> This tacit family contract, as it can be labeled here, also unfolds an overarching goal of the centralizing state powers; to a certain degree, it tends to absorb the basic function of family. Eugen Weber argues that for pre-1914 France context, the family seemed to have lost its protective role in affairs of security, health, clothing, education, and social discipline, whereas state-supported organizations gradually gained a paternal authority.<sup>77</sup> However, it could be that the family had been only

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<sup>70</sup> VA/Belgrade, P3, K55, F3, 6/29, #7363, 08.11.1914, Niš, Nikola Pašić to the Supreme Command; *ibid*, #934, 10.11.1914, Kragujevac, Supreme Command to various military units; *ibid*, P7, K25, F1, 10/7, #4904, 19.10.1915, KOB to various military units and *ibid*, P6, K509, F2, 6/14, #1161, 12.11.1915, Sedlari, Commander of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Regiment of 2<sup>nd</sup> Levy to the Commander of the Morava Division of 2<sup>nd</sup> Levy.

<sup>71</sup> ÖStA/KA/Vienna, FA NFA MGG/S, 1669/1918, #1913, Op. Nr. 492, 07.10.1918, Mitrovica a/K, GIS to the MGG/S.

<sup>72</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MID-PO 1915, R458, F12, D2, XII/78, #95, 13.02.1915, Cetinje, Serbian Legation to the MoFA.

<sup>73</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MID-PO 1914, R431, F15, D3, 15/226, #422, 08.11.1914, Cetinje, Serbian Legation to the MoFA.

<sup>74</sup> Yiğit Akin, *When the War came Home: The Ottomans' Great War and the Devastation of an Empire* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2018), 97-100.

<sup>75</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MID-PO 1914, R431, F15, D3, 15/221, #2006, 29.10.1914, Cetinje, An Order of the King and Akin, *When the War came Home: The Ottomans' Great War and the Devastation of an Empire*, 22.

<sup>76</sup> Healy, *Vienna and the Fall of the Habsburg Empire: Total War and Everyday Life in World War I*, 260, 79-83. and Maureen Healy, "Civilizing the Soldier in Postwar Austria," in *Gender and War in Twentieth-Century Eastern Europe*, ed. Nancy M. Wingfield and Maria Bucur (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2006), 47-69, here pp. 50.

<sup>77</sup> Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France, 1870-1914*, 188.

partly separate from certain matters, meaning that both the family and the state had begun to share the same bonds concerning the soldiers' kin.<sup>78</sup>

Although there have always been situations, particularly in war, where loyalty towards family prevails, the role of state authorities should not be underestimated. Not only did war enhance their penetration into the realm of family but also this involvement also had a reciprocal character, as exhibited in later ahead. Members of a household might invite state authorities to intervene in their lives as an attempt to endure brutal war conditions.<sup>79</sup> However, some Serbian officers sought to curtail these family bonds by preaching in times of peace that marrying before serving was counterproductive. Besides longing for his wife and children, who are left home without protection or at the mercy of others, a married man cannot put his full attention on the army. A premature marriage also was thought to the male body and cause the loss of strength necessary for enduring military service. It is for this reason that it was best to wait for marriage until after the soldier paid his debt.<sup>80</sup> Still, the number of married recruits grew exponentially from the introduction of general conscription (1883). Military service could have caused this because drafting meant there was a shortage of labor back home and soldiers were not allowed to get married while serving under the banner.<sup>81</sup>

While men's duties revolved mainly around shielding the symbols of the so-called national honor, women occupied an emblematic and supportive role, serving as an object confined to home along with the children. By considering a gender not only as a category of relations, but as a difference, then a gender always appears as one side of the other, similar to the Miloš vs. the damed Vuk opposition. Masculinity was formed differently from femininity and femininity acted in direct contrast to masculinity.<sup>82</sup> Thus, the woman's envisioned duties were as follows: along with their portrayal as biological reproducers of the imagined community and reproducers of the collectivity's political borders, they were also viewed as being central to the ideological reproduction, transmitters of its culture, signifiers of its imagined ethno-national categories, and

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<sup>78</sup> Michael Mitterauer and Reinhard Sieder, *Vom Patriarchat zur Partnerschaft: Zum Strukturwandel der Familie* (München: C. H. Beck, 1977), 95-111, 13.

<sup>79</sup> Çiğdem Oğuz, "'Moral Crisis' on the Ottoman Homefront During the First World War" (PhD Universiteit Leiden, 2018), 3-4, 30-31, 192-93, 201, 03.

<sup>80</sup> Sretenović, *Potrebna znanja za vojnika stalnog kadra, vojne obveznike od njihove 18.-50. godine, za opštinske vlasti i za građane u opšte u njihovim odnosima prema vojnoj službi i prema vojnim vlastima s bukvarom za samouke*, 8.

<sup>81</sup> Milićević, "Regrutni sastav vojske Srbije 1883-1912. Sistem poziva i neki njegovi društveni aspekti," 17-18. "Zakon o ženidbi oficira, podoficira i redova od 03.08.1898," in *Zbornik zakona i uredaba u Kraljevini Srbiji izdatih od 01.01.1898. do kraja iste godine* (Beograd: Kraljevsko-srpska državna štamparija, 1901), 370-75, see §17, 74. and "Zakon o ženidbi oficira, podoficira, kaplara i redova od 24.12.1901. godine," in *Zbornik zakona i uredaba u Kraljevini Srbiji izdatih od 01.01.1901. do kraja iste godine* (Beograd: Kraljevsko-srpske državne štamparija, 1903), 800-05, see §21, 03.

<sup>82</sup> Nagel, "Masculinity and Nationalism: Gender and Sexuality in the Making of Nations," 252-53. Altınay, "Giriş: Milliyetçilik, Toplumsal Cinsiyet ve Feminizm," 19. and Charlotte Tacke, "Geschlecht und Nation," in *Geschlecht und Nationalismus in Mittel- und Osteuropa 1848-1918*, ed. Sophia Kemlein (Osnabrück: fibre Verlag, 2000), 15-32, here pp. 19.

sponsors of its various endeavors.<sup>83</sup> Therefore, as a contemporary states in pre-1913 Montenegro, aside from wishing to have four brave sons who would be “a grim rampart for the homeland and guardians of their sacred things,” a “good” Montenegrin also longs for two “fearless” daughters too who “like the Kosovo Maiden, will heal wounds of their wounded brothers, fathers, or husbands, who will not mourn for the fallen sons, brothers, or housekeepers [*domaćini*], but will be as hard-hearted as Mother Jugović, and protect and cultivate the rest for revenge of the dead.”<sup>84</sup>

Just as the recruits were meant to identify themselves with their heroic role models, so too did the women have their own, embodied in the image of the Kosovo Maiden or Mother Jugović. For women, this meant that in accordance with their “nature” to love, the roles of *woman-mother*, *wife*, or a *woman on the battlefield*, as national heroines, were all reserved.<sup>85</sup> These characters from the epic poetry are telling examples of how women not only in the Montenegrin but also in the Serbian context were expected to behave. While the Maiden was an imaginary figure who looked after wounded Serb soldiers following the Battle of Kosovo against the Ottoman army (1389), the Mother Jugović acted here in a twofold manner: first, through her virtue and second, through her suffering. Also here, the medievalization was furthered by the preachers of national projects regardless of whether they were men or women. The Mother Jugović was considered as the “true” Serbian mother who had brought up her children in Serbian national custom and whose nine sons were instilled with love for the homeland while they were in her “womb.” Since she lost all of her sons in the battle, as well as her husband, in battle, her grief and pain were sublimed with patriotic pride, and she is portrayed in the patriotic-national discourse as the incarnation of national female virtues.<sup>86</sup> It comes as no surprise why the Lower Vasojevići used to label women as a “holy chest” (*sveti kovčeg*), ready to avenge anyone for even the slightest insult directed towards them.<sup>87</sup> They were supposed to endure and yield sacrifice (*podnositi žrtve*) to the homeland as women of certain Serbian officers uttered amidst the Balkan Wars, or to encourage (*sokoliti*) the tribesmen to keep fighting in times when their combat morale faltered.<sup>88</sup>

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<sup>83</sup> Nira Yuval-Davis and Floya Anthias, "Introduction," in *Woman - Nation - State*, ed. Nira Yuval-Davis and Floya Anthias (London: Macmillan, 1989), 1-15, here pp. 6-7. and Yuval-Davis, *Gender and Nation*, 33-45. See also Carol Delaney, "Cutting the Ties that Bind: The Sacrifice of Abraham and Patriarchal Kindship," in *Relative Values: Reconfiguring Kinship Studies*, ed. Sarah Franking and Susan McKinnon (Durham: Duke University Press, 2001), 445-67.

<sup>84</sup> Jovičević, *Domaće negovanje i vaspitanje djece u Crnoj Gori*, 2-3.

<sup>85</sup> Makuljević, *Umetnost i nacionalna ideja u XIX veku*, 114-15.

<sup>86</sup> Stefanović, "Nation und Geschlecht: Frauen in Serbien von der Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts bis zum Zweiten Weltkrieg," 82-84, 213-19, 21. and Melissa Bokovoy, "Kosovo Maiden(s): Serbian Women Commemorate the Wars of National Liberation, 1912-1918," in *Gender and War in Twentieth-Century Eastern Europe*, ed. Nancy M. Wingfield and Maria Bucur (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2006), 157-70, here pp. 59-62.

<sup>87</sup> Cemović, *Vasojevići: Istorijaska istraživanja*, 55-56, 58.

<sup>88</sup> Henrik August Angel, *Kada se jedan mali narod bori za život. Srpske vojničke priče* (Beograd: ITAKA, 2014), 23. and Vešović, *Pleme Vasojevići u vezi sa istorijom Crne Gore i plemenskim životom susjednih Brda*, 363.

A Montenegrin woman had to instill love for rifle and heroism in their children, as well as the animosity towards idleness (*mlitavost*) and a quiet life without arms (*povučenom obezoružanom životu*), whereby the heroism was considered as an inherent merit (*urođena vrlina*) of the Montenegrin soldier (recalling the story of Rada Spalević).<sup>89</sup> In return for their martyrdom, it was the duty of the nation (*millet*) in the Ottoman Empire before 1912 to take care of both war veterans' children and martyrs' descendants who are glorified as the most precious children of the village (*köyün en kıymetli çocukları*). They were cherished above all if in their lineage more martyrs were born from into the later generations.<sup>90</sup> As shown earlier, the governing elites and non-state charities also provided a financial aid for the women's sacrifice and that of their male kin through various programs aimed at enhancing the widow's material and social position.<sup>91</sup> Yet, this prioritization between children is not only palpable here; this narrative which created new categories and rankings put into practice a hierarchy of holiness between ordinary mothers and martyr mothers, creating separation and exclusion between them.<sup>92</sup>

The image of Ottoman women as mothers started to change in WWI since the ruling elites tended to control the pain of losing their sons, by redirecting their grief or probable loss of the children. The love for the son was represented as the basis upon which the love of nation and the revenge discourse takes place with the intended target being the enemy. Within this context, the ideal patriotic mother emerges as one who controlled and covered her pain with the love for her country, determination, pride for the martyrs in her family, and acting as a servant of the country with both her body and soul. Apart from being imagined as a vessel and transmitter for feelings of revenge, women must tell the history of the nation to the future offspring, cultivating in them the national mission and a character of heroism/martyrdom.<sup>93</sup> The same is evident in Serbia and Montenegro. Besides answering the sacred call (*sveti svoj poziv*) of being a mother and representing a cornerstone of the house or household, nurturing desire for revenge among the offspring, simplicity, chastity, competency, loyalty to man and brother, being housekeeper, and offering motivation to the able-bodied all characterized the ideal women.<sup>94</sup> Some of these

<sup>89</sup> Jovičević, *Domaće negovanje i vaspitanje djece u Crnoj Gori*, 53-54.

<sup>90</sup> Fevzi, *Osmanlı Efradına Maneviyat-ı Askeriye Dersleri*, I, 23. (...) hele bir kaç göbekten soyunda şehit olursa.

<sup>91</sup> For the post-1913 Ottoman and post-1918 Turkish Republican era, however, see Safiye Kıranlar, *Savaş Yıllarında Türkiye'de Sosyal Yardım Faaliyetleri (1914-1923)* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2013), 42, 44, 46-50, 175, 76-77, 78, 80-82, 84-90.

<sup>92</sup> Akgül, *Militarizmin Cinsiyetçi Suretleri: Devlet, Ordu ve Toplumsal Cinsiyet*, 98.

<sup>93</sup> Kutluata, "Ottoman Women and the State during World War I," 34-64.

<sup>94</sup> Jovičević, *Domaće negovanje i vaspitanje djece u Crnoj Gori*, 48-49, 54, 97-98. Popović and Roganović, *Zemljopis Kraljevine Crne Gore za učenike trećeg razreda osnovnijeh škola*, 31. Cemović, *Vasojevići: Istorijska istraživanja*, 53. Stefanović, "Nation und Geschlecht: Frauen in Serbien von der Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts bis zum Zweiten Weltkrieg," 80. Ilić, *Udžbenici i nacionalno vaspitanje u Srbiji 1878-1918*, 44-45. Angel, *Kada se jedan mali narod bori za život. Srpske vojničke priče*, 21-26. and Bokovoy, "Kosovo Maiden(s): Serbian Women Commemorate the Wars of National Liberation, 1912-1918," 164-65.

duties were learned and perfected while attending school but studies show that the pre-school socialization also played an important role.<sup>95</sup>

However, preachers of this narrative even wanted to control women's behavior even when men were not present around because it was preferred for them to lose their lives rather than fall in love with an enemy given its ties with the notion of (national) honor.<sup>96</sup> Because women were portrayed as mothers of the nation, their honor and morality were fragile. Through the fraternization with the enemy or prisoner of war, "a woman was tainting not just her own honor and that of her family but also that of her nation at a time of vulnerability when the nation not could bear any such blows to its image."<sup>97</sup> Serbian women during WWI were also expected to maintain the honor of their homes and nations through their chastity and devotion as wives and mothers. This is why Serbian sources written during the Habsburg occupation provide contradictory data on the behavior of women from urban families, in which their innocence, complete devotion to the children, and loyalty to their husbands, even if he was deceased, is stressed. However, Habsburg sources give a different image, i.e. one which focuses on the rise of prostitution.<sup>98</sup>

Harsh war conditions, just as during WWII, led an unknown number of women to work as prostitutes or enter into transactional relationship as a way to endure the former.<sup>99</sup> This is why Habsburg authorities in the Yeni Pazar region in mid-1917 noticed that public but partially concealed prostitution was spreading throughout the town and in the countryside, and they sought to control it. Apart from sending those who were secretly prostitutes to a doctor on a case-by-case basis, the latter were arranged to appear for visits twice a week, as the public prostitutes whose number varied between eight or nine. Others, mainly Slavic-speaking Christian women, found jobs and were engaged in tailoring, catering, boiling and soaping, while

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<sup>95</sup> Jovičević, *Domaće negovanje i vaspitanje djece u Crnoj Gori*, 48-49, 51, 54, 67, 85-86, 94-96. Božica Mladenović, *Porodica u Srbiji u Prvom svetskom ratu* (Beograd: Istorijski institut, 2006), 87-89, 91, 96. Momčilo Isić, *Seljanka u Srbiji u prvoj polovini 20. veka* (Beograd: Helsinški odbor za ljudska prava u Srbiji, 2008), 138-39, 41, 70-71, 228. and Somel, *Osmanlı'da Eğitimin Modernleşmesi (1839-1908)*, 233, 306-07, 10-12. See also Carrie E. Paechter, *Educating the Other: Gender, Power and Schooling* (London - Washington D. C.: The Falmer Press, 1998).

<sup>96</sup> Stefanović, "Nation und Geschlecht: Frauen in Serbien von der Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts bis zum Zweiten Weltkrieg," 80.

<sup>97</sup> Jovana Knežević, "Gender and Occupation," in *Gender and the Great War*, ed. Susan R. Grayzel and Tammy M. Proctor (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017), 133-48, here pp. 41 (citation). James E. Connolly, "Mauvaise Conduite: Complicity and Respectability in the occupied Nord, 1914-1918," *First World War Studies* 4, no. 1 (2013): 7-21. and Lisa M. Todd, *Sexual Treason in Germany during the First World War*, *Genders and Sexualities in History*, (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2017). For the context in Habsburg-occupied Serbia see Jovana Knežević, "The Austro-Hungarian Occupation of Belgrade during the First World War: Battles at the Home Front" (PhD Yale University, 2006), 152-61, 65, 69, 77, 77, 81-89. Mladenović, *Porodica u Srbiji u Prvom svetskom ratu*, chapters 3, 4 and 5. and Božica Mladenović, "Rat i privatnost: Prvi svetski rat," in *Privatni život kod Srba u dvadesetom veku*, ed. Milan Ristović (Beograd: Clio, 2007), 771-95, here pp. 71-78, 82-92.

<sup>98</sup> Jovana Knežević, "Prostitutes as a Threat to Nation Honor in Habsburg-Occupied Serbia during the Great War," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 20, no. 2 (2011): 312-35, here pp. 14, 24-25. and Mladenović, *Porodica u Srbiji u Prvom svetskom ratu*, 111.

<sup>99</sup> Mladenović, "Rat i privatnost: Prvi svetski rat," 786-92. and Wendy Jo Gertjejjanssen, "Victims, Heroes, Survivors: Sexual Violence on the Eastern Front During World War II" (PhD University of Minnesota, 2004), 4-5, 11, 25-26.

their Muslim peers remained within household industries.<sup>100</sup> Therefore, since both kinds of honor were interlinked, one can therefore grasp why in mid-1908, Montenegrin officers from the Upper Vasojevići tried to prevent two young woman from “turning Turk” in Berane and Āpek, knowing that this might instigate some turmoil among their fellow tribesmen in the Empire.<sup>101</sup>

Aggression against women’s bodies or other forms of sexual violence could lead to an eruption of physical violence locally.<sup>102</sup> Though some scholars argue that these actions were part of the Ottoman “genocide,” the regional context reveals a different picture.<sup>103</sup> In late 1898, after finding out that an Ottoman soldier Ömer ođlu Azm from Tařlica violently took the virginity (*kızının bıkırını izale eden*) of a 12-year-old Slavic-speaking child from the Lower Vasojevići, thereby committing an indecent act (*fi’l-i řeni’ icra eylemesi*), Ottoman military authorities took legal measures to prevent any similar misconducts from happening.<sup>104</sup> However, around forty armed locals ambushed Ottoman soldiers and paramilitaries with the goal of enacting blood feud (*ahz-ı intikâm fikriyle*), killed and wounded several of them, and seized their firearms. Thanks to village muhtars and local headmen, the situation was de-escalated to the extent that weapons were returned to the military power and Ömer was brought before the court.<sup>105</sup> Acting in this manner was in the state’s best interest because, as contemporary studies have shown, the policies of protecting one’s honor in the eighteenth-century Empire were wielded as a legitimizing concept that regulated the relationship between the state and its subjects. Among other things, this fostered the reification of state authorities locally since the boundaries between the categories of bandits (*eřkıya*), local notables (*ayan*), and military-administrative officials (*ehl-i örf*) became blurred by the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>106</sup>

Recruits in both the Ottoman and Serbian armies learned that killing women (since honor was to be protected and respected), clergymen, unarmed old men, children and patients was not allowed in battle. Bombarding places where the latter dwelled was also prohibited. If these

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<sup>100</sup> DAS/Belgrade, VGG, 20-77, 28.07.1917, Novi Pazar, District Command to the Delegate of War Economy at the MGG/S, 7, 19, 21.

<sup>101</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MID, 1908/F153, #1419, 01.05.1908, Andrijevića, Veřović MID-u; *ibid*, #1419/2, 03.05.1908, Andrijevića, Veřović to the MoFA and *ibid*, #1434, 05.05.1908, Andrijevića, Protić to the MoFA.

<sup>102</sup> Elizabeth D. Heineman, "Introduction: The History of Sexual Violence in Conflict Zones," in *Sexual Violence in Conflict Zones: From the Ancient World to the Era of Human Rights*, ed. Elizabeth D. Heineman (Philadelphia - Oxford: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011), 1-21, here pp. 2-4, 7.

<sup>103</sup> Radomir P. Guberinić, *Mladoturski zloćini u Polimlju (1908-1912)* (Beograd: Kulturno-prosvetna zajednica Srbije, 2004), 5, 11.

<sup>104</sup> BOA/Istanbul, HR.TH, 217/133, leff 1, 22 Eylöl 1314 [03/10/1898], Serasker Rıza to the MoFA; *ibid*, leff 4, 30 Eylöl 1314 [13/10/1898], Sadrazam to the MoFA and *ibid*, 218/47, leff 1, 3 Teřrin-i Evvel 1314 [15/10/1898], Serasker Rıza to the MoFA. On the notion *fi’l-i řeni’* and *zina* see Bařak Tuđ, *Politics of Honor in Ottoman Anatolia: Sexual Violence and Socio-Legal Surveillance in the Eighteenth Century* (Leiden - Boston: Brill, 2017), 156-59, 66, 69, 79.

<sup>105</sup> BOA/Istanbul, HR.TH, 218/47, leff 2, 21 Eylöl 1314 [03/10/1898], Berane Command to the MoFA; *ibid*, 217/133, leff 3, 27 Eylöl 1314 [09/10/1898], Serasker Rıza to the MoFA and *ibid*, 217/133, leff 2, undated, Serasker to the MoFA.

<sup>106</sup> Tuđ, *Politics of Honor in Ottoman Anatolia: Sexual Violence and Socio-Legal Surveillance in the Eighteenth Century*, 14-15, 23, 127-41, 43-53.

crimes were committed they would tarnish the honor of the nation and army honor, and for this reason severe punishments were prescribed.<sup>107</sup> This is unsurprising since Montenegro, the Ottoman Empire, and Serbia ratified the 1899 Hague Convention which outlined the laws and customs of land warfare and they merely signed the 1907 convention.<sup>108</sup> The Montenegrin and Serbian armies stressed this prior to and in the first days of the Balkan Wars, thereby conveying a clear message to their soldiers that committing violence against the peaceful subjects and their personal property was not allowed.<sup>109</sup>

However, maintaining control among combatants during the war was not an easy task. In contrast to their Serbian peers, among whom one could still find examples of those who partook in plundering and killing (but not in sexual violence), certain members of the Montenegrin army caused great displeasure among the locals regardless of creed, by looting and dishonoring (*beščaćenje*). As a result of these acts, they lost the sympathy of the locals.<sup>110</sup> Scarcity of sources unfortunately did not allow one to get to the bottom of this issue. However, it is clear that soldiers were not ordered to rape (unlike in the Wars of Yugoslav Succession in the 1990s) implying that they may have been motivated by sexual desire or to enhance their own feelings of power, as had happened in on the Eastern Theater of WWII.<sup>111</sup>

There is another way in which enemy soldiers could threaten to ravage the female body. These acts were intended to humiliate and thereby symbolically defeat their male opponents because this was an attack on their masculinity.<sup>112</sup> The Bulgarian soldiers on the Salonica front

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<sup>107</sup> Fevzi, *Osmanlı Efradına Maneviyat-ı Askeriye Dersleri*, I, 19-20. Vranješević, "O časti u opšte i vojničkoj časti osobeno," 1-17, here pp. 11. and Bojović, *Vaspitavanje vojnika*, 175.

<sup>108</sup> *The Hague Conventions of 1899 (II) and 1907 (IV) Respecting the Laws and Customs of War on Land*, (Washington: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1915), 30-32. Compare the articles from the conventions with those, for instance, from the Montenegrin and Serbian military laws *Vojni-krivični zakonik*, §146-52, 56-57. and "Vojno-krivični zakon za Knjaževinu Crnu Goru od 20. jula/2. avgusta 1910," 1119-50, §167-169, 172-173, 48-49.

<sup>109</sup> VA/Belgrade, P2, K18, F1, 2/1, 04.10.1912, Beograd, MoW to the Supreme Command (...) naša vojska svuda najpažljivije štedi miroljubive građane, ženu I decu van naše granice, izuzev samo ona lica, koja se budu isticala kao naši neprijatelji i koja se budu oružano odupirali ili borili protivu naše vojske; *ibid*, 2/2, 31.10.1912, Mitrovica, Nešković to the Supreme Command; *ibid*, 2/3, 06.11.1912, Supreme Command to various military units. (...) da im se nipošto ne dira u veru, kuću i kućnu čeljad and BIIUCG/Podgorica, K85, unnumbered, 26.09.1912, Štitarice, Janko Vukotić to all soldiers (...) svakome ko pane pod krilo Gospodarevo osiguramo čast i slobodu i imanje s toga meni je Gospodar zapovidio.

<sup>110</sup> VA/Belgrade, P2, K18, F1, 8/1, 29.10.1912, Živković to the Supreme Command and *ibid*, 2/2, 31.10.1912, Mitrovica, Nešković to the Supreme Command. For robberies committed by Serbian soldiers see VA/Belgrade, P2, K102, F1, 13/1, 22.11.1912, Sjenica, Commander of the Javor Brigade to the Supreme Command. One of robberies is mentioned in the *Operational Log of the Ibar Army* which was active in the region. The Commander, among other things, wrote on December 27, 1912 „the soldier of the 5<sup>th</sup> Regiment of 3<sup>rd</sup> levy died as the result of his own fault (of course in the robbery).“ See also VA/Belgrade, P2, K104, F1, 1a/1, Operational Log of the Ibar Army from October 24, 1912 until March 6, 1913, and from May 14 until June 15, 1913, entry 15.12.1912, 14; DAS/Belgrade, MUD-ŠVK 1912-1913, B-2387, #305, 05/11/1912, Novi Pazar, County Chief to the Police Department at the Supreme Command. For a killing see DAS/Belgrade, MUD-ŠVK 1912-1913, B-2388, #337, 18/12/1912; *ibid*, unnumbered, 02/01/1913 and *ibid*, unnumbered, 06.02.1913, all sent from Pljevlja to the Police Department.

<sup>111</sup> Gertjeanssen, "Victims, Heroes, Survivors: Sexual Violence on the Eastern Front During World War II," 3-15, 19, 21-26. See also Nicholas Groth and William F. Hobson, "Die Dynamik sexueller Gewalt," in *Vergewaltigung: Die Opfer und die Täter*, ed. Jürgen Heinrichs (Braunschweig: Gerd J. Holtzmeier, 1986), 87-98.

<sup>112</sup> Susan Brownmiller, *Gegen unseren Willen: Vergewaltigung und Männerherrschaft* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 1994), 23-24, 38-40, 42. Frevert, "Mann und Weib, und Weib und Mann": *Geschlechter-Differenzen in der Moderne*, 215-19. and Hämmerle, "Von den Geschlechtern der Kriege und des Militärs: Forschungseinblicke und Bemerkungen zu einer neuen Debatte," 259-61.



in WWI reminded their Serbian peers about their conduct because they should “not forget that their homeland, families and property is in our hands, [including] the fate of your parents, wife and children.” Nevertheless, they respected “their honor and possessions as ours.”<sup>113</sup> The Serbian soldiers understood very well what this subtle message meant. By the same token, the British planes dropped leaflets over Ottoman troops, depicting the desperate conditions their families faced back on the home front in order to appeal to them emotionally.<sup>114</sup>

Foreigners who visited the region were familiar with the narrative that women were a symbol of honor, thus participating in reifying the women’s image among their literary audiences and depicting them as part of a man’s ownership and honor. A Norwegian officer Henrik Angell has noted that violating the honor of a woman was considered the most horrendous offense given the fact that she was seen as “mother of the child/nation in the making – a holy woman.” He even underlined that “Montenegro would be a paradise for mothers if it were not the widow country.”<sup>115</sup> As the priest Lovro Mihačević writes, around the Iškodra region jokes or anecdotes about women were completely unknown and nobody would dare to offend or insult the wife, mother, or sister of another because if one did, they would have to pay for this crime with their life. Similar to the Lower Vasojevići, the wife, children and family were perceived as no less than sacred objects (*Heiligtümer*).<sup>116</sup> However, despite being considered sacred for the national narrative, women remained proto-citizens worldwide at this time, meaning that they did not enjoy a full legal status because gender also determined one’s place among the subjecthood.<sup>117</sup> Not to mention that one sees the same ascribed duties worldwide.<sup>118</sup>

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<sup>113</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MID-PO 1916, R82, F1, D6, 1/536, #887, 14.07.1916, Krf, MoW to the MoFA. (...) Ne zaboravljate još da su vaša domovina, porodice i vaša imanje u našim rukama i da je sudbina vaših roditelja, žene i dece zavisna od vas, od vašeg budućeg ponašanja prema nas! Iako smo sad kao neprijatelji, mi smo dali vašim ukućanima najbolje uslove za život, mi pazimo njihovu čast i imanje kao i svoju. Verujte u našu toleranciju i čast. Ali ako i posle ove napomene vi ponovo počnete da ratujete protivu nas, onda nećemo biti mi krivi, ako izložite kao i sami sebe, takoni vaše porodice na rđav život i obstanak (...)

<sup>114</sup> Akin, *When the War came Home: The Ottomans' Great War and the Devastation of an Empire*, 98-99.

<sup>115</sup> Angell, *Herojski narod: Priče iz Crne Gore*, 47, 99 and 110.

<sup>116</sup> Mihačević, *Durch Albanien: Reise-Eindrücke*, 16-17.

<sup>117</sup> Healy, *Vienna and the Fall of the Habsburg Empire: Total War and Everyday Life in World War I*, 10. Frevert, "Mann und Weib, und Weib und Mann": *Geschlechter-Differenzen in der Moderne*, 66, 68-71, 74-75, 77-80, 82, 85, 89, 95, 103 and Jensen, "Gender and Citizenship," 10-12.

<sup>118</sup> Belge, *Militarist Modernleşme: Almanya, Japonya ve Türkiye*, 678. For see Bulgaria Krassimira Daskalova, "Women, Nationalism and Nation-State in Bulgaria (1800-1940s)," in *Gender Relations in South Eastern Europe: Historical Perspectives on Womanhood and Manhood in 19th and 20th Century*, ed. Miroslav Jovanović and Slobodan Naumović (Belgrade - Graz: Institut für Geschichte der Universität Graz - Udruženje za društvenu istoriju, 2002), 15-37. For (post-) Habsburg Slovenia see Andrej Studen, "A Woman's Place is in the Home," in *Gender Relations in South Eastern Europe: Historical Perspectives on Womanhood and Manhood in 19th and 20th Century*, ed. Miroslav Jovanović and Slobodan Naumović (Belgrade - Graz: Institut für Geschichte der Universität Graz - Udruženje za društvenu istoriju, 2002), 39-53. and Tina Bahovec, "Love for the Nation in Times of War: Strategies and Discourses of the National and Political Mobilization of Slovene Women in Carinthia from 1917 to 1920," in *Gender and the First World War*, ed. Christa Hämmerle, Oswald Überegger, and Birgitta Bader Zaar (Houndmills; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 231-50. For the Sokol context in the Czech-speaking areas see Claire E. Nolte, "Every Czech a Sokol!": Feminism and Nationalism in the Czech Sokol Movement," *Austrian History Yearbook* 24 (1993): 79-100. For France Mindy Jane Roseman, "The Great War and Modern Motherhood: La Maternité and the Bombing of Paris," in *Women and War in the Twentieth Century: Enlisted with or without Consent*, ed. Nicole Ann Dombrowski (New York - London: Routledge, 2004), 41-51. For Australia Marie de Lepervanche, "Women,

The female body did not merely symbolize the imagined homeland, this body was also subject to a male control and scrutiny owing to the nexus between women and the discourse of biological reproduction for the nation. In some parts of Montenegro prior to 1912, a new fashion labelled as a flaw (*mana*) spread among young women who wore the so-called *bustina* around the breasts so that the nipples should not go outwards since it was shameful to be soon so. According to a Montenegrin teacher, their regular tightening of the *bustina* caused the nipples point inwards, making it unfeasible for babies and children to reach them and extract their mothers' milk. It was not only due to health reasons that forced the teacher to make such a comment, but also the following reason as well:

Mothers should instruct their girls not to be ashamed of the size of their breasts [*sisā*] because this does not in the least affect their honor, but rather to regard their breast size and natural development as a great gift for "a very mother has given birth to a great hero" [*obila majka rodila obila junaka*]. The breasts feed the whole world, it is thus a sin to interfere in their correct growth because this impedes the proper development of our youth. The rounder and bigger the breasts are, the fuller and more advanced the child is, and [thereby] the healthier and more powerful the person is for every job. Let us remember that folk song that says that the mother of Miloš Obilić could throw her breasts over her shoulders. So, did she not give birth to the Serbdom a boast [*dika*], pride and the role model among the heroes?<sup>119</sup>

It was thus not only about teaching the parents how they should educate their children to take care of their bodies, but also that the fate of future mothers of the imagined nation was at stake and consequently that of the new soldiers. A women's duty did not end with giving birth, but also included breeding new Montenegrin heroes at the level of Miloš Obilić, who, as seen earlier, represented the epitome of all that was desirable in both the Serbian and Montenegrin armies. While he symbolized an idol among the recruits, his mother and her breasts embodied a spring where his strength and stamina came from. The close link between the mothers' breasts and the homeland is evident in the mobilization speeches, such as in that of the Preboy mufti, Ljurat Šećeragić, who employed the trope about mother's breasts in early 1915 in order to motivate the Slavic-speaking Serbian recruits of the Muslim faith. It was their duty to fight because "the homeland [*domovina*] and mother's breast [*majčina sisa*] have the same price." In this sentence he stratified the divisions between the two since "the dearer the homeland is, the more important it is."<sup>120</sup>

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Nation and the State in Australia," in *Woman - Nation - State*, ed. Nira Yuval-Davis and Floya Anthias (London: Macmillan, 1989), 36-57. For pre-1918 Latvia Irina Novikova, "Brethren of Herrnhut and Sisters of Festival: Gendering the Nation in Latvia," in *Geschlecht und Nationalismus in Mittel- und Osteuropa 1848-1918*, ed. Sophia Kemlein (Osnabrück: fibre Verlag, 2000), 66-96, here pp. 94. For WWI Poland see Natali Stegmann, "Wie die Soldaten im Feld": Der widersprüchliche Kampf polnischer Frauen für "Vaterland" und Frauenrechte im Ersten Weltkrieg," in *Geschlecht und Nationalismus in Mittel- und Osteuropa 1848-1918*, ed. Sophia Kemlein (Osnabrück: fibre Verlag, 2000), 197-216.

<sup>119</sup> Jovičević, *Domaće negovanje i vaspitanje djece u Crnoj Gori*, 55. For the similar claim in the context of WWI France or Upper Swabia and Dalmatia see Roseman, "The Great War and Modern Motherhood: La Maternité and the Bombing of Paris," 46. and Jezernik, *Wild Europe: The Balkans in the Gaze of Western Travellers*, 72.

<sup>120</sup> VA/Belgrade, P3, K81, F4, 8/42, #3968, 21.01.1915, Skoplje, Ljurat Šećeragić (...) Domovina i majčina sisa jednake su cene, domovina što je god milija to je važnija (...)

Vows mentioning mother's milk (*majčino mlijeko*) were considered to be the most solidified and binding in the tribal/kinship-based fabric.<sup>121</sup> Even swearwords revolved around the breasts, as a post-1918 example from occupied Kolašin fittingly shows. Some Serbian soldiers (*Srbijanci*) used to sing a mocking tune about how women in Serbia and Montenegro welcomed the Habsburg soldiers amidst WWI: "Serbian women with bombs, whereas the Montenegrin ones with their breasts."<sup>122</sup> The song implied that not only the honor of the Montenegrin woman was besmirched but also that of the man, home, and homeland too.

In brief, the discourse of women and children was shaped around the idea that they personified the imagined homeland and, within it, one's place of birth, which makes them not only passive but they were also subjected and reduced to the level of property, an object to protect, something that was supposed to be men's primarily duty. Both women and children were precious due to their assigned roles which had to be upheld in times of war, in turn this fostered denial of agency to these possible actors. However, there is a gap between what is written, what one utters, and what happens on the ground. Here, one sees the shortcoming of this discourse which fails to capture the multiplicity of stories, implying that in some settings this discourse might have worked, but certainly not in all cases.<sup>123</sup> Women and children were more than just passive recipients, and in some instances, they did not play according to their assigned roles, thereby destroying the narrative imposed on them by the ruling male elites. Not only did they exercise their agency but also forced the latter to annulate their orders which forbid them from action on the battlefield.<sup>124</sup> Therefore, one must ask what happens in cases where women refused to be confined to and equated with the home in times of war?

## 5.2. An Integral Part of the Military: Women/Children and the Montenegrin Army (1912-1914)

Despite the orders issued so far about women not to follow the army, in camps and all on docklands they are to be found, what in turn greatly complicates the baggage train in terms of transporting military and logistic material. In order not to repeat this [mistake] in the future, I therefore strictly command the tribal captains not to allow women's departure from their captaincies, announcing to everyone on docklands that it has been ordered not to permit women's embarking on boats and cargo barges so that they might be transported [to the front].

Montenegrin Ministry of War, December 1912.<sup>125</sup>

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<sup>121</sup> Rovinski, *Crna Gora u prošlosti i sadašnjosti*, II: Etnografija, 157.

<sup>122</sup> Đilas, *Besudna zemlja*, 112. Poneki Srbijanci nazivali su Crnogorce izdajicama i naticali ima na nos da su ih oslobodili. Srbijanci pjevaju, na porugu, i pjesmu kako su čije žene dočekale Austrijance: Srbijanske bombama, Crnogorke dojkama. Sve to vrijeđa i podbunjuje (...)

<sup>123</sup> Kutluata, "Ottoman Women and the State during World War I," 27, 142-43. and Proctor, *Civilians in a World at War, 1914-1918*, 5.

<sup>124</sup> Deniz Kandiyoti, "The Awkward Relationship: Gender and Nationalism," *Nations and Nationalism* 6, no. 4 (2000): 491-94, here pp. 91. and Walby, "Woman and Nation," 90, 94, 96.

<sup>125</sup> DACG/Cetinje, KC, 1912, F30a, #448/3, 05.12.1912, Chief of Katunsko-riječka Regional Administration to the Chief of Cetinje Captaincy.

One must emphasize here, it is nearly impossible to envision the Montenegrin army during the First Balkan War, as well as in the first months of WWI, without women because of their consistent presence within military camps and at the army rear despite the clearly cited message that they did not belong there. By partly constituting the baggage train and logistics, women managed to always be present, fulfilling various duties and actively aiding in the proper function of the military. This was not the first time that the Ministry demanded subordinated captaincies to forbid women from going. In the first months of the war, they drew attention the authorities to “the issue” several times, meaning that every level of the state power was informed about the women’s endeavor.<sup>126</sup> This indirectly denotes that they had their own agency which they followed, and which was different from that of the military elites, who claimed that the women’s place was on the home front in accordance to the zeitgeist. Hence, the baggage train and everything associated with it belonged to the world of men, as the laws related to that service clearly prescribe from 1871 onwards.<sup>127</sup>

However, the same regulations do not reflect the overall picture because sources reveal a discrepancy between what had been envisioned and what was generally accepted. The supply train did not *yet* become a male domain in the army because it was still set aside for women to fulfill this duty in every war that Montenegro waged during the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Among officers in the 1890s, one finds those who expected women to carry ammunition cases as they were unofficially considered to be quartermasters (*vojnici-intendantsi*). After the mobilization was announced, they were ordered to take a bag of supplies on their shoulders, report themselves to the ammunition depot and accompany the army.<sup>128</sup> A Cetinje-based Ottoman ambassador claimed in the 1880s that in the war, sixty women were assigned to each company.<sup>129</sup> In the Serbian military, as in other armed forces worldwide, soldiers had been drilled to become either carriers of the wounded or deliverers of ammunition.<sup>130</sup>

Although agency and general acceptance were palpable around 1912, this was still not sufficient enough to allow women to fully enlist in the military because as the published regulations and the orders demonstrated, there was a clear tendency to permanently exclude

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<sup>126</sup> DACG/Cetinje, KC, 1912, F30a, #448/2, 11.11.1912, Chief of Katunsko-riječka Regional Administration to the Chief of Cetinje Captaincy and *ibid*, #448/1, 13.11.1912, Captain of Cetinje Captaincy to the Chief of Village Municipalities.

<sup>127</sup> Martinović, *Crnogorska vojska 1854-1916 (naučna monografija)*, 157-58. See, for instance, the 1906 Law on the Military Baggage Train "Naredba o ustrojstvu vojne intendature od 24.03.1902. sa izmjenama i dopunama od 02.05.1906. godine," in *Crnogorski zakonici: Pravni izvori i politički akti od značaja za istoriju državnosti Crne Gore, knj. IV*, ed. Branko Pavićević and Radoslav Raspopović (Podgorica: Istorijski institut Crne Gore, 1998), 170-80.

<sup>128</sup> Angell, *Herojski narod: Priče iz Crne Gore*, 98-99.

<sup>129</sup> Mehmet Mercan, "Sadriâzam Ahmed Cevad Paşa'nın Karadağ Seyahatnamesi," *Türk Dünyası Araştırmaları*, no. 102 (1996): 141-66, here pp. 58-59. and Hatice Oruç, "Putovanje Knjaza Nikole i Ahmed Dževad-paše Crnom Gorom i Putopis Ahmed Dževad-paše o Crnoj Gori (1884. godine)," *Istorijski zapisi*, no. 4 (2010): 259-72, here pp. 69.

<sup>130</sup> Sretenović, *Potrebna znanja za vojnika stalnog kadra, vojne obveznike od njihove 18.-50. godine, za opštinske vlasti i za građane u opšte u njihovim odnosima prema vojnoj službi i prema vojnim vlastima s bukvarom za samouke*, 88.

women from the military. Also, the king himself was against the women's participation in the army at the outset of the war and he ordered that access to the battlefield not to be permitted to women.<sup>131</sup> What actually changed the situation in their favor was the impact of both inward and outward forces. Following the argument on the hegemonic masculinity which was debated in the earlier (sub)chapters, a tribesman could not and would not take care of the supply train given its female dimension. Announcing the laws did not mean that men would automatically accept this new duty, particularly if it went against their view of honor. Tribesmen simply did not perform women's duties which in war included: carrying rations and personal belongings, washing clothes, and nursing.<sup>132</sup> A warrior's place was on the battlefield since he perceived himself as a hero, protector and guardsman of his family and thus, his homeland. This is even echoed in both ego-documents and in numerous official reports. Therefore, these problems had already begun to emerge before the military operations were launched or at the very outset of the 1912/13 war, generating not only desertion, but also anarchy (*anarhija*) and disorder (*nered*) in the logistics.<sup>133</sup>

Andrija Jovičević, a Montenegrin teacher, who was sent to the Iškodra front, penned in his memoirs on several occasions that the train was incapable of feeding the army because it was unclear whose duty this was. One of the main causes of this confusion, besides not having adequate equipment and poor weather conditions, was the train soldiers themselves. Instead of overlooking their posts, they were more devoted to the front and less interested in carrying out logistics; duty, something considered among the soldiers as a disgrace (*Schande*), as the German ambassador aptly notes.<sup>134</sup> Another witness, a Swedish captain by the name of Erik af Edholm, wrote that a large number of the older military conscripts complained about not being allowed to fight. Therefore, they were offered an opportunity to be substituted by their wives and daughters who then served in their place in the train.<sup>135</sup>

A Habsburg military attaché emphasized that since the persons appointed for this service failed completely, partly out of ignorance and partly out of dislike, the troops at the Iškodra front suffered from food shortages. The train officials, for whom the registration books were over their heads, were also to blame. Nearly all of them preferred to be at the front, something that the supply train carriers and the battalion personnel also desired. In other words, soldiers

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<sup>131</sup> Vasilija Vukotić, "Serdareva kći na bojištu," in *Žene Solunci govore*, ed. Antonije Đurić (Beograd: Evro-Đunti, 2014), 41-70, here pp. 49.

<sup>132</sup> Vukosavljević, *Istorija seljačkog društva: Seoske zajednice i oblici ponašanja u njima*, 5, 475. and Rovinski, *Crna Gora u prošlosti i sadašnjosti*, II: Etnografija, 168.

<sup>133</sup> BIIUCG/Podgorica, K85, unnumbered, 30.09.1912, Kruševice, Gregović to Janko Vukotić.

<sup>134</sup> Jovičević, *Dnevnik iz Balkanskih ratova*, 14, 33-34, 38, 41-42 and PA AA/Berlin, RZ 201, R 14222, #84, 27.10.1912, Cetinje, Eckardt to the Reichskanzler.

<sup>135</sup> Erik af Edholm, *Crnogorska skadarska epopeja: Zapažanja za vrijeme misije crnogorskoj armiji tokom Prvog balkanskog rata 1913. godine* (Podgorica: Dukljanska akademija nauka i umjetnosti, 2011), 38.

were fleeing in order to reach the front line. The king sought to improve the situation by punishing neglectful authorities with either imprisonment or threat of execution; however, initial improvements did not occur until a competent staff officer took charge of the entire supply service.<sup>136</sup> This implies that the train was still namely made up of men. However, since they were unable to employ those who simply fled, the authorities had to use the five non-combatant bilingual Muslim battalions from Ulcilj, Bar, and Podgorica, as well as the Ottoman POWs for loading and transporting the military material.<sup>137</sup>

It was not merely moving up from a less desirable position to the most praised one which enabled the setting in which women functioned but also the atmosphere of the war in general. From the outset, war enthusiasm was branded as great and “the attitude of all layers of the population is exemplary,” as the German ambassador labeled it.<sup>138</sup> Yet the mood was subject to change, and as war losses mounted, particularly around the Iškodra front, many things were called into question, including the king’s authority, something even he himself could not remedy.<sup>139</sup> Combined this with the women’s stubborn persistence to frequent the front, this initiated the pressure that led the military to reconsider its policies, thereby tacitly allowing women’s presence in the army.<sup>140</sup>

Driven by various motives, women were thus able to put pressure on them from outside, or simply paid no heed to the Ministry’s order, meaning that they basically ignored instructions. This pressure from the outside came to the fore, not only due to developments on the front but also result in from intrastate occurrences, which in turn forced the male-dominated military to permit the women’s presence to a certain extent. Thus, as long as pressure was imminent, the military tolerated them as part of the unit since their interest was mutual. While women were cared for their male kin, men did not complain about conditions in the army (e.g. food or clothes), implying that they could focus only on the war. These occurrences call also into question the claims made by certain scholars such as Karl Kaser that in a tribal/kinship-based patriarchy, a woman’s lifeworld is attached to the household.<sup>141</sup> It is true that the patriarchy

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<sup>136</sup> ÖStA/KA/Vienna, AhOB GSt Militärattachés Cetinje 60 G-Akten Geheime Berichte, Eindrücke und Erfahrungen auf dem montenegrinisch-türkischen Kriegsschauplatze 1912/13 vom k.u.k. Militärattaché in Cetinje, Hauptmann des Generalstabkorps Gustav Hubka, 32-33.

<sup>137</sup> Vukotić, *Uspomene iz tri rata*, 116. Martinović, *Crnogorska vojska 1854-1916 (naučna monografija)*, 167. and Milan Šćekić, "Osmanski zarobljenici u Crnoj Gori (1912-1913)," in *Crna Gora i Osmansko carstvo. Zbornik radova sa međunarodnog naučnog skupa Crna Gora i Osmansko Carstvo: Iskustvo međudržavnih odnosa, Podgorica, 23. i 24. novembar 2015*, ed. Dragan Radulović (Podgorica: Matica crnogorska, 2017), 507-43, here pp. 23-25, 29, 40.

<sup>138</sup> PA AA/Berlin, RZ 201, R 14218, #76, 08.10.1912, Cetinje, Eckardt to the Reichskanzler.

<sup>139</sup> PA AA/Berlin, RZ 201, R 14222, #84, 27.10.1912, Cetinje, Eckardt to the Reichskanzler. For the Montenegrin losses in the 1912/13 Balkan Wars see PA AA/Berlin, RZ 201, R 14236, #90, 05.10.1913, Cetinje, Eckardt to the Reichskanzler and Đurišić, *Prvi balkanski rat 1912-1913: Operacije crnogorske vojske*, III.

<sup>140</sup> Hämmerle, "Von den Geschlechtern der Kriege und des Militärs: Forschungseinblicke und Bemerkungen zu einer neuen Debatte," 236, 51.

<sup>141</sup> Kaser, *Hirten, Kämpfer, Stammeshelden: Ursprünge und Gegenwart des balkanischen Patriarchats*, 103, 75, 269, 71, 80-81, 85. and Kaser, *Patriarchy after Patriarchy: Gender Relations in Turkey and in the Balkans, 1500 - 2000*.

reinforces male-dominated control, thereby enabling them to rule over women, and creating the context in which women were not considered full subjects.<sup>142</sup> Still, even in such a context women were not just passive recipients because “not all women are oppressed and/or subjugated in the same way or to the same extent, even within the same society at any specific moment.”<sup>143</sup>

This line of argument appears frequently in scholarship, particularly in reference to a Montenegrin woman. Abidin Temizer, without even seeking to situate the woman’s role in a local or global context, claims that “Montenegrin women have been suppressed throughout history,” a claim which (un)knowingly curtails the possibility for women’s action.<sup>144</sup> His argument does not diverge from that of the nineteenth-century travelers hailing from various European countries, whose narrative could be summarized in the short statement, “the history of Montenegrin women can be reduced to one of unrelenting labor and suffering.”<sup>145</sup> This applies as well to assertions concerning Albanian-speaking tribes around İşkodra whose language, according to a contemporary, does not even have its own expression for “love” or “to love” (sic!). This creates the depiction that Albanian-speaking tribesmen were essentially machines without emotions.<sup>146</sup> However, these claims were not unique just to those coming from the imagined West but also to those coming from the Ottoman Empire who had a similar narrative, one which fell into the category of *nesting Orientalisms*.<sup>147</sup>

For example, the Ottoman ambassador based in Cetinje states in the 1880s that women were not at all appreciated, while men think they were created to rest, they walked the streets of Cetinje all day long, drawing parallels between certain parts of Montenegro and African tribes.<sup>148</sup> However, at the same time, contrasting narratives among travelers who idealized

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<sup>142</sup> Albrecht-Heide, "Militär und Patriarchat," 112, 19-20, 24.

<sup>143</sup> Yuval-Davis, *Gender and Nation*, 19.

<sup>144</sup> Abidin Temizer, "Karadağ'ın Sosyal ve Ekonomik Yapısı (1853-1913)" (PhD Ondokuz Mayıs Üniversitesi, 2013), 120. Karadağlı kadınlar tarih boyunca ezilmişlerdir (...) For a far more nuanced approach, however, see Abidin Temizer, "Karadağ'a İki Farklı Tepeden Bakmak: Osmanlı ve Yabancı Seyahatnamelerinde Karadağ," in *I. Uluslararası Balkan Kongresi (24-26 Eylül 2012): Bildiri Kitabı*, ed. Fatih İyiyol and Oğuz Uras (İstanbul: Süleyman Şah Üniversitesi, 2012), 1050-65.

<sup>145</sup> Jezernik, *Wild Europe: The Balkans in the Gaze of Western Travellers*, 110-13.

<sup>146</sup> Paul Siebertz, *Albanien und die Albanesen: Landschafts- und Charakterbilder* (Wien: Manz, 1910), 142-43.

<sup>147</sup> Makdisi, "Ottoman Orientalism," 768-96. and Bakić-Hayden, "Nesting Orientalisms: The Case of Former Yugoslavia," 917-31.

<sup>148</sup> Mercan, "Sadriâzam Ahmed Cevad Paşa'nın Karadağ Seyahatnamesi," 153. şu asr-ı medeniyet hasrda Avrupa'nın ta kalbgahında Afrika vahşilerine taş çıkarır adamlar bulunduğunu kemfil-i hayret ile hatırdan geçirmiş idim (...) Oruç, "Putovanje Knjaza Nikole i Ahmed Dževad-paše Crnom Gorom i Putopis Ahmed Dževad-paše o Crnoj Gori (1884. godine)," 269. and Boyar, *Ottomans, Turks and the Balkans: Empire Lost, Relations Altered*, 57, 58, 74. See also Uğur Özcan, "Yabancıların Gözüyle 19. yüzyılda Karadağ Kadını," *Süleyman Demirel Üniversitesi Fen-Edebiyat Fakültesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, no. 19 (2009): 25-35. and Uğur Özcan, "XIX. Yüzyıldan Bugüne Karadağ Kadını ve Değişim Süreci," in *II. Uluslararası bir Bilim Kategorisi Olarak 'Kadın': Edebiyat, Dil ve Kültür Çalışmalarında Kadın Sempozyumu, Bildiri Kitabı.Cilt II*, ed. Özlem Akkaynak and İrade Abbasova (Aydın: Adnan Menderes Üniversitesi Eğitim Fakültesi, 2010), 366-71. For the similar account about the Albanian-speaking tribes, yet, from the time of the 1850s and 1860s see Reinkowski, *Düzenin Şeyleri, Tanzimat'ın Kelimeleri: 19. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Reform Politikasının Karşılaştırmalı Bir Araştırması*.

woman appeared, making claims about the so-called equality on the ground and implying that “perhaps the women of the most civilized countries would envy her.”<sup>149</sup>

The point here is not to defend the patriarchy, but to provide a more nuanced understanding of the tribeswomen by imbedding their position within the tribal, regional, and broader context in order to get past these stereotypes and overgeneralizations.<sup>150</sup> In rural France before 1914, women worked harder, was ordered to serve the men, had less freedom, and was labelled by the Church as potential vessels of sin. In nineteenth-century Corrèze, located in the central part of France, couples did not walk side by side but the man walked ahead and the woman followed behind (or vice versa). This practice is seen in in Montenegro as well. In other parts of France, women were considered to be much less valued than men. A father could be so ashamed in some instances at a daughter’s birth that he tried to have her baptized as quietly as possible because too many daughters represented a “calamity.” This shared another commonality with the tribal/kinship setting or with certain parts of nineteenth-century Serbia. This predilection stems not only from the fact that manpower was needed in case of possible warfare, but also because male offspring were utilized in agricultural and livestock work. Taking care of the house, cooking, mending, and patching the clothes were the woman’s duties. She was irreplaceable for the heavy work and the man’s cash earning power, implying that men and women complemented each other; however, this did not mean they were equal.<sup>151</sup> In the Cisleithanian areas of the Habsburg Monarchy, women’s relation to the state was mediated through male family members and through the protective role of the patriarchal family. This in turn kept them one step removed from the state because according to the family law, women and children were legally dependents of the male head of household, as was the case the local context.<sup>152</sup>

At the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, in areas where the tribal structure was dominant, including the Lower Vasojevići, the indisputable head of family was the man. Principally, he would be the most successful worker and have the greatest experience in household management, taking care of all house chores without asking or consulting anyone. He would get up before the others, and sometimes wake up younger family members and send them to do jobs he planned out the day before. If his old father or mother were not alive, he entrusted the house to his housewife,

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<sup>149</sup> Angell, *Herojski narod: Priče iz Crne Gore*, 99. See also Cozens-Hardy, "Montenegro and Its Borderlands," 385-405, here pp. 397.

<sup>150</sup> Maria Todorova, *Balkan Family Structure and the European Pattern: Demographic Developments in Ottoman Bulgaria* (New York: Central European University Press, 2006), 3-5.

<sup>151</sup> Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France, 1870-1914*, 172-73. Angell, *Herojski narod: Priče iz Crne Gore*, 10. Jovičević, *Domaće negovanje i vaspitanje djece u Crnoj Gori*, 2-3, 11. Rovinski, *Crna Gora u prošlosti i sadašnjosti*, II: Etnografija, 159, 61-62. Vuletić, *Porodica u Srbiji sredinom 19. veka*, 79. and Isić, *Seljanka u Srbiji u prvoj polovini 20. veka*, 100.

<sup>152</sup> Healy, *Vienna and the Fall of the Habsburg Empire: Total War and Everyday Life in World War I*, 185, 91. Vuletić, *Porodica u Srbiji sredinom 19. veka*, 79-80, 82. and Stefanović, "Nation und Geschlecht: Frauen in Serbien von der Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts bis zum Zweiten Weltkrieg," 56-59.



who learned in this manner how to manage the home. Her role was more complex and difficult: she cleaned the house so that everything was in its place, stroed the beds, dried and cleaned the shoes, helped with the dressing of the children and the men, prepared food, took care of parts of the livestock and of field work, did the spinning and weaving, and generally took care of others. However, plowing or combing the grass with the scythe or sickle were not part of their tasks because if she performed these chores, then it would be not be shameful for her, but for the family. In the Vasojevići, women were not burdened with the transfer of someone else's cargo or goods like women in the Katunska nahija (Map 2). In the former tribal zone, her position was arguably far better, though she must bring wood, take care of livestock and, in some places, water too. Nevertheless, her role in the family was still visible.<sup>153</sup>

Sources do not tell whether this had something to do with the erosion of the multi-family household but do indicate that at the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> century a woman was not a man's slave.<sup>154</sup> As a post-Ottoman account claims, in the Vasojevići some fraternities got their names from the the wife/mother. Here, a woman did not kiss her husband's hand in contrast to other tribal settings, but would help, instruct, and encourage.<sup>155</sup> One sees the same in the neighboring and bilingual Kuči tribe as well (Map 2).<sup>156</sup> On some occasions, it would be the woman who encouraged her man to go and fight because she also understood what it meant to lose honor, as shown in the previous chapters. If a man did not comply, then she would put an apron on him (*prišiti pregaču*), meaning that he became emasculated, thereby calling his manhood into question.<sup>157</sup> This actually corresponds to the actions conducted by British women during WWI when they would publicly distribute white feathers, an emblem of cowardice, to men who were not in uniform and outwardly question their assigned gender duties.<sup>158</sup>

That is why an anecdote was being told on the Iškodra front that a Montenegrin soldier from the Crmnička nahija (Map 2) was not afraid of officers but of his woman back home. Because of her, he could not flee from the military, whereas the former applies to his Serbian peer.<sup>159</sup> These local idiosyncrasies were crucial to the extent that being able to handle livestock, or in

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<sup>153</sup> Rovinski, *Crna Gora u prošlosti i sadašnjosti*, II: Etnografija, 154-55, 57-58, 65, 67-68. Lalević and Protić, "Vasojevići u turskoj granici," 694-733. Lalević and Protić, "Vasojevići u crnogorskoj granici," 514-610, here pp. 545, 63-64, 69. Cemović, *Vasojevići: Istorijska istraživanja*, 57. and Vešović, *Pleme Vasojevići u vezi sa istorijom Crne Gore i plemenskim životom susjednih Brda*, 363-64.

<sup>154</sup> Isić, *Seljanka u Srbiji u prvoj polovini 20. veka*, 150, 54. Vukosavljević, *Istorija seljačkog društva: Seoske zajednice i oblici ponašanja u njima*, 5, 475, 78-81. and Stefanović, "Nation und Geschlecht: Frauen in Serbien von der Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts bis zum Zweiten Weltkrieg," 59.

<sup>155</sup> Vešović, *Pleme Vasojevići u vezi sa istorijom Crne Gore i plemenskim životom susjednih Brda*, 363.

<sup>156</sup> Tomašević, *Life and Death in the Balkans: A Family Saga in a Century of Conflict (Kindle Edition)*, 744-50.

<sup>157</sup> Cemović, *Vasojevići: Istorijska istraživanja*, 75.

<sup>158</sup> Grayzel, "Women and Men," 265. and Alexander Watson, "Voluntary Enlistment in the Great War: a European Phenomenon?," in *War Volunteering in Modern Times: From the French Revolution to the Second World War*, ed. Christine G. Krüger and Sonja Levsen (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire; New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 163-88, here pp. 68.

<sup>159</sup> Cemović, *Vasojevići: Istorijska istraživanja*, 76.

some cases the field work was not applicable in every part of the region or in Montenegro. Around Tašlica this was a male job, as the Montenegrin civil power noted in late 1914 after a local commander requested 150 men to be sent for the baggage train. He elaborated that he could not carry out the order because

[it is known] who gathers a ripe crop from the fields in our old territories. Given these dissimilar circumstances between the new and old areas, the local conditions here are different since firstly, some local municipalities are practically depopulated as a consequence of the war. And finally, local women who, by the way, are not match to the field work, could not be employed for collecting crops from the abandoned Muslim estates because they cannot even manage to harvest on their own. Not only this but they are asking us to secure additional workforce besides those who are at home..<sup>160</sup>

This certainly did not mean that men and women were equal in the tribal context or that the women in the latter and rural French settings had the same rights. The argument is that men and women complemented and took care of one another, something that the king also fostered in times of war. This also speaks for the argument that women could act independently in this regard. Once again, one should not romanticize this relationship but rather embed it within the local framework. Similar to the integrated tribal/kinship networks that were noticeable in the army (father and son, grandfather and grandchildren, brothers or male relatives), the same structure is mirrored in the train as well. One sees here a different kind of family relations such as that of mother and son, sister and brother, wife and husband, and daughter and father. The picture bellow illustrates these arrangements perfectly.



Photo 10: Mother and Son at the Grave of the Husband and Father (1913). The photographer captures the moment as a mother and her son visited the grave of the husband and father. The son is armed with a rifle and bayonet and is wearing a uniform and the Montenegrin cape. The soldier is possibly paying his last respects to his father before returning back to his unit or even his home. Just like the son, the woman, holding an umbrella in her left hand, stares at the headstone. Both of them are not upset or even interested by the photographer's presence trying as they show their last respect deceased male family member..<sup>161</sup>

<sup>160</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MUD-UO, 1914/F152, #3840, 28.09.1914, Pljevlja, District Chief to the MoI.

<sup>161</sup> ÖStA/HHStA/Vienna, PA I 824-1-385, ([www.archivinformationssystem.at/detail.aspx?id=4020379](http://www.archivinformationssystem.at/detail.aspx?id=4020379)) accessed 05/11/2020.

This strengthens the belief that this kind of familial relations represented a strong motivational tool for mobilization of the tribespeople in times of conflict because the kin relations were not only being preserved, but also bolstered. One can indirectly confirm this idea from the king's statement held before Montenegrin women.

My dear mothers that you are older than me, my dear sisters of my age and my younger little sisters! Listen carefully what I will be saying: 35 years ago, while fighting with the Ottoman state we were victorious on all four sides of our Montenegro. (...) Then, brave women who were your mothers and elderly sisters with a great effort and source of pride ran to the dead and wounded soldiers without bemoaning. They dressed their wounds. In the battle, they carried supplies, water and ammunition. How lucky you are that you are the children and siblings of those soldiers who have sacrificed their lives for the sake of the fatherland. How lucky the mothers, fathers and brothers are whose daughters and sisters are willing to sacrifice their lives for the sake of the homeland. My mothers, sisters and daughters! In these days we [also] have a ceremony. Of course, your fathers, brothers and sons will join this ceremony with their bloody clothes and beheaded. I strongly hope that you, like in the battle that happened 35 years ago, will prove that you are the children and grandchildren of your mothers and elderly sisters who fought bravely [then]. Just like you are going to run to the front after your fathers, brothers, and sons to carry ammunition, provisions and water, I am sure that you will come on time not to allow our wounded to fall into enemy's hands as well, bring medicine to them and carry them comfortably in the stretchers without fear and complaining. Let me see you my mothers, sisters and daughters..<sup>162</sup>

Citing this address was important for several reasons: The king brings the Montenegrin women's attention to the 1876/78 War, emphasizing how their mothers and elder sisters performed their duty on the front without complaining and "with a great effort and source of pride."<sup>163</sup> He further emphasizes that they are the children and sisters of those who have offered their lives for the sake of the homeland. In doing so, it is clear that the king tries to show that their motives coincide with his and/or that of the state, thus seeking to build a "we-group." Therefore, they are, in a way, obliged to participate in this war too, with the king seeking to make them believe that partaking in the war is actually of their own intention. By mentioning their fathers, brothers and sons on several occasions, the king also cunningly reminds them of loyalty towards their families, kin and tribe, or rather, to their male counterparts, to whom ordinary women must show their loyalty to. He prepares them not only for the worst-case scenario but also wields the narrative that they would prove that they are "worthy children and grandchildren of their elderly sisters and mothers" who courageously fought in the last Ottoman-Montenegrin war. This is in no way surprising given the change of mood among the population, meaning that the king had to adjust his narrative according to the newly emerging situation. Ultimately, by addressing to women as his mothers, sisters, and little sisters, the king attempts to show that he is their guardian and surrogate family member.

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<sup>162</sup> Özatalay, *Türk Silahlı Kuvvetleri Tarihi: Balkan Harbi, Garp Ordusu, Karadağ Cephesi*, III. cilt / 3. Kısım, 44-45.

<sup>163</sup> For the same claim see Jovičević, *Domaće negovanje i vaspitanje djece u Crnoj Gori*, 9-10.

Although the drive to be close to the family members is considered as one of the strongest motives which led one to joining the train, it seems that there is another element that should not be overlooked. Losing a guardian of the household meant that women and children lived without a main provider, which could create further negative consequences for their livelihood. This is why around 500 women from the border tribes at the Iškodra borderland practically stormed to the front to take care of their sons, brothers, and husband. Despite a witness employing the patriotic narrative in this case, the question is really whether one can restrict each of the women's motives only to the patriotic fervor.<sup>164</sup>

Defending the household (if it was located in the vicinity of the battlefield) was closely intertwined with the argument that they were helping their male kin, something which one sees in the Vasojevići at the outset of the Balkan War. Every officer from the Upper and Lower Vasojevići Brigades who fought against the Ottoman regular and paramilitary units around Berane, Plava and Gusine between August and October 1912, revealed in the post-war questionnaires that soldiers' mothers, sisters, and wives frequented the front, supplying food and water and helping wounded fighters. The rank and file even used food rations brought from their homes given their close proximity, thereby showing how much the clear line between the home front and the battlefield was actually blurred.<sup>165</sup>

Due to the development at the front, women would retreat with the army, indicating that they were not only in the constant movement, but they also spent some time among the troops. In the face of the enemy assault, they would not be on the front line.<sup>166</sup> Women from the Upper Vasojevići also handled ammunition boxes on the front because the men were unable to bring them. An eyewitness said that fifteen women from one battalion carried ammunition from the rear to the front line.<sup>167</sup> Depending on the momentary context, a total exclusion was nevertheless possible. For instance, as the Upper Vasojevići Brigade was preparing to leave Gusine so as to fight around Iškodra (Map 2), old women, mothers, sisters, and wives gathered, and were crying and grumbling because of the soldiers' departure. In that moment, the Commander told them, "none of you can go with us, except those already in the formation,"

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<sup>164</sup> Vukotić, "Serdareva kći na bojištu," 43, 49.

<sup>165</sup> BIUCG/Podgorica, Fond Vukašina Božovića, F13/#18, Ljubomir J. Vešović, Batalion Lužičko-beranski, u Raranima 25.04.1923. godine, Lista podataka boja-borbe, Ustanak na Turke u Beranama, početkom meseca avgusta 1912. godine; *ibid*, F13/#22, Vukota Popović, Toplički bataljon, 21.05.1922, Berane, Lista podataka podataka borbe na Policu 01.07.1912 and *ibid*, F13/#165, Major Radivoje Milošević, Ljevorečni bataljon, Podgorica, 10.08.1923, Ljevorečni bataljon, Lista podataka boja 27. i 29.09.1912. kod Gusinja.

<sup>166</sup> BIUCG/Podgorica, Fond Vukašina Božovića, F13/#22, Vukota Popović, Toplički bataljon, 21.05.1922, Berane, Lista podataka borbe na Policu 01.07.1912 and *ibid*, F13/#22, Vukota Popović, Toplički bataljon, 21.05.1922, Berane, Lista podataka boja na Tivranu 30.10.1912.

<sup>167</sup> BIUCG/Podgorica, Fond Vukašina Božovića, Podgorica, 13.08.1923, Lista podataka bitke boja na Plav 05.10.1912.

which implies that women were willing to follow their men all the way to the Iškodra front too.<sup>168</sup>

Carrying ammunition was a common duty for women around Iškodra where they were employed either as pack-train carriers (*konjovoci* or *komordžije*), or assisted with the transportation of material. The transport was mostly conducted by the women which was organized in the form of special pack-train caravans. Private draft animals were being used to draw heavy army materials and rations, and the transport consisted of domestic heavy ox-carts and included loaded horses as well. Due to the mountainous terrain the train was made up of loaded, and not of drafted, ox-wagons.<sup>169</sup> A Swedish officer admirably noted in his account how these women had managed to carry out their duty despite the fact that the means of transportation opportunities were outdated. For him, it was strange to observe the soldiers' mothers, wives, and sisters spending time either in the army rear or staying within the camp during the fight. They "did a huge favor to their kinsfolk during the long-term siege," by bringing additional food, supplies, and equipment from their homes, preparing food, washing their clothes and taking care of the wounded. Women accomplished all this by using loaded horses, or if conditions did not permit, they carried the supplies on their heads, or on their backs. The Swedish officer also ascribed them the patriotic image.<sup>170</sup>



Photo 11: The Camp of the Nikšić Brigade on the Iškodra Front. Contrary to the Vasojevići, women were able to follow the units in other areas. If one carefully observes the photo, it would be clear that the persons within the red circle do not wear the military uniform, but rather are clothed in dark everyday dress, a bright shirt and a dark headscarf. Given its military organization, this means that these women traveled from the Nikšić region (Map 2), which is more than around 120 km away from the Iškodra front, to bring all required items and to look after of their kin. This confirms Edholm's statements and revealed that women carried an extra field ration from the distant places of their origin. The Habsburg military attaché states the same "Women towed sheep

<sup>168</sup> Vešović, *Memoari: autobiografija, dnevnici, besjede, polemike, suđenja, pisma*, 53.

<sup>169</sup> Edholm, *Crnogorska skadarska epopeja: Zapažanja za vrijeme misije crnogorskoj armiji tokom Prvog balkanskog rata 1913. godine*, 37. Jovičević, *Dnevnik iz Balkanskih ratova*, 85. and Vukotić, *Uspomene iz tri rata*, 115.

<sup>170</sup> Edholm, *Crnogorska skadarska epopeja: Zapažanja za vrijeme misije crnogorskoj armiji tokom Prvog balkanskog rata 1913. godine*, 37.

cheese, smoked bacon, fruit brandy, tobacco and other luxury goods, who for days wandered from the most remote districts to the battle line in order to visit their husbands, sons or brothers.”<sup>171</sup>

Women often travelled in smaller groups and were usually from the same village or tribe. It was not uncommon that they would clash with enemy soldiers to defense of the train. This happened at the Iškodra front when 50 women who guarded and dressed wounds of the soldiers had grabbed their rifles and made a charge at the Ottoman soldiers they had come across. On that occasion, two women were injured.<sup>172</sup> Jovičević reports that Albanian-speaking Catholic kachaks would also attack the train, depending on whether they were the Montenegrin’s allies, or on nobody’s side at the time. These assaults did not happen out of the blue. They were the result of the Montenegrin soldiers’ cattle raiding after they suffered from hunger because the train did not run as planned. Likewise, finding the battalion where fathers, husbands, sons, and brothers were deployed, was difficult given the army’s constant movement.<sup>173</sup>



Photo 12: Montenegrin Women Accompanied by Armed Men on the Iškodra Front. Women frequented the front afterwards with the armed escort consisting of men, as the photo illustrates. They were being accompanied by four armed men (one is behind them) whose task was to safeguard the women while being on the front. Most of the women did not carry any personal belongings, aside from one woman. However, it is still hard to deduce whether it was a jacket or a bundle loaded with the soldier’s personal luggage. Some of them carried an umbrella which was used against rain and sun, or as walking sticks. It might be that in that moment, these women sought the graves of their fallen male kin. <sup>174</sup>

But among the troops, one does not find only women. An eyewitness writes that among the elderly one could also see unarmed children in the army camp.<sup>175</sup> The Habsburg military attachés records a similar observation, writing that among the soldiers, old men and young man

<sup>171</sup> ÖStA/KA/Vienna, AhOB GSt Militärattachés Cetinje 60 G-Akten Geheime Berichte, Eindrücke und Erfahrungen auf dem montenegrinisch-türkischen Kriegsschauplatze 1912/13 vom k.u.k. Militärattaché in Cetinje, Hauptmann des Generalstabskorps Gustav Hubka, 32-33. Jovičević, *Dnevnik iz Balkanskih ratova*, A fourth photo located between pages 32 and 33. and Edholm, *Crnogorska skadarska epopeja: Zapažanja za vrijeme misije crnogorskoj armiji tokom Prvog balkanskog rata 1913. godine*, 54.

<sup>172</sup> Martinović, *Crnogorska vojska 1854-1916 (naučna monografija)*, 153. and Antonije Đurić, *Žene Solunci govore* (Beograd: Evro-Đunti, 2014), 10.

<sup>173</sup> Jovičević, *Dnevnik iz Balkanskih ratova*, 52, 83.

<sup>174</sup> ÖStA/HHStA/Vienna, PA I 824-1-339, ([www.archivinformationssystem.at/detail.aspx?id=4011258](http://www.archivinformationssystem.at/detail.aspx?id=4011258)) accessed 05.11.2020.

<sup>175</sup> Jovičević, *Dnevnik iz Balkanskih ratova*, 18.

had been gathered too.<sup>176</sup> However, it is unclear and they do not state whether they were being used in combat or what their exact duties were. It is known that amidst WWI, 16-year-old boys joined the Montenegrin army and that children (*çocuklar*) between the age of 14 and 15 were found among the volunteers from Taşlıca and İpek who were sent to Galicia as a reinforcement for the Ottoman army. This is an occurrence which is noticeable in the post-1913 Ottoman context as well.<sup>177</sup>

Besides being a mother to the offspring during the war, in certain units, women were in charge of preparing meals, doing laundry, nursing, and even carrying wounded soldiers to hospitals located in the rear.<sup>178</sup> This is why scholars have claimed that in the long run, women's participation in wars did not lead to dramatic changes because the dynamic of gender subordination generally remained as it was. This process only upheld, formalized, and exacerbated the social and political order since women conducted jobs in the military that have already been classified as appropriate for them during peacetime.<sup>179</sup> Yet, war-driven transformations in certain tribal families were evident as the example of Milica Tomašević shows. Tomašević originally hailed from the Kuči but got married in Crmnica (Map 2) and settled down in Mitroviça with her family after 1918. Judging by the account from her son, Milica stood up and demanded equality with men, claiming that

if we women could push your cannon, carry ammunition and food, bandage your wounds, spend years, because of you, in Austrian camps [during the occupation], there should be no more separation into men's and women's business. From that time on, as mother recalled, the women had an equal say in all discussions and decisions concerning the household, land and children.<sup>180</sup>

Due to the lack of sources, it is unfeasible to gauge how many women in total worked on the train in total since it was an *ad hoc* situation. It would also be wrong to assume that women who appeared in the photos were representative of all the social spheres of the society.<sup>181</sup> Still, if it is known that those who travelled to the front came from the same village or from the same tribe, this would imply that they shared the same social background inasmuch, i.e. the most soldiers came from of a poor upbringing. Therefore, it is not hard to conclude that a large

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<sup>176</sup> ÖStA/KA/Vienna, AhOB GSt Militärattachés Cetinje 60 G-Akten Geheime Berichte, Eindrücke und Erfahrungen auf dem montenegrinisch-türkischen Kriegsschauplatze 1912/13 vom k.u.k. Militärattaché in Cetinje Hauptmann des Generalstabkorps Gustav Hubka, 6.

<sup>177</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MUD-UO, 1914/F155, #4579(2), 15.12.1914, Cetinje, Marica Todorović to the Ministry of the Interior; Maksudyar, *Ottoman Children and Youth during World War I*, 8-9. and Cihat Akçakayalıoğlu, *Birinci Dünya Harbi: Avrupa Cepheleeri* (Ankara: Genelkurmay Basımevi, 1967), 87.

<sup>178</sup> Vukotić, "Serdareva kći na bojištu," 49.

<sup>179</sup> Margaret R. Higonnet and Patrice L. R. Higonnet, "The Double Helix," in *Behind the Lines: Gender and the Two World Wars*, ed. Margaret Randolph Higonnet et al. (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1987), 31-47, here pp. 35-36, 41. and Yuval-Davis, *Gender and Nation*, 107.

<sup>180</sup> Tomašević, *Life and Death in the Balkans: A Family Saga in a Century of Conflict (Kindle Edition)*, 744-50.

<sup>181</sup> Betül İpşirli Argıt, "Visual Material as a Source for the Study of Ottoman Women in the Early Modern Era," in *Women's Memory: the Problem of Sources*, ed. D. Fatma Ture and Birsen Talay Keşoğlu (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2011), 29-39, here pp. 32.

number of the involved women shared the same impoverished social background because available sources indicate that those of higher communal status would become nurses in hospitals funded by the government or foreign missions. Vasilija Vukotić, a daughter of the Montenegrin commander Janko Vukotić, is an example of the this.<sup>182</sup>

Educated in modern schools in Cetinje, this demographic of the Montenegrin women had been instilled with patriotism (*zadajene rodoljubljem*), as Vasilija writes in her account. Therefore, they shared a great deal with their peers in Serbia, implying that among Montenegrin women, social and economic differences should not be overlooked.<sup>183</sup> Those engaged in the military train were not paid or organized by the ruling elites but rather they had to provide everything by themselves. In turn, this factor reveals another vital motive for taking part in pillaging and raiding. In addition to agriculture and animal husbandry, in some parts of the borderlands, this represented a profession meant for tribesmen given its close nexus to manhood, war, blood feuding, and economy.<sup>184</sup> In this morally desirable endeavor, women and children did not play only a minor role.

As soon as the armed clashes around Berane ceased in late 1912, one sees emerging border problems between the Montenegrin and Serbian military and civilian powers where women also participated. Examples from this time period, WWI, and the post-war period unearth that women, in addition to accompanying their men or raiding parties, also committed robberies and took part in these thefts either alone or together with their children. A Serbian commander indicated that in around Yeni Pazar and Mitroviča, a mob (*rulja*) consisting of men and women from the Vasojevići trespassed the not-yet demarcated political border on more than one occasion, setting fire to the belongings of the Slavic-speaking Muslim and Orthodox Christians, beating, beating and bullying them, and raiding their cattle. This “mob” or *bashi-bazouks*, an another Serbin officer calls it, was actually made up soldiers from the Lower Vasojevići Brigade.<sup>185</sup>

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<sup>182</sup> About the sanitary situation on the front published by the Swiss medical mission in Montenegro see CH-BAR/Bern, E2001A#1000-45#665, #32 IX, 1. 3. *Bericht des schweizerischen Roten Kreuzes über seine Hilfsaktion im Balkankrieg 1912/13*, Bern: Buchdruckerei Blaser und Tschanz, 1913, 32-36.

<sup>183</sup> Vukotić, "Serdareva kći na bojištu," 43-45. Stefanović, "Nation und Geschlecht: Frauen in Serbien von der Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts bis zum Zweiten Weltkrieg," 108-09, 15, 18, 88-94, 98, 200-01, 03-19. and Stolić, "Država i Beogradsko žensko društvo: (Re)produkcija rodni uloga i društvenih pozicija žena kao deo strategije upravljanja (1875-1914)," 151-52, 54-55, 58-60, 62, 64.

<sup>184</sup> Rovinski, *Crna Gora u prošlosti i sadašnjosti*, III: Etnografija - Književnost i jezik 9-10. Vukosavljević, *Istorija seljačkog društva: Sociologija seljačkih radova*, 3, 504-10. Boehm, *Montenegrin Social Organization and Values: Political Ethnography of a Refugee Area Tribal Adaptation*, 65-69, 72. Boehm, *Blood Revenge: The Enactment and Management of Conflict in Montenegro and Other Tribal Societies*, 6-7, 43-46, 52, 72, 79-80, 91, 111. and Palairot, *The Balkan Economies c. 1800-1914: Evolution Without Development*, 147-50, 214, 38-39.

<sup>185</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MID-PO 1912, R382, F13, D1, 13/73, #387, 20.11.1912, Mitrovica, Country Chief to the KIV.



They paid no heed to the newly appointed local authorities; instead, they threatened them and even took them as prisoners to Montenegro-occupied Tîrgovište.<sup>186</sup> Entire families were involved in these endeavors, again proving how family-based mobilization functioned in this part of the region. A witness warns that “all families that have come from Berane in Tîrgovište for winter-stocks [*zimnica*], they should immediately return to Berane.” It comes as no surprise that the foodstuffs were lacking since the Berane region witnessed burning and pillaging committed by the Ottoman regular and paramilitary units from the neighboring areas. Starving families from Berane and the close vicinity came to Tîrgovište to receive shares of raided livestock portions from their male kin who had robbed them from the Slavic or Albanian-speaking Muslims beforehand.<sup>187</sup>

In the first months of WWI, the Montenegrin civilian power sternly its subordinated officials to prohibit women’s departure (*polazak ženskih*) to the front whose motive it was to commit robbery. They performed these robberies while carrying soldiers’ personal belongings, which implies that they kept frequenting the army also in the following war.<sup>188</sup> The military power did the same again in late 1914, whereby a unit deployed on the Herzegovina front received information that the Supreme Command was well aware of the fact that one could spote women and children in the unit since they brought with them the enemy clothes, shoes, weapons, and other materials, whereas the soldiers went around naked and barefoot.<sup>189</sup> Just several days later, the same body instructed that idle women (*bezposlene žene*) and children were not allowed to stay long in the military unless any of them had to bring vital supplies to the soldiers. However, as soon as they had handed the items over, they had to leave immediately. At the same time, they were to be strictly monitored as they left so that they did not commit robberies or take the livestock with them.<sup>190</sup> This practice did not stop even during the Habsburg occupation when “undisciplined hordes of men” looted with their women and children, meaning that the descriptions from Serbian and Habsburg officers did not greatly differ.<sup>191</sup>

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<sup>186</sup> VA/Belgrade, P2, K20, F1, 15/41, 17.12.1912, Mitrovica, Proxy of the Commander to the Command of Third Army and *ibid*, K104, F1, 1a/1, Operational Log of the Ibar Army from 24/10/1912 until 06/03/1913, and from 14/05 until 15/06/1913, Entry 15/12/1912, 17.

<sup>187</sup> BIIUCG/Podgorica, F21/#5, Record made on 28/11/1912 in Rožaje at the Office of the District Chief. On booty and the distribution of booty in this context see Vukosavljević, *Istorija seljačkog društva: Sociologija seljačkih radova*, 3, 504-10.

<sup>188</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MUD-UO, 1914, F152/#10831, 23.09.1914, Cetinje, MoI to the Commander of the Sandžak Army.

<sup>189</sup> NMCG-ABO/Cetinje, N. I, F70/1914, #669, 02.11.1914, Cetinje, Supreme Command to the Commander of the Lovćen Detachment.

<sup>190</sup> NMCG-ABO/Cetinje, N. I, F70/1914, #679, 07.11.1914, Cetinje, Supreme Command to the Commander of the Lovćen Detachment.

<sup>191</sup> Brendel, “Lieber als Kacke als in Hunger sterben”: *Besatzung und Widerstand im k. u. k. Militärgeneralgouvernement in Montenegro (1916-1918)*, 311, 14.

One can observe similar occurrences after 1918, although the context has changed given the Habsburg occupation, which further exacerbated the local food situation locally as well as the clashes between the locals. In early 1919 a raiding party (*pljačkaška rulja*) of up to 500 members from the Berane or Tirgovište areas were followed by women and children who were active again in the latter or in the Yeni Pazar-Seniçe parts, and whose victims included Slavic-speaking Muslims and state authorities.<sup>192</sup> In these armed collisions, a young woman who was 14 to 15 years old, accompanied the parties and was killed by the SCS gendarmerie units.<sup>193</sup> One would encounter bandits around Tašlica whose ranks consisted of almost bare-naked, barefoot, and hungry children (*svi skoro dečurlija goli, bos i gladni*) whose victims included Slavic-speaking Muslim SCS recruits and a corporal from whom they tried to steal a military bread.<sup>194</sup> This practice of raiding kept occurring even when tribeswomen and tribesmen settled around the fertile areas of Āpek after 1912 or 1918, as shown. However, they soon discovered that instead of tilling the land, raiding provided better profits. Therefore, they waited to see “where some unrest would arise,” so that they could “take everything what comes to their hands.” This happened around Āpek in early 1919 when men, women and children joined the SCS forces while the latter suppressed various revolts of the Albanian-speaking locals.<sup>195</sup>

The narrative unveils that the Montenegrin train somewhat overlapped with the seventeenth-century *Tross*, or campaign community, in which women’s duties included cooking, washing and sewing men’s clothes, educating children, carrying personal belongings, taking care of injured soldiers or draft animals, and participating in pillaging. This also confirms that they had always been generally crucial to the well-being of the troops and vital for the maintenances of military forces on campaign.<sup>196</sup> However, this does not mean that what is being spoken about here is a remnant of the past. While the *Trosserinnen* constantly stayed among the troops, all previously used sources indicate that the women in the Vasojevići or on the Āškodra front *only* frequented their male kin, meaning that they were coming and going

<sup>192</sup> AJ/Belgrade, 14-181-672, #19.822, 08.03.1919, Beograd, MoWN to the MoI (...) Crnogorci iz sreza rožajskog i beranskog jačine od 500 ljudi žena i dece (...); VA/Belgrade, P4/3, K57, F5, 10/3, #3229, 25.02.1919, Prizren, IJBID to the KIIIAO. (...) velike grupe pljačkaša od po nekoliko stotina ljudi, žena i dece pokušavaju napad na Berane da na opljačkaju i poubijaju prvenstveno Turke, a potom i činovništvo (...); *ibid*, 10/11, #20158, 12.03.1919, Beograd, MoWN to the KIIIAO and DAS/Belgrade, MUDuI, OP 1919/K1, #4978, 21.08.1919, Beograd, Lj. M. Davidović to the MoI. (...) Iz sela Peštera narod se razbegao jer su Crnogorci poručili da će ih pobiju i sem žene i dece svi ljudi su u Sjenici (...)

<sup>193</sup> VA/Belgrade, P4/3, K57, F5, 10/5, #1661, 27.02.1919, Novi Pazar, IDO to the KIIIAO.

<sup>194</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MUDuI, OJB 1919/K2, #85, 05.10.1919, Pevlje, 10<sup>th</sup> Company of the 1<sup>st</sup> Battalion of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Gendarmerie Brigade to the Commander. For the post-war violence in the region and beyond see Jovanović, *Jugoslovenska država i Južna Srbija 1918-1929: Makedonija, Sandžak, Kosovo i Metohija u Kraljevini SHS*. Nada Boškovska, *Das jugoslawische Makedonien 1918-1941: Eine Randregion zwischen Repression und Integration* (Wien, Köln, Weimar: Böhlau, 2009). and Tasić, *Rat posle rata: Vojska Kraljevine Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca na Kosovu i Metohiji i u Makedoniji 1918-1920*.

<sup>195</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MUDuI, OJB 1919/K2, #637, undated, Voj. P. Katanić to the KIIIAO.

<sup>196</sup> Barton C. Hacker, "Women and Military Institutions in Early Modern Europe: A Reconnaissance," *Signs* 6, no. 4 (1981): 643-71. John A. Lynn II, *Women, Armies, and Warfare in Early Modern Europe* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008). and Daniel Feichtner, "'Trosserinnen': Die Rolle von Frauen in den Söldnerheeren der frühen Neuzeit," *Historia.Scribere* 3 (2011): 155-72.

when needed. In fact, one finds the best summary of the women's participation in a book written by two Turkish officers in the post-Ottoman period who were on the İşkodra front

Women carried the soldier's service needs on their backs. Each woman brings food and laundry to her husband, son, father, or any of her family in the camps every week or utmost every fourteen days. She stays there for a few days, washes her men's clothes, then returns home. After a while, she sets off on a journey, walking for days in order to visit her man. In this way, every need of the Montenegrin soldiers was ensured.<sup>197</sup>

Judging from the broader context of WWI, one can draw parallels, for instance, with women's auxiliary services in Germany, Italy, or in German colonial armies in Togo, Cameroon, German Southwest, and East Africa, where in the last case, askari wives were on the march from the outset.<sup>198</sup> Roughly speaking, they were still organized and drafted by their native or colonial powers, something which cannot be said for the Montenegrin case. To illustrate, during WWI in Carnia, at the rear of the Alpine part of the Italian-Habsburg, young women aged 11 to 12 and elderly women aged 50 to 60, called *portatrici*, were mobilized to transport food, cognac, pasta, wood, barbed wire, and ammunition in large baskets on their backs, which they were meagerly paid for despite being exposed to enemy fire and poor weather conditions. They numbered between 1,600 and 4,000 and had to bear a great burden of taking care of logistical work, farming, mothering, and housekeeping all at once.<sup>199</sup>

The most generous overlapping one sees is the eastern parts of the Habsburg Monarchy, namely in Galicia or Bukovina, where the military bureaucracy and command structures tacitly allowed women to obtain military ranks (e.g. corporal or sergeant).<sup>200</sup> A similar example occurred in WWI occupied Poland where women managed to become members of the Habsburg-backed military formations.<sup>201</sup> For example, in the Malësoni uprising of 1911, women provided, prepared, and carried food or ammunition to the front line, took care of wounded insurgents, participated in combat on the front against Ottoman army, and were even being used to spy and gather information.<sup>202</sup>

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<sup>197</sup> Nafiz and Kiramettin, *1912-1913 Balkan Savaşı'nda İşkodra Savunması*, I. ve II. , 61.

<sup>198</sup> Schönberger, "Motherly Heroines and Adventurous Girls: Red Cross Nurses and Women Army Auxiliaries in the First World War," 87-113. Michelle Moyd, "Gender and Violence," in *Gender and the Great War*, ed. Susan R. Grayzel and Tammy M. Proctor (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017), 187-210. and Proctor, *Civilians in a World at War, 1914-1918*, 142-43.

<sup>199</sup> Ermacora, "Women behind the Lines: The Friuli Region as a Case Study of Total Mobilization, 1915-1917," 23-26.

<sup>200</sup> Hanna Hacker, "Die Frau als Regimentsgeheimis. Irritationen zwischen Front und Geschlecht im Ersten Weltkrieg," in *Soziale Konstruktionen - Militär und Geschlechterverhältnis*, ed. Christine Eifler and Ruth Seifert (Münster: Westfälisches Dampfboot, 1999), 135-54, here pp. 44.

<sup>201</sup> Stegmann, ""Wie die Soldaten im Feld": Der widersprüchliche Kampf polnischer Frauen für "Vaterland" und Frauenrechte im Ersten Weltkrieg," 205-06, 10. Ernst Rutkowski, "Ein leuchtendes Beispiel von Pflichttreue: Frauen im Kriegseinsatz 1914-1918," *Scrinium*, no. 28 (1985): 343-53. and Robert M. Ponichtera, "Feminist, Nationalists, and Soldiers: Women in the Fight for Polish Independence," *The International History Review* 19, no. 1 (1997): 16-31, here pp. 24-25.

<sup>202</sup> Đorđe Nikprelević, *Ustanak u Malesiji 1911. godine* (Podgorica: DOB Podgorica, 2001), 144, 57-62. and Siebertz, *Albanien und die Albanesen: Landschafts- und Charakterbilder*, 146.

Available sources do not illustrate whether Montenegrin women were publicly ill-considered compared to WWI nurses in Germany or the Friuli Region in north Italy, areas where members of the women's army auxiliaries attracted negative remarks from the soldiers or clergymen. Since they earned much more than nurses and had more independence it was assumed that their material independence went hand-in-hand with declining moral standards.<sup>203</sup> In the case of Montenegrin women, bewilderment and even displeasure were the responses from outsiders and the "liberated" locals in the region. Vojislav Šikoparija, a Serbian officer who commanded the unit that entered Tašlica on the same day as the Montenegrin unit, writes in his memoirs with a somehow dazed tone:

[In Tašlica] the Serbians saw for the first time the Montenegrin train, i.e. women. These hardworking and enduring women had always kept a connection between their homes and husbands on the front. On their backs, they were bringing food and spare outfit, whereas they were carrying booty off. They had never gone empty-handed. That is why the anecdote was being retold on how a Montenegrin woman used to tell to her disgruntled man, „Either I am feeding you, either making tobacco for you, or changing your clothes, and nonetheless, you are [still] unhappy...<sup>204</sup>

Josif Džuverović, a Slavic-speaking Orthodox Christian from Tašlica, who witnessed the entry of the Montenegrin army into the town and recalled that he was awfully disappointed (*užasno razočarenje*) at the moment of catching sight of the army because he had been expecting to see them in their flamboyant Montenegrin clothes. However, what he did see, he did not want to utter. At the end of the line he noticed twelve horses accompanied by the women pack-train carriers. Since he knew what "a well-equipped and highly disciplined Ottoman army, especially a regular one" looked like, this picture left a shameful impression (*mučan utisak*) on him because he could not speak highly about the Montenegrin army in front of his Muslims peers. Upon entering into the inn, he sat down, being all resentful (*sav pokisao*), and without telling anyone that he had just seen the Montenegrin army.<sup>205</sup>

Among the motives to join the train, one must further to include human-animal bonding, as an example from post-Ottoman Akova aptly demonstrates as follows

As a result of the yesterday's inquiry, it has been discovered that a poor 18-year-old Muslim girl [*bula*] from the Municipality of Ravna Reka named Dževa Čaković disguised in a male Muslim outfit traveled as a pack-train carrier together with her horse for the first four months of the war under the male name Džemo Čaković. Like other pack-train carriers, she carried food and ammunition from Kolašin [Montenegro] to Stjenice [near Sarajevo] (...) The reasons behind [this act] are as follows: her father was mustered in as a pack-train carrier. She was sorry that he goes; at the same time, she regretted her horse [so much] that she did not want to let it go, but rather, she had shaved her head and wearing a male suit, came to the local military command, where she recognized her horse and from then on she has been its master. After four months of labor, all exhausted horses had been released to their homes, including her horse [too], which looked better from all those sent off. She still wears a man's clothing,

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<sup>203</sup> Schönberger, "Motherly Heroines and Adventurous Girls: Red Cross Nurses and Women Army Auxiliaries in the First World War," 91-95. and Ermacora, "Women behind the Lines: The Friuli Region as a Case Study of Total Mobilization, 1915-1917," 20, 27-29.

<sup>204</sup> Šikoparija, *Sećanja srpskog oficira (1900-1918)*, 74.

<sup>205</sup> Durković-Jakšić, *Pljevlja i manastir sv. Trojica: Borba protiv rasrbljivanja do oslobođenja od Turaka 1912, 1295-96.*

saying that she will not take it off. She is really motivated to carry ammunition with her horse while Sarajevo is being conquered, and until then she begs her horse not to be taken. She was subjected to a medical check-up and it was determined in written form that she is in perfect health, mentally and physically. [She is from] a family of eight and they are very poor. It seems that she decided on her own personal initiative...<sup>206</sup>

It is worth quoting the report for various reasons: first, it demonstrates that the woman's bond with her animal was intermingled with loyalty to looking after the elderly people in not a tribal, but rather, a patriarchal context. The local power articulated that a woman was part of the train for the first four months of WWI and that it was determined in June 1915 who she really was, implying that the person managed to go unnoticed in the military for around one year. This does not represent a unique case because Yavuz Selim Karakışla narrates a story of Ayşe Hanım who served at the turn of the century in the Ottoman army as Aydın'lı Köse Mehmed almost two years before it was discovered who Köse Mehmed actually was...<sup>207</sup> There are a multitude of examples as well from the American Civil War, the Balkan Wars, and conflicts during and after WWI...<sup>208</sup> Not only does the Akova case confirm the possible social background of those who would join the train, but it also reveals a woman's determination. The example unearths once again that not every decision to join the military stemmed from the national and/or religious fervor but rather it depended on the local context. It ultimately reveals how the state authorities sought to reshape the stories and motives, which not only differed entirely from that of the person in question but also disclosed a tendency to change the meaning of motives. Thus, this action falls under the framing and encoding process by which events are constituted and encoded along the clear ethnonational terms...<sup>209</sup>

As the cited report demonstrates, nothing was said about the homeland sacrifice. Only personal reasons pushed Dževa to commit herself to the train. As soon as the Minister of Interior found out about Dževa, he asked the local power if a reward should be given to her...<sup>210</sup> The *sacrifice-for-the-homeland* narrative would be brought up for the first time by the local authorities. Their response shows how the government fabricated the sacrifice narrative by using Dževa's case, who had only acted to protect her father from being enlisted and keep her horse

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<sup>206</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MUD-UO, 1915/F162, #2021/7452, 31.05.1915, Bijelo Polje, Chief of the Regional Administration to the Ministry.

<sup>207</sup> Yavuz Selim Karakışla, "Arşivden Bir Belge (71): Kızları da Alın Askere...! (1897)," *Toplumsal Tarih* 25, no. 147 (2006): 10-12.

<sup>208</sup> Julie Wheelwright, "Cross-Dressing," in *The Reader's Companion to U.S. Women's History*, ed. Wilma Mankiller et al. (Boston - New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1989), 138-39. Đurić, *Žene Solunci govore*, 15-23. Milovanović, *Heroine Velikog rata*, 9-253. Grayzel, "Women and Men," 271-72. and Nicole van Os, "Kara Fatma: An Ottoman Female Warrior," in *Mythen van Gender: Essays voor Willy Jansen*, ed. Stefan Dudink and Liedeke Plate (Nijmegen: Uitgeverij Vantilt, 2015), 247-52. See also Jason Crouthamel, "Cross-dressing for the Fatherland: Sexual Humour, Masculinity and German Soldiers in the First World War," *First World War Studies* 2, no. 2 (2012): 195-215. Julie Wheelwright, "'Amazons and Military Maids: An Examination of Female Military Heroines in British Literature and the Changing Construction of Gender,'" *Women's Studies International Forum* 10, no. 5 (1987): 489-502. and Julie Wheelwright, *Amazons and Military Maids: Women who Dressed as Men in the Pursuit of Life, Liberty and Happiness* (London: Pandora, 1990).

<sup>209</sup> Brubaker, *Ethnicity without Groups*, 17.

<sup>210</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MUD-UO, 1915/F162, #2021/6059, 03.06.1915, Cetinje, MoI to the Bijelo Polje District Chief.

from being misused as a draft animal. It reveals that the motivation of *der kleinen Frau* was knowingly be exploited, so that the ruling elites could sell the narrative that “protecting the state means protecting the family.” After suggesting that Dževa’s horse should be freed from the train, the local authorities agreed that some kind of monetary reward would suffice “for her effort and sacrifice for the homeland.” They then proposed “to write a praising article in our newspapers [so as to encourage] the reputation of the population, especially in these parts.”<sup>211</sup>

The higher authorities agreed to this, adding that “the moral side of both the person in question and her family in general” should be verified as well. The local authorities did so by concluding their report with the following statement: “the person is morally and in other ways very decent. The same [can be said] for her family [too].”<sup>212</sup> Even the ruling royal household was informed about the case and the queen herself sent a monetary reward of 500 Montenegrin perpers to Dževa. While her elderly father and the horse were set to be released from their duty, the local military command was notified about the case and it could be used “as a good example.”<sup>213</sup> Therefore, not only was Dževa’s sacrifice crucial, but also her own morality and that of her family. She was often to be utilized as “a good example” so that the narrative could be furthered by the ruling elites and that her personal story could be put to use in order to improve the reputation of the locals who were still seen as being not loyal enough.

One should ask, why did Dževa have to dress as a man and present herself in deceiving manner? During WWI, women’s presence in the troops was often met with unwelcoming or even threatening attitudes by the higher-ups of the Montenegrin military. It seems that in this case, women’s exclusion was fully implemented somewhere around mid-1915. Given the scarcity of sources, it is hard to provide a concrete answer. By enlarging the territory as a result of the Balkan Wars, Montenegrin ruling elites obtained a larger male population that could be drafted and employed in the train. It may have been that this territorial increase led to the idea that women were no longer useful. In addition to hiring a number of Slavic-speaking Christian soldiers for the train, this type of work was envisioned mainly for the bilingual Muslims from the newly occupied areas (e.g. Dževa’s father) who also protected telegraphic lines.<sup>214</sup>

At the same time, one can see that in late 1914, the carrying of the soldiers’ personal belongings gradually merged into the male and military domains. The Ministry of Interior

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<sup>211</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MUD-UO, 1915/F162, #2021/7598, 04.06.1915, Bijelo Polje, District Chief to the MoI.

<sup>212</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MUD-UO, 1915/F162, #2021/6229, 05.06.1915, Cetinje, MoI to the Bijelo Polje District Chief and *ibid*, #2021/7739, 08.06.1915, Bijelo Polje, Chief of the Regional Administration to the Ministry

<sup>213</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MUD-UO, 1915/F162, #2021/6380, 27.07.1915, Cetinje, MoI to the Bijelo Polje District Chief.

<sup>214</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MV-KMV 1913/F8, #1656, 13.08.1914, Barlaj, Commander of the Military District to the MoW; *ibid*, 1915/F11, #7385, 22.07.1915, Cetinje, An order of the MoW to all military and civil authorities; #9924, 10.09.1915, Cetinje, An order of the MoW to all civil authorities and *ibid*, MV, Command of the 6<sup>th</sup> Division: Rožaje Brigade 1913-1915, F1, #405, undated, Rožaje, Commander to the Commander of the Division in Đakovica.

ordered that “if it is necessary to bring something to the soldiers from their homes, a train consisted of elderly men is to be set up in particular captaincies and municipalities.” For this reason, authorities had to provide requisitioned horses, passes, and rations.<sup>215</sup> The Supreme Command also requested the formation of special units in every battalion that consisted of one or two loaded horses accompanied by several guides whose duty it was to pack soldiers’ dirty outfits. After carrying the dirty laundry to the soldiers’ houses and having them washed, the same people in charge had to deliver clothing back to their owners, meaning that this was no longer a woman’s job.<sup>216</sup>

Driven by the pressure from outside, the military could organize and mobilize women and others by the end of 1915 on multiple occasions for the train. For instance, during the Habsburg offensive in late 1914, all men and women from the Tašlica, Akova and Berane districts were summoned to carry ammunition cases; this was completed in three days and three nights. In late 1915, bilingual Muslims from the Tirovište, Gusine and Plava areas had to keep the roads clear for the approaching Serbian army which was retreating after being pursued by the forces of the Central Powers.<sup>217</sup> Thus, it seems that in the Montenegrin context the narrative that “protecting the state means protecting the family” was finally implemented by the end of 1914. According to the latter, women’s place is closely connected to the home, having been visualized as someone who needs to be protected. If women were able to stay alive on the front and to manage to protect themselves as well as children, then for “whom are men fighting for?”<sup>218</sup>

### 5.3. Being an Object to Protect: Family/Women/Children, Home Front, and Effects of WWI

The talk or rather the conversation the old King has had with his soldiers made a bad impression. It seemed to me that *they did not understand each other*. Once Montenegrin warriors knew only what their monarch would tell them; King Nicholas could say whatever he wanted; but today's soldiers *read* newspapers, are *aware* of various communiqués and of the colossal struggle in which they must participate with all their might. (...) The soldiers are untrained and unprepared, and providing foodstuff goes often very nauseous. On top of all this, *their families* are in a *worse* position. None of them are protesting that they *still* have to fight, but they *are demanding* that their families be *aided* and *protected*. (...) *Good promises will not help for a long time*, and if those *responsible* do not make sure that they obtain the necessary food as soon as possible, the most unpleasant corollaries can be expected. *Soldiers will leave positions and return home to help feed their families. That would not surprise anyone here* [italic added by J.M].  
Cetinje-based Serbian Legation (1915)<sup>219</sup>

Upholding the family contract lies at the heart of relations between the state and the able-bodied, and according to this, it is the state’s duty to take care of the soldiers’ families while

<sup>215</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MUD-UO, 1914/F152, #10831, 23.09.1914, Cetinje, Minister of the Interior to the Commander of the Sandžak Army.

<sup>216</sup> NMCG-ABO/Cetinje, N. I, F70/1914, #772, 09.09.1914, Lovćen, An order to the Lovćen Detachment.

<sup>217</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MV-KMV, 1915/F11, #7202, 07.10.1915, Andrijevića, District Chief to the MoI; *ibid*, #7690, 09.10.1915, Andrijevića, District Chief to the MoI; Vukotić, *Uspomene iz tri rata*, 191. and Čamil Topalović, "Sjećanje Rožajaca na prolazak srpske vojske kroz Rožaje krajem 1915. godine," *Rožajski zbornik* 3, no. 3 (1984): 83-86.

<sup>218</sup> Schönberger, "Motherly Heroines and Adventurous Girls: Red Cross Nurses and Women Army Auxiliaries in the First World War," 100.

<sup>219</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MID-PO 1915, R458, F12, D5, 12/311, 12/312, #475, 09.09.1915, Cetinje, Serbian Legation to the MoFA.

their male relatives are at the front. Failure to fulfill this duty calls everything into question, something which one clearly in the quoted report. In this regard, keeping women/children's safe and their bellies full relates to the security deal to the extent that provisioning is not only necessary for physical survival but also measures legitimacy of the state is measured by its success in this endeavor.<sup>220</sup> This was not the first time that Montenegrin rank and file voiced concerns about feeding their families; already in the first months of WWI, one is able to detect their calls "making sure their families are safe."<sup>221</sup> Examples from Imperial Russia show how pivotal the latter were, when the administration's inability to establish an effective rationing system led to numerous riots on the home front in 1915 and undermined the legitimacy of officials.<sup>222</sup>

"In wartime Vienna, food was the political arena," where the greatest obstacle to effective authority was the inability of various state bodies to supply the capital with food. This drove not only inhabitants, but also heroic soldiers to abandon their assigned roles. They now saw themselves as victims of war, raising questions about sacrifice and endurance.<sup>223</sup> In Berlin, from late 1915 onwards, primarily working-class women began to challenge the legitimacy of the state, hoping that it would carry out its commitment. But when it became obvious that the authorities had breached the contract of loyalty and sacrifice, this made women wonder why they should work, starve, and send their men out to fight since they no longer saw the point in conflict.<sup>224</sup> The irregular disbursement of monthly payments, carelessness of revenue officers, and distribution of foodstuffs upset Ottoman fighting soldiers as well, implying this was not a peculiarity to the region but rather represented a broader issue in WWI.<sup>225</sup>

Various combined factors exacerbated the situation on the ground but did not hit every part of the region simultaneously. Judging by the perception of the military and civil authorities, the outcome of the 1912/13 War in the Berane region, crop failure due to poor weather (e.g. heavy rainfall) and natural disasters (e.g. drought) in 1914, speculations made by merchants, military operations in the Tašlica region, selective military requisition, raiding committed by soldiers, a

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<sup>220</sup> Thierry Bonzon and Belinda J. Davis, "Feeding the Cities," in *Capital Cities at War: Paris, London, Berlin, 1914-1919*, ed. Jay Winter and Jean-Louis Robert (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 305-41, here pp. 05, 33-34, 38.

<sup>221</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MID-PO 1914, R431, F15, D4, 15/249, telegram #619, 29.11.1914, Nikšić, Delegate of the Serbian Government to the MoW. See also Nikola P. Škerović, *Crna Gora za vrijeme Prvog svjetskog rata: Odnosi sa Srbijom - Kapitulacija* (Beograd - Podgorica: JP Službeni list SCG-Beograd/CID-Podgorica, 2004). and Novica Rakočević, *Crna Gora u Prvom svjetskom ratu, 1914-1918* (Cetinje: Istorijski institut u Titogradu, 1969), 89-90.

<sup>222</sup> Barbara Alpern Engel, "Not by Bread Alone: Subsistence Riots in Russia during World War I," *The Journal of Modern History* 69, no. 4 (1997): 696-721, here pp. 14-17.

<sup>223</sup> Healy, *Vienna and the Fall of the Habsburg Empire: Total War and Everyday Life in World War I*, 10, 31-32, 34-35.

<sup>224</sup> Bonzon and Davis, "Feeding the Cities," 338. and Belinda J. Davis, "Homefront: Food, Politics and Women's Everyday Life during the First World War," in *Home/Front: The Military, War, and Gender in Twentieth-Century Germany*, ed. Karen Hagemann and Stefanie Schüler-Springorum (Oxford; New York: Berg, 2002), 115-37.

<sup>225</sup> Akin, *When the War came Home: The Ottomans' Great War and the Devastation of an Empire*, 98-100. Akin, "War, Women, and the State: The Politics of Sacrifice in the Ottoman Empire during the First World War," 19, 22, 27. and Mahir Metinsoy, *Ottoman Women during World War I: Everyday Experiences, Politics, and Conflict*, 163-64, 67, 71, 73-78.



substandard road network, and the Habsburg blockade were all considered as central causes for the severe lack of food.<sup>226</sup> Although the 1914 military operations partly covered the Preboy or Prepole districts, including the Yeni Pazar region, the situation there was seemingly better even at the outset of the Habsburg occupation.<sup>227</sup> In these areas, sources do not mention if military requisition, robberies of the Serbian soldiers or the blockade had any effects. In other areas under Serbian rule, such as Manastir, conscription and requisition of all capable cars, including pack-train carriers, petrified the locals (*zaprepastio ovdašnji svet*).<sup>228</sup>

In contrast, merchants from Tašlica and Akova were used to import goods via the Montenegrin port of Bar, which the Habsburg navy kept mostly under blockade. This had a devastating impact on the populations in general because the former raised the price of necessary goods in late 1914.<sup>229</sup> In Ottoman Syria, the Entente blockades restrained access to external sources of provisioning, thereby preventing shipments of grain from other Ottoman ports or neutral countries, which was why the food situation drastically deteriorated severely in coming months.<sup>230</sup> One sees similar effects of the Allied blockade in Berlin and Vienna as well where it undoubtedly affected food inflows in the two capitals and generated direct and indirect consequences on the ground.<sup>231</sup>

In certain villages of the Preboy county, thefts committed by Montenegrin soldiers in late 1914 led a lack of food. Regardless of whether the locals were Christians or Muslims, the Montenegrin soldiers, besides stealing the Serbian military train, went door-to-door, extorting food and livestock and did not spare even local authorities, who were unable to confront them at the time. The soldiers even forced some locals out of their houses so that they could accommodate themselves.<sup>232</sup> These actions which kept occurring in the following months forced Spasenija Laptomović and Janja Janjušević, most likely wives of the drafted, to demand

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<sup>226</sup> NMCG-ABO/Cetinje, N. I 1915/F73, #92, 21.08.1915, Cetinje, MoW to a Unit at Prijedor; DACG/Cetinje, MUD-UO, 1914/F152, #3840, 28.09.1914, Pljevlja, District Chief to the MoI; Šćekić, *Iza linije fronta: Crna Gora (1914-1916)*, 129-31, 33, 37, 39, 43, 60. Rakočević, *Crna Gora u Prvom svjetskom ratu, 1914-1918*, 83-90. Andrijašević, "O nekim osobnostima crnogorskog društva 1914. godine," 9-14, here pp. 16-17. and Brendel, "*Lieber als Kacke als in Hunger sterben*": *Besatzung und Widerstand im k. u. k. Militärgeneralgouvernement in Montenegro (1916-1918)*, 79-87.

<sup>227</sup> Mirko Čuković et al., *Novovaroški kraj kroz istoriju: od neolita do 1941* (Nova Varoš: Flash - Novi Sad, 1991), 208-14. Radojević and Milenković, *Propast srpskih regruta*, 204. and Köster, *Mit den Bulgaren: Kriegsberichte aus Serbien und Mazedonien*, 53-54.

<sup>228</sup> VA/Belgrade, P3, K73, F1, 2/37, 27.11.1914, Bitolj, Inspector of the MoI to the MoI.

<sup>229</sup> Rakočević, *Crna Gora u Prvom svjetskom ratu, 1914-1918*, 84, 86-89. and Šćekić, *Iza linije fronta: Crna Gora (1914-1916)*, 147.

<sup>230</sup> Akin, *When the War came Home: The Ottomans' Great War and the Devastation of an Empire*, 7, 130. Melanie Tanielian, "The War of Famine: Everyday Life in Wartime Beirut and Mount Lebanon (1914-1918)" (PhD University of California, 2012), 27-30. Melanie Schulze Tanielian, "Feeding the City: The Beirut Municipality and the Politics of Food during World War I," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 46, World War I, no. 4 (2014): 737-58. and Najwa al-Qattan, "When Mothers Ate their Children: Wartime Memory and the Language of Food in Syria and Lebanon," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 46, World War I, no. 4 (2016): 719-36.

<sup>231</sup> Bonzon and Davis, "Feeding the Cities," 309-11. and Healy, *Vienna and the Fall of the Habsburg Empire: Total War and Everyday Life in World War I*, 50.

<sup>232</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MID-PO 1915, R458, F12, D1, 12/44, #8530, 22.11.1914, Priboj, County Chief to the District Chief.

that the local municipality and mukhtars pay them for the damages of stolen hay, wheat, fence panels and oxen needed for the fieldwork.<sup>233</sup> Thus, they knowingly asked the local powers to respect their side of the contract. In the following statement, a Serbian officer from Prizren recaps what consequences this might provoke in the long run:

This kind of behavior can provoke a justified revolt and cause movements for which not only Montenegrin but our troop too may not have enough strength [because, among certain] regiments, Muslims from the new territory constitute 4/5 to 5/6 of the train personal and [hence] the slightest failure can have grave consequences on the attitude of their kin.<sup>234</sup>

This was not only about food *per se* but it could encourage the depopulation of villages since failing to safeguard the soldiers' families could make them believe that "their property is endangered and that our authorities cannot guarantee the security of their assets." As an effect, this pushed certain Muslim families in the Prebol country to flee and also resulted in locals not plowing or sowing the land.<sup>235</sup> Thus, in order to prevent deteriorating "state reputation and trust in protection," the Serbian ruling elites took measures in late 1914 so that the Montenegrin soldiers did not rob anymore.<sup>236</sup> However, though they temporarily ceased with robberies, they carried on with them as soon as they faced a shortage of food in the military, thereby targeting not only refugees who fled Habsburg-ruled Bosnia-Herzegovina but also Christian and Muslims in and around Tašlica and Berane with their actions.<sup>237</sup> In this regard, these Montenegrin soldiers resembled their Serbian peers, as seen in the previous chapter, or the Ottoman rank and file who also used to steal from the locals in Anatolia, or to the British soldiers who committed petty theft while passing by Flemish or French farms.<sup>238</sup>

This does not mean that the governing elites did not try to alleviate the exacerbated situation of the soldiers' families. As soon as they received news of how the soldiers' family members from Berane or Tašlica were starving (*skapavati od gladi*) they made it a priority to find a solution.<sup>239</sup> Sending money or distributing flour were the most utilized strategies to mitigate negative effects and to keep the soldiers' families fed, and the London-based *Montenegrin Red Cross and Relief Fund*, the Cetinje-based Red Cross with its local organs, and the Saint

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<sup>233</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MID-PO 1915, R458, F12, D2, 12/142, #800, 14.03.1915, Priboj, President of the Court and *ibid*, 12/151, #383, 02.04.1915, Sočice, Court of the Municipality of Sočica to the Priboj County Chief.

<sup>234</sup> VA/Belgrade, P3, K92, F2, 1/70, #7426, 16.07.1915, Skoplje, KTNO to the Supreme Command.

<sup>235</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MID-PO 1915, R458, F12, D2, 12/138, #2037, 15.04.1915, Prijepolje, District Chief to the MoI and *ibid*, 12/151, #383, 02.04.1915, Sočice, Court of the Municipality of Sočica to the Priboj County Chief.

<sup>236</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MID-PO 1915, R458, F12, D4, 12/267, #833, 01.08.1915, Niš, MoI to the MoFA and DACG/Cetinje, Vrhovna komanda, F3, #2403, 28.11.1914, Cetinje, Supreme Command to the Commander to the Sandžak Army.

<sup>237</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MUD-UO, 1914/F152, 4033(2), #677, 15.10.1914, Pljevlje, District Chief to the MoI; *ibid*, 4024(4), #551, Pljevlje, District Chief to the MoI and Šćekić, *Iza linije fronta: Crna Gora (1914-1916)*, 137, 60.

<sup>238</sup> Akin, *When the War came Home: The Ottomans' Great War and the Devastation of an Empire*, 148. and Proctor, *Civilians in a World at War, 1914-1918*, 132.

<sup>239</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MUD-UO, 1914/F151, 3584(2), #53, 20.08.1914, Pljevlja, District Chief to the MoI; *ibid*, 1914/F155, 190(2), #568, 15.01.1915, Berane, District Chief to the MoI and *ibid*, 1915/F157, #8585/526(2), 12.02.1915, Berane, District Chief to the MoI.

Vladimir Charity Society all participated by taking care of war orphans and children of fallen warriors.<sup>240</sup> As already demonstrated, it can be argued that social policy furthered warfare and ensured that not only fighting soldiers but also their family members stuck to their ascribed roles and that these actions did not differ from those of Russia, Britain, Germany, the Ottoman Empire, and the Habsburg Monarchy, as various studies on that topic concur.<sup>241</sup>

The local powers supported the founding of charitable trusts. For example, in late 1914 in Āpek, "the most prominent women of all three confessions" established the Women's Charity Fund (*Žensko dobrotvorno društvo*), "whose political and educational purpose" the civil authorities developed by asking the Queen to accept its patronage.<sup>242</sup> Its main goal consisted of taking care of the poor and children of the military obligors, opening women's schools for weaving and sewing, and of "developing reciprocal links" with non-Slavic-speaking women. The benefactors were bilingual locals.<sup>243</sup> Similar, if not the same, processes occurred in Ottoman Beirut amidst WWI, where charities were founded that had cut the local confessional lines.<sup>244</sup>

These aid organizations set a positive pretext not only for the state-building process, but also for penetrating those personal spaces among the Muslim and Catholic populations so the local powers could also gain a foothold there. Good moral character was deemed vital in this setting and as shown earlier, women who deviated from the norm, whose sexual behavior was subject to control from the local authorities, were shown less tolerance. Hence, these war allowances turned out to be a useful tool to supervise and regulate recipients' attitude because women were expected to be dedicated to their husbands.<sup>245</sup> Being a kind of surrogate-husband

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<sup>240</sup> Rakočević, *Crna Gora u Prvom svjetskom ratu, 1914-1918*, 270. Šćekić, *Iza linije fronta: Crna Gora (1914-1916)*, 127. Kondić, "Mitropolija crnogorsko-primorska u drugoj polovini XIX i početkom XX veka (1851-1920)," 418, 20-21. Pavle Kondić, "Dobrotvorna delatnost Mitropolita Mitrofana Bana i sveštenstva u Crnoj Gori tokom Prvog svetskog rata," *Istorijski zapisi*, no. 1-2 (2015): 161-94. and Đoko D. Pejović, *Razvitak prosvjete i kulture u Crnoj Gori, 1852-1916* (Cetinje: Istorijski institut u Titogradu, 1971), 197.

<sup>241</sup> Emily E. Pyle, "Village Social Relations and the Reception of Soldiers' Family Aid Policies in Russia, 1912-1921" (PhD The University of Chicago, June 1997), 3-9, 11-15, 22, 101-02, 74. Susan Pedersen, "Gender, Welfare, and Citizenship in Britain during the Great War," *The American Historical Review* 95, no. 4 (1990): 983-1006. Nicole van Os, "Taking Care of Soldiers' Families: The Ottoman State and the Muinsiz alle maaşı," in *Arming the State: Military Conscription in the Middle East and Central Asia 1775-1925*, ed. Erik Jan Zürcher (London and New York: I. B. Tauris, 1999), 255-89. van Os, "Aiding the Poor Soldiers's Families: The Asker Āilelerine Yardımcı Hanımlar Cemiyeti," 255-89. and Healy, *Vienna and the Fall of the Habsburg Empire: Total War and Everyday Life in World War I*, 170, 73, 80, 83.

<sup>242</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MUD-UO, 1914/F154, #4531, 17.11.1914, Peć, District Chief to the Mol.

<sup>243</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MUD-UO, 1914/F154, #4531/1, 18.11.1914, Peć, District Chief to the Mol.

<sup>244</sup> Tanielian, "Feeding the City: The Beirut Municipality and the Politics of Food during World War I," 739. For the Serbian context see Stefanović, "Nation und Geschlecht: Frauen in Serbien von der Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts bis zum Zweiten Weltkrieg," 198, 202-05, 09-16. and Jasmina Milanović, "Odbor gospođa "Knjeginja Ljubica", 1899-1942," *Istorija 20. veka 1* (2015): 23-33.

<sup>245</sup> Jovičević, *Domaće negovanje i vaspitanje djece u Crnoj Gori*, 48-51, 54-56, 85-87, 94-98. and Boehm, *Blood Revenge: The Enactment and Management of Conflict in Montenegro and Other Tribal Societies*, 70-71.

for soldiers' wives, these policies, either in the Ottoman Empire, Britain or France, ultimately aimed to keep women at bay.<sup>246</sup>

In order to feed the soldiers' families from pre-1913 Montenegro, the local authorities began in late 1914 to send the latter to the post-1913 territories, hoping that this would alleviate their situation since the region around Āpek was viewed as an *El Dorado* of food (*zimovnik*) or as a place of fertile plains (*more ravnica*), where women and children (*nejač*) could easily purchase cheap foodstuffs. However, Āpek and the vicinity was not just filled with the soldiers' families that had come earlier; one could also find refugees from Herzegovina who were sent there as well.<sup>247</sup> As the governing elites sought to systematically resolve this issue, they announced that local authorities countrywide should make a list of the people who wished to go there. After the lists had arrived, it was clear that ten times as many families came forward than the fertile plains could receive and support.<sup>248</sup>

In short, there were too many people who expected to secure an abundance. These soldiers' families soon became a nuisance to the local inhabitants and authorities since they began to cut fruit and willow trees, including groves, around the Patriarchate and in the city itself, damaging fences in the process.<sup>249</sup> Tašlica and its surrounding area was also seen as being capable of providing for the soldiers' families and refugees from Bosnia, who were supposed to occupy estates of the Muslims that fled with the Habsburg army.<sup>250</sup> These narratives strongly resembled those of Habsburg-occupied Serbia which was conceived on the Habsburg home front as "a place of possibility," even gaining "a fantasy-like image" among the public when it came to food.<sup>251</sup> Everywhere, not only in the borderlands, the effects of the war were palpable, where food gradually became an inaccessible commodity among the wasted populations of the home front be it Berane, Vučitrin, Vienna or Beirut, where the locals would eat a variety of breads, sick and healthy animals, grasses, carcasses, garbage and even corpses.<sup>252</sup>

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<sup>246</sup> Grayzel, *Women's Identities at War: Gender, Motherhood, and Politics in Britain and France during the First World War*, 87, 122. Susan R. Grayzel, "The Enemy Within: The Problem of British Women's Sexuality During the First World War," in *Women and War in the Twentieth Century: Enlisted with or without Consent*, ed. Nicole Ann Dombrowski (New York - London: Routledge, 2004), 52-64, here pp. 53-54, 56, 60-61. Pedersen, "Gender, Welfare, and Citizenship in Britain during the Great War," 985, 96. Akın, "War, Women, and the State: The Politics of Sacrifice in the Ottoman Empire during the First World War," 30. and Oğuz, "'Moral Crisis' on the Ottoman Homefront During the First World War," 191-94.

<sup>247</sup> DACG/Cetinje, OuP, 1914/F13, #64, 22.11.1914, Peć, District Chief to the MoI; Andrijašević, "O nekim osobenostima crnogorskog društva 1914. godine," 14. and Ščekić, *Iza linije fronta: Crna Gora (1914-1916)*, 140-50.

<sup>248</sup> NMCG-ABO/Cetinje, N. I 1915/F73, #9, 13.09.1915, Cetinje, MoW to the Lovćen Detachment Command.

<sup>249</sup> DACG/Cetinje, OuP, 1914/F13, #64, 22.11.1914, Peć, District Chief to the MoI.

<sup>250</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MUD-UO, 1914/F153, #4310(5), 29.09.1914, Pljevlja, District Chief to the MoI and *ibid*, OuPlj, 1915/F16, #45, 20.03.1915, Pljevlja, District Chief to the MoI and MoFaPI.

<sup>251</sup> Gumz, *The Resurrection and Collapse of Empire in Habsburg Serbia, 1914-1918*, 145-92.

<sup>252</sup> Ščekić, *Iza linije fronta: Crna Gora (1914-1916)*, 161. Healy, *Vienna and the Fall of the Habsburg Empire: Total War and Everyday Life in World War I*, 45-47, 50-51, 55, 65-66, 69, 76-77. Tanielian, "The War of Famine: Everyday Life in Wartime Beirut and Mount Lebanon (1914-1918)," 59, 61-64, 67-68. al-Qattan, "When Mothers Ate their Children: Wartime Memory and the Language of Food in Syria and Lebanon," 722, 29. 729 and Bogdan Krekić, *Kroz Srbiju i Rumuniju sa austrijskom vojskom 1916-1918: Impresije i doživljaji* (Sarajevo: Štamparija Bos. pošte, 1919), 82-83.

The issue did not only stem from falling victim to the robberies of the rank and file but also from the requisition and illegal actions of the military and civil authorities, who were supposed to protect poor families based on the tacit contract, but instead disposed them of keeping draft animals. The officials took “a lot or even all from those who had little, whereas those who had a lot had been spared because little or nothing at all was taken.”<sup>253</sup> This is why the locals from Berane, after enduring “an enormous injustice,” informed the higher authorities that the municipal mayor protected his tribal relatives from the war requisition.<sup>254</sup> It is therefore unsurprising that in certain areas, soldiers instructed their families to not permit the seizure of livestock or draft animals. For this reason, tribal captaincies faced serious challenges to take the latter not least because of their opposition.<sup>255</sup>

Certain commands confiscated more bread and meat than needed and this was sometimes sold by the pack-train carriers during transportation.<sup>256</sup> In brief, the requisition was necessary for feeding the army which had to protect the soldiers’ families that had been practically robbed by the state authorities, deprived of anything needed to till the land or feed themselves, and in the end basically being pushed into starvation. Therefore, it was not *just* the Habsburg requisition policies that plundered “the Montenegrin people,” as Novica Rakočević writes, but also the Montenegrin authorities, meaning that the same labelling is applicable for the latter.<sup>257</sup> Here, one does not tend to defend the Habsburg occupation but, as Yuval Ben-Bassat and Dotan Havelly argue in the case of Ottoman Palestine, a more nuanced narrative is needed. Given these illegal policies, the Habsburg authorities were warmly welcomed in almost every populated area of pre- and post-1913 Montenegro, which they aptly used for their plans.<sup>258</sup>

The seized livestock and food was not exclusively used for feeding of the army because in Tašlica in late 1915 more people received military bread than it was noted in the books, owing to the inaccurate number of military personal and implying that some locals employed their social status to obtain foodstuffs.<sup>259</sup> This means that the war and additionally, the inability of various state authorities to cope with the problem produced a vicious circle which showed the locals that equal suffering was not equal after all. Therefore, it comes as no surprise that in post-

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<sup>253</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MUD-UO, 1914/F151, #3737(2), 13.09.1914, Cetinje, MoI to all districts.

<sup>254</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MUD-UO, 1915/F166, #3081, 23.06.1915, Cetinje, MoI to the Berane District Chief.

<sup>255</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MV-KMV, 1914/F10, #11501, 31.12.1914, Cetinje, MoW to the Viluse Unit Command.

<sup>256</sup> NMCG-ABO/Cetinje, N. I 1915/F72, #1, 16.01.1915, Supreme Command to the Commander of the Lovćen Detachment at Prijedor.

<sup>257</sup> Rakočević, *Crna Gora u Prvom svjetskom ratu, 1914-1918*, 267, 70. and Matović, "Rožaje pod austrougarskom okupacijom," 31-38.

<sup>258</sup> ÖStA/KA/Vienna, AOK Op. Abt. B-Gruppe, 507/1916, #22520, Op. Nr. 2385, 01.03.1916, 3. Operierendes AK to the AOK; ÖStA/HHStA/Vienna, PA I 998, 49e, #Z. 9/P. 12.03.1916, Cetinje, Proxy of the MdÄ at the MGG/M to the MdÄ; *ibid*, #266, Cetinje, 17.03.1916. MGG/M to the AOK, 1-7 and Yuval Ben-Bassat and Dotan Halevy, "A Tale of Two Cities and One Telegram: The Ottoman Military Regime and the Population of Greater Syria during WWI," *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 45, no. 2 (2019): 212-30.

<sup>259</sup> DACG/Cetinje, OuPlj, 1915/F16, #151, 22.10.1915, Pljevlja, N. Marđonović to the Military Court.

Ottoman Manastir in late 1914, women of the poor military obligors “walked through the streets throwing a curse on the authorities for coming to these parts in order to ruin them.” In such a setting, people once again started to whisper among themselves that “it was better under the Ottomans” after all.<sup>260</sup>

In Habsburg-occupied Yeni Pazar and surrounding areas, women and fiancées of the forcefully mobilized soldiers, whose livelihood began to deteriorate after the departure of their male family members, openly cursed the military entrepreneur and town mayor Riza Bey Muratbegović (*Bog ubio Rizah efendiju / Što pokupi mladu đurumliju*) in their songs.<sup>261</sup> Meanwhile, one views the same situation in the post-1913 Ottoman Empire where the whole process of commandeering evolved into official brigandage which aggravated the situation even further because this burden was not imposed equally. To use Yiğit Akın’s phrase, it was about feeding the army and starving the people, which in turn demanded more and more food for the army without taking others into account.<sup>262</sup>

These circumstances particularly affected families who had lost their breadwinners and without whom harvesting, for instance, in the Taşlıca region, could be not done in mid-1914. This occurred as the Slavic-speaking Muslims fled with the retreating Habsburg army and while their Christian neighbors were drafted either into the army or train.<sup>263</sup> As a result, the Taşlıca authorities asked for a temporary demobilization of the breadwinners in order to complete the harvest and it was eventually allowed.<sup>264</sup> Whether the exclusion of women from the train, meaning that they could provide food by participating in pillaging, had impaired their livelihood remains a mystery given the lack of sources. Narrowing down their space of action could exacerbate the maintenance of the soldier’s family because being part of the military and within close proximity of men might have ensured more food and security than simply waiting for the state’s assistance which, as shown, was inadequate. In addition, being deprived of livestock and draft animals meant that in some areas neither they nor the children could plow or feed themselves since animal husbandry also represented one of the main branches of agriculture in certain areas, such as in Gusine.<sup>265</sup>

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<sup>260</sup> VA/Belgrade, P3, K73, F1, 2/37, 27.11.1914, Bitolj, Inspector of the MoI to the MoI.

<sup>261</sup> Senko Rašljanin, "Tragom pesme o đurumlijama," in *Zbornik radova XXXV kongresa Saveza udruženja folklorista Jugoslavije. Rožaje, 26-29. septembra 1988* (Titograd: Udruženje folklorista Crne Gore, 1988), 74-79, here pp. 77-79. and Redžep Škrijelj, "Osmanlı Ordusuna Sancak'tan Boşnak "Curumliye" Gönüllü Katılımları (1916-1918)," in *100. Yılında I. Dünya Savaşı Mirası: Savaş Tarihi Araştırmaları Uluslararası Kongresi (6-8 Kasım 2014): Bildiriler*, ed. Halil Çetin and Lokman Erdemir (Çanakkale: Renk Ayrımı ve Baskı, 2015), 135-47, here pp. 41.

<sup>262</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MUD-UO, 1914/F153, #4255(3) 03.09.1914, Plevlje, District Chief to the MoI; *ibid*, #4255/2, 10.11.1914, Cetinje, MoF to the MoI and Akın, *When the War came Home: The Ottomans' Great War and the Devastation of an Empire*, 112, 16, 18, 42.

<sup>263</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MUD-UO, 1914/F151, #3584(2), 20.08.1914, Pljevlja, District Chief to the MoI.

<sup>264</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MUD-UO, 1914/F151, #8409/990, 23.08.1914, Cetinje, MoI to the Pljevlja District Chief.

<sup>265</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MV-KMV 1915/F11, unnumbered, 14.09.1915, Rijeka, Almaza Adžije Bećova Radoičića from Gusinje to the Montenegrin King. (...) to je u rekviziciju odvedeno, a još pare ne davano, tako sam ostala od toliko silne stoke da nemam

Food and workforce shortages pushed the government twice in mid-1915 to give leave between several to 14 days to around 50% of all soldiers deployed at various front-line positions, so that they might plow and work the fields. Whereby the soldiers “grabbed to plow both their own field or that of the dead, wounded, sick, absent neighbors, relatives and friends, helping to those without oxen.”<sup>266</sup> One sees the same policy enacted in France, Serbia, Germany, and the Habsburg Monarchy.<sup>267</sup> In some areas under Serbian rule, 12-year-old children would plow in villages if oxen were to be found, whereas in Habsburg-occupied Yeni Pazar a dozen Slavic-speaking female children between 12 and 14 years old used to work road construction, crushing stones and carrying material, for which they were paid and received a daily provision.<sup>268</sup> One encounters the same occurrence in the post-1913 Ottoman Empire where children were utilized as farmworkers or in the industrial sector, an area in which they became crucial.<sup>269</sup>

Women’s plea for protection is also evident in the petitions filed. In these, one openly observes how they referred to the king’s benevolence as he relied on on his ascribed paternalistic role, wielding, in some instances, the identitarian language, their sacrifice, including that of their male breadwinners, and their unprotected and starving children.<sup>270</sup> Negotiating with the authorities exemplifies that they once again became subjects in the mobilization field. While using this type of sources, it is always difficult to grasp who actually writes and supports the petition, and whether one is dealing here with the “actual voices” of women. Given the fact that petitions had to conform to formal requirements and be written using official language, it is known that in the Ottoman Empire their voices, by and large, were mediated and reframed by the petition writers. The latter made the women’s claims fit the conventions of petition-writing, nevertheless recording the personal stories of women in this process. This means that in spite of their intervention, these sources bear the essence of what women had to say about their situation.<sup>271</sup>

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više sada do sedamnaest brava od kojih sada su uzeli u rekviziciju tri. I imam jednu kravu, a to sve naše i manje i življenje, jer što će nam pusta zemlja, kad je nama ko raditi, i kad se ne može su čim. (...)

<sup>266</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MUD-UO, 1915/F160, #1517(3), 25.04.1915, Cetinje. MoI to the MoEaRA; *ibid*, 1915/F162, #2295, 27.06.1915, Cetinje. MoW to the MoI and Ščekić, *Iza linije fronta: Crna Gora (1914-1916)*, 153.

<sup>267</sup> Janz, *14: Der Grosse Krieg*, 239. Pero Blašković, *Sa Bošnjacima u Svjetskom ratu* (Zagreb [Beograd]: Fortuna, 2014 [1939]), 328. and Miljan Milkić, "Angažovanje srpske vojske na poljoprivrednim radovima 1914. i 1915. godine," in *Selo Balkana: Kontinuiteti i promene kroz istoriju*, ed. Srđan Rudić and Svetlana Čaldović-Šijaković (Beograd: Istorijski institut Beograd / Muzej na otvorenom "Staro selo" Sirogojno, 2017), 245-61.

<sup>268</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MID-PO 1914, R442, F25, D1, 25/21, #7106, 19.12.1914, Niš, MiI to the MoFA and Miodrag Radović, "Oslobođenje Novog Pazara u Prvom svetskom ratu," *Novopazarski zbornik* 15 (1991): 126-44, here pp. 38-40.

<sup>269</sup> Maksudyan, *Ottoman Children and Youth during World War I*, 8-9.

<sup>270</sup> Fitzpatrick, "Editor's Introduction: Petitions and Denunciations in Russian and Soviet History." van Voss, "Introduction," 2, 6-7. and Mahir Metinsoy, *Ottoman Women during World War I: Everyday Experiences, Politics, and Conflict*, 7-9.

<sup>271</sup> Kutluata, "Ottoman Women and the State during World War I," 72, 76. and van Voss, "Introduction," 8-9.

In some cases, writing style, composition of phrasing, or their signature, when juxtaposed to those written by male authors, discloses that women might nonetheless stand behind some petitions, as many pre-1912 appeals clearly unfold.<sup>272</sup> The soldier's mother and wife could file a petition together, whereby the hierarchy between them is evident insofar as only the mother addressed higher authorities, as the following petition dated 1915 from Tašlica aptly illustrates:

I am a poor woman [*siromašica*] with six powerless children who has nothing at all here [to eat]. My two sons have been captured and taken by the Habsburgs in this war and regarding their whereabouts I do not know anything, while the third one has been imprisoned in Podgorica half a year ago due to a quite small thing – he had quarreled with his superior. [Therefore], being a poor, old and powerless woman, I came here, to Cetinje, to ask for the king's mercy on my son to be released (...) Since we are penniless, we are starving in this unknown place. Thus, we humbly ask (...) to give us a little help, so that we can wait for the king's mercy on the son and return to our home place. Humble, Milica R. Posuka, Milena N. Posuka from Tašlica.<sup>273</sup>

Milica and Milena were not the only ones who asked for the state assistance. Marica Todorović, whose husband and 16-year-old son joined the army at the very beginning of the conflict, used similar narrative. Having had to leave home and seek refuge in Cetinje, it was tough for her “in these hard days” and “in an unknown place without own kin” to feed herself and four small male children (*sitna djeca*), for which reasons state aid was required.<sup>274</sup> What connects their stories is that despite the situation which they found themselves in they managed to remind the governing elites of their obligations. Although the identitarian language is not prevailing, every element of their story plays an important role, such as those of their motherhood, children, current poverty, hunger, response of their male kin to join the military, prisoners, or lack of social network in their new setting. They tend to show how much they suffered and how defenseless they were. In this regard, this narrative coincides with that of the post-1913 Ottoman context where requests also revolved around children, husbands and families, whereby the latter was used as an important identification trope. The most frequently applied title was *mother* through which they sought to legitimate and convey their grievances as it allowed one to reclaim the protection of the state. By wielding this label, not only did they increase pressure on the authorities but also reinforced their mutual relationship and subsequently the women's gender role since serving their male kin represented the link between the two.<sup>275</sup> Motherhood provided evidence of being proper subjects, yet, it reminded the ruling elites of their argument that mother's gave birth to future warriors and gave significance to the

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<sup>272</sup> See, for instance, petitions that are located in the fond of the Montenegrin Ministry of Foreign Affairs 1908/F163, 1909/F174-F174a and 1910/F107.

<sup>273</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MUD-UO, 1915/F161, #1757(1), 22.05.1915, Cetinje, Milica R. Posuka and Milena N. Posuka to the MoI.

<sup>274</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MUD-UO, 1914/F155, #4579(2), 15.12.1914, Cetinje, Marica Todorović to the MoI.

<sup>275</sup> Kutluata, "Ottoman Women and the State during World War I," 140. Akın, "War, Women, and the State: The Politics of Sacrifice in the Ottoman Empire during the First World War," 13, 24, 26-27. and Oğuz, "'Moral Crisis' on the Ottoman Homefront During the First World War," 203.



imagined nation, which the Habsburg, Ottoman or Montenegrin surrogate husbands had to protect, while the male breadwinners fought.<sup>276</sup>

In another case, women supplicants knowingly stressed their own and the children's loyalty to the king and stated that they were willing to make further sacrifices for the homeland. This is fittingly demonstrated in the petition filed in late 1915 by Almaza Adžije Bećova Radojičića from Gusine. Although her male household members were not mobilized (because they were killed in the Balkan Wars), she speaks on behalf of four widows. Almaza once again demanded protection from the king (she applied in 1913) since they had endured the ruthless requisition and levy. A 13-year-old boy, who was the oldest among nine orphans, could not cultivate the land because he was being utilized for road construction and also because the necessary animals were lacking. In order to enhance their material situation, which was exacerbated by the burden of callous commandeering and taxes, Almaza uttered here allegiance to the king and state and also claimed at their service (*vjerni i na uslugu Vama i Crnoj Gori*).<sup>277</sup>

These diverse titles which were in the petitions suggest that the woman's role varied from victim, beggar, flatterer, and even patriot, something which one also encounters in Imperial Russia during WWI. This means that women also played a role, continuously probing and testing the part of the process that rested on personal judgment because they knew that the aid giver's decision to provide – or not provide – depended on a subjective interpretation of the objective criteria. It is within this framework that the aid petitions and their outcomes must to be situated.<sup>278</sup> In brief, although it is nearly impossible to compile a comprehensible story of women's war experiences, it can be argued that the majority of women in the borderlands personally experienced the dreadful impact of the mobilization and wars.<sup>279</sup> Even in such a setting, they were able to mitigate the state policies regarding the military train by openly joining it or negotiating with various state powers when it came to fulfilling their part of the tacit deal, indicating that they were more than just passive bystanders.

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<sup>276</sup> Healy, *Vienna and the Fall of the Habsburg Empire: Total War and Everyday Life in World War I*, 258-60, 62-63, 65-66, 70, 72, 79-83, 90. and Akin, *When the War came Home: The Ottomans' Great War and the Devastation of an Empire*, 100.

<sup>277</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MV-KMV 1915/F11, unnumbered, 14.09.1915, Rijeka, Almaza Adžije Bećova Radojičića from Gusinje to the King.

<sup>278</sup> Emily E. Pyle, "Peasant Strategies for Obtaining State Aid: A Study of Petitions during World War I," *Russian History* 24, no. 1/2 (1997): 41-64, here pp. 42, 48-59, 61-62.

<sup>279</sup> Mahir Metinsoy, *Ottoman Women during World War I: Everyday Experiences, Politics, and Conflict*, 33. and Akin, *When the War came Home: The Ottomans' Great War and the Devastation of an Empire*, 145.

## 6 Enduring the Uncertainty of Transitions: Occupation, Volunteers, and Shifting State Loyalty

In addition to regular soldiers and paramilitaries, the borderlands offered a myriad of volunteers as well. The main aim of the first subchapter is therefore to elucidate on the notion of war volunteering. What does it mean to be a volunteer? Who becomes a volunteer? How do the ruling elites and the locals classify this occurrence? To what extent does war volunteering differ from the previously illustrated mobilizations? To answer these questions, the Habsburg occupation (1916-1918) serves as a useful case study since both sources and literature reveal that war volunteering represented a massive event during this time, whereby the locals willingly joined the Habsburg and Ottoman armies. Here, one also can directly interlink the actual deeds introduced in the previous chapters with the latter in order to evaluate its outcome. However, it is pivotal to first spotlight the close cooperation between the Habsburg Monarchy and Ottoman Empire. Although alliances on the outside appeared as a homogenous block, their key nuances resurfaced due to opposing war aims.<sup>1</sup> What were the goals of the Habsburg Monarchy and the Ottoman Empire? What were the relations between these two allies? How did their (dis-)agreements spill over into the region and spread among the locals?

While addressing these questions, one must pay heed to other regions, such as Dobruja or post-Ottoman Macedonia, where actors of these polities participated, thereby eliciting the inner and outer context in which they found themselves. Social change represents a dynamic process that is connected to broader fluctuations, implying that a global dimension of WWI cannot be easily discarded.<sup>2</sup> Jonathan Gumz is right in claiming that the Habsburg occupation of Serbia should be imbedded in the context of the Habsburg Monarchy.<sup>3</sup> In the same regard, the Ottoman perspective must be addressed too, not least because the interactions between the two constructed a setting in which war volunteering took place. In short, it is about globalizing and localizing WWI, methodologically speaking, as the region cannot be considered as being

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<sup>1</sup> Angelow, "Der Erste Weltkrieg auf dem Balkan. Neue Fragestellungen und Erklärungen," 178-94, here pp. 84-87. and Jr Harold E. Raugh, "Introduction," in *Alliance Planning and Coalition Warfare: Historical and Contemporary Approaches*, ed. Jr Harold E. Raugh (Belgrade: Institute for Strategic Research, 2019), 7-16. On the similar approach for the nineteenth-century Netherlands or WWI Romania see Jan Hoffenaar, "Challenges in Coalition Warfare: the Case of the Netherlands," in *Alliance Planning and Coalition Warfare: Historical and Contemporary Approaches*, ed. Jr Harold E. Raugh (Belgrade: Institute for Strategic Research, 2019), 17-26; Daniela Șișcanu, "Romania and the Entente: the Uncertainties of an Alliance," in *Alliance Planning and Coalition Warfare: Historical and Contemporary Approaches*, ed. Jr Harold E. Raugh (Belgrade: Institute for Strategic Research, 2019), 27-37. For WWI Bulgaria see Deniza Petrova, "Asymmetrie - Diversität - Dysfunktionalität? Das deutsche und das bulgarische Militär zwischen Kooperation und Konflikt im Rumänienfeldzug 1916/17," in *Die unbekannt Front: Der Erste Weltkrieg in Rumänien*, ed. Gundula Petrova Gahlen, Deniza; Stein, Oliver (Frankfurt/New York: Campus Verlag, 2018), 133-57. and Bernhard Bachinger, *Die Mittelmächte an der Saloniki-Front 1915-1918: Zwischen Zweck, Zwang und Zwist* (Paderborn, München, Wien, Zürich: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2019).

<sup>2</sup> Erez Manela Robert Gerwarth, "The Great War as a Global War: Imperial Conflict and the Reconfiguration of World Order, 1911-1923," *Diplomatic History* 38, no. 4 (September 2014): 786-800. Hew Strachan, "The First World War as a Global War," *First World War Studies* 1, no. 1 (2010): 3-14. and Quataert, "History from Below and the Writing of Ottoman History," 129-34, here pp. 33.

<sup>3</sup> Gumz, *The Resurrection and Collapse of Empire in Habsburg Serbia, 1914-1918*, 8-10.

isolated from other areas.<sup>4</sup> It goes without saying that the first subchapter did not thematize the Habsburg occupying apparatus since there have already been detailed studies of the subject in recent scholarship.<sup>5</sup>

What happened to those who joined forces with the enemy? The goal of the second subchapter is to form a more detailed narrative about the war volunteers by using the post-1918 Ottoman context as a case study. In contrast to the volunteers who aligned themselves with the Habsburg army, sources can inform about the fate of those who fought for the Ottoman Empire after WWI ended, by questioning what the position was of the new/old ruling elites. What was the stance of the Ottoman authorities? And what was the frame of mind of the soldiers? By stating that they should be seen as social actors, emphasis is placed on their tactics to reach their place of birth. Given the lack of personal documents, the second subchapter relies on state records in which their performance, reactions and attitudes are mirrored and allow to a certain extent a reconstruction of the locals' action. It should be emphasized that in applying this approach, it creates an imbalance which a modern historian must be mindful of in order to avoid an indiscriminate adoption of the state agents' narration and interpretation of the facts.<sup>6</sup> Ultimately, their actions should be examined in the context of legacies of the occupation, by focusing on the strategies the SCS governing elites employed when dealing with the returnees.<sup>7</sup>

Centered on the concept of loyalty, the last subchapter seeks to unfold what happens to those who changed their state loyalty. To what degree did they manage to accommodate themselves in the newly emerging situation? How did the state and their peers view the change of vertical allegiance? Did this shift influence vertical loyalty? If yes, in what way? Why, in certain situations, did the authorities tolerate the play-acting of these persons? The aim is to demonstrate how and when this behavior occurred, what were reasons for this conduct, and

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<sup>4</sup> Hew Strachan, "Military Operations and National Policies, 1914-1918," in *The Purpose of the First World War: War Aims and Military Strategies*, ed. Holger Afflerbach (Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2015), 7-25, here pp. 24. and Adrian Gregory, "Globalising and Localising the Great War," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 27 (December 2017): 233-51, here pp. 33. See also Mustafa Aksakal, "Introduction," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 46, World War I, no. 4 (2014): 653-56, here pp. 56. and Joseph Fletcher, "Integrative History: Parallels and Interconnections in the Early Modern Period, 1500-1800," *Journal of Turkish Studies* 9 (1985): 37-57, here pp. 37-38, 40.

<sup>5</sup> For a general overview of the Habsburg occupations amid WWI see Scheer, *Zwischen Front und Heimat: Österreich-Ungarns Militärverwaltungen im Ersten Weltkrieg*, 55-85. For Albania, Serbia, Montenegro, however, see Helmut Schwanke, "Zur Geschichte der österreichisch-ungarischen Militärverwaltung in Albanien (1916-1918)" (Unpublished PhD Thesis Universität Wien, 1982). Andrej Mitrović, *Srbija u Prvom svetskom ratu (dopunjeno izdanje)* (Beograd: Stubovi kulture, 2004), 282-310. Božica Mladenović, *Grad u austrougarskoj okupacionoj zoni u Srbiji od 1916. do 1918. godine* (Beograd: Čigoja štampa, 2000). Milan Ristović, "Occupation during and after the War (South East Europe)," in *1914-1918-online. International Encyclopedia of the First World War* ed. Ute Daniel et al. (2014), 1-18. Dimitrije Djordjević, "The Austro-Hungarian Occupation Regime in Serbia and its Break-Down in 1918," *Balkanica* XLVI (2015): 107-33. Kerchnawe, "Die k. u. k. Militärverwaltung in Serbien," 53-269. Kerchnawe, "Die Militärverwaltung in Montenegro und Albanien," 270-304. Rakočević, *Crna Gora u Prvom svjetskom ratu, 1914-1918*, 235-62. Brendel, "*Lieber als Kacake als in Hunger sterben*": *Besatzung und Widerstand im k. u. k. Militärgeneralgouvernement in Montenegro (1916-1918)*, 103-38.

<sup>6</sup> Anastasopoulos, "Introduction: Political Initiatives "from the Bottom up"," 1-12, here pp. 5.

<sup>7</sup> Karen Barkey, "Thinking about Consequences of Empire," in *After Empire. Multiethnic Societies and Nation-Building: The Soviet Union and the Russian, Ottoman, and Habsburg Empires*, ed. Karen Barkey and Mark von Hagen (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1997), 99-114, here pp. 03.

what happened to those who after shifting allegiances. Effort is made to answer these questions by examining the life world of an Ottoman officer and two brokers from Taşlıca and Mitroviça. Opting for these specific actors and not for others is mainly from practical reasons; in these cases, the sources allow one to trace their negotiating capabilities with almost every state that was present in the borderlands. However, these examples are not to be understood as a conventional biography, but rather as an episodic one. By relying on similar studies, the second subchapter attempts to illustrate, the historical panorama of the region in times of peace and war through a detailed narrative of the characters' experiences.<sup>8</sup> By centering an analysis on their lifeworld, the purpose is therefore to undermine the rigid boundaries between state and society in order to reveal a much more nuanced and complex historical picture. Thus, emphasis on these persons allows a glimpse into the persons' experiences, ambitions, and tactics.<sup>9</sup>

#### 6.1. The Political and the Material: the Habsburg-Ottoman Dispute over the *Menschenmaterial*

War aims should not be understood as static but rather as being reflected, developed and modified given their conflict-driven dynamic. The war goals of the belligerent parties were not necessarily the cause of WWI but a reaction to it, meaning that the latter were created during the war itself. This is the reason why the Habsburg and Ottoman war goals constantly changed, following the inner and/or outer developments, making the lust for conquest undeniable and affecting the former Ottoman Balkans territories as well.<sup>10</sup> Scholars have previously demonstrated how both civilian and military elites in Vienna and Budapest pursued expansionist policies aimed at obtaining and increasing the territorial, economic, and military power of the Monarchy. In line with Germany, the Habsburg war aims were more offensive and annexationist, whereby the ruling powers spent considerable time debating the future of the occupied territories.<sup>11</sup>

The permanent antagonism between the Military High Command (AOK) and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MdÄ) was mirrored on the ground, affecting the occupying administrations in the Military General Governorate Serbia (MGG/S), Military General Governorate

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<sup>8</sup> See Fortna, *The Circassian: A Life of Eşref Bey, Late Ottoman Insurgent and Special Agent*. and Laila Parsons, *The Commander: Fawzi al-Qawuqji and the Fight for Arab Independence, 1914-1948* (London: Saqi Books, 2017).

<sup>9</sup> Christine May Philliou, *Biography of an Empire: Governing Ottomans in an Age of Revolution* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2011), 22, 25. and Fortna, *The Circassian: A Life of Eşref Bey, Late Ottoman Insurgent and Special Agent*, 10, 20.

<sup>10</sup> Holger Afflerbach, "What Was the Great War about? War Aims, Military Strategies and Political Justifications during the First World War," in *The Purpose of the First World War: War Aims and Military Strategies*, ed. Holger Afflerbach (Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2015), 3-6, here pp. 3-5.

<sup>11</sup> Mitrović, *Srbija u Prvom svetskom ratu (dopunjeno izdanje)*, 273-82. Marvin Benjamin Fried, *Austro-Hungarian War Aims in the Balkans during World War I* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014). and Marvin Benjamin Fried, "'A Life and Death Question': Austro-Hungarian War Aims in the First World War," in *The Purpose of the First World War: War Aims and Military Strategies*, ed. Holger Afflerbach (Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2015), 117-40.

Montenegro (MGG/M), and in post-1913 Albania. In these areas the main question revolved around annexation or protectorate.<sup>12</sup> The fact that this rivalry was present shows the mutual labelling of representatives of the civil and military powers in the region itself. An MdÄ envoy based in Mitroviça branded the commanding officer as a complete Balkan ignoramus (*ein vollkommener Balkanignorant*) who did not know any local languages aside from German or maybe Czech. Additionally, a high officer of the MGG/M argued that the MdÄ acted by relying on the Albanophilia rose-colored glasses through which the Albanian-speaking population was regularly viewed.<sup>13</sup> This contention did not appear randomly but rather it had its own prehistory that dated back to the period before 1914, as studies have shown.<sup>14</sup>

Although the Monarchy occupied the borderlands, its authority did not prevail. This is because the Ottoman Empire could still exert its influence despite of not having a direct connection to the region. Besides maintaining diplomatic envoys in Sarajevo, it employed its esteem among the locals through a liaison officer appointed at the German Army Group in Bulgaria-occupied Üsküp, a Belgrade-based official for the protection of Ottoman subjects and interests (*tebaa ve menafii-i osmaniyeye himayeye memur*), and certain notables in Preboy, Yeni Pazar and Mitroviça. The latter hoped that the region would be yielded back once again to the sultan.<sup>15</sup> This comes as no surprise, as one finds the same recurrence in post-Ottoman Rhodes during the time when the island was ruled by Italy.<sup>16</sup> Though some scholars, such as Mesut Uyar, claim that taking back former provinces did not appear prominently among the Empire's initial war aims, irredentism and calls for revenge in the post-1913 setting became commonplace, as myriad studies on the topic have demonstrated.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> Gostentschnigg, *Wissenschaft im Spannungsfeld von Politik und Militär: Die österreichisch-ungarische Albanologie 1867-1918*, 499-506. See also Engelbert Deusch, *Das k. (u.) k. Kultusprotektorat im albanischen Siedlungsgebiet in seinem kulturellen, politischen und wirtschaftlichen Umfeld* (Wien - Köln - Weimar: Böhlau Verlag, 2009).

<sup>13</sup> ÖStA/HHStA/Vienna, PA I 977, 32k, #23/616 B, 09.06.1916, Mitrovica, Julius Ledinegg to the MdÄ and ÖStA/KA/Vienna, AOK Op. Abt. B-Gruppe, 510/1916, Nr. 34433, #6874, 15.11.1916, Cetinje, Chief of the General Staff to the MGG/M, 1.

<sup>14</sup> Günther Kronenbitter, *"Krieg im Frieden": Die Führung der k.u.k. Armee und die Großmachtpolitik Österreich-Ungarns 1906-1914* (München: De Gruyter, 2003).

<sup>15</sup> ÖStA/HHStA/Vienna, PA I 975, 32i, #Z. 9/Pol, 12.04.1918, Üsküp, Delegate of the Sofia Embassy in Üsküp to the MdÄ; *ibid*, PA I 973, 32a, 03.12.1916, Mitrovica, *Reise durch den Sandjak*, 3-4; DAS/Belgrade, VGG, 18-737, Lajos Thallóczy, 14.11.1916, Priboj, 6; *ibid*, PA I 1007/50w, #1183, 19.03.1917, Baden, Proxy to the AOK to the MdÄ and BOA/Istanbul, HR.SYS, 2319/4, leff 33/1, 20/05/1917, Belgrade, Official to the MoFA.

<sup>16</sup> Guidi, "Youth and Generations between two Empires: Changing Sociabilities from Ottoman to Italian Rule in Rhodes."

<sup>17</sup> Mesut Uyar, "Ottoman Strategy and War Aims during the First World War," in *The Purpose of the First World War: War Aims and Military Strategies*, ed. Holger Afflerbach (Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2015), 163-85, here pp. 63, 66, 72. Mesut Uyar, "The Ottoman Empire and the War with Romania," in *Die unbekannt Front: Der Erste Weltkrieg in Rumänien*, ed. Gundula; Petrova Gahlen, Deniza; Stein, Oliver (Frankfurt/New York: Campus Verlag, 2018), 165-79. See Halûk Harun Duman, *Balkanlara Veda: Basın ve Edebiyatta Balkan Savaşı (1912-1913)* (İstanbul: Duyap Yayıncılık, 2005). Boyar, *Ottomans, Turks and the Balkans: Empire Lost, Relations Altered*, 116-19, 26-29. Y. Doğan Çetinkaya, "Atrocity Propaganda and the Nationalization of the Masses in the Ottoman Empire during the Balkan Wars (1912-13)," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 46, World War I, no. 4 (2014): 769-78. Çetinkaya, "'Revenge! Revenge! Revenge!'" "Awakening a Nation" through Propaganda in the Ottoman Empire during the Balkan Wars (1912-13)," 77-102. and Ginio, *The Ottoman Culture of Defeat: The Balkan Wars and their Aftermath*, 76-77, 96-102, 05, 28-30, 33-37, 51.

This is not to say that the redrawing of the political borders was the most dominant and leading factor that pushed the Empire into WWI. Rather, its presence cannot be so easily ignored and this is why scholars include it as one of the main driving factors for entering into the war, not least because the latter made changing the political map feasible.<sup>18</sup> Not to mention the family background of most of the ruling Ottoman military elites at the time, who hailed originally from Rumelia and whom Erik Jan Zürcher refers to as “children of the borderlands.” probably left a mark and influenced their decision-making, as a contemporary recalls.<sup>19</sup> After returning to the Bulgaria-occupied Manastır area in late 1916 made, Enver Pasha spoke about his childhood and the years he had spent chasing various comitadjis.<sup>20</sup> The latter should not be overlooked because growing up in the Ottoman Balkans strongly shaped the world-view of travelers who published their accounts of the region in the late Ottoman period or in the time of early Republican Turkey.<sup>21</sup>

Despite of the friendship narrative that dominated the Habsburg public space, material assistance, and the sending of Habsburg soldiers to the Empire, it was the successful campaigns of the Central Powers in the Balkans and the subsequent occupations of Serbia, Montenegro, and Romania which revealed how the war aims quickly evolved among the allies.<sup>22</sup> During the Romanian conflict, in which the Ottoman side participated (namely, driven by prestige and the wish to secure support for their claims at the peace negotiations table), it was illustrated that the opposing goals between the allies could hamper the alliance.<sup>23</sup>

Although completion between various state powers within the Habsburg military and the political field was palpable, what actually homogenized these fractions and guided them to act

<sup>18</sup> Aksakal, *Harb-i Umumi Eşiğinde: Osmanlı Devleti Son Savaşına Nasıl Girdi*, pp. 27-43, 130-31. See also Hans-Lukas Kieser, "The Ottoman Road to Total War (1913-15)," in *World War I and the End of the Ottomans: From the Balkan Wars to the Armenian Genocide*, ed. Kerem Öktem and Maurus Reinkowski Hans-Lukas Kieser (London - New York: I. B. Tauris, 2015), 29-53.

<sup>19</sup> Ahmed Emin, *Turkey in the World War* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1930), 63-75, 77. Zürcher, "Jön Türkler: Sınır Bölgelerinin Çocukları," 139-54, here pp. 47-50, 52-54. and Erik Jan Zürcher, "Young Turks, Ottoman Muslims and Turkish Nationalists: Identity Politics 1908-1938," in *Ottoman Past and Today's Turkey*, ed. Kemal H. Karpat (Leiden - Boston: Brill, 2000), 150-79, here pp. 54, 57, 60, 72.

<sup>20</sup> Pomiankowski, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunun Çöküşü: 1914-1918 I. Dünya Savaşı*, pp. 230.

<sup>21</sup> Leyla von Mende, ""Heutiger Nachbar - gestriger Untertan" Reiseliterarische Auseinandersetzungen mit Südosteuropa von späten Osmanischen Reich bis zur frühern Republik Türkei" (Freie Universität Berlin, Juli 2016), 128, 30-31.

<sup>22</sup> Maureen Healy, "In aller "Freundschaft"? Österreichische "Türkenbilder" zwischen Gegnerschaft und "Freundschaft" vor und während des Ersten Weltkrieges," in *Glanz - Gewalt - Gehorsam: Militär und Gesellschaft in der Habsburgermonarchie (1800 bis 1918)*, ed. Laurence Cole, Christa Hämmerle, and Martin Scheutz (Essen: Klartext Verlag, 2011), 268-91. and Oliver Stein, "Propagandisten des k.u.k. Vielvölkerreiches: Österreichisch-ungarische Soldaten im Osmanischen Reich während des Ersten Weltkrieges," *Militär-geschichtliche Zeitschrift* 78, no. 2 (2019): 412-41.

<sup>23</sup> Uyar, "The Ottoman Empire and the War with Romania," pp. 171, 78. On the participation of the Ottoman unit in the Romanian operation see Bilge Karbi, "Birinci Dünya Savaşı'nda Osmanlı Devleti ve Avusturya Macaristan Askeri Yardımlarına Bir Örnek: Osmanlı Birliklerinin Galiçya Cephesi'ne Gönderilmesi Kararı Etrafındaki Tartışmalar," *Çanakkale Araştırmaları Türk Yılı* 14, no. 20 (2016): 193-206. Akçakayalıoğlu, *Birinci Dünya Harbi: Avrupa Cephesleri*. Piotr Nykiel, "The 15th Corps of the Imperial Ottoman Army on the Eastern Galician Front (1916-1917)," *Bellesten* 79, no. 284 (2015): 335-50. and Kemal Çelik, "Birinci Dünya Savaşı'nda Osmanlı Ordusu'nun Avrupa Cephesleri," in *1914'ten 2014'e 100'üncü Yılında Birinci Dünya Savaşı'nı Anlamak: Uluslararası Sempozyum 20-21 Kasım 2014, İstanbul*, ed. Zekeriya Türkmen (İstanbul: Harp Akademileri Basımevi, 2015), 463-502.

in unison was the possible encroachment of another foreign power in the Habsburg backyard – the occupied territories.<sup>24</sup> The problem between the allies stemmed from the misinterpretation of the 1914 Peace Treaty, which in turn enabled both sides to claim that the locals were Serbian/Montenegrin or Ottoman subjects. As shown earlier, once the Ottoman ruling elites declared war on Serbia, the latter simply declared the treaty as invalid. However, the Ottoman side kept referring to the treaty and demanded in late 1916 that the bilingual Muslims who were able-bodied be sent the Romanian front as a support for the Ottoman army.<sup>25</sup> The MGG/S outlined the on the ground as follows:

In recent weeks, the Ottoman consulate in Sarajevo has issued to the Muslims from the Prepole district certificates on military ransom, which canceled their previously made voluntary entry into [the Habsburg] military and which is being used against the [Habsburg] recruitment among their compatriots. [...] The consul held firmly that he has the right to issue exemption. [...] These indicate that both the Ottoman General Consulate in Vienna and the Consulate in Sarajevo appear to have been instructed that the inhabitants of the areas currently occupied by us [...] are to be regarded as Ottoman subjects. The MGG/S believes that the inhabitants of these areas are Serbian or Montenegrin subjects in accordance with the Constantinople Peace Treaty of 1914, Art. IV, who have a three-year right to opt for Ottoman subjecthood which was interrupted by the outbreak of WWI. Since, on the one hand, it is currently not possible to exercise the right of choice and, on the other hand, due to the adhering view [...] it is requested to consult with the Ottoman government on this matter. In the Prepole, Yeni Pazar and Mitroviça districts, the stance of the Ottoman consulate is already known. If we tacitly tolerate the wider spreading of this view, this could lead to unwelcome combinations.<sup>26</sup>

The question of subjecthood offered the Ottoman ruling elites the perfect excuse to meddle in the work of their ally, all while seeking to strengthen its influence on the locals, who had also become part of the interplay after they were informed of the matter by the Ottoman actors. As one might assume, the Habsburg civil and military disagreed on this topic; however, the MdÄ managed to convince the AOK that it was in the best interest of the Monarchy to preserve the Albanian-speaking population given its self-image of being a friendly country and the alleged propensity towards war, or martial race, of the imagined Albanian.<sup>27</sup> Thus, they agreed in late 1916 that not only could Slavic and Turkish-speaking POWs of the Serbian army be deployed as reinforcements for the Ottoman troops, but also the locals from the borderlands who voluntarily joined the Ottoman army (except for the Albanian-speaking inhabitants).<sup>28</sup>

In doing so, the Habsburg authorities sought to preserve absolute control over the occupied areas and not allow any power, including Bulgaria, to intermingle in its backyard, which

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<sup>24</sup> Fried, "“A Life and Death Question”: Austro-Hungarian War Aims in the First World War," 135.

<sup>25</sup> ÖStA/HHStA/Vienna, PA I 937/19b, #5134, 10.11.1914, Vienna, MdÄ to the KM and ÖStA/KA/Vienna, AOK Op. Abt. B-Gruppe, 510/1916, Nr. 30.465, #35296, 16.09.1916, Ludendorff to Conrad.

<sup>26</sup> ÖStA/HHStA/Vienna, PA I 1007/50w, #2281, 08.02.1917, Belgrade, MGG/S to the AOK.

<sup>27</sup> ÖStA/KA/Vienna, AOK Op. Abt. B-Gruppe, 510/1916, #34.558/I, 01.12.1916, AOK to the KM.

<sup>28</sup> ÖStA/KA/Vienna, AOK Op. Abt. B-Gruppe, 510/1916, Nr. 30964, #14.394, Teschen, 21.09.1916, Proxy of the MdÄ to the AOK; *ibid*, 22.09.1916, Teschen, General Staff to the proxy of the MdÄ; *ibid*, Nr. 30.964/I, #14.618, 03.10.1916, Teschen, Proxy of the MdÄ to the AOK and *ibid*, Nr. 32.428, #14.952, 18.10.1916, Teschen, Proxy of the MdÄ to the AOK.

occupied other parts of pre- and post-1913 Serbia.<sup>29</sup> Even if this decision clearly violated Articles 44/45 of the Hague Convention, the Habsburg power justified this action by referring to the Russian and Serbian examples which had already established units composed of the Slavic-speaking Habsburg POWs. The latter were used in Romania to fight against their native county.<sup>30</sup> Despite facilitating privilege policies towards Slavic and Italian-speaking Habsburg POWs, Russia was reluctant to allow the enlistment of POWs until the 1917 February Revolution because it knew that this decision might backfire, something which happened in the case of Serbian POWs.<sup>31</sup>

Defiant to any possible encroachment that might mitigate its hegemony, the Habsburg power soon realized that the so-called Young Turk propaganda, which was active on the ground had openly shown its aspiration for the Albanian-inhabited territories. Its representatives were the locals from the Bulgarian- and Habsburg-occupied zones whose goal was to incite the population to demand that an Ottoman prince be appointed to the Albanian throne.<sup>32</sup> Although this was labelled as fictitious, the authorities believed that this has something to do with the enlistments, which in turn made the AOK reconsider its stance.<sup>33</sup> The recruitment was not stopped but the Habsburg authorities still did not want their Ottoman ally to gain a foothold among the Albanian-speaking locals who, in their eyes, became the primary receipts of this propaganda. Thus, another influx of volunteers, who had hoped to serve in the Ottoman army,

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<sup>29</sup> ÖStA/HHStA/Vienna, PA I 1007/50o, #7232, 07.10.1916, Teschen, Proxy at the AOK to the MdÄ. On the Habsburg-Bulgarian relations see Valkov, "Balgarskoto voennoadministrativno upravljenje v Pomoravieto, Kosovo i Vardarska Makedoniya 1915-1918 g.," 293-302. and Martin Valkov, "Mezhu nacionalno obedineie i zavoevatelna vojna: Voennopoliticheskite celi na Balgariya prez Parvata svetovna vojna kato istoriografski problem," *Anamneza* 13, no. 1 (2018): 1-47. On the Bulgarian occupation see the mentioned dissertation of Martin Valkov, as well as Björn Opfer-Klinger, "Vereinigung und/oder Besatzung: Bulgariens Kriegsherrschaft in Makedonien 1915-1918," in *Der Ester Weltkrieg auf dem Balkan: Ereignis, Erfahrung und Erinnerung*, ed. Wolfgang Höpken and Wim van Meurs (Berlin: Peter Lang, 2018), 59-87.

<sup>30</sup> *The Hague Conventions of 1899 (II) and 1907 (IV) Respecting the Laws and Customs of War on Land*, 24. Article 44 of the 1899 version: "Any compulsion of the population of occupied territory to take part in military operations against its own country is prohibited". The same article but of the 1907 version: "A belligerent is forbidden to force the inhabitants of territory occupied by it to furnish information about the army of the other belligerent, or about its means of defense." Emphasized in original. Article 45: "Any pressure on the population of occupied territory to take the oath to the hostile Power is prohibited." In 1907: "It is forbidden to compel the inhabitants of occupied territory to swear allegiance to the hostile Power" and ÖStA/KA/Vienna, AOK Op. Abt. B-Gruppe, 510/1916, #31.470, 02.10.1916, AOK to the Proxy of the MdÄ and KM. On the Serbian units in Romania made up of the Habsburg POWs see Danilo Šarenac, "Globalizing the War: the Serbs in Dobruđa in 1916," in *Die unbekannt Front: Der Erste Weltkrieg in Rumänien*, ed. Gundula; Petrova Gahlen, Deniza; Stein, Oliver (Frankfurt/New York: Campus Verlag, 2018), 262-85. Aleksandar Životić, "'Crna ruka' i Srpski dobrovoljački korpus," in *Dobrovoljci u Velikom ratu 1914-1918*, ed. Dalibor Denda Srđan Rudić, Đorđe Đurić (Beograd: Istorijiski institut, Institut za strategijska istraživanja, Matica srpska, 2018), 171-83. and Jaroslav V. Višnjakov, "Srbi u borbi za Dobruđu 1916-1917," in *Dobrovoljci u Velikom ratu 1914-1918*, ed. Dalibor Denda Srđan Rudić, Đorđe Đurić (Beograd: Istorijiski institut, Institut za strategijska istraživanja, Matica srpska, 2018), 153-70.

<sup>31</sup> Alon Rachamimov, *POW and the Great War: Captivity on the Eastern Front* (Oxford - New York: Berg, 2002). and Reinhard; Nachtigal, "Privilegiensystem und Zwangsrekrutierung: Russische Nationalitätenpolitik gegenüber Kriegsgefangenen aus Österreich-Ungarn," in *Kriegsgefangene im Europa des Ersten Weltkriegs*, ed. Jochen Oltmer (Paderborn - München - Wien - Zürich: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2006), 167-93.

<sup>32</sup> ÖStA/HHStA/Vienna, PA I 1007/50o, #21773, 31.12.1916, Belgrad, MGG/S to the AOK; ÖStA/KA/Vienna, AOK Op. Abt. B-Gruppe, 510/1916, Nr. 30964, #14.394, Teschen, 21.09.1916, Proxy of the MdÄ to the AOK; *ibid*, Nr. 33.731, #14.939, 18.10.1916, Teschen, Proxy to the AOK; ÖStA/HHStA/Vienna, PA I 1007/50w, #12498, 14.12.1917, Skutari, Proxy to the MdÄ and *ibid*, PA I 1007/50o, #12615, 25.12.1918, Baden, Proxy to the MdÄ.

<sup>33</sup> ÖStA/HHStA/Vienna, PA I 1007/50o, #21773, 31.12.1916, Belgrad, MGG/S to the AOK.



were called off.<sup>34</sup> Besides booking the imagined Albanian for its military, the Habsburg ruling elites planned with this exclusion to mitigate the actions of the Albanian-speaking Ottoman soldiers and officers who were returning from holidays and had been pinpointed as the main preachers of this unwanted propaganda.<sup>35</sup> This was not an exaggeration and the reaction of the Bulgarian occupying authorities confirmed that they had reached the same conclusion. Thus, the Ottoman power sought to enhance its influence in occupied Macedonia whose clandestine aim (according to the Bulgarian side) was territorial compensation in Thrace and gaining a foothold in the norther parts of Dobruja, a Romanian province occupied by Germany at the time.<sup>36</sup>

It is evident that the Habsburg side tended to place more stress on the political. However, behind this stance the material driving reasons also existed, meaning that one must look beyond the propaganda narrative and focus on the interplay between the two.<sup>37</sup> Scholars, such as Joan Cashin, have revealed how, in the context of the American Civil War, parties made maximal use of what a private called “the stuff of war,” referring to the materials needed for waging and winning the war. The soldier’s body could be seen as belonging to the realm of “the stuff of war” and thus emerged as a material entity which military powers planned to exploit, as shown in pages.<sup>38</sup> Since numbers do matter, quantity has a qualitative aspect that should not be ignored in times of war. WWI was perceived as a material battle, in which the soldiers were delivered like animals and an undrafted subject became a unit of a resource.<sup>39</sup> This background also led to disputes over the human material that should be defined as either a struggle for power or a struggle for control over resources due to its scarcity.<sup>40</sup> This is why the Serbian governing elites

<sup>34</sup> ÖStA/HHStA/Vienna, PA I 1007/50w, #19.619, 24.02.1917, Istanbul, Enver Pasha to the AOK.

<sup>35</sup> ÖStA/HHStA/Vienna, PA I 1007/50o, #1865, 15.02.1918, Baden, Proxy to the MdÄ.

<sup>36</sup> Valkov, "Balgarskoto voennoadministrativno upravljenie v Pomoraviето, Kosovo i Vardarska Makedonija 1915-1918 g.," 313-17, 20. Stefan Minkov, "Der Rumänienfeldzug und die Dobrudscha-Frage 1916-1918 im Kontext des Verhältnisses zwischen Bulgarien und dem Osmanischen Reich," in *Die unbekannt Front: Der Erste Weltkrieg in Rumänien*, ed. Gundula Petrova Gahlen, Deniza; Stein, Oliver (Frankfurt/New York: Campus Verlag, 2018), 405-29; Georgi Zelengora, "Bulgaristan Müslümanlarının Birinci Dünya Savaşı'nda Osmanlı Ordusuna Katılımı," in *1914'ten 2014'e 100'üncü Yılında Birinci Dünya Savaşı'nı Anlamak: Uluslararası Sempozyum 20-21 Kasım 2014, İstanbul*, ed. Zekeriya Türkmen (İstanbul: Harp Akademileri Basımevi, 2015), 203-14, here pp. 07. See also Lisa Mayerhofer, *Zwischen Freund und Feind: Deutsche Besatzung in Rumänien 1916-1918* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2010).

<sup>37</sup> Tait Keller, "Mobilizing Nature for the First World War," in *Environmental Histories of the First World War*, ed. Richard P. Tucker et al. (Cambridge Cambridge University Press, 2018), 1-16. and Herberg, "Ostmitteleuropa im Blick: Umweltgeschichte zwischen Global- und Regionalgeschichte," 7-29, here pp. 11.

<sup>38</sup> Cashin, *War Stuff: The Struggle for Human and Environmental Resources in the American Civil War*, 3-5. and Joan E. Cashin, "Introduction: The Idea of the Thing," in *War Matters: Material Culture in the Civil War Era*, ed. Joan E. Cashin (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2018), 1-12, here pp. 5.

<sup>39</sup> Förster, "Introduction," 1-15. Hew Strachan, "From Cabinet War to Total War: The Perspective of Military Doctrine, 1861-1918," in *Great War, Total War: Combat and Mobilization on the Western Front, 1914-1918*, ed. Roger Chichering Stig Förster (Washington, D. C.: German Historical Institute, 2000), 19-33, here pp 24. Janz, *14: Der Grosse Krieg*, 92, 97. Gary J. Schmitt and Thomas Donnelly, "Numbers Matter," in *Of Men and Material: The Crisis in Military Resources*, ed. Gary J. Schmitt; Thomas Donnelly (Washington, D. C.: American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, 2007), 5-29, here pp. 6-7. and Daniel Marc Segesser, "Der Erster Weltkrieg: Ein totaler Krieg in globaler Perspektive?," in *Erster Weltkrieg: Globaler Konflikt - lokale Folgen. Neue Perspektiven*, ed. Stefan Karner and Philipp Lesiak (Innsbruck - Wien - Bozen: StudienVerlag, 2014), 143.

<sup>40</sup> Tim Krieger, "Environmental and Resource-Related Conflicts, Migration and Governance," 1-15, here pp. 2-4, 9.

tended to protect their able-bodied subjects from falling into captivity, not least because the Habsburg army intended to dispossess Serbia of the material given its military value by interning these particular subjects.<sup>41</sup> Following the occupation, and having faced the negative outcomes of the loss-making war, the AOK realized that the borderlands held valuable human material (*Menschenmaterial* or *Auskunftsmitel*) that could be harvested.<sup>42</sup> The Entente blockade forced the Monarchy and other members of the Central Powers to look for the much-needed materials, and the direct and indirect outcomes of this can be seen not only in the region in reference to the human reservoir, as a local recalls in the post-war period, but also in the occupied Russian or Rumanian territories. Ultimately, the discussion of the issue concerning who would receive the crucial materials took a considerable amount of time.<sup>43</sup>

A similar occurrence happened between France and Great Britain regarding the Ottoman Middle East territories, where both harbored doubts about if the other side would respect its part of deal after the war was over.<sup>44</sup> Yet the human material should not only be regarded in strict military terms due to the fact that its image changes depending on the context, thus even becoming the political. The MdÄ claimed that “whatever the future development may be, the dwindling of the Muslim Albanian element is for us an unfavorable one.”<sup>45</sup> This meant that the authorities wanted to use the element deemed element as loyal as leverage in future peace or post-war negotiations. Not only could overharvesting turn “the Muslim Sandžak into a purely Serbian province,” but the locals might also consider the Monarchy as someone that furthered “the Serbian policy [of] extermination of the Muslims.”<sup>46</sup> This was necessary since the reservoir was pretty much exhausted by mid-1917 and caused problems for the mobilization because the mood of the locals had declined significantly. This is why future recruits could only be enlisted with great tensions and difficulties.<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> VA/Belgrade, P7, K9, F4, 38/1, #8333, 28.09.1915, Valjevo, KIA to the Commander of Zenički Detachment.

<sup>42</sup> ÖStA/KA/Vienna, AOK Op. Abt. B-Gruppe, 510/1916, #31.470, 02.10.1916, AOK to the Proxy of the MdÄ and KM and *ibid*, #34558, 26.11.1916, AOK to the MGG/S and the KM.

<sup>43</sup> Bora Antić, „Suđenje u Kosovskoj Mitrovici: Završetak izviđanja i odbrana“, *Politika*, god. XXIII, br. 6705, 23.12.1926, 5; Alexander Watson, *Ring of Steel: Germany and Austria-Hungary at War, 1914-1918* (New York: Basic Books, 2014), chapter 5, 8 and 9. Eric W. Osborne, *Britain's Economic Blockade of Germany, 1914-1919* (London - New York: Frank Cass, 2004). David Hamlin, "Global Markets, Economic War and the Occupation of Romania," in *Die unbekannt Front: Der Erste Weltkrieg in Rumänien*, ed. Gundula; Petrova Gahlen, Deniza; Stein, Oliver (Frankfurt/New York: Campus Verlag, 2018), 367-87. David Hamlin, "The Fruits of Occupation: Food and Germany's Occupation of Romania in the First World War," *First World War Studies* 4, Military Occupations in First World War Europe, no. 1 (2013): 81-95. and Stephan Lehnstaedt, "Two Kinds of Occupation? German and Austro-Hungarian Economic Policy in Congress Poland 1915-1918," in *Other Fronts, Other Wars? First World War Studies on the Eve of the Centennial*, ed. Joachim Bürgschwentner; Matthias Egger; Gunda Barth-Scalmani (Leiden - Boston: Brill, 2014), 197-217.

<sup>44</sup> Eugene L. Rogan, *The Fall of the Ottomans: The Great War in the Middle East* (New York, NY: Basic Books, 2015), 303.

<sup>45</sup> ÖStA/HHStA/Vienna, PA I 1007, 50w, Albanien, #4815-4816, 30.09.1916, Vienna, MdÄ to Széchenyi and Thurn.

<sup>46</sup> ÖStA/HHStA/Vienna, PA I 976, 32k, Serbien, #23.094, 01.09.1917, Belgrade, MGG/S to the AOK; ÖStA/KA/Vienna, AOK Qu. Abt, 2479/1917, M.V. Nr. 16.3852/S, #29134, November 1917, Beograd, MGG/S to the AOK and *ibid*, 10.11.1917, AOK to the MGG/S.

<sup>47</sup> ÖStA/KA/Vienna, AOK Qu. Abt., 2477/1917, M.V. Nr. 163.042/S, #16.338, 27.06.1917, Belgrade MGG/S to the AOK.

The Ottoman side also searched for this material and cast the net of conscription as wide as possible over the Empire in an attempt to replenish its rank and file by constantly modifying and drafting existing laws.<sup>48</sup> In particular, the Gallipoli campaign, which ended at the outset of 1916, “drained the available pool of reserves to such a degree that the Ottoman army would never be able to overcome the shortage in manpower throughout the rest of the war.”<sup>49</sup> It therefore comes as no surprise that an Ottoman delegate at the AOK uttered that “we urgently need soldiers at the moment,” thereby asking for a permit that a commission could conduct recruitments in the region.<sup>50</sup> In an effort to seize any fit local, the Ottoman ruling elites wielded holy war as a pretext to enlist Iranians, Egyptians, North Africans, and Albanian-/Slavic-speaking Muslims who lived in the Empire, as a former Habsburg military attaché recalls.<sup>51</sup> This is also confirmed by a German Ambassador in late 1915 in the following statement:

The Persian ambassador in Istanbul has proposed to the Ottoman government to form and equip a Persian legion at the expense of the Persians living in the Ottoman Empire with the intention of using them in Persia as a cadre for a future army under the command of Persian and German officers. Consequently, the Ottoman government has begun to forcibly amass all the able-bodied Persians living here [...]. However, it went even further and decided following a practical implementation of the caliphate idea to compulsorily take all able-bodied men of Muslim faith, including Russian, Serbian, Montenegrin, and even Austro-Hungarian subjects into Ottoman service. This line of action has caused great bitterness among those affected, which is all the more justified, since the approval of the ransom hit merely the poor, whose families are already exposed to the hardship due to the prevailing high cost of living. Against the enlistment of Muslims originating from Bosnia and Herzegovina, [the Habsburg ambassador] Margrave Pallavicini has made a vigorous protest on behalf of his government.<sup>52</sup>

This inner context made the government go beyond the Empire’s borders and turned them not only to the inhabitants of the occupied region, but also to those living in Habsburg Bosnia-Herzegovina, something which eventually exacerbated the relations between the two allies. However, this was not the first or last time they had asked to send BH recruits to Istanbul; the same request was made in 1914 and 1917, implying that claims made by some scholars, such as Kadir Kon and Stanford Shaw, that holy wars were directed *only* towards the enemy clearly deserves a more nuanced approach.<sup>53</sup> Having been driven hence by the political and material, the Ottoman power turned to its former Balkan provinces as a possible pool which could provide

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<sup>48</sup> Akın, *When the War came Home: The Ottomans' Great War and the Devastation of an Empire*, 83, 101-06. Beşikçi, *Birinci Dünya Savaşı'nda Osmanlı Seferberliği*. and Uyar, "The Ottoman Empire and the War with Romania," pp. 178.

<sup>49</sup> Akın, *When the War came Home: The Ottomans' Great War and the Devastation of an Empire*, 101. See also Edward J. Erickson, *Size Ölmeyi Emdrediyorum! Birinci Dünya Savaşı'nda Osmanlı Ordusu* (İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2011). and Emin, *Turkey in the World War*, chapter 7, 9-10, 12.

<sup>50</sup> ÖStA/KA/Vienna, AOK Qu. Ab, 2479/1917, M.V. Nr. 163.852/S, #29, 04.11.1917, Ottoman Proxy to the AOK. (...) Da wir augenblicklich Soldaten dringend nötig haben, bitte ich das AOK ergebenst, (...)

<sup>51</sup> Pomiankowski, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunun Çöküşü: 1914-1918 I. Dünya Savaşı*, 234-35.

<sup>52</sup> PA AA/Berlin, RZ 201, R 14549, #726, 20.12.1915, Pera, Metternich to Bethmann Hollweg.

<sup>53</sup> ÖStA/HHStA/Vienna, PA I 972-2, 31, #4022, 15.11.1914, Tuzla, Masirevich to Potiorek; *ibid*, #4072, 03.12.1914, Koviljaca, Masirevich to Potiorek, 3. Dezember 1914; ÖStA/KA/Vienna, AOK Op. Abt. B-Gruppe, 512/1917, Nr. 43457, #149, 27.7.1917, Vienna, KM to the AOK; *ibid*, 16.08.1917, Baden, AOK to the Orient Department of KM. Kadir Kon, *Birinci Dünya Savaşı'nda Almanya'nın İslam Stratejisi* (İstanbul: Küre Yayınları, 2013), 65. and Stanford J. Shaw, *Birinci Dünya Savaşı'nda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu: Birinci Cilt Savaşa Giriş* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2014), 347.

the necessary military reinforcements. Holy war, images portraying the sultan as caring deeply for the Muslims, and politics of benevolence, viz. sending foodstuffs for Ramadan in the Habsburg- and Bulgarian-occupied territories, were wielded as the Ottoman strategies of inducement which were meant to help achieve their goals.<sup>54</sup>

This is why the Habsburg authorities invested so much in launching their own actual deeds in order to win the hearts and minds of the military brokers and the locals (as argued earlier) because they assumed that they had to fight over the latter with the Ottoman side. The fact that the dispute between the allies affected locals as well is shown in the case of the detention of Ali Bey Begović, a trader and member of the “the most noble and richest family” from Yeni Pazar. The local authorities arrested Ali Bey in mid-1917 under the charges of committing espionage, conducting Ottoman propaganda and cajoling the locals to join the Ottoman army. He was kept in jail until the end of 1917.<sup>55</sup> Ali Bey worked closely with the Belgrade-based Ottoman envoy, who interceded for his case at higher Ottoman-state levels. He allegedly helped to convince around 90% of nearly 1,700 volunteers from the Yeni Pazar region to join the Ottoman army instead of aligning themselves with the Habsburg Bosnian-Herzegovinian Regiments. Even the local powers were to be blamed to the extent that they alleviated the situation for unknown reasons. The Ottoman envoy claimed repeatedly that these and other volunteers who had already paid the military tax in Sarajevo are Ottoman subjects (*Osmanlı tebaası*), thereby conveying the clear message that not only did he hamper the success of the Habsburg mobilization on the ground, but he also stole their precious cargo.<sup>56</sup>

Given this interference, the authorities cancelled the shipment of 2,300 Slavic-speaking Yeni Pazar and Prepole volunteers who had initially chosen to serve the Habsburg army but following the Ottoman persuasion, only 900 men had left.<sup>57</sup> It is therefore unsurprising that the AOK suggested passive resistance vis-à-vis the Ottoman envoy, meaning that the authorities were supposed to reduce interactions with him to the lowest level possible.<sup>58</sup> No matter how much this situation resembled a dead-end, a provisional solution was reached favored the Habsburg side. Enver Pasha agreed that the subjecthood should be postponed until after the

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<sup>54</sup> Singer, "Special Issue Introduction," 227-38. ÖStA/KA/Vienna, AOK Op. Abt. B-Gruppe, 510/1916, Nr. 30.465, #15593, 14.09.1916, MGG/S to the AOK; ÖStA/HHStA/Vienna, PA I 998/49e, unnumbered, 10.07.1916, Mitrovica, Julius Ledinegg to the MdÄ and Valkov, "Balgarskoto voennoadministrativno upravljenje v Pomoravieto, Kosovo i Vardarska Makedonija 1915-1918 g.," 313, 16.

<sup>55</sup> BOA/Istanbul, HR.SYS, 2435/77, leff 1, 02/06/1917, Belgrade, Official to the MoF and *ibid*, 2435/77, leff 3, 28/10/1917, Istanbul, MoI to the MoF.

<sup>56</sup> DAS/Belgrade, VGG, 18-737, November 1916, Novi Pazar, Lajos Thallóczy, 2; BOA/Istanbul, HR.SYS, 2420/81, leff 4, 13.11.1916, MoW to the MoF and *ibid*, leff 2, 20.11.1916, MoF to the MoW.

<sup>57</sup> ÖStA/KA/Vienna, AOK Qu. Abt., 2448/1917, #64280/S, #11905, 13.05.1917, Belgrade, MGG/S to the AOK.

<sup>58</sup> ÖStA/KA/Vienna, AOK Qu. Abt., 2437/1917, #33.809/S, 03.05.1917, AOK to the MdÄ and *ibid*, 08.05.1917, AOK to the MGG/S and MdÄ Proxy.

war.<sup>59</sup> The Ottoman side then yielded to the Habsburg interpretation until the war ended, implying that the former accepted that it was the Habsburg Monarchy that held control over the influx of the human material. Accordingly, the occupying military authorities began transporting volunteers to Istanbul as Enver Pasha had requested after the Romanian campaign.<sup>60</sup>

Although the Habsburg governance firmly defended its stance of not allowing anyone to recruit the locals except of their own power, they eventually permitted the Ottoman authorities to send a recruiting commission to the region.<sup>61</sup> It is difficult to explain, given the lack of sources, why this action was granted and whether or not this has something to do with the Ottoman decision of postponing the subject question. However, problems emerged as soon as Subhi Bey, who headed the commission, arrived in Mitroviça in late 1917. In fact, the Ottoman officers wanted to visit the settlements where the Albanian-speaking population dwelled, be it in post-1913 Albania, Serbia or Montenegro.<sup>62</sup> It became clear that not only did military factors drive the commission but also political ones, not least because, according to the Habsburg local authorities, Subhi Bey's chief task was to pave the way for the ideas of the Young Turk. This meant, increasing sentiment locally in favor of the Ottoman Empire for the creation of an autonomous Albania under an Ottoman prince.<sup>63</sup> Subhi Bey was labelled as a modern Young Turk who, besides going after Muslim women, wanted to spread his ideas among the strictly conservative Muslims. It was for this reason that the Muslim people and notables did not absolutely want to know a single thing about it and they were very unpleasant to him. In a word, "all notables would be glad if he [left] these areas as soon as possible."<sup>64</sup> Having been an Ottoman liaison officer in Üsküp, Subhi Bey also represented a problem for the Bulgarian occupying power given his political activities there.<sup>65</sup>

But where the Habsburg authorities saw peril, others recognized a chance to act more independently, which meant that not all notables were against Subhi Bey's endeavors because the Draga brothers were identified as the main conduit of the Ottoman and Young Turk activities.<sup>66</sup> The commission managed to enlist around 600 locals by relying on their vigorous

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<sup>59</sup> ÖStA/HHStA/Vienna, PA I 1007, 50w, Albanien, #19.609, 18.05.1917, Baden, Proxy to the MdÄ and BOA/Istanbul, HR.SYS, 2434/57, leff 3, 29.04.1917, Avusturya-Macaristan Hükümeti Dersaadet Askeri Murahhaslığı to the Enver Pasha.

<sup>60</sup> ÖStA/KA/Vienna, AOK Qu. Abt, 2477/1917, #163.042/S, #16338, 27.06.1917, Belgrade, MGG/S to the AOK.

<sup>61</sup> ÖStA/KA/Vienna, AOK Qu. Abt, 2479/1917, #183.080/1/S, 11.12.1917, AOK to the Proxy of the MdÄ.

<sup>62</sup> ÖStA/KA/Vienna, AOK Qu. Abt, 2477/1917, #163.042/S, 23.09.1917, AOK to the Ottoman envoy.

<sup>63</sup> ÖStA/KA/Vienna, AOK Qu. Abt, 2478/1917, #163.651/S, 02.10.1917, Belgrade, MGG/S to the AOK and ÖStA/HHStA/Vienna, PA I 1007/50w, #11601, 28.11.1917, Belgrade, Proxy to the MdÄ.

<sup>64</sup> ÖStA/KA/Vienna, AOK Qu. Abt, 2479/1917, #183.227/S, #717, 27.11.1917, Mitrovica, District Command to the MGG/S.

<sup>65</sup> Valkov, "Balgarskoto voenoadministrativno upravlenie v Pomoravieto, Kosovo i Vardarska Makedoniya 1915-1918 g.," 319-20.

<sup>66</sup> ÖStA/KA/Vienna, AOK Qu. Abt, 2478/1917, #163.651/S, 02.10.1917, Belgrade, MGG/S to the AOK and *ibid*, #30257, 26.10.1917, Belgrade, MGG/S to the AOK.

support, which had then furthered an anti-Habsburg policy due to economic reasons.<sup>67</sup> The brothers used Subhi Bey's presence to strengthen their status and exert pressure on the Habsburg power. Apparently, they were not the only ones to do so because, according to an Ottoman ambassador from Vienna, the local notables, while cooperating with the Habsburg or Ottoman authorities, also sought to nurture close relations with their mortal enemies (*agyâr ve a'dâ*).<sup>68</sup> Other local power-holders, such as Hasan Bey and Derviš Bey, emerged as their opponents because their goals overlapped with that of the Habsburg occupying authorities. They advised Subhi Bey that his further were is pointless and made it clear that he could count on them.<sup>69</sup> Thus, his intention to include the neighboring districts was mitigated given its political color and, for this reason the AOK limited his activities only to Mitroviça, thereby suspending his future travels to the MGG/M and post-1913 Albania, as well as his trips to Sarajevo and Vienna.<sup>70</sup> The way in which inhabitants responded to the coming of the Ottoman commission is difficult to gauge because records indicate that his success only stemmed from the support he enjoyed among the Draga brothers.<sup>71</sup>



Photo 13: “Public Ovations in Kosovo: Albanian Volunteers of Mitroviça and Vulçitrn.” Since the recruitment was finished, a photo session with the volunteers followed which was most likely taken in front of the former governor's building and was published in Istanbul in a military periodical. Although the faces are hard to identify given the photo's quality, one can clearly see in the first line of men, two Ottoman officers surrounded not only by the volunteers but also by the military brokers, among whom included: Necib Bey, Ferhad Bey (the Draga brothers), Hasan Bey, and Derviš Bey. Above them, there stands an Ottoman flag together with the bodies and

<sup>67</sup> ÖStA/HHStA/Vienna, PA I 1007/50w, #12056, 09.12.1917, Belgrade, Proxy to the MdÄ; ÖStA/KA/Vienna, AOK Op. Abt. B-Gruppe, 514/1917, #47500, #5165, 13.11.1917, Skopje, Appointed General Staff Officer Scholtz to the Military Inspectorate of Macedonia and ÖStA/KA/Vienna, AOK Qu. Abt. 2479/1917, #183.227/S, #34925, 04.12.1917, Belgrade, MGG/S to the AOK.

<sup>68</sup> BOA/Istanbul, HR.SYS, 2435/78, leff 4, 11/07/1917, Vienna, Ambassador to the MoFA. (...) Gerek Yeni Pazar, gerek Arnavudluk ahalisinden pek çoklarının bize ve müttetekimize sadık ve hayırhah gönderdikleri halde agyâr ve a'dâya casusluk ettikleri de emsal-ı 'adîdesi mükerrer sabit olmuş hallerdendir (...)

<sup>69</sup> ÖStA/KA/Vienna, AOK Qu. Abt. 2479/1917, M.V. Nr. 163.852/S, #29134, 11.1917, Beograd, MGG/S to the AOK and *ibid*, #1717, 27.11.1917, Mitrovica, District Command to the MGG/S.

<sup>70</sup> ÖStA/KA/Vienna, AOK Qu. Abt. 2477/1917, #163.042/S, 23.09.1917, AOK to the Ottoman envoy at the AOK and MGG/S; *ibid*, 2479/1917, #163.852/S, 10.11.1917, AOK to the MGG and ÖStA/HHStA/Vienna, PA I 1007/50w, #12157, 13.12.1917, Baden, Proxy to the MdÄ.

<sup>71</sup> ÖStA/HHStA/Vienna, PA I 1007/50w, #12056, 09.12.1917, Belgrade, Proxy to the MdÄ.

presence of the Ottoman officers, they symbolize authority, giving a patriotic color to the event and establishing, if only for a moment, the appearance that the Ottoman Empire had returned. As argued earlier, this staging implies a tendency of the state to construct military mobilizations in public as a kind of festive occasion in which the able-bodied both knowingly and voluntarily participate. The post-1918 ruling elites used the picture in the 1920s as evidence in a court trial against Ferhad Bey Draga precisely because it depicted the recruitment of local volunteers.<sup>72</sup>

After being shipped to Istanbul, some of the volunteers from the photo still had not reached the battlefield. Given their older age (*sinn-i şeyhuhet*) and physical weakness (*zaafiyet*), they had been employed in labor battalions reserved for non-Muslims (*hizmet-i gayr-i müslüme*). This is why some had requested to be sent back through their brokers.<sup>73</sup> The dispute over the *Menschenmaterial* notwithstanding, the Empire's actions in their post-Balkan provinces nonetheless delivered some results because, according to an official post-Ottoman report, it acquired almost 50,000 soldiers between 1916 and 1918.<sup>74</sup> It is possible that this number was higher; between September and December 1916 around 43,000 bilingual Muslim soldiers were shipped from the Bulgarian-occupied territories. The number of those enlisted for both the Habsburg and Ottoman armies from the MGG/S was around 30,000 men and from that the MGG/M varied between 4,000 to 6,000 men. It is unclear how much the Habsburg side gained from these actions.<sup>75</sup>

Reaching an exact number is further complicated, not only because sources are lacking, but also because the Ottoman authorities tended to conceal the numbers and names of the volunteers under the pretext that this might stop their influx into the Empire.<sup>76</sup> Thus, Yiğit's argument that the Ottoman ruling elites could not obtain the necessary resources to sustain the war from outside its borders should be reformulated because the number of amassed volunteers shows how the latter benefited indirectly from the occupation of its Balkan allies.<sup>77</sup> But what did being a volunteer actually mean?

#### 6.1.1. Volunteers, Forcefully Mobilized or Something In-between?

The Romanian declaration of war gave a new impetus to a traditional attachment of the Muslims and Albanians to our Monarchy. Thousands of them from the three southern districts of the MGG/S volunteered for the war effort on the side of the allied Habsburg and Ottoman army. On October 17, 1916 the volunteers from the Yeni Pazar District reached Mitroviça. The Mitroviça

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<sup>72</sup> "Kosova'da Tezâhürât: Mitroviçe ile Vulçitrın Arnaut Gönüllüleri," 416. A. Musanić, „Drugi dan pretresa Ferad beg Dragi, bivšem vodi džemijeta“, *Vreme*, god. VI, 22.12.1926, br. 1800, 5 and “Suđenje Ferad-beg Dragi”, *Pravda*, god. XXII, 21.12.1926, br. 349, p. 4 and „Suđenje Ferad-begu Dragi“, *Pravda*, god. XXII, 22.12.1926, br. 350, 3.

<sup>73</sup> BOA/Istanbul, BEO, 4494/337039, 08/12/1917, Istanbul, Staff of Grand Vezir to the Supreme Command.

<sup>74</sup> ATASE/Ankara, İSH, 80-10AA, 31/01/1920, (...) Bulgaristan'ın Harb-i Umumi'ye iştirâğından sonra Trakya ve Yunan Makedonyası ve Sırp Makedonyası ve Arnautluk ve şimalî Arnautluk ahalisinden elli bin kadar efradın Osmanlı ordusuna gönderildiği (...)

<sup>75</sup> Valkov, "Balgarskoto voenoadministrativno upravlenie v Pomoravieto, Kosovo i Vardarska Makedoniya 1915-1918 g.," 313. Zelengora, "Bulgaristan Müslümanlarının Birinci Dünya Savaşı'nda Osmanlı Ordusuna Katılımı," 205-06. Kerchnawe and Maulik, "Bandenkrieg und Bandenbekämpfung im serbischen Okkupationsgebiete," 20-29, here pp. 24. On the MGG/M see ÖStA/KA/Vienna, AOK Op. Abt. B-Gruppe, 510/1916, Nr. 31432, 02.10.1916, AOK to the MGG/M and KM, *ibid*, Nr. 32370, Nr. 20512, 13.10.1916, Vienna, KM to the Mostar Military Command and ÖStA/HHStA/Vienna, PA I 1007/50o, 05.10.1916, Cetinje, Proxy to the unknown.

<sup>76</sup> BOA/Istanbul, HR.SYS, 2319/4, leff 21/2, 03/01/1915, Istanbul, MoI to the MoFA.

<sup>77</sup> Akın, *When the War came Home: The Ottomans' Great War and the Devastation of an Empire*, 7.

district commander lieutenant colonel Wolff rode towards them (...) with his escort, where he greeted the volunteers assembled in a picturesque grouping with fiery words, accompanying them to Mitrovica. At the northwest entrance of the festively decorated town, the marching volunteers were met by enthusiastic shouts from the town representatives and a vast crowd followed by a joyful sound and the waving of flags, whereupon the occupation group commander's platoon marched and entered the town. In the afternoon of the same day, the Albanian volunteers of the Mitroviça District assembled in front of the infantry barracks, where the district commander (...) eloquently expressed to them the great significance of war service for the Albanian nation and cordially thanked them for their willingness which inspired enthusiastic cheers to His Majesty the Emperor and King Franz Joseph I. The Yeni Pazarians left the town on October 19, while the Mitroviça District war volunteers, under the command of the notables Derviş Bey and Hassan Bey, after saying goodbye on October 21, will embark on a journey to the Monarchy. Voluntary military service is evidence of the sympathy that the monarchy enjoys among the Muslim population.

The Viennese daily *Fremden-Blatt* (1916).<sup>78</sup>

The paragraph cited above gives the impression that the bilingual Muslim war volunteers joined the armies of the Central Powers because of their sympathies towards the Monarchy and national Albanian fervor. The unknown author depicts the welcoming parade into the town in such a manner that the reader envisions it as a grassroots movement; one which the Habsburg authorities had not prompted by wielding the strategies of inducements or had not relied on the coaxing and coercive methods exerted by the military entrepreneurs. A similar narrative can be seen in the postwar period, although it takes a slightly different form; it was actually the notables who approached the Habsburg power and made suggestions about the draft.<sup>79</sup>

The problem with this interpretation is that not only does it fail to fit the picture on the ground, but it also lacks a nuanced approach concerning the stereotypical war volunteer, whose meanings and connotations are subject to change and deserve to be put into the proper context. It also fails to recognize the various settings, which are rarely the subject of explicit considerations.<sup>80</sup> By analyzing the entry "volunteer" in British, French, German, Italian, North American, and Spanish encyclopedias, scholars have shown that the term was defined by contemporaries as being distinct from the mercenary, the conscript, and the professional soldier. It "referred to a soldier who served voluntarily at his own expense, often to learn the military profession."<sup>81</sup>

The Ottoman, Serbian/SCS, and Habsburg military laws indicated that *gönüllü*, *dobrovoljac*, and *Kriegsfreiwilliger*, could, roughly speaking, only refer to a fit young man who was not younger than eighteen-years-old and not of conscription age. Beforehand, he had to

<sup>78</sup> „Albanische Kriegsfreiwillige," *Fremden-Blatt* (mit militärischer Beilage *die Vedette*), 70. Jg, 24.10.1916, Nr. 295, 7.

<sup>79</sup> Kerchnawe, "Die k. u. k. Militärverwaltung in Serbien," pp. 92-93 and Kerchnawe and Maulik, "Bandenkrieg und Bandenbekämpfung im serbischen Okkupationsgebiete," 23-24.

<sup>80</sup> John Mohan Rose Lindsey, Sarah Bulloch, and Elizabeth Metcalfe, "Introduction," in *Continuity and Change in Voluntary Action*, ed. John Mohan Rose Lindsey, Sarah Bulloch, Elizabeth Metcalfe (Bristol: Polcie Press, Universtity of Bristol Press, 2018), 1-18, here pp. 10.

<sup>81</sup> Christine G. Krüger and Sonja Levsen, "Introduction: Volunteers, War, and the Nation since the French Revolution," in *War Volunteering in Modern Times: From the French Revolution to the Second World War*, ed. Christine G. Krüger and Sonja Levsen (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 1-22, here pp. 3, 9-10.



submit a declaration of consent from his parents or guardians, a municipal certificate of good conduct, financial status, proof of not being married, and a school certificate. A volunteer also had to agree to remain under the flag during the whole period of military service and was considered as a person that would seek a future in the military.<sup>82</sup> Accordingly, an Ottoman dictionary designates for the term two *gönüllü* which are relevant for the present subchapter: the first meaning is a person who does a job of their his own free will and who is not forced/obliged to, and the second is a soldier who is not of not military age but has registered themselves of this their own volition, even if they had not been chosen to be a recruit through the drawing of a lottery (thus, a volunteer).<sup>83</sup>

In addition to the trope *gönüllü*, the Slavic- and possibly, Albanian-speaking Muslims, as well as local Habsburg authorities that had preferred the label *Kriegsfreiwilliger*, also used the expressions *donlija*, *đunlija* or *đumlija*.<sup>84</sup> An SCS encyclopedia printed in the late 1920s states that “citizens [*građani*], our nationals [*državljani*], who either by their age or physical condition had not been obliged to serve in the military, as well as foreign nationals who had had no military obligation to our country but who volunteered in our army during WWI, are called volunteers [*dobrovoljci*].”<sup>85</sup> In short, the volunteer was a person who was not *obliged/forced* to join forces with just any army, but rather relied on their *own wishes/desires* to become, or not become, a soldier.

Despite these definitions and the fact that the AOK enabled those who wanted to serve voluntarily in the Ottoman army, wielding this trope still represents a challenge because its descriptions neglect the situation in which a person found themselves during the Habsburg occupation.<sup>86</sup> When speaking of this issue, the actual deeds, the role of the military brokers in this process, and the inner and outer fluctuations that influenced the decision to join a certain army should not be overlooked. In an occupier-driven setting, earlier assumptions become

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<sup>82</sup> Hartmann, *Die Reichweite des Staates: Wehrpflicht und moderne Staatlichkeit im Osmanischen Reich 1860-1910*, 148-50. *Pravilo o rekrutovanju mladića za stalan kadar, upisu, ispisu i prevođenju u rezervu i oba poziva narodne vojske*, art. 103-07, pp. 76-79; *Pravilo o rekrutovanju mladića za stalan kadar, upisu, ispisu i prevođenje u rezervu i oba poziva narodne vojske*, art. 103-07, pp. 70-72. and Rudolf Hecht, "Fragen zur Heeresergänzung der gesamten bewaffneten Macht Österreich-Ungarns" (PhD Universität Wien, 1969), 74.

<sup>83</sup> Şemseddin, *Kamus-i Türki*, 1210, entry "gönüllü". 1) Kendi hâhiş ve arzusuyla bir iş gören, mecburu olmayan / 2) Kur'a efradından olmadığı veya kur'ası isabet etmediği halde kendi arzusuyla asker yazılan: gönüllü asker.

<sup>84</sup> BOA/Istanbul, HR.SYS, 2319/4, leff 33/1, 20/05/1917, Belgrade, Official the MoFA (...) Yeni Pazar ve Prepol'daki ahali-i islamiyyeden gönüllü sıfatıyla sekiz yüz kişi cem' edilmiştir; Abdulah Škaljić, *Turcizmi u srpskohrvatskom jeziku* (Sarajevo: "Svjetlost" izdavačko preduzeće, 1966), 252. (...) Đonlije, donulije: poseban rod vojske u Turskoj carevini za opasne pothvate, koji se regrutovao od dobrovoljaca. (...); DAS/Belgrade, MID-PP 1912, R105, #115, 07.02.1912, Priština, Consul to the MoFA. (...) gilanski kajmakan pozvao je sve uglednije prvake iz mesta i kaze i saopštio im, kao vrlo poverljivo, da svaki u svom mestu sastavi spisak dobrovoljaca – đunlija – i podnese ga njemu u najkraćem roku (...) and IAR/Novi Pazar, Poglavarstvo opštine Ribariće (1915-1918), #5, 6<sup>th</sup> order of the Tutin County dated November 11<sup>th</sup>, 1917. (...) Isplata đumlija (...)

<sup>85</sup> P. Lazarević, "Dobrovoljci," in *Narodna enciklopedija srpsko-hrvatsko-slovenačka*, ed. Stanoje Stanojević (Novi Sad: Štamparija "Budućnost" Novi Sad - Izdavačka knjižarnica Zorana Stojanovića Sr. Karlovci - Novi Sad, [1928] 2001), 610-11.

<sup>86</sup> ÖStA/HHStA/Vienna, PA I 1007/50w, #30.964, 22.09.1916, Teschen, Chief of the Generalstaff to the proxy of the MdÄ

questionable, expectations and routines uncertain, and reliability corrodes as feelings of doubt and vulnerability spread. The *occupied societies* thus become those whose regulations are greatly threatened since they are under severely pressure. Neither the volunteer himself nor the Habsburg power could answer to what extent a persons' tactics would prove to be successful during war.<sup>87</sup>

For example, investing in the tacit security contract or launching the actual-deeds policies did not automatically mean that the locals would rush to enlist. Following the Romanian declaration of war, an MdÄ envoy noticed an obvious turnaround in behavior among the Muslims in MGG/M, until that moment, “[had] been friends of the Monarchy and opponents” of Montenegro. Much to his amazement, they began to align themselves with their Orthodox Christian neighbors.<sup>88</sup> The locals from the Taşlıca region feared that the enlistment of more than 1,000 volunteers would dispossess them of their greatest strength “when the need arises,” whereas “fit and war-experienced Orthodox Christians” would stay in the countryside.<sup>89</sup> Their peers in the MGG/S also remained discouraged from the war volunteering not least because they were afraid of the vengeance that might come after Serbian rule was re-established. Those in the Preboy area knew that they would all have to emigrate because they had politically discredited themselves.<sup>90</sup>

Paired with the actual deeds and actions of the military entrepreneurs, the Habsburg power also applied coercive methods. An eyewitness narrated how the inhabitants of Yeni Pazar smartly categorized the town volunteers in 1917 as being *zorunlije* (from Ottoman *zorunlu*), meaning the ones who are forced/obliged and was an antonym of *gönüllü*. The authorities and municipality representatives prepared lists of those who were to be enrolled in a local madrasah. As a result, the economy reacted negatively to the departure of a large number of capable men and food shortages and famine prevailed, causing discontent, uncertainty, and fear.<sup>91</sup>

This also generated various short-term problems because some volunteers had managed to desert after being deployed to the Habsburg-Italian front. After fleeing to the side of the Italian troops, a volunteer from the Yeni Pazar district claimed that he, together with his 800 others, was forcefully drafted by the Habsburgs and this what was forwarded to the Serbian military

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<sup>87</sup> Tönsmeier, Besatzungsgesellschaften. Begriffliche und konzeptionelle Überlegungen zur Erfahrungsgeschichte des Alltags unter deutscher Besatzung im Zweiten Weltkrieg. DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.14765/zzf.dok.2.663.v1> accessed 15.11.2020.

<sup>88</sup> ÖStA/HHStA/Vienna, PA I 998/49e, #266, 17.03.1916, Cetinje, MGG/M to the AOK; *ibid*, #978/Res, 28.09.1916, Schkodra, Proxy of the MdÄ in Albania to the MdÄ and *ibid*, #93/P., 17.11.1916, Cetinje, Proxy to the MdÄ.

<sup>89</sup> ÖStA/HHStA/Vienna, PA I 998/49g, #2637, 08.11.1916, Cetinje, MGG/M to the AOK.

<sup>90</sup> ÖStA/KA/Vienna, AOK Op. Abt. B-Gruppe, 510/1916, Nr. 33.583, #17933, 03.11.1916, Belgrade, MGG/S to the AOK and DAS/Belgrade, VGG, 18-737, Lajos Thallóczy, Bezirk Priboj (14.11.1916), 1.

<sup>91</sup> Koničanin, *Efendijina sećanja i kazivanja*, 112-13, 60.

attaché in Rome.<sup>92</sup> Postwar stories indicate that the intentional torching of houses became a widespread occurrence in the Mitroviça region. In addition to slaughtering livestock, Habsburg soldiers set fire to the houses of those who did not want to volunteer and, for this reason the village did not provide manpower.<sup>93</sup> Although the peasants initially resisted in other areas, they spared some men at the end with the goal of avoiding severe loss of life which implies that the latter had volunteered out of fear. The same strategy was applied in the town of Mitroviça, where people were first invited to join; however, upon a negative reply from a local, the house then became a target.<sup>94</sup>

This Habsburg approach was hardly unique because, as a proclamation addressed to the Albanian-speaking locals shows, the Serbian army also wielded the threat-and-pardon policy in late 1918. If their evil deeds (*fenalıklar*) of 1915 were to be forgotten (it implied the attacks on the retreating Serbian army which was chased by the German, Habsburg, and Bulgarian troops at the end of 1915), they had to attack Bulgarian, Habsburg and German forces, and protect the Serbian locals. In doing so, they would once again be affable again and the Serbian army would not harm those who acted friendly since their future depended on them (*sizin istikbaliniz kendinize bağıdır*).<sup>95</sup> Azem Bejta (known as Galica), was one of those who accepted the call and aligned his armed grouping with Kosta Pećanac, a leader of the Serbian paramilitaries, and together, they drove the Habsburg units out from İpek.<sup>96</sup> Driven by fear and hoping not to expose their families to retaliations, soldiers would volunteer, switch sides in the wake of an eminent collapse, or would possibly flee, something which was seen among soldiers in times of *ancien régime* Europe.<sup>97</sup>

It was not only the setting in which one decided to voluntarily join the army that was problematic, but also the fact that children (*çocuklar*) between the age of 14 and 15 could be found among those who were labeled as volunteers. The Ottoman troops in Galicia received reinforcements of 2,780 soldiers from the Taşlıca and İpek areas which included the able-bodied between the ages of 50-60.<sup>98</sup> Salih Ugljanin, a bilingual *guslar*, for whom this was his fourth war, states that a battalion of old men from the Seniçe region were also deployed and whose

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<sup>92</sup> *Veliki rat Srbije za oslobođenje i ujedinjenje Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca, 1914-1918 g.*, vol. 21: I period rovovske vojne (Beograd: Štamparska radionica Ministarstva vojske i mornarice, 1931), #10008, 11.01.1917, Solun, Supreme Command to various military units and MoW, 170.

<sup>93</sup> „Suđenje Ferad-beg Dragi“, in *Pravda*, god. XXII, 21.12.1926, br. 349, p. 4.

<sup>94</sup> B. Antić, „Suđenje Ferad beg Dragi“, *Politika*, god. XXIII, 21.12.1926, br. 6703, 5 and A. Musanić, „Suđenje u Kosovskoj Mitrovici: Drugi dan pretresa Ferad beg Dragi, bivšem vodi džemijeta“, *Vreme*, god. VI, 22.12.1926, br. 1800, 5.

<sup>95</sup> VA/Belgrade, P3, K178, F1, 17/01, undated document, but probably late 1918.

<sup>96</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MUDuI, OJB 1919/K2, #5696, 08.05.1919, Beograd, Mol to the MoWN, 1.

<sup>97</sup> Berkovich, *Motivation in War: The Experience of Common Soldiers in Old-Regime Europe*, 60.

<sup>98</sup> Akçakayalıoğlu, *Birinci Dünya Harbi: Avrupa Cepheleeri*, 87.

duty it was to clean the trenches with pickaxes and spade, while the young men fought.<sup>99</sup> Available sources fail to mention whether the brokers were involved or whether the children registered themselves, and generally how this looked on the ground. Even the convicts imprisoned in a local jail in Yeni Pazar were considered to be volunteers. Out of 168 detainees, 108 men who were convicted of cattle theft, murder, robbery, blood revenge, and *lèse-majesté* volunteered to serve.<sup>100</sup>

Among the volunteers, one meets the bi/multilingual Serbian POWs of Muslim or Catholic faith too, who were imprisoned by the Monarchy. In fact, these POWs should be considered as actual deers because, as the Mitrovića-based MdÄ delegate suggested, releasing them would intensify sympathies among the locals.<sup>101</sup> The MGG/S supported this policy by making clear reference to the inclusion of POWs into the Ottoman and Habsburg armies.<sup>102</sup> The occupying power believed that these had been enlisted against their own will and that the POWs, including their family members back home, had only strengthened by filing petitions.<sup>103</sup> While submitting supplications, the locals also turned to mukhtars, *meclis* members, and town presidents who cross-checked petitions or confirmed whether or not someone was a POW.<sup>104</sup> The fact that the *against their own will* narrative was employed, fittingly illustrated the petition of Amir Ismailović, a day-laborer from the Yeni Pazar area, as follows:

My brother Salko Ismailović had been drafted into the Serbian army and as a Serbian soldier he was captured by the Habsburg troops and now finds himself as a prisoner in [a] Habsburg POW camp (...) My brother Salko was enlisted into the Serbian army as an Ottoman subject and against his own will. Now my two brothers (Hamza and Šefko Ismailović) are in the Habsburg army as volunteers and their families and their children are my burden, being depended on my support. As I have now stayed alone at home and have to take care of their families, I most obediently ask the District Command to forward my petition to the higher authorities and arrange my brother prisoner Salko Ismailović to be released and sent home to assist me in managing the estate and taking care of our brothers' families who are fighting now for the Habsburg army.<sup>105</sup>

In a similar manner, others also spoke about their family members being “forcefully enlisted into the Serbian army,” thereby using, more or less, the same phrasing. All these petitions were written by someone who knew precisely what should be said if the POWs were to be released,

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<sup>99</sup> *Serbocroatian Heroic Songs / collected by Milman Parry. Ed. and transl. by Albert Bates Lord*, vol. Two: Novi Pazar (Belgrade and Cambridge: The Serbian Academy of Sciences and Harvard University Press, 1953), 64.

<sup>100</sup> DAS/Belgrade, VGG, 18-737, Lajos Thallóczy, Kreis Novi Pazar (November 1916), 6-7.

<sup>101</sup> ÖStA/HHStA/Vienna, PA I 975/32g, #1<sup>a</sup>, 24.09.1916, Vienna, Evidenzbureau of the General Staff to the AOK, 4-5.

<sup>102</sup> DAS/Belgrade, VGG, 8-956, #2014, 30.01.1917, Belgrade, MGG/S to the Department 8.

<sup>103</sup> LZMO/Berlin, Nachlass Gerhard Höpp, 06-03-030, Nr. 2617, 02.06.1916, Vienna, Department 10 of the KM to the MdÄ.

<sup>104</sup> DAS/Belgrade, VGG, 8-1091, 07.03.1917, Prijepolje, Mustafa Planić to the Prijepolje Country Command. For the role of the military brokers in the Akova context in reference to POWs see ÖStA/KA/Vienna, FA NFA MGG/M, 1702/1917, # 938, 11.12.1916, Bijelopolje, Meho Pućurica; *ibid.*, #938, E. No. 3, Plevlje District Command to the Bijelopolje Office and *ibid.*, 15.02.1917, Cetinje, MGG/M to the Plevlje District Command.

<sup>105</sup> DAS/Belgrade, VGG, 8-1107, 12.04.1917, Amir Ismailović, težak iz Kruševa, općina Vojkovačka, C. i K. okružnom zapovedništvu Novi Pazar.

something which a Habsburg intelligence officers had also advised.<sup>106</sup> An alleviating circumstance was the fact that their family members were volunteers whose help was needed to take care of land, children, women, and the elderly who had become a burden since the askers were old or physically disabled.<sup>107</sup> Whether Salko's brothers joined the military in an attempt to enhance their claims or as a way to adjust to a new setting since Salko was "an enemy soldier," remains unknown.



Photo 14: "Muslims among Serbian Prisoners Are Obtaining a Permission to Go Home." The policy of letting Serbian POWs of the Muslim faith return home is even mirrored in visual sources. One might argue that the scene is staged since the Serbian soldiers of the Muslim creed do not wear the *šajkača* (an official military outfit). However, a Habsburg war correspondent who came across POWs at that time described that one could encounter soldiers donning a turban among the Serbian POWs. This comes as no surprise because in mid-1915, a Serbian commander who was billeted around Belgrade noticed that some of the Albanian-speaking recruits could not yet make peace with wearing the *šajkača*, under which they put their Albanian cap. In contrast to the others, the Muslim soldiers in the photo did not wear the military cap, implying that they should not be identified as Serbs, and their uniforms were neglected compared to that of the Habsburg officer. Between them, another soldier stands and acts as interpreter, but it is not clear if he is a POW. The other two seem to understand what the interpreter is saying and are waiting for permission to leave. The look of the other Serbian soldiers indicates that the officer speaks Slavic because their posture and gaze towards the interpreter suggests that they can grasp what topic is being spoken about.<sup>108</sup>

It is highly unfeasible to closely follow the POWs' voluntary entry into the Ottoman and Habsburg armies. Families of the POWs who had volunteered could apply for the livelihood benefits.<sup>109</sup> Until January 1917, roughly 2,000 Russian and Serbian POWs, including 35 internees, decided to voluntarily join the Ottoman army in Galicia. A dispute between the allies is noticeable even here because the Habsburg power had redirected and employed the latter as

<sup>106</sup> DAS/Belgrade, VGG, 8-1114, #442, 19.05.1917, Novi Pazar, Country Command to the Novi Pazar Intelligence Officer and *ibid*, #397, Novi Pazar, Country Command to the Novi Pazar Intelligence Officer and *ibid*, VGG, 8-1091, #2669, 29.03.1917, Prijepolje, District Command to the MGG/S.

<sup>107</sup> DAS/Belgrade, VGG, 8-1107, 12.04.1917, Amir Ismailović to the Novi Pazar District Command; *ibid*, 8-1114, 27.04.1917, Novi Pazar, Smajo Habibović to the Novi Pazar District Command and *ibid*, 8-1114, 05.05.1917, Novi Pazar, Bilal Saćirović to the Novi Pazar District Command.

<sup>108</sup> ÖStA/KA/Vienna, BS I WK Fronten Serbien, #2780, <https://www.archivinformationssystem.at/detail.aspx?id=3058631> accessed 10.11.2020; Roda, *Serbisches Tagebuch*, 68. and VA/Belgrade, P3, K81, F4, 8/91, 20.05.1915, #3540, Topdičer brdo, KKO to the KOB.

<sup>109</sup> ÖStA/KA/Vienna, FA NFA MGG/M, 1702/1917, #938, 15.02.1917, Cetinje, MGG/M to the Plevlje District Command.

workers in the Premissel region (Habsburg Poland).<sup>110</sup> This was occasionally granted, as an event which occurred in late 1917 demonstrates. During this event, Serbian POWs who were employed as workers in Romania expressed a desire to fight either as volunteers in the Ottoman army or in the Habsburg BH troops. They justified this preference by saying that they had been forcibly drafted into the Serbian army despite of being Ottoman subjects, which made the AOK allow their inclusion into the Ottoman army.<sup>111</sup> But the Habsburg side also obtained some of the POWs and by early 1917, around 150 Serbian prisoners applied to serve who were utilized as workers in the area of Premissel.<sup>112</sup> Hence, Reinhard Nachtigal's argument that concrete results of recruiting POWs were not achieved before 1917 deserves a more nuanced approach.<sup>113</sup>

Similar to the Slavic or Italian-speaking Habsburg POWs in Russia who enjoyed certain systematic privileges, the Albanian-speaking Montenegrin officers and officials who were interned in places like Arschach an der Donau (Upper Austria), for example, had a special status. They were to be indulged as much as possible, stay separated from others, and be educated in German in order not only to be "brought to [their] side" but also to act "in a sense favorable to [the Habsburg power]."<sup>114</sup> Already in late 1915, the Hungarian Ministry of War allowed Serbian subjects of the Muslim creed to join the *Honvéd*; this also applied to those who had fled from the Serbian army.<sup>115</sup>

These concepts of privilege were also implemented for Polish and Ukrainian-speaking Russian POWs in the Habsburg Monarchy. They were separated from their Russian-speaking peers with the purpose of influencing them politically and it was here that the Polish-speaking Habsburg clergymen and teachers played a pivotal role.<sup>116</sup> The Habsburg POW policy overlapped with that of Germany since the French, British and Russian prisoners who were

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<sup>110</sup> ÖStA/HHStA/Vienna, PA I 1007/50w, #8520, 26.11.1916, Teschen, Proxy to the MdÄ; *ibid*, PA I 937/19b, #586, 08.03.1917, Vienna, KM to the MdÄ; *ibid*, #1222, 08.03.1917, AOK to the KM; *ibid*, Abt. 10/Kgf. #13946, 28.03.1917, Vienna, KM to the MdÄ and DAS/Belgrade, VGG, 8-956, #2014, 30.01.1917, Belgrade, MGG/S to the Department 8.

<sup>111</sup> ÖStA/HHStA/Vienna, PA I 1007/50w, #9965, 14.10.1917, Baden, Proxy at the AOK to the MdÄ.

<sup>112</sup> DAS/Belgrade, VGG, 8-956, #2014, 30.01.1917, Belgrade, MGG/S to the Department 8.

<sup>113</sup> Nachtigal, "Privilegiensystem und Zwangsrekrutierung: Russische Nationalitätenpolitik gegenüber Kriegsgefangenen aus Österreich-Ungarn," 192.

<sup>114</sup> ÖStA/HHStA/Vienna, PA I 998/49g, #69.853/M, 05.11.1916, AOK to the War Monitoring Agency in Vienna; Rachamimov, *POW and the Great War: Captivity on the Eastern Front*, chapter 3. and Nachtigal, "Privilegiensystem und Zwangsrekrutierung: Russische Nationalitätenpolitik gegenüber Kriegsgefangenen aus Österreich-Ungarn," 182.

<sup>115</sup> ÖStA/KA/Vienna, AOK Op. Abt. B-Gruppe, 506/1915-16, Nr. 19.375, #17.856/B.1915, 17.12.1915, Budapest, Royal Hungarian Honvéd Ministry to the local Honvéd Replacement Battalions, Commands of the Honvéd Supplement Counties, and the local Hungarian Country and Town Municipalities.

<sup>116</sup> Jochen Oltmer, "Einführung: Funktionen und Erfahrungen von Kriegsgefangenschaft im Europe des Ersten Weltkriegs," in *Kriegsgefangene im Europa des Ersten Weltkriegs*, ed. Jochen Oltmer (Paderborn - München - Wien - Zürich: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2006), 11-23, here pp. 16. and Hecht, "Fragen zur Heeresergänzung der gesamten bewaffneten Macht Österreich-Ungarns," 347-48. Alike to its Russian ally, Polish-speaking German POWs were also separately kept in camps established by the British for "friendly races and origin. Julia Eichenberg, "Consent, Coercion and Endurance in Eastern Europe: Poland and the Fluidity of War Experiences," in *Legacies of Violence: Eastern Europe's First World War*, ed. Jochen Böehler, Borodziej Włodzimierz, and Joachim von Puttkamer (München: Oldenbourg Verlag, 2014), 235-58, here pp. 42-43.

Muslim were subjected to re-education policies which consisted of political and religious classes. Arabic or Turkish-speaking Muslim clergymen and actors participated actively in this process, thus fostering the holy war narrative among the former. This was done in accordance with the Ottoman ruling elites who, besides visiting the camps now and then, sent Pan-Turkism or Pan-Islamism preachers too. These actors also spent some time in the Habsburg camps as well.<sup>117</sup>

While furthering such policies, the belligerent parties tended to enlist POWs, having been driven by either their war aims or lack of human power. For instance, just as the Russian authorities allowed German POWs from Alsace-Lorraine to join the French military or Slavic-speaking Habsburg POWs to be included into the Serbian military, so too did the Ottoman power ship German-speaking Russian POWs to their German ally. In contrast, both the German and Habsburg sides delivered Tatar- or Arabic-speaking Russian and French POWs, including British POWs from India, to their Ottoman ally.<sup>118</sup> In this regard, the British authorities also enlisted a number of the Arabic-speaking Ottoman troops held in Egypt and India with the goal of supporting the so-called Arab Revolt.<sup>119</sup>

Here, the bi/multilingual Serbian POWs should be included, showing that this represented a global phenomenon which did not overlook those recruited from the borderlands as well. Although various polities succeed in conscripting prisoners, not every POW abandoned their native country, something which was evident among the Ottoman POWs in Egypt and India and also among the Habsburg POWs in Russia.<sup>120</sup> Despite of being subjected to the privilege system, re-education classes, bad food, and poor accommodation conditions, many of the common Habsburg and Ottoman soldiers did not choose to side with the enemy.<sup>121</sup> To what

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<sup>117</sup> Oltmer, "Einführung: Funktionen und Erfahrungen von Kriegsgefangenschaft im Europe des Ersten Weltkriegs," 16. Proctor, *Civilians in a World at War, 1914-1918*, 215. and Kon, *Birinci Dünya Savaşı'nda Almanya'nın İslam Stratejisi*, 72-73, 114-19, 21-27, 29, 31-33, 35-41, 45, 51, 54-55, 60, 62-63, 89-91. See also Gerhard Höpp, *Muslims in der Mark. Als Kriegsgefangene und Internierte in Wünsdorf und Zossen* (Berlin: Verlag Das Arabische Buch, 1997).

<sup>118</sup> Nachtigal, "Privilegiensystem und Zwangsrekrutierung: Russische Nationalitätenpolitik gegenüber Kriegsgefangenen aus Österreich-Ungarn," 178-79, 92. Oltmer, "Einführung: Funktionen und Erfahrungen von Kriegsgefangenschaft im Europe des Ersten Weltkriegs," 15-17, 22. and Kon, *Birinci Dünya Savaşı'nda Almanya'nın İslam Stratejisi*, 225-39, 53-54, 70.

<sup>119</sup> Rogan, *The Fall of the Ottomans: The Great War in the Middle East*, 302-03. and Mesut Uyar, "Ottoman Arab Officers between Nationalism and Loyalty during the First World War," *War in History* 20, no. 4 (2013): 526-44, here pp. 39-42.

<sup>120</sup> Rachamimov, *POW and the Great War: Captivity on the Eastern Front*, 115-22, 33-35, 45-53. Yücel Yanıkdağ, "'Ill-Fated' Sons of the 'Nation': Ottoman Prisoners of War in Russia and Egypt, 1914-1922" (PhD Ohio State University, 2002); Yücel Yanıkdağ, *Healing the Nation: Prisoners of War, Medicine and Nationalism in Turkey, 1914-1939* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2013).

<sup>121</sup> Nachtigal, "Privilegiensystem und Zwangsrekrutierung: Russische Nationalitätenpolitik gegenüber Kriegsgefangenen aus Österreich-Ungarn," 178-79. For the Serbian and Montenegrin POWs see Denda Dalibor, "Srpski ratni zarobljenici u Velikom ratu," in *Prvi svetski rat, Srbija i Velike sile*, ed. Srđan Rudić and Miljan Milković (Beograd: Istorijski institut / Institut za stratejska istraživanja, 2015), 269-89. Marko Popović, "Muslimanski i albanski živalj iz Crne Gore u austrougarskom ropstvu: zarobljeni ili internirani u I svjetskom ratu," *Almanah: časopis za proučavanje, prezentaciju i zaštitu kulturno-istorijske baštine Bošnjaka/Muslimana* 65-66 (2015): 127-43. and Rakočević, *Crna Gora u Prvom svjetskom ratu, 1914-1918*, 319-72. On the conditions in the Habsburg Monarchy see Hannes Leidinger und Verena Moritz, "Verwaltete Massen: Kriegsgefangene in der Donaumonarchie 1914-1918," in *Kriegsgefangene im Europe des Ersten Weltkriegs*, ed. Jochen Oltmer (Paderborn - München - Wien - Zürich: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2006), 35-66. and Peter Hansak, "Kriegsgefangene im Gebiet der heutigen Steiermark 1914 bis 1918," *Zeitschrift des Historischen Vereines für Steiermark* 84 (1993): 261-311. See also

extent this can be said for the bilingual Serbian POWs who were Muslim remains stays unknown and requires further research. However, sources reveal that some could even benefit from such a setting, as the case of Kosta Đorđević (recall the cited paragraph at the beginning of the introduction).<sup>122</sup>

This does not mean that there were not any locals who willingly joined the Habsburg or the Ottoman army without being forced. They could be encountered in late 1914 among the Serbian subjects of the Muslim faith from the post-Ottoman territories who lived or worked in the Habsburg Monarchy. Around sixty of them decided to join into the Ottoman army but on their way, they were arrested in Arad (Hungary) and taken as POWs to Ljubljana/Leibach Fortress (Carniola). Having been granted for Ottoman status, a Vienna-based Ottoman envoy asked for their release because they “should be considered as Ottoman subjects”.<sup>123</sup> Similar episodes are noticeable in the region during the occupation; however, the numbers of these volunteers is hard to gauge. Knowing that the entrepreneurs used the deployment in the Ottoman army in Galicia as a pretext to draw the locals under the Habsburg banners implies that their figures were not small. Sources disclose that Ottoman veterans fell under the category of volunteers, as the case of Uzeir Čturić from Prepole fittingly illustrates. In his petition filed to the Habsburg local power – which was forwarded to Istanbul together with signatures of the local brokers – Uzeir, then age 31 and unmarried, stated that

during Ottoman rule I was a soldier in the Ottoman army for five and a half years. I have here a mother, a sister and three brothers. One brother is older than me. (...) As an Ottoman soldier, I participated in the Balkan War around Edirne. It is my desire to participate in this war in the Ottoman army, as an Ottoman soldier. No one has persuaded me for this step except of my own will. I ask the District Command to be sent as soon as possible to the Ottoman army wherever it is.<sup>124</sup>

Keeping in mind the strategies of inducement, as well as Uzeir’s loyalty to the Ottoman army, one could easily conceptualize his situation because in mid-1916, the Empire and its allies were a winning party. The same could be said for Seljko Ajdinage Kurtić and Abdullahaga Omeragić who had also been Ottoman veterans. Since they spoke “in the name of the volunteers from Plava,” they asked to have Ottoman officers as their superiors because most of them had been in the Ottoman army and therefore, knew the language, including the drills. They convinced a Muslim clergyman that they “[were] able to gather another 4 to 5,000 volunteers.”<sup>125</sup> Although it is not clear whether they belonged to the volunteers from MGG/M

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Hikmet Karčić, "Zapisi vojnog imama o životu zatočenih muslimana u aradskoj tvrđavi 1915. godine," *Anali Gazi Husrevbegove biblioteke* 46, no. 38 (2017): 195-201.

<sup>122</sup> VA/Belgrade, P3, K178, F3, 3/1, *Podaci o prilikama u Srbiji okupiranoj od Bugara 1916-1918. godine*, #19434, 18.10.1917.

<sup>123</sup> ÖStA/HHStA/Vienna, PA I 937/19b, #5134, 10.11.1914, Vienna, MdÄ to the KM.

<sup>124</sup> BOA/Istanbul, HR.SYS, 2426-40, leff 3, #623, 27.08.1916, Prijepolje, Murat-beg Hašimbegović to the County Command.

<sup>125</sup> GHB/Sarajevo, UM-6-4090, 1916-1, 26.10.1916, Mostar, Seljko Ajdinagin Kurtić and Abdulahaga Omeragić to Mostar Mufty.



who were sent to Mostar or if they just happened to be in Herzegovina, both supplicants exemplified that among the volunteers, one could encounter those who had joined this or that army of their own will. For them it was easier to volunteer due to the fact that they already knew what it was like to serve and to fight.<sup>126</sup> This shows that war volunteering represented the fruition of the nation-building project because it demonstrated how the state had won the authority and loyalty of their subjects who were ready to offer their lives for the state's ambitions.<sup>127</sup> These petitions also confirm that former rank and file absorbed and implemented in their practiced duty of how to persuade others to enlist, as soldier literature analyzed earlier suggested they do after finishing their military service.



Photo 15: Mustering of Volunteers in Yeni Pazar (1916). One can see the veterans on site while Habsburg military commissions conducted recruitments in the borderlands. In the photo, a volunteer donning the Ottoman uniforms and fez within the red circle is also noticeable. Because the photo was part of an album, it was probably taken by a photographer who was commissioned by the authorities so that they could document the mobilization. The photographer did not want to take a picture of the crowd, but rather tried to capture the moment of the organized recruitment within the close vicinity of the mosque. This is apparent because the able-bodied are not staged and the image gives the impression that some of the volunteers are relaxed, given their posture. Just as the Ottoman veteran, the others also had a ribbon around their right arm, on which the word *gönüllü*, as well as the crescent and star were drawn, thereby creating the image that the Empire was back. As seen in other pictures from the album, the military brokers boosted this ambiance by wearing military uniforms, as Rizo Murtezić did, decorated the space with Habsburg and Ottoman flags, or even played certain music. Sources do for an entirely accurate picture of the social background or motivations of the volunteers; this represented a difficult task in other settings as well. Omer Effendy writes that poor and the middle-class persons made up the majority of Yeni Pazar volunteers in late 1916, among the one could find a considerable number of persons who were coming from the *ağa* and *bey* families. However, the latter does not provide enough data to allow parallels to be drawn between these and that of Italy, Germany, Great Britain or Russia.<sup>128</sup>

<sup>126</sup> Seixas Xosé-Manoel Núñez, "An Approach to the Social Profile and the Ideological Motivations of the Spanish Volunteers of the "Blue Division", 1941-44," in *War Volunteering in Modern Times: From the French Revolution to the Second World War*, ed. Christine G. Krüger and Sonja Levsen (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 248-74, here pp. 68.

<sup>127</sup> Watson, "Voluntary Enlistment in the Great War: a European Phenomenon?," 163-88, here pp. 65.

<sup>128</sup> IAR/Novi Pazar, ZF 1912-1945, *Pregled Albanaca ratnih dobrovoljaca* (septembar 1916, Novi Pazar); See also IAR/Novi Pazar, ZF 1912-1945 the picture titled *Meštani ratni dobrovoljci sa austro-ugarskim oficirama* (Duga Poljana kod Novog Pazara 1916) and also two images titled *Novi Pazar 1916-1917*; Koničanin, *Efendijina sećanja i kazivanja*, 112. Matthias Speidel, "'A Race That Is Thus Willing To Die For Its Country': African-American Volunteers in the Spanish-American War 1898," in *War Volunteering in Modern Times: From the French Revolution to the Second World War*, ed. Christine G. Krüger

By using a combination of encouraging and coercing, coupled with the willingness of able-bodied locals to come forward, the Habsburg and Ottoman authorities succeeded in drawing in numerous volunteers, something which also occurred in the German and British cases.<sup>129</sup> This implies that war volunteering cannot be spoken about exclusively here, *per se*, since coerced volunteers also fall under this category, meaning that this type of mobilization did not differ so much from those which occurred beforehand. Labeling someone as a volunteer does not help either since it fails to encapsulate all possible settings in which this happened. Accepting this term without criticism is a problematic insofar as scholars, who have dealt with this topic in direct reference to the region, overlooked the context and did not question the trope *gönüllü*, and thereby (un)knowingly participated in its reification.<sup>130</sup>

In brief, not every volunteer is a *volunteer* because persons of varying ages who served in different settings were included in this category. This shows that the line between “voluntary” and “compulsory” volunteering was intertwined and vague, as Xosé-Manoel Núñez concludes in reference to Spanish volunteers during WWII.<sup>131</sup> It is precisely because it is elusive that the trope became a suitable tool for two reasons. Articles 44/45 of the Hague Conventions prohibited the use of force when mobilizing the locals. “Pressure on the population of occupied territory to swear allegiance to the hostile Power” is thus forbidden.<sup>132</sup> Therefore, labelling the mobilization as a voluntarily endeavor conveyed the message that an occupying power did not have anything to do with the latter. As a contemporary narrates, the Habsburg authorities “saw that the Bulgarians were taking people and recruiting by force, but they did not want to use the same methods. They intended to preserve the forms of international law because we were

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and Sonja Levsen (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 92-108, here pp. 94. See also Leighton S. James, "For the Fatherland? The Motivations of Austrian and Prussian Volunteers during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars," in *War Volunteering in Modern Times: From the French Revolution to the Second World War*, ed. Christine G. Krüger and Sonja Levsen (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire; New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 40-58, here pp. 50. For the general overview see Janz, *14: Der Grosse Krieg*, 190-95. For the Italian context see Ciro Paoletti, "Italian Volunteers since 1914," in *Dobrovoljci u Velikom ratu 1914-1918*, ed. Srđan Rudić, Dalibor Denda, and Đorđe Đurić (Beograd: Istorijski institut - Institut za strategijska istraživanja - Matica srpska, 2018), 21-32. For WWI Russia see Oleg Airapetov, "Volunteer Units in the Russian Army, First Half a Year of World War I. Advantages and Problems," in *Dobrovoljci u Velikom ratu 1914-1918*, ed. Srđan Rudić, Dalibor Denda, and Đorđe Đurić (Beograd: Istorijski institut - Institut za strategijska istraživanja - Matica srpska, 2018), 43-55. For Germany and Great Britain see Watson, "Voluntary Enlistment in the Great War: a European Phenomenon?," 163-88.

<sup>129</sup> Watson, "Voluntary Enlistment in the Great War: a European Phenomenon?," 178-79.

<sup>130</sup> Hasip Saygılı, "Birinci Dünya Harbi'nde Rumeli'nden Osmanlı Ordusuna Müslüman Gönüllü Katılımları," *Hacettepe Üniversitesi Türkiyat Araştırmaları Enstitüsü* Bahar, no. 18 (2013): 231-55. Škrijelj, "Birinci Dünya Savaş'ında Sırbistan Krallığı Müslümanları," 871-95. Redžep Škrijelj, "“Đurumlje” - Sanjak Bosniak Volunteers in the Turkish Military Orders from Gallipoli to Galicia (1916-1918)," in *Bosnia and Herzegovina: Common History and Multicultural Atmosphere in the Balkans*, ed. Mahir Aydın and Metin Ünver (İstanbul: IBAC Book Series, 2015), 220-26. Škrijelj, "Osmanlı Ordusuna Sancak'tan Boşnak "Curumliye" Gönüllü Katılımları (1916-1918)," 135-47. Redžep Škrijelj, "Osmanlı Gönüllü Askeri Birliklerinde Kosova ve Sancak Müslümanları (1914-1918)," *Hikmet* 29 (2017): 8-37. and Redžep Škrijelj, "Đurumlje iz Sandžaka na Galiciji (1916-1917)," *Almanah: časopis za proučavanje, prezentaciju i zaštitu kulturno-istorijske baštine Bošnjaka/Muslimana*, no. 79-80 (2018): 13-56.

<sup>131</sup> Xosé-Manoel Núñez, "An Approach to the Social Profile and the Ideological Motivations of the Spanish Volunteers of the "Blue Division", 1941-44," 267.

<sup>132</sup> *The Hague Conventions of 1899 (II) and 1907 (IV) Respecting the Laws and Customs of War on Land*, 24.

subjects of the Serbian state.” However, gradually “they started to force people to volunteer.”<sup>133</sup> Unclear subjecthood status of the locals also created fertile ground for conducting recruitments and both the Habsburg and Ottoman sides knew how to use this. But what of the Habsburg stubborn persistence to lay claim to the Albanian-speaking locals for themselves?

#### 6.1.2. From the Most Magnificent Soldiers in the World to the Insubordinate, Useless, and Wild Albanian

Besides harboring other natural born warriors (e.g. the imagined Montenegrin), the region concealed another martial race, the imagined Albanian. This concept claimed that “certain ethnic, religious, caste or social groups were regarded as possessing a more masculine character, as being loyal and therefore especially suited for military service.”<sup>134</sup> As such, it falls under the broader notion of Social Darwinism which needs to be seen as a network of interlinked ideas, subject to change over time, but which nevertheless retains its overall character despite these modifications. This is why it was enlisted in the services of opposed political positions. Social Darwinism represented a world view, consisting of a series of connected assumptions and propositions about nature and time, and how humanity is situated within both.<sup>135</sup> WWI had helped to regenerate and restore these views worldwide.<sup>136</sup>

When considered in this context, the borderlands offered a resource that the Monarchy did not intend on sharing with its Ottoman ally regardless of the ongoing dispute between its various inner powers. However, the belief was that only the Monarchy was entitled to conscript the most magnificent soldiers in the world (*die herrlichsten Soldaten der Welt*).<sup>137</sup> Again, the political and the material were intermingled here because behind preventing the Albanian-speaking locals from falling under the Ottoman influence stood not just the *civilizing mission* narrative, but also the self-image of the Monarchy acting as a friendly country.<sup>138</sup> The fact that the martial race narrative was fairly strong is illustrated in the following MGG/M portrayal of the imagined Albanian:

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<sup>133</sup> Bora Antić, „Sudenje u Kosovskoj Mitrovici: Završetak izvidanja i odbrana“, in *Politika*, god. XXIII, br. 6705, 23.12.1926, 5.

<sup>134</sup> Heike Liebau, "Martial Races, Theory of (Version 1.1.)," in *1914-1918-online. International Encyclopedia of the First World War* ed. Ute Daniel et al. (Berlin 2017-02-15: issued by Freie Universität Berlin, 2017).

<sup>135</sup> Mike Hawkins, *Social Darwinism in European and American Thought: Nature as Model and Nature as Threat* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 6, 8, 21-22, 32. For the Ottoman context see Atila Doğan, *Osmanlı Aydınları ve Sosyal Darwinizm* (İstanbul: Küre Yayınları, 2012).

<sup>136</sup> Paul Crook, *Darwinism, War and History: The Debate over the Biology of War from the 'Origion of Species' to the First World War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 129, 38. and Aksakal, *Harb-i Umumi Eşiğinde: Osmanlı Devleti Son Savaşına Nasıl Girdi*, 33.

<sup>137</sup> Theodor Kirchlehner, "Albanien," *Volk und Heer: Dreimal monatlich erscheinende illustrierte Zeitschrift* 2, no. 1/2 (1918): 9-19, here pp. 19. For a pre-war hierarchization among the Habsburg male subjects regarding their imagined soldiering see Hämmerle, "Ein gescheitertes Experiment? Die Allgemeine Wehrpflicht in der multiethnischen Armee der Habsburgermonarchie," 222-43, here pp. 34-35.

<sup>138</sup> Christian Marchetti, *Balkanexpedition: Die Kriegserfahrung der österreichischen Volkskunder* (Tübingen: Tübinger Vereinigung für Volkskunde, 2013), 198, 202-03.

Character of the same: (...) The Albanian is proud and ambitious and loves his homeland Albania. (...) A soldier who has war experience behind himself is respected and honored as a hero and this suits him. He shows no sympathy for Slavs, Serbs, Montenegrins and Bulgarians. Hence, the division of the Albanians into purely German and Hungarian regiments would be advantageous. The Albanian tolerates no insult either by swear words, or by blow. He allows himself satisfaction (blood feud). Physical Performance: An exquisite mountaineer and marcher. He is tough and frugal. His favorite food is mutton, corn and bread. He never enjoys eating pork. Abilities: A very well-disposed natural people with a slight perception of learning languages. He is independent, thinks about everything and has his own views. He does not comply with the monotony, requires variety; likes when one talks fatherly to him. He likes pomp and loves weapons like gold. Treatment of the Albanian: should be mild and instructive. With the rudeness one can achieve nothing with him. On the contrary, it drives him to self-help (blood feud). However, it will not work without sharp disciplining. Although he is a born soldier, he disagrees with the drill and closed exercise, and considers it superfluous, loves shooting and is proud of a hit. Good shooters impress him. All have made a request not to be separated according to denomination and to get more bread [Underlined in original].<sup>139</sup>

Just as in other cases, *he* too had to be molded through drilling, yet it was believed that this would be easily accomplished given his habitual obedience. The latter would guarantee that a volunteer fighter would withstand the disruptive effects of the battles, including the loss of officers without damaging” his military prowess. The family as metaphor and archetype is also used here for establishing hierarchies, discipline, and cohesion insofar as “absolute obedience should be required in a fatherly, strict manner” towards these “big children” (*Groß-Kinder*), thus avoiding any “corporal punishment, abuses or insults.”<sup>140</sup> Not following this guidance, might put a superior officer at risk of falling victim to a “blood feud.” Hence, treating the Albanian recruits, their pride, customs, and, above all, their confession with respect had to be strictly regarded.<sup>141</sup> It was not only about drafting this raw material, but the governing elites also tried to win their hearts and minds. This was to be accomplished through careful behavior in the barracks, including small actual deeds, such as giving more food, cigarettes, or black coffee, whereby these items were provided according to one’s performance.<sup>142</sup>

Traveling through the Monarchy also fell under the category of actual deeds which would assure the Albanian about mightiness of a friendly country, as happened in winter of 1917. Pero Blašković, a Slavic-speaking Habsburg officer, was in charge of drilling the Albanian recruits as he was considered to be as an expert for Turkish affairs (*stručnjak za turske stvari*). His ability for knowing how to deal with the Muslims from Habsburg Bosnia apparently made him suitable for this duty.<sup>143</sup> In other words, working with the BH Muslim soldiers served as a blueprint upon which the Habsburg approach, vis-à-vis the imagined Albanian, was modeled

<sup>139</sup> ÖStA/KA/Vienna, AOK Op. Abt. B-Gruppe, 510/1916, Nr. 33751, #6197/47, 04.11.1916, Cetinje, MGG/M to the AOK.

<sup>140</sup> ÖStA/KA/Vienna, AOK Op. Abt. B-Gruppe, 510/1916, Nr. 34433, #6874, 16.11.1916, Cetinje, MGG/M to the AOK and *ibid*, Nr. 33434, #17775, 29.10.1916, Belgrade, MGG/S to the AOK and *ibid*, Nr. 33434, #17775, 29.10.1916, Belgrade, MGG/S to the AOK.

<sup>141</sup> ÖStA/KA/Vienna, AOK Op. Abt. B-Gruppe, 510/1916, Nr. 33434, #17775, 29.10.1916, Belgrade, MGG/S to the AOK.

<sup>142</sup> *Ibid*; ÖStA/KA/Vienna, AOK Op. Abt. B-Gruppe, 510/1916, Nr. 33434, 07.11.1916, AOK to the KM, MGG/S and MGG/M, *ibid*, Nr. 33751, #6197/47, 04.11.1916, Cetinje, MGG/M to the AOK and ÖStA/HHStA/Vienna, PA I 1007/50w, 1231, #28206 res. v. 1916, 11.02.1917, Vienna, KM to the MdÄ.

<sup>143</sup> Blašković, *Sa Bošnjacima u Svjetskom ratu*, 240-42, 325.

because he would fight within the BH regiments.<sup>144</sup> The same policy is palpable in late imperial Russia, where previously used lines of action from the Caucasus had been partially implemented in the Russian Central Asian provinces.<sup>145</sup> As an officer in one of the BH regiments, Pero had the task of traveling for two months with the replacement for his unit, during which they stayed in Vienna, Budapest, and Sarajevo, visiting armament factories and enjoying food, music, and theater. All these combined experiences made a deep impression on the recruits. The trip also offered an opportunity for the nation-building process since among the recruits, there were persons of different faiths who came from various parts of post-1913 Albania and beyond. This is why they saw the sword of Skanderbeg while staying in Vienna, a symbol which was greatly praised in folk songs.<sup>146</sup>

They also had to be distinguished from their Bosnian peers since Albanian soldiers wore a gray fez that was supposed to modeled on the “small white Albanian cap” and on top of which, the black and red Albanian cockade was to be placed.<sup>147</sup> Also evident here is inventing tradition and remodeling the locals along ethnonational lines. All of this was necessary in order to minimize the language difficulties that might emerge, even though a number of those recruited could speak Slavic or Italian.<sup>148</sup>

Both military and civilian power emphasized that, while drafting or drilling the recruits, considerations for their religion, honor, morals, and tradition must be shown and for this reason, a booklet titled *Tribal Structure, Customs and Tradition of the Albanians* was distributed.<sup>149</sup> In order to fully grasp the imagined Albanian tribal, kinship, and family fabric, the ruling elites turned to the Slavic-speaking priest Lovro Mihačević, one of their many travelers of the borderlands. His book *Through Albania: Impressions from the Journey* was translated into German and discusses the brochure’s narrative.<sup>150</sup> However, if, by wielding the historical discourse analysis, one scrutinizes official reports of the time, the book, and the brochure, it

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<sup>144</sup> Marchetti, *Balkanexpedition: Die Kriegserfahrung der österreichischen Volkskunder*, 198-99. ÖStA/HHStA/Vienna, PA I 1007/50w, #8738, Abt. 2./W. #23798, 28.11.1916, Vienna, KM to the MdÄ and *ibid*, 1231, #28206 res. v. 1916, 11.02.1917, Vienna, KM to the MdÄ. On the military in Habsburg Bosnia and Herzegovina see Zijad Šehić, "Das Militärwesen in Bosnien-Herzegowina, 1878-1918," in *Wechselwirkungen: Austria Hungary, Bosnia-Herzegowina, and the Western Balkans, 1878-1918*, ed. Clemens Ruthner et al. (New York: Peter Lang, 2015), 139-53. and Erwin A. Schmidl Christoph Neumayer, *Bošnjaci u carskoj službi: Bosanskohercegovačke trupe u austrougarskoj vojsci. Historija i uniforme od 1878. do 1918. godine* (Wien: Verlag Militaria, 2008).

<sup>145</sup> Davies, "Muslims in the Russian army, 1874-1917," 76-77.

<sup>146</sup> Blašković, *Sa Bošnjacima u Svjetskom ratu*, 325-27.

<sup>147</sup> ÖStA/KA/Vienna, AOK Op. Abt. B-Gruppe, 510/1916, Nr. 33434, #17775, 29.10.1916, Belgrade, MGG/S to the AOK and ÖStA/HHStA/Vienna, PA I 1007, 50w, Albanien, 1231, #28206 res. v. 1916, 11.02.1917, Vienna, KM to the MdÄ.

<sup>148</sup> ÖStA/KA/Vienna, AOK Op. Abt. B-Gruppe, 510/1916, Nr. 34433, #6874, 16.11.1916, Cetinje, MGG/M to the AOK and Blašković, *Sa Bošnjacima u Svjetskom ratu*, 325.

<sup>149</sup> ÖStA/KA/Vienna, AOK Op. Abt. B-Gruppe, 510/1916, Nr. 33434, #17775, 29.10.1916, Belgrade, MGG/S to the AOK and ÖStA/HHStA/Vienna, PA I 1007, 50w, Albanien, 1231, #28206 res. v. 1916, 11.02.1917, Vienna, KM to the MdÄ.

<sup>150</sup> Gostentschnigg, *Wissenschaft im Spannungsfeld von Politik und Militär: Die österreichisch-ungarische Albanologie 1867-1918*, 496. Christian Marchetti has analyzed the context of the booklet in his study to whom I have to thank for sharing the booklet with me. See Marchetti, *Balkanexpedition: Die Kriegserfahrung der österreichischen Volkskunder*, 198-200.

becomes clear that Lovro's personal statements on the imagined Albanian are echoed in the text, not those of the Habsburg powers. This means that the latter indiscriminately adopted the priest's view. Peter Brenner is correct in claiming that it is hard to measure the significance of Karl May's travel narratives in the construction of the German image of the Balkans for subsequent generations.<sup>151</sup>

Yet here, this is more than clear. To illustrate, it is Lovro that depicts the Albanian as physically advanced and someone who "is so strait-laced (*sittenstreng*) that he could serve as an example to many other peoples." Nobody was allowed to abuse or beat the Albanian because he had a heroic lineage (*Heldengeschlecht*), meaning that obtaining glory in war was highly regarded among his kin. "They are extraordinarily martial [*kriegerisch*] and prefer to go to war more than to a wedding."<sup>152</sup> In brief, uncritical adoption of Lovro's narrative led to a collective categorization, according to which every tribesman was inclined to soldiering. This is not to say that Lovro alone was guilty of creating the imagined Albanian in the Habsburg context since there had been others before him who also formulated the narrative of that the Albanian was an emotionless killing machine.<sup>153</sup> Still, Lovro's words prevail here.

These Habsburg stereotypes were hardly unique since Germany viewed the Tatars from Crimea as being of excellent military material because of their ancient bravery, proficiency and call towards cruelty, all of which who under right stimulus could be made cruel (*grausam*) once again, thereby emphasizing their possible use.<sup>154</sup> One finds similar narratives worldwide. In British-colonized India, Sikhs, Gurkhas, and Punjabi Muslims, to name a few, belonged to the imagined martial races, whereby the use of race as a tool and a construction was evident. Gurkha men often found themselves forced to adapt to the British views about their behaviors and traditions and were thus compelled to adopt certain rituals, customs or foods as their own, which they gradually did. The colonial authorities deliberately wielded this type of language in order to keep "politically suspect recruits out of the army," meaning that race became a suitable guise in the search for unquestioned loyalty, enabling selective recruiting and at the same time, fulfilling specific political and practical goals.<sup>155</sup>

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<sup>151</sup> Peter J. Brenner, "Verwischte Grenzen: Karl Mays Balkanderstellung im Kontext der Moderne," *Jahrbuch der Karl-May-Gesellschaft* (2008): 147-74.

<sup>152</sup> Mihačević, *Durch Albanien: Reise-Eindrücke*, 12-13, 17, 31-32. See also *Stemmesgliederung, Sitten u. Gebräuche der Albaner. Auszugsweise Übersetzung der vom albanischen Missionär Fra Lovro Mihačević verfaßten Broschüre über Albanien*, ([1916]), 17, 20-22, 32. On the similar narrative yet in the context of Imperial Germany see PA AA/Berlin, RZ 201, R 13385, #41, 20.02.1913, *Kölnische Zeitung, Albanien, sein Volkstum und seine Begrenzung*. I, von Dr. Hugo Grothe.

<sup>153</sup> See Siebertz, *Albanien und die Albanesen: Landschafts- und Charakterbilder*, 89-90, 92, 142-42. and Nopcsa, *Reisen in den Balkan: Die Lebenserinnerungen des Franz Baron Nopcsa (Kindle Edition)*, Vol. 11.

<sup>154</sup> PA AA/Berlin, RZ 201, R 14551, #A6284, 23.02.1917, Nachrichtenstelle für den Orient: Russische Abteilung ans Auswärtige Amt, *Vom wehrpflichtigen Islam Russlands*, 8.

<sup>155</sup> Heather Streets, *Martial Races: The Military, Race and Masculinity in British Imperial Culture, 1857-1914* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2004), 1, 4, 6-12. and Liebau, "Martial Races, Theory of (Version 1.1)." See also David Omissi, "'Martial Races': Ethnicity and Security in Colonial India, 1858-1939," in *Recruiting, Drafting, and*

In Australia, both press reports and official statements actively contributed to the erecting of the “unstoppable” Anzacs’ image during WWI. Having been shaped by their cultural and ethnic heritage, the *Digger*, in contrast to short, unhealthy, and degenerate Europeans, was naturally better. Being a warrior from the other side of the world, from a land that still held many mysteries and dangers, the imagined Australian walked like the kings, achieving folk-hero status.<sup>156</sup> The indigenous peoples of the USA were also considered to belong naturally to the battlefield. Driven by the so-called “scout syndrome” and their assumed abilities, the US military often placed them in inordinately dangerous positions during WWI, often with fatal consequences.<sup>157</sup>

Imagining the Albanian as being so vastly heroic caused the disappointment of various Habsburg authorities to be more severe because as soon as *he* did not meet the projected expectations, the image of the martial race began to collapse. In contrast to others, the Albanian-speaking recruits did not accept this projected image of the outsider. To what extent this produced bitterness among the military, a useful case is provided with officer in the MGG/M who stated that “semi-wild savages cannot be easily considered as soldiers” because then they might have a negative influence on other units as well as on the necessary cohesion.<sup>158</sup> This is why scholars have claimed that the *wild* and *primitive* have two meanings; in addition to their pejorative connotation, others would praise “the origins of culture and the authenticity of primitive societies,” when referring to the bilingual tribes.<sup>159</sup> In this particular context, the Habsburg officer used its negative meaning, thus showing how the concept of martial race could quickly obtain a bad reputation and how he sided with the dominant Serbian public and the intellectual discourse about the imagined Albanian.

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*Enlisting: Two Sides of the Raising of Military Forces*, ed. Peter Karsten (London and New York: Routledge: Taylor and Francis Group, 1998), 101-28. For the Kamba people in today’s Kenya see Timothy H. Parsons, ““Wakamba Warriors are Soldiers of the Queen”: The Evolution of the Kamba as a Martial Race, 1890-1970,” *Ethnohistory* 46, no. 4 (1999): 671-701.

<sup>156</sup> Craig Stocking, ““There is an idea that the Australian is a born soldier...”,” in *Zombie Myths of Australian Military History*, ed. Craig Stocking (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 2010), 93-115, here pp. 94, 97, 99-00, 02. and Dale James Blair, “An Army of Warriors, these Anzacs’: Legend and Illusion in the First AIF” (PhD Victoria University of Technology, 1998), 27-28, 31, 34-35.

<sup>157</sup> Bruce White, “The American Army and the Indian,” in *Ethnic Armies: Polyethnic Armed Forces from the time of the Habsburgs to the Age of the Superpowers*, ed. N. F. Dreisziger (Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1990), 69-88, here pp. 75, 78-79, 83. and Matthias Voigt, “Warriors in Uniform: Race, Masculinity, and Martial Valor among Native American Veterans from the Great War to Vietnam and Beyond,” in *Warring over Valor: How Race and Gender Shaped American Military Heroism in the Twentieth and Twenty-First Centuries*, ed. Simon Wendt (Camden, New Brunswick / Newark / London: Rutgers University Press, 2019), 79-95, here pp. 81-82.

<sup>158</sup> ÖStA/KA/Vienna, AOK Op. Abt. B-Gruppe, 510/1916, Nr. 34433, #6874, 15.11.1916, Cetinje, Chief of the MGG/M General Staff to the MGG/M, pp. 2 (...) Als Soldaten können halb wilde Naturmenschen nicht ohne weiteres in Betracht kommen. (...)

<sup>159</sup> Reber, “The Experience of Borders: Montenegrin Tribesmen at War,” 191-206, here pp. 195. and Angell, *Herojski narod: Priče iz Crne Gore*, 10-11, 24, 31, 113, 15, 17. See also Karl Kaser, “Peoples of the Mountains, Peoples of the Plains: Space and Ethnographic Representation,” in *Creating the Other: Ethnic Conflict and Nationalism in Habsburg Central Europe*, ed. Nancy M. Wingfield (New York - Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2003), 216-30.

How then can this be explained? Answering this question requires one to recall the actions of the entrepreneurs, namely those of forcing, hijacking, and lying as the *object* in this game and which the military power labelled as trickery (*Schwindel*).<sup>160</sup> After arriving in the barracks, the material was capable of causing serious problems by employing various forms of resistance in an attempt to improve their current position. One of the most widespread tactics among the Albanian recruits was to make an open refusal (*Verweigerung*) or stage a hunger strike (*Hungerstreik*).<sup>161</sup> In Lebring, near Graz, about 600 war volunteers refused in late 1916 to accept the implementation of any sanitary measures, clothing or equipment, stating that they “[had] volunteered for the Ottoman,” and not for the Habsburg army.<sup>162</sup>

As the days passed, they behaved more rebelliously and this forced the Graz military authority to reconsider the use of force in the face of open disobedience. Some even managed to leave the barracks, for which they were arrested and accused of being drunk.<sup>163</sup> Others locked themselves in the barracks and did not allow anybody to enter, forcing the local authorities to ban “Albanians, including many Romany [*Zigeuner*] and other questionable elements” from going outside the barracks.<sup>164</sup>

The Habsburg ruling elites eliminated any possibility of breaking the resistance by force since it was seen as inconvenient and also given their self-image as an amicable country.<sup>165</sup> It would be a mistake to think that these insubordinations (*Unbotmäßigkeiten*) stopped appearing after the recruits joined the Ottoman army in Galicia. Neither the imams nor the Ottoman officers could convince them to stay calm since they still demanded to be shipped directly to Istanbul. Various levels of the military power knew that if this “troubled element of the worst sort” were allowed to return home they would have a negative influence on the locals. Thus, the only possibility was to dispatch these insubordinate (*unbotmäßig*) and wild (*ungebärdig*) volunteers to the Ottoman capital.<sup>166</sup> Not every Albanian preferred to go to war more than to a wedding, to use Lovro’s phrase. This in no way represented an isolated case because the same happened in Mostar (1916), again in Lebring (1917), and in Budapest (1917) – although the latter had more to do with the salary being too low and less with the trickery.<sup>167</sup>

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<sup>160</sup> ÖStA/KA/Vienna, AOK Op. Abt. B-Gruppe, 510/1916, Nr. 34433, #6874, 15.11.1916, Cetinje, Chief of the General Staff to the MGG/M, pp. 3-4.

<sup>161</sup> ÖStA/KA/Vienna, AOK Qu. Abt. 2436/1917, M.V. Nr. 33473/1/S, #7517, 04.1917, Belgrade, MGG/S to the AOK.

<sup>162</sup> ÖStA/HHStA/Vienna, PA I 1007/50w, #8572, 28.11.1916, Teschen, Proxy to the AOK to the MdÄ.

<sup>163</sup> ÖStA/HHStA/Vienna, PA I 1007/50w, #19112, Graz, Military Command to the KM; *ibid*, #22422, 07.11.1916, Vienna, KM to the MGG/M and *ibid*, #8572, 28.11.1916, Teschen, Proxy to the AOK to the MdÄ.

<sup>164</sup> ÖStA/HHStA/Vienna, PA I 1007/50w, #19112, Graz, Military Command to the KM.

<sup>165</sup> ÖStA/HHStA/Vienna, PA I 1007/50w, unnumbered, 01.10.1916, Vienna, KM to the MdÄ.

<sup>166</sup> ÖStA/HHStA/Vienna, PA I 1007/50w, #8572, 28.11.1916, Teschen, Proxy to the AOK to the MdÄ, *ibid*, #34.772, KM to the AOK, ÖStA/KA/Vienna, AOK Op. Abt. B-Gruppe, 510/1916, Nr. 35613, #20671, 10.12.1916, Belgrade, MGG/S to the AOK and *ibid*, #22422, 07.11.1916, Vienna, KM to the MdÄ

<sup>167</sup> For the Mostar mutiny see: ÖStA/KA/Vienna, AOK Op. Abt. B-Gruppe, 510/1916, Nr. 34433, #6874, 15.11.1916, Cetinje, Chief of the General Staff to the MGG/M, pp. 3-4 and *ibid*, #6840, 16.11.1916, Cetinje, MGG/M to the AOK, pp. 2-3. For the



As a result, these episodes had long-lasting consequences, not only on the imagined Albanian, but also on the brokers because the reshaping of loyalties between all players included in the mobilization field was evident. The successfully deployed tactics from below not only triggered the Habsburg authorities to rethink their approach towards the occupied populations and the entrepreneurs, as seen in pages before, but their techniques also hampered further recruitment. Given their “insubordinate behavior,” the Habsburg power decided in late 1916 to exclude the Albanian-speaking locals from any further enlistment within the territories of the MGG/M and highlighted that only those who joined voluntarily were to be recruited.<sup>168</sup> In the MGG/S the enlistment of the Albanian-speaking able-bodied kept occurring to the extent that no insubordination was taking place at that moment. However, in the wake of the 1917 Lebring mutiny, the Albanian-speaking inhabitants from the MGG/S was also left out.<sup>169</sup> The same thing occurred in post-1913 Habsburg-occupied Albania.<sup>170</sup>

An order was issued for initiating the investigation in order to find responsible the persons for this failure. This referred not only to the money, effort, and time that was invested, but also to the prestige of state because the mutiny had a negative effect on the rest of the war volunteers, including the inhabitants of the Lebring area.<sup>171</sup> The idea that they were being deceived by the Ottoman Empire soon began to engulf the Habsburg authorities. This idea led to a high officer of the MGG/M believing that the very incident of rejecting the Albanian was very telling because “the Ottomans are obviously well acquainted with their former subjects.”<sup>172</sup> It is worthy highlighting that the Ottoman Hamidian power also considered the Albanian as wild (*vahşi*) in a positive way and as someone who was accustomed to soldiering (*askeriyyet*).<sup>173</sup>

The image of the imagined Albanian has dealt a major blow because he was given new and solely negative attributes, being characterized as wild, insubordinate, and useless or unemployable (*unbrauchbar*) for the military.<sup>174</sup> It is therefore unsurprising that the same

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1917 mutiny in Lebring see: ÖStA/KA/Vienna, AOK Op. Abt. B-Gruppe, 511/1916-17, Nr. 39351, 19.03.1917, AOK to the KM; *ibid.*, Nr. 39351, #763, 06.04.1917, Camp Lebring-Graz, 2<sup>nd</sup> BH IR to the Military Command; *ibid.*, Nr. 39351, #5270/A, 08.03.1917, Graz, Military Command to the KM and ÖStA/KA/Vienna, AOK Qu. Abt. 2436/1917, M.V. Nr. 33473/S, 04.04.1917, AOK to the MGG/S and the Military Envoy in Istanbul. For Budapest, however, see Blašković, *Sa Bošnjacima u Svjetskom ratu*, 326.

<sup>168</sup> ÖStA/KA/Vienna, AOK Op. Abt. B-Gruppe, 510/1916, Nr. 35613, #20671, 10.12.1916, Belgrade, MGG/S to the AOK; ÖStA/HHStA/Vienna, PA I 1007, 50w, Albanien, 07.11.1916, Vienna, KM to the MGG/M and ÖStA/KA/Vienna, AOK Op. Abt. B-Gruppe, 511/1916-17, Nr. 39351, Nr. 4812, 16.03.1917, Vienna, KM to the AOK.

<sup>169</sup> ÖStA/KA/Vienna, AOK Op. Abt. B-Gruppe, 510/1916, Nr. 34558, 26.11.1916, AOK to the MGG/S and KM and ÖStA/KA/Vienna, AOK Qu. Abt. 2437/1917, M.V. Nr. 33939/S, #9677, Belgrade, 11.04.1917, MGG/S to the AOK.

<sup>170</sup> Marchetti, *Balkanexpedition: Die Kriegserfahrung der österreichischen Volkskunder*, 202-04.

<sup>171</sup> ÖStA/HHStA/Vienna, PA I 1007/50w, #22422, 07.11.1916, KM to the MdA.

<sup>172</sup> ÖStA/KA/Vienna, AOK Op. Abt. B-Gruppe, 510/1916, Nr. 34433, #6874, 15.11.1916, Cetinje, Chief of the General Staff to the MGG/M, pp. 6. (...) *die Türken kennen offenbar ihre vormaligen Untertanen zur Genüge* (...). For another comment that was practically erased in the document afterwards see ÖStA/KA/Vienna, AOK Op. Abt. B-Gruppe, 510/1916, #34558, 26.11.1916, AOK to the MGG/S and KM (...) *bleiben muss, nicht jedoch deshalb, weil die türkische Armee sie nicht aufnehmen würde* (...)

<sup>173</sup> Gawrych, *The Crescent and the Eagle: Ottoman Rule, Islam and the Albanians, 1874-1913*, pp. 29-30, 74-75.

<sup>174</sup> ÖStA/KA/Vienna, AOK Qu. Abt. 2437/1917, M.V. Nr. 33939/S, #9677, Belgrade, 11.04.1917, MGG/S to the AOK.

officer of the MGG/M began to have doubts about some, or all, of their martial characteristics, commenting that his superiors deemed the imagined Albanian's combat experience to be hardly favorable. They all agreed that *he* was always on time to eat first at the table and possibly to plunder, whereas on the battlefield he stood away at a safe distance. The officer concluded in somewhat disappointed manner that “the legendary bravery in earlier wars, as well as the much-praised skill of the Albanian guard in Hamidian times, belongs [only] to the realm of fairy tales.”<sup>175</sup> But even when the officer made these last remarks about the Albanian, he could not help but (un)knowingly utilize Lovro's narrative, revealing another negative collective categorization.<sup>176</sup>

This bad episode notwithstanding, not every officer agreed with his view because some kept depicting other Albanian-speaking soldiers in a more neutral light, meaning that not every Albanian was unemployable for the Habsburg military, as Pero and others Habsburg officers' accounts show.<sup>177</sup> However, in the wake of the Lebring, Mostar and Budapest mutinies, it is obvious that the imagined Albanian suffered a major shift because the martial race narrative sounded quite different then from the original, illustrating once again how flexible notion was.<sup>178</sup> Thus, it comes as no surprise that the Habsburg power discovered in early 1917 another “martial race” embodied in the Slavic-speaking Muslims whom in contrast to the “useless” Albanian, appeared to be brave. As a result, a request for their inclusion into the BH regiments was demanded.<sup>179</sup> But what happened with the rank and file after 1918?

## 6.2. Coming Back (1920s): Trying to Negotiate, Again

The exiled Serbian ruling elites in Greece learned about the Habsburg draft in the occupied territories as early as July 1916, even before the full mobilization had engulfed the region since they were regularly updated on the matter through various channels (i.e. deserted volunteers

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<sup>175</sup> ÖStA/KA/Vienna, AOK Op. Abt. B-Gruppe, 510/1916, Nr. 34433, #6874, 15.11.1916, Cetinje, Chief of the General Staff to the MGG/M, 6. (...) Auch die sagenhafte Tapferkeit in früheren Kriegen, sowie die vielgerühmte Tüchtigkeit der albanischen Garde zu hamitischer Zeit, gehört in das Reich der Märchen.

<sup>176</sup> Mihačević, *Durch Albanien: Reise-Eindrücke*, 31. (...) Besonders in Konstantinopel ist ihre Tapferkeit bekannt; sie werden daher sehr gerne in die Truppen eingereiht, wo sie dann sehr bald die ersten Stellen einnehmen, jedenfalls eine Folge ihrer Kriegstüchtigkeit (...) and *Stemmesgliederung, Sitten u. Gebräuche der Albaner. Auszugsweise Übersetzung der vom albanischen Missionär Fra Lovro Mihačević verfaßten Broschüre über Albanien*, pp. 32. (...) Deshalb sind sie auch auf der ganzen Welt wegen ihrer Kampfeslust bekannt. Dieselben sind sehr kriegslustig; sie lieben mehr den Kampf als irgend ein Fest. Wegen dieser Eigenschaften besonders in Konstantinopel eingeschätzt, wurden sie gern in das Heer eingereiht. Dort nehmen sie die ersten Stellen ein (...). For the Hamidian guard in reference to the Albanian unit see Gawrych, *The Crescent and the Eagle: Ottoman Rule, Islam and the Albanians, 1874-1913*, 83, 134. and Abbas Erdoğan Noyan, *Prizren - Dersaadet: Sultan II. Abdülhamid'in Yıldız Sarayı Muhafızlığına Getirilen Arnavut Taburunun Öyküsü* (İstanbul: Profil, 2012), 30-37, 40, 50, 52-53, 100-01.

<sup>177</sup> ÖStA/KA/Vienna, AOK Op. Abt. B-Gruppe, 510/1916, Nr. 35613, #20671, 10.12.1916, Belgrade, MGG/S to the AOK. (...) Doch auch hier willigten die Albaner, die sich ansonsten recht brav zeigen, nicht ein, und verlangten nach Konstantinopel gebracht zu werden, um dort unmittelbar dem Sultan zu dienen, wohl misstrauend, dass sie anderwärts doch nicht wunschgemäß verwendet werden würden. (...) and Blašković, *Sa Bošnjacima u Svjetskom ratu*, 327.

<sup>178</sup> Hawkins, *Social Darwinism in European and American Thought: Nature as Model and Nature as Threat*, 21, 32.

<sup>179</sup> ÖStA/KA/Vienna, AOK Qu. Abt. 2437/1917, M.V. Nr. 33939/S, #9677, Belgrade, 11.04.1917, MGG/S to the AOK. (...) Nach bisherigen Erfahrungen haben sich die Albaner als ganz unbrauchbar, die Bosniaken hingegen als brav erwiesen.

from the region at the Habsburg-Italia front, Bulgarian deserters on the Macedonian front or published German or Bulgaria media).<sup>180</sup> Their allies, such as Great Britain, informed them as soon as it was clear that among Ottoman deserters on the Iraqi front, one found the Serbian POWs of the Muslim creed who had been previously (re)mobilized. Among them, Kosta Đorđević was present. His hearing makes the personal trajectory of the POWs even more complicated because after landing in Mumbai, India, around 2,000 prisoners demanded to voluntarily join the Serbian army, again. Some of them even participated in the breakthrough at the Macedonian front in late 1918.<sup>181</sup> However, a considerable number of those deployed to the Iraqi front fell captive to the British and were then shipped to Egypt.<sup>182</sup> In contrast to their Habsburg peers, others served in the Ottoman army in Galicia, Arabia, or in the Caucasus.<sup>183</sup> Those who ended up in the Habsburg army also served in different units, fighting in the Croatian Landwehr regiments, the BH regiments or in the Hungarian Honvéd regiments.<sup>184</sup> This a *global recruitment*, to use Simon Jackson's phrase, in which France, Great Britain, Canada and the United States participated as well.<sup>185</sup>

Similar to the Ottoman-born subjects who were then living in the USA or Brazil and were shipped to Europe to wage war, or the Tunisians drafted into the French army who had to fight far from their homeland, so too did the residents of the borderlands end up serving and fighting on other continents.<sup>186</sup> Sending them far from the fronts where the Serbian army could be found was all part of the plan. In doing so, the Central Powers concealed that they had breached the Hague Conventions because the soldiers were not deployed to fight against their own countries.<sup>187</sup> However, it seems that the Serbian exiled government and its military did not pay heed to the issue about whether volunteers willingly or forcefully aligned with the enemy in the last phase of WWI. Still, not everyone was as lucky as Kosta to be on the victorious side at the

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<sup>180</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MID-PO, R507, F17, F6, 15/649, #1278, 21.07.1916, Krf, MoW to the MoFA.

<sup>181</sup> VA/Belgrade, P3, K178, F1, 3/1, *Podaci o prilikama u Srbiji okupiranoj od Bugara 1916-1918. godine*, 25, 172 and *Veliki rat Srbije za oslobođenje i ujedinjenje Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca, 1914-1918 g.*, 21: I period rovovske vojne, #10008, 11.01.1917, Solun, Supreme Command to various military units and MoW, 170.

<sup>182</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MUDuI, OJB, 1919/2, #1470, 30.10.1919, Beograd, Ministry of Foreign Affairs to the Ministry of the Interior.

<sup>183</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MID-KIZ, K35, R79, 10.12.1918, Sofija, Kurtano Laković iz Velesa; *ibid*, Amaćir Jusufović iz Velesa; *ibid*, K44, R24, 22.12.1918, Sofija, Aši Ašević iz Dojrana and *ibid*, K35, R54, 22.12.1918, Sofija, Arif Abidović iz Dojrana to the Proxy.

<sup>184</sup> ÖStA/KA/Vienna, AOK Op. Abt. B-Gruppe, 510/1916, Nr. 31432, 02.10.1916, AOK to the MGG/M and KM; *ibid*, Nr. 32370, #20512, 13.10.1916, Vienna, KM to the AOK; *ibid*, 13.10.1916, Vienna, KM to the Mostar Military Command; ÖStA/HHStA/Vienna, PA I 1007/50w, #8572, 28.11.1916, Teschen, Proxy to the MdÄ; ÖStA/KA/Vienna, AOK Qu. Abt. 2448/1917, M.V. Nr. 64401/S, #12262, 01.05.1917, Belgrade, MGG/S to the AOK and *ibid*, M.V. Nr. 64374/S, #9952, KM to the Railway Army Command South.

<sup>185</sup> Simon Jackson, "Global Recruitment: The Wartime Origins of French Mandate Syria," in *France in an Era of Global War, 1914-1945: Occupation, Politics, Empire and Entanglements*, ed. Ludivine Broch and Alison Carrol (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 133-51. and Stacy D. Fahrenthold, "Former Ottomans in the Ranks: Pro-Entente Military Recruitment among Syrians in the Americas, 1916-1918," *Journal of Global History* 11, no. 1 (2016): 88-112.

<sup>186</sup> Christopher Rominger, "Migration and the Long First World War in Tunisia," in *The Long End of the First World War: Ruptures, Continuities and Memories*, ed. Katrin Bromber et al. (Frankfurt/New York: Campus Verlag, 2018), 109-18.

<sup>187</sup> Kon, *Birinci Dünya Savaşı'nda Almanya'nın İslam Stratejisi*, 228, 30.

end of the war since many remained under the banner of the Central Powers until the very end. How then did their story appear after the 1918 armistice was announced? What kind of stance did the new/old ruling elites take concerning them? In an effort to provide a suitable answer, the Ottoman soldiers are represented here as a case study, namely for practical reasons; one can easily follow the relations between the post-1918 Serbian/SCS authorities, the Istanbul-based Ottoman power, and the soldiers from the region by relying on sources.

#### 6.2.1. Stance of the SHS Kingdom and the Istanbul-based Ottoman Government

Following the armistice, a senior Serbian officer was sent to Istanbul. At the time, he was the only SCS representative at the Headquarters of the Allied Supreme Command in the Ottoman capital until late 1919, when a civil delegate was also dispatched.<sup>188</sup> Ottoman soldiers from the region could return easily since it was sufficient to sign a typed statement written by the envoy. One simply had to declare that “since I have been drafted into the Ottoman army against my own will and since the Ottoman Empire is no longer at war with Serbia, I ask the delegate to allow me to return to my home.”<sup>189</sup> It is clear that their narrative had changed and one should not underestimate the importance nor the legal binding of this statement which illustrates that the soldiers had either been familiar with the Hague Conventions or someone had offered them legal assistance.<sup>190</sup>

By stating that they were enlisted against their own free will, the enlisted placed blame on the Habsburg side, thus legitimizing their appeal for protection and to be returned. Otherwise, siding with and serving in the enemy army could put them in jail for twenty years, something which they certainly hoped to avoid.<sup>191</sup> At the time, there was no double-check policy which could verify whether someone really joined the Ottoman army on a voluntarily basis or by force because they were seen as victims of the occupying wrath.<sup>192</sup> How many people returned until late 1919 is difficult to determine given the lack of sources. The SCS chargé d’affaires indicated that the number of the forcibly recruited (*nasilno rekrutovani*) could amount to around 4,000

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<sup>188</sup> AJ/Belgrade, 370-6-136, #353, 08.11.1921, Istanbul, Chargé d’affaires to the MoFA. See also Desanka Todorović, "Pitanje uspostavljanja diplomatskih odnosa između Kraljevine Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca i Republike Turske (1923-1925)," *Balkanica V* (1973): 265-89. and Tonka Župančić, "Poslanstvo Kraljevine Jugoslavije u Turskoj: Carigrad, Ankara 1919-1945 (1890-1945). Istorijat stvaraoča i značaj arhivske građe fonda," *Arhiv 5*, no. 2 (2004): 9-25.

<sup>189</sup> Among many typed statements, for instance, see DAS/Belgrade, MID-KIZ, K35, R79, 21.12.1918, Sofija, Ibrahim Selmanović born in Sjenica to the Proxy of the Serbian Government and Supreme Command (...) Pošto sam uzet u tursku vojsku protiv moje volje i pošto Turska nije više u ratu sa Srbijom te molim delegata da mi dozvoli da se mogu vratiti svojoj kući. (...)

<sup>190</sup> *The Hague Conventions of 1899 (II) and 1907 (IV) Respecting the Laws and Customs of War on Land*, 24.

<sup>191</sup> *Vojni-krivični zakonik*, §85, 59.

<sup>192</sup> AJ/Belgrade, 370-6-7-8, #329, 26.10.1919, Istanbul, Civil Proxy to the MoFA.

people, out of whom, a majority of them were native to the region. By late 1921, many of the drafted managed to return; however, not all of them actually returned home legally.<sup>193 194</sup>

Why would these SCS subjects turn to illegal means in order to reach home? Unlike the first months after the war, the standpoint of the ruling elites is echoed in the record. Their position was not unified, but rather incoherent, meaning that different state powers harbored opposing thoughts about how the state should cope with the rank and file. For the civil envoy in Istanbul it was clear that these people were the Kingdom's subjects who had been forcibly recruited. By registering themselves in increasing numbers nearly every day, they sought the approval to return, which was one of the reasons why the delegate complained about the Ottoman choice to discharge them from the army without taking care of them. This exacerbated their situation since they did not have any income or personal possessions and could not feed themselves. This applied not only to those originally from the region, but also to their peers who were kept captive in Egypt, which also included locals from the former Ottoman Balkan territories. The British authorities handed over the latter to the Ottoman authorities because they were considered to be Ottoman subjects. An overwhelming majority agreed to cover the cost of the ship transport as long as they intended on returning to their homes as soon as possible.<sup>195</sup>

The envoy demanded a permit to issue them passports because "they left the country against their will." Even if it is evident in sources that he had compassion, at the same time, he sees in them "a healthy and labor-intensive element whose workforce the country can only utilize." Their political value was since the "suffering and anguish they were exposed to amid their service in the Ottoman army made them very embittered against the Ottoman Empire, which gives some assurance that they will be correct citizens, for the Ottoman Empire no longer aspires to them."<sup>196</sup> Deploying these arguments eventually worked out to the extent that the authorities gave the civil proxy the power to issue passports only to the forcibly recruited and POWs acquitted from British captivity.<sup>197</sup> For each person, separate petitions had to be submitted which the Ministry of the Interior had to verify and which the Ministerial Council discussed by relying on the evaluations made by low-level authorities.<sup>198</sup> Local police authorities had to further check the appeals and make a long inquiry in order to reconstruct the

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<sup>193</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MUDuI, OJB 1919/K2, br. 1470, #12964, 30.10.1919, Belgrade, MoFA to the MoI.

<sup>194</sup> AJ/Belgrade, 370-6-136, #53, 08.11.1921, Istanbul, Chargé d'affaires to the MoFA.

<sup>195</sup> AJ/Belgrade, 370-6-7-8, #329, 26.10.1919, Istanbul, Civil Proxy to the MoFA.

<sup>196</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MUDuI, OJB 1919/K2, br. 1470, #12964, 30.10.1919, Belgrade, MoFA to the MoI. (...) jer su istu napustili preko svoje volje. To je zdrav i radni elemenat čija radna snaga može biti samo do koristi zemlji. Patnje i muke kojima su bili izloženi za ovo vreme njihovog službovanja u turskoj vojsci, učinile su da su jako ogorčeni protiv Turske, što daje donekle garantije da će i kao građani biti ispravni jer Turskoj svakojako više neće težiti (...)

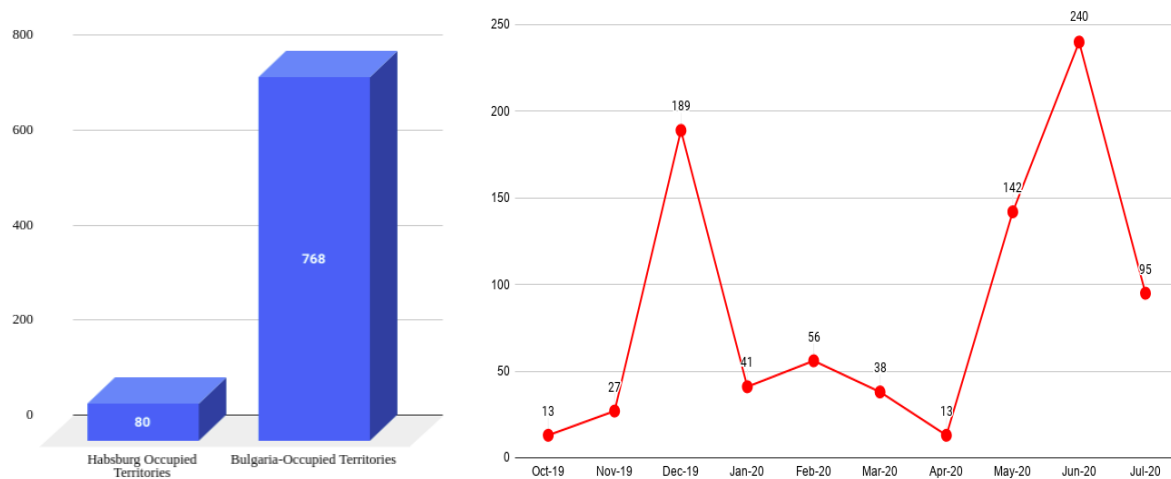
<sup>197</sup> AJ/Belgrade, 370-6-22, #964, 24.11.1919, Istanbul, Civil Proxy to the MoFA and *ibid*, 370-6-45, #4831, 10.03.1920, Belgrade, MoFA to the Civil Proxy.

<sup>198</sup> AJ/Belgrade, 370-6-60, #367, 21.08.1920, Istanbul, Civil Proxy to the MoFA.

reasons why the person had left, while also giving their own opinion on the matter.<sup>199</sup> The Ministry would then allow the civil proxy the right to issue returning credentials, implying that it was this last instance that decided who might return.<sup>200</sup>

However, the latter took another stance, claiming that after the soldiers' return, local authorities would have to see if the former were to be held accountable for serving as SCS subjects in the enemy army.<sup>201</sup> Still, their total number in Istanbul was unknown because a number of the previously mentioned 4.000 persons did not shrink, but rather began to grow with the disembarking of additional 300 POWs released from Egypt in early 1920.<sup>202</sup> This amount increased in late 1920 when roughly 2,000 new POWs landed in Istanbul, among whom the vast majority was from the borderlands.<sup>203</sup> In fact, those 300 POWs returned and their travel expenses to Salonika were covered by the Ottoman government.<sup>204</sup> According to available sources, only around 840 POWs returned between late 1919 and mid-1920 (Figure 1), but it should be kept in mind that the number of those recruited and that of the released POWs represented only a small amount. This statistic does not reveal anything about who fought in the Ottoman army until the armistice. The last contingent of 2,000 POWs could not return so effortlessly because the SCS power had prohibited the civil delegate from issuing any more passports (August 1920).<sup>205</sup> Thus, they were left in a crumbling Empire without any chance of returning to their homes. Where did this suddenly change in the SCS elites come from?

Figure 1: *The Number and Influx of the Returned POWs between October 1919 and July 1920*<sup>206</sup>



<sup>199</sup> AJ/Belgrade, 370-6-111, #13.119, 03.05.1921, Belgrade, MoI to the MoFA.

<sup>200</sup> AJ/Belgrade, 370-6-60, #367, 21.08.1920, Istanbul, Civil Proxy to the MoFA.

<sup>201</sup> AJ/Belgrade, 370-6-29, #14328, 04.12.1919, Belgrade, MoFA to Istanbul Royal Legation.

<sup>202</sup> AJ/Belgrade, 370-6-49, #140, 15.04.1920, Istanbul, Civil Proxy to the MoFA and *ibid*, #64, 23.04.1920, Istanbul, Civil Proxy to the MoFA.

<sup>203</sup> AJ/Belgrade, 370-6-76, #502, 30.10.1920, Istanbul, Civil Proxy to the MoFA and *ibid*, 370-6-102, #518, 01.03.1921, Istanbul, Civil Proxy to the MoFA.

<sup>204</sup> AJ/Belgrade, 370-6-51, #204, 05.05.1920, Istanbul, Civil Proxy of the Royal Government to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs

<sup>205</sup> AJ/Belgrade, 370-6-69, #10705, 18.09.1920, Belgrade, Ministry of Foreign Affairs to the Civil Proxy of the Royal Government.

<sup>206</sup> AJ/Belgrade, 370-57, documents between #51 and #251.

To understand this abrupt shift, the inner context of the Kingdom must be considered. The ongoing agrarian reform represented one of the main reasons and uncontrolled influx of those who had left the Ottoman provinces both during and after the Balkan Wars was also directly connected. Their holdings then belonged to either their tenants or other poor subjects, whereas authorities and various officials occupied or resided in their homes. In brief, their return caused great confusion for agrarian relations, which were already too complex. In turn, this instigated distress among the winners of the reforms since the arrival of the unwanted created a situation that mitigated “a peaceful settlement of the agrarian question.”<sup>207</sup> Given the political dimension of the agrarian reform, their return could only further complicate the local situation.<sup>208</sup> Another problem was also the non-cooperation between the civil delegate and his military envoy in Istanbul. In fact, the military envoy issued passports not only to those who had been eligible to return, but also to those whom the post-1918 authorities did not intend to see.<sup>209</sup>

Gradually, the Ministry of the Interior began to claim that accepting all these people back meant that the poor would become a burden and cause constant debate, namely with disputes over their confiscated property. By constituting over 60% of the population in the post-Ottoman territories, he had a troubled feeling that after being permitted to return to, they would numerically and “completely suppress our people” (*potisnuće naše ljude sasvim*). Numbers of *their* and *our* populations soon made the state uneasy, since they had already returned to a sufficient extent; thus, its growth (*njegov priraštaj*) was noticeable and this in turn led to its supremacy over *our* folk (*prevlast nad našim življem*), which the ruling elites did not want.<sup>210</sup> Because the same narrative of *I have been recruited against my own will* dominated in the petitions, the authorities began to question their state loyalty.<sup>211</sup> A case in point is the narrative of Minister of the Interior which exemplifies how the ruling elites perceived the Muslim people (*muslimski svet*)

it is likely that among the supplicants there were those who had been forced by the enemy into the Ottoman army, but it very difficult to prove because their testimonies and that of their countrymen could not be trusted. These people, seeming to be deceived in hope and exposed to economic distress, yearn now for the homeland, declaring loyalty to our state, and at the moments when they should have shown this loyalty, they proved themselves as disloyal. With their return we get nothing, but on the contrary, we lose because they remain what they have been. (...) After all, we cannot pity this world, since we have a lot of our own to pity.<sup>212</sup>

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<sup>207</sup> AJ/Belgrade, 370-6-37, #17034, 29.12.1919, Belgrade, Ministry of Foreign Affairs to the Civil Proxy of the Royal Government. For a similar example see *ibid*, 370-6-39, #17742, 31.12.1919, Belgrade, Ministry of Foreign Affairs to the Civil Proxy of the Royal Government.

<sup>208</sup> AJ/Belgrade, 370-6-37, #17034, 29.12.1919, Belgrade, Ministry of Foreign Affairs to the Civil Proxy of the Royal Government. Also see *ibid*, 370-6-39, Abr. 17742, 31.12.1919, Belgrade, Ministry of Foreign Affairs to the Civil Proxy of the Royal Government.

<sup>209</sup> AJ/Belgrade, 370-6-45, #57, 13.03.1920, Istanbul, Civil Proxy to the MoFA.

<sup>210</sup> AJ/Belgrade, 370-6-110-111, #13.119, 03.05.1921, Belgrade, MoI to the MoFA.

<sup>211</sup> See, for instance, the petition of Šefki Ešarović from Manastir AJ/Belgrade, 370-57-152, 30.03.1920, Istanbul, Šefki Ešarović to the SCS Legation.

<sup>212</sup> AJ/Belgrade, 370-6-110-111, #13.119, 03.05.1921, Belgrade, MoI to the MoFA.

They still perceived their Muslim subjects as fixed. In contrast to the primitive, yet still loyal Muslims who stayed home during the occupation and who would enjoy all civic rights, the Minister stated that the one who once left “his hearth, served the enemy, and speculated on his subjecthood” could not be allowed to return.<sup>213</sup> Thus, the 1914 Treaty only facilitated his decision because by rejoining the Ottoman army, these recruits opted for Ottoman subjecthood.<sup>214</sup> In this regard, the SCS ruling elites greatly resembled the Habsburg power in its last days, which also nurtured distrust for its Slavic and Italian-speaking POWs.<sup>215</sup> This differed greatly from their post-1918 Bulgarian counterparts which accepted the Ottoman soldiers who hailed from their post-1913 territories despite having initially shown them apathy.<sup>216</sup> In brief, the SCS demonstrates that they should have suffered during the occupation, just as *their* folk had grieved and for this reason, the latter deserved to be consoled. By drawing a clear line between *us* and *them*, the Ministry underlined who belonged to the winning and the losing sides. Not even the general amnesty changed their position for the crimes committed during the occupation.<sup>217</sup>

Although the Ottoman position cannot be analyzed in detail given the scarcity of sources, the measures taken by the Ottoman power can nevertheless be reconstructed, to a certain degree. What interested the Ottoman side most was whether the post-1918 governance would provide amnesty for to Ottoman soldiers.<sup>218</sup> In contrast to earlier years, this time the Ottoman military did not vehemently claim that these persons were their subjects and so, the trope *gönüllü* disappeared. Still, it stated that if a general amnesty (*aff-ı umumî*) was not provided, the soldiers should stay in the Empire as they would be in peril if they decided to return.<sup>219</sup> Since they used weapons against the Serbian army, the military power expected that these persons could even be sentenced to death after being brought to court.<sup>220</sup> Thus, the Ottoman military could influence the return of the demobilized soldiers to a certain degree. However, how they reacted to the SCS general pardon is difficult to tell. Meanwhile, the emerging problem was feeding and housing the demobilized soldiers and POWs who were lodged at the Selimiye Barracks on the Asian side of occupied Istanbul.<sup>221</sup> At risk of not having a chance to maintain the soldiers’

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<sup>213</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>214</sup> AJ/Belgrade, 370-6-126-127, #5927, 20.05.1921, Belgrade, MoI to the MoFA.

<sup>215</sup> Rachamimov, *POWa and the Great War: Captivity on the Eastern Front*, 193-94. and Nachtigal, "Privilegiensystem und Zwangsrekrutierung: Russische Nationalitätenpolitik gegenüber Kriegsgefangenen aus Österreich-Ungarn," 167-93.

<sup>216</sup> Zelengora, "Bulgaristan Müslümanlarının Birinci Dünya Savaşı'nda Osmanlı Ordusuna Katılımı," 207-09.

<sup>217</sup> *SN KSHS*, god. III, br. 43, 25.02.1921, 1.

<sup>218</sup> AJ/Belgrade, 370-6-12, #14155, 08.03.1919, Istanbul, Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, *Note verbale*.

<sup>219</sup> ATASE/Ankara, İSH, 472-113, 23.05.1335 [23/07/1919], Minister of War Şakir.

<sup>220</sup> ATASE/Ankara, İSH, 80-10AA, 10 Cemaziyelvel 1338 [31/01/1920], Deputy of the Minister of War to the Office of the Minister of War.

<sup>221</sup> AJ/Belgrade, 370-6-102, #518, 01.03.1921, Istanbul, Legation to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.



livelihood, the Ottoman power had limited alternatives. However, although the SCS civil envoy and the allied forces claimed that they did not take care of their former soldiers, the picture on the ground was much different.

In mid-1919 the Ottoman Ministry took certain measures in order to enhance their economic situation. Due to their still undefined status, difficulties began to emerge as they waited for the clarification about whether or not they could return. Until then, as a way to be useful to for both themselves and the internal service, the Ottoman Ministry allowed those who hoped to earn some money to work in the Zonguldak coal mining zones at the Black Sea coast (for a daily wage of 80 *kuruş*).<sup>222</sup> This comes as no surprise given the long-established practice of utilizing soldiers in these coal mining zones, something which the demobilized soldiers from the region could not avoid.<sup>223</sup> Hence, both the Ottoman and SCS sides saw their labor capacity. However, other options were offered as well. For instance, if someone found a job in a private enterprise, such as a factory, the military authorities could release them by providing them with discharge papers (*tezkere*) that stated they had previously served in the army. Those who did not agree with this were still treated well and left in military facilities and given food until they could return home, in order to prevent their exposure to misery and poverty.<sup>224</sup> The Ottoman military intended to present itself as someone who was still thoughtful of its (former) recruits until every end, despite the problematic situation that was emerging in Istanbul and other parts of the Empire. It seemed there was not turning back for the former Ottoman soldiers and POWs – or it was there?

#### 6.2.2. Stuck in Post-1918 Istanbul: The Ottoman Rank and File

Despite these measures, some of the demobilized soldiers and POWs resolved in mid-1920 to join the emerging resistance in Anatolia led by Mustafa Kemal while they waited for a positive response from SCS to arrive. One of the main reasons for joining was that it was impossible for some to maintain a livelihood in Istanbul. This forced the British occupying authorities to demand that the SCS authorities solve their repatriation as soon as possible.<sup>225</sup>

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<sup>222</sup> ATASE/Ankara, İSH, 211-214, 23.05.1335 [23/07/1919], Minister of War Şakir.

<sup>223</sup> Erol Çatma, *Asker İşçiler* (İstanbul: Ceylan Yayınları, 1998). and Quataert, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Madenciler ve Devlet: Zonguldak Kömür Havzası, 1822-1920*, 223-54.

<sup>224</sup> ATASE/Ankara, İSH, 211-214, 23.05.1335/23.07.1919, Minister of War Şakir. About this issue the Ministry informed the Directory of Derince, Kütahya, Adapazarı and Eskişehir Ammunition Depos, as well as the Command of First Corps in Edirne. It seems that in here soldiers recruited from the former Balkan provinces had been stationed. See ATASE/Ankara, İSH, 211-214AA, 22.05.1335 [22/07/1919], Fifth Heavy Artillery Branch of the Ministry of War to the Directory of Derince, Kütahya, Adapazarı and Eskişehir Ammunition Depos and *ibid*, 177-91, 24.09.1335 [24/09/1919], Ministry of War to the Command of the First Corps in Edirne.

<sup>225</sup> AJ/Belgrade, 370-6-51, #204, 05.05.1920, Istanbul, Civil Proxy of the Royal Government to the MoFA. The allies again in late 1920 demanded the POWs to be allowed to return in September 1920 because they were forcibly taken, and their families and estates are located in the Kingdom. They anew emphasized their difficult position regarding food and housing. See AJ/Belgrade, 370-6-69, #459, 30.09.1920, Istanbul, Civil Proxy to the MoFA.

The civil delegate believed the same and once again, stressed the political benefit of this action to his superiors; sending and rescuing them from their misery would bind them to be loyal to the new/old state because it would have a positive effect on the Muslim element back home.<sup>226</sup> In the meantime, those stuck in Istanbul tried to get back to their families in every way possible. It would be mistaken to think that they did not employ certain tactics with the intention of accelerating the double-checking process.

One of the most frequently used techniques was exerting pressure on the civil delegate himself. Even if, through their social networks, they were able to obtain certificates from the Kingdom that affirmed that a person was forcefully mobilized, they had to wait several months for a permit.<sup>227</sup> Despite having the certificates, the envoy could not issue a passport because the stance of the Ministry of the Interior was that it had to approve and permit who could and could not return. Later on, they even ordered the low-local authorities not to issue these certificates anymore.<sup>228</sup> The examination took time, something which the applicants did not have. Therefore, in the wake of this development, they would go by, supplied with their certificated in hand, and sit in the Legation for hours, thus obstructing almost every job of the diplomatic personal.<sup>229</sup> Ultimately, the Legation was often exposed to inconveniences from the former soldiers who thought that it was the diplomatic personnel that was harassing and blackmailing them.<sup>230</sup>

The rank and file turned to other avenues, such as obtaining passports from Greek authorities in order to reach Selanik.<sup>231</sup> The civil delegate believed that the Greek authorities made things easier by allowing them to cross the Greek-SCS border since they wanted to remove as many Muslims as possible from their territories, especially those who were not native to the region. The actions of the British occupying authorities were also in favor of the former Ottoman soldiers. After collecting them, with help of the Ottoman authorities, on the Asian side of the town, they sent them to Salonika without consulting the SCS proxy, who could not elucidate whether they left Selanik with proper documents issued by the SCS local consulate or if they used an alternative, meaning they reached the SCS territory illegally.<sup>232</sup> They applied for aid at the Italian Embassy, Albanian Committee, and at the Bulgarian diplomatic office within

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<sup>226</sup> *Ibid* and AJ/Belgrade, 370-6-109, #108, 03.04.1921, Istanbul, Chargé d'affaires to the MoFA.

<sup>227</sup> For an example of the certificate see AJ/Belgrade, 370-6-112, Certificate dated 02.03.1921 for Šabana Selimović from the Tetovo District.

<sup>228</sup> AJ/Belgrade, 370-6-100, #252, 18.01.1921, Belgrade, MoI to the Royal Legation.

<sup>229</sup> AJ/Belgrade, 370-6-97, #151, 21.01.1921, Istanbul, Civil Proxy of the Royal Government to the MoFA.

<sup>230</sup> AJ/Belgrade, 370-6-96, #129, 23.01.1921, Istanbul, Royal Legation to the MoI.

<sup>231</sup> AJ/Belgrade, 370-6-45, #4831, 10.03.1920, Belgrade, the MoFA to the Civil Proxy of the Royal Government and *ibid*, 370-6-70, #704, 23.09.1920, Belgrade, the MoFA to the Civil Proxy of the Royal Government.

<sup>232</sup> AJ/Belgrade, 370-6-71, #469, 02.09.1920, Istanbul, Civil Proxy of the Royal Government to the MoFA and *ibid*, 370-6-97, #151, 21.01.1921, Istanbul, Civil Proxy of the Royal Government to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

the Swedish Embassy. Each of these were branded more or less as enemies of the post-1918 state. Having been in regular contact with their families back home, the soldiers and POWs knew about the unclear and disputed state borders which the SCS governing elites had to solve with Italy, Bulgaria, and post-1913 Albania.

They did not hesitate to obtain travel documents issued by the Italian and Bulgarian diplomatic personnel because only with these forms were they able to leave Istanbul. In September 1920, just one month after the government prohibited the issuing of passports, its civil representative indicated that the POWs were exposed to various influences of the Albanian Committee and Italian agents. They believed this would only have a harmful effect on their attitude towards the SHS as well as how they felt upon returning home.<sup>233</sup> It was believed that the Italian authorities had selected those who originally came from the Sandžak and sent them across Montenegro. Due to poor judgement and the desire for families and home, many were keen to follow this way which in turn made the delegates think that Albanian, Bulgarian, and Italian agents had taken advantage of the former's situation.<sup>234</sup> Using various avenues, these political players illegally transported the POWs to the Kingdom. After reaching home in such an illicit manner, they would then hide and flee to the mountains, thereby increasing the number of the dissatisfied persons who locally exacerbated public law and security. In addition, they traveled via Romania or entered into the country by using forged passports.<sup>235</sup>

It is practically impossible to gauge the number of those who managed to reach home in the end. Although sources tend to depict these actors as being tools of the SCS enemies, they were actually much more. By taking steps on their own, the former Ottoman recruits proved that they were capable of mitigating and even thwarting the strategies of state authorities with the end-goal of reaching home. Driven by family and kinship loyalty, they did not choose certain means to see their families because it only could offer a basis, security, and network which was older than certain polities in the region given their constant change between 1912 and 1918. The SCS chargé d'affaires understood this urge (*težnja*) well and kept advocating that their return was in the best interest of the country. Since he had served for several years in the post-Ottoman territories, he was familiar with the willingness of locals to help one another, and their drive to be within the family circle. The supplicants themselves believed that much would be done to pacify their kin in the borderlands if their sons, brothers, and husbands were allowed to return

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<sup>233</sup> AJ/Belgrade, 370-6-69, #459, 30.09.1920, Istanbul, Civil Proxy of the Royal Government to the MoFA.

<sup>234</sup> AJ/Belgrade, 370-6-76, #502, 30.10.1920, Istanbul, Civil Proxy of the Royal Government to the MoFA.

<sup>235</sup> AJ/Belgrade, 370-6-109, #108, 03.04.1921, Istanbul, Chargé d'affaires to the MoFA; *ibid*, 370-6-114, #126, 18.04.1921, Istanbul, Chargé d'affaires to the MoFA, *ibid*, 370-6-136, br. 11973, 06.10.1921, Belgrade, MoFA to the Royal Legation, and *ibid*, #329, 08.10.1921, Istanbul, Royal Legation to the the MoFA and *ibid*, 370-6-136, #353, 08.11.1921, Istanbul, Chargé d'affaires to the MoFA.

peacefully to their hearths instead of being exposed to suffering in the post-1918 Ottoman Empire.<sup>236</sup> Thus, they understood the complexity of the situation back home and could, to a certain extent, assist state authorities in reducing it. However, the latter were not interested. Ultimately, the former Ottoman soldiers managed to return, be it through the legal or illegal means. But what events were occurring back home?

### 6.2.3. Sequel Instead of a Conclusion: Meanwhile at Home

Recent scholarship which has dealt in detail with post-WWI violence in the post-Ottoman and post-Habsburg spaces, and Europe in general, rightfully claims that in order to understand post-war violence, it is imperative to look beyond state borders and set these events in a more generalized context.<sup>237</sup> The downfall of the nationalizing empires, war after war, revolutions and/or counter-revolutions became commonplace not only Europe and the Balkans, but also in the Middle East.<sup>238</sup> However, no matter how much the scholarship has sharpened the view of the post-WWI setting, local peculiarities should also be considered. Post-war violence and the actions of the new/old ruling elites have more to do with legacies of the Habsburg occupation and the locals' support for war efforts of the Central Powers, and less to do with the demise of the empires and emerging power vacuum.<sup>239</sup> Bearing this in mind is crucial for understanding the post-WWI relationship between the state and the bi/multilingual populations. While double-checking who had supported and joined the enemy army, various authorities of the SCS Kingdom, "fighting against the Serbs and their allies," as an Akova district chief wrote.<sup>240</sup>

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<sup>236</sup> AJ/Belgrade, 370-6-109, #108, 03.04.1921, Istanbul, Chargé d'affaires to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

<sup>237</sup> Newman, "Post-imperial and Post-war Violence in the South Slav Lands, 1917-1923," 249-65. Julia Eichenberg and John Paul Newman, "Introduction. Aftershocks: Violence in Dissolving Empires after the First World War," *Contemporary European History* 19, no. 3 (2010): 183-94. Gerwarth and Horne, "Paramilitarism in Europe after the Great War: An Introduction," 1-18. and Robert Gerwarth, *The Vanquished: Why the First World War Failed to End, 1917-1923* (London: Penguin Random House UK, 2016).

<sup>238</sup> Jovanović, *Jugoslovenska država i Južna Srbija 1918-1929: Makedonija, Sandžak, Kosovo i Metohija u Kraljevini SHS*, 184-206. Michael Provence, *The Great Syrian Revolt and the Rise of Arab Nationalism* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2005). Boškowska, *Das jugoslawische Makedonien 1918-1941: Eine Randregion zwischen Repression und Integration*, 38-56, 64-91. Peter Gatrell, "War after the War: Conflicts, 1919-23," in *A Companion to World War I*, ed. John Horne (Oxford-Malden: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), 558-75. Tasić, *Rat posle rata: Vojska Kraljevine Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca na Kosovu i Metohiji i u Makedoniji 1918-1920*. Uğur Omit Üngör, "Paramilitary Violence in the Collapsing Ottoman Empire," in *War in Peace: Paramilitary Violence in Europe after the Great War*, ed. Robert Gerwarth and John Horne (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 164-83; Robert Gerwarth and Uğur Omit Üngör, "The Collapse of the Ottoman and Habsburg Empires and the Brutalisation of the Successor States," *Journal for Modern European History* 13, no. 2 (2015): 226-48. Rogan, *The Fall of the Ottomans: The Great War in the Middle East, 275-305*, 55-406. and Borut Klabjan, "Borders in Arms. Political Violence in the North-Eastern Adriatic After the Great War," *Acta Histriae* 26, no. 4 (2018): 985-1002.

<sup>239</sup> On the notion of historical legacy see Alfred J. Rieber, *The Struggle for the Eurasian Borderlands: From the Rise of Early Modern Empires to the End of the First World War* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 532. Also see Şerif Mardin, "The Ottoman Empire," in *After Empire. Multiethnic Societies and Nation-Building: The Soviet Union and the Russian, Ottoman, and Habsburg Empires*, ed. Karen Barkey and Mark von Hagen (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1997), 115-28. and István Deák, "The Habsburg Empire," in *After Empire. Multiethnic Societies and Nation-Building: The Soviet Union and the Russian, Ottoman, and Habsburg Empires*, ed. Karen Barkey and Mark von Hagen (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1997), 129-41.

<sup>240</sup> AJ/Belgrade, 14-4-14, #6723, 29.09.1920, Bijelo Polje, District Chief to the MoW.

At the same time, it is necessary to be cautious and to not over-ethnicize the immediate post-war context, implying that there is more here than just ethnic cleansing or the primordial character of social world. This could be found among authors who did not place the Habsburg or Bulgarian occupations and its corollaries under enough scrutiny.<sup>241</sup> The argument here is neither to defend nor to judge the policy of the SCS government, but rather to grasp why its actions were aimed only at *certain* inhabitants and what the corollaries of the war mobilizations were. This is not to say that ethnonational narratives did not exist locally and that the occupation did not cause the (re-)drawing of new loyalties. This happened in reference to bi/multilingual Muslims who were considered to be predominately disloyal, as the following case written by a Yeni Pazar official aptly illustrates:

Orthodox Serbs both from the town and its surrounding area completely acted brotherly toward us, whereas the Muslim Serbs [sic!] are divided: the minority is with us and this represents an absolute minority, while the good majority is against us. Evidence for this conclusion is the numerous actions of the Muslims against our army and the army of conscripts that joined the enemy army, assisting the latter in all possible ways, which I personally observed during the enemy occupation. There are still abundant weapons among the Muslims, especially in the district, because much of the enemy gendarmerie units consisted of the Muslims that took refuge in their homes disturb the whole environment today as bandits with weapons in their hands.<sup>242</sup>

Statements about *us*, *our*, *brotherly*, *minority*, *majority*, and collective categorization is palpable in this example which the old/new district chief wrote just several days after the Habsburg retreat. However, one also encounters this in the pre-1913 Serbian territories. Around the town of Kragujevac, the military realized that among the families of those villagers who came forward to serve under the banner, they found those who had behaved very poorly during the occupation. Their kin were to be prosecuted “for openly serving the enemy or for committing crimes,” although they believed that their deeds would be forgotten by performing military service.<sup>243</sup> Also worth mentioning are the Serbian POWs released from German and Habsburg captivities, for whom it was unclear whether they had fallen captive to the enemy or were interned by force of war. Some thought that this was their fault and so, the Supreme Command ordered that they should serve in line and not at the desk.<sup>244</sup> In this regard, the SCS ruling elites had something in common with their post-1918 Italian peers who also showed open

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<sup>241</sup> Barkey, "Thinking about Consequences of Empire," 99. Brubaker, *Ethnicity without Groups*, 10-13. and Livanios, "Beyond 'ethnic cleansing': Aspects of the Functioning of Violence in the Ottoman and post-Ottoman Balkans," 189-203, here pp. 190. For instance Boškowska, *Das jugoslawische Makedonien 1918-1941: Eine Randregion zwischen Repression und Integration*, 9-56. Morrison and Roberts, *The Sandžak: A History*, 87-98. Hivzo Gološ, *Sandžak: u političkom i društveno-ekonomskom životu Jugoslavije (1918-1941)* (Prizren: UTILIS - Prizren, 2014). and Redžep Škrijelj, "Britanya İmparatorluğu Savaş Kamplarında Esir Düşen Batı Rumeli Asıllı Osmanlı Gönüllüleri (1916-1923)," *Osmanlı Mirası Araştırmaları Dergisi* 3, no. 7 (2016): 91-126.

<sup>242</sup> VA, P7, K86, F9, 9/1, #41, 11.10.1918, Novi Pazar, Raška District Chief to the Command of Novi Pazar Detachment.

<sup>243</sup> VA/Belgrade, P4/3, K57, F1, 1/8, #18.444, 13.02.1919, Belgrade, MoWN to the KIII AO-u. For the context of post-1918 Valjevo, another town and region located in pre-1913 Serbia, see AJ/Belgrade, 14-4-12, 14.06.1919, Beograd, Mih. R. Radivojević and Laza S. Popović to the MoI.

<sup>244</sup> VA/Belgrade, P3, K170, F3, 9/8, #34.716, 07.01.1919, Beograd, Supreme Command to various military units and institutions.

distrust towards their returned POWs and forced them to undergo interrogations.<sup>245</sup> Therefore, this was a broader phenomenon. Even though the new/old power counted many people among the “liberated” to be disloyal, the former Ottoman recruits could not fit into their constructed postwar consensus on WWI.<sup>246</sup>

This gave an advantage to those who fought in the Serbian or Montenegrin armies compared to those who were donning the Habsburg uniform at the end of WWI. The post-war victory culture was based exclusively on the achievements and casualties of the Serbian army and its soldiers. Notwithstanding the legal claim about the equal treatment and efforts towards reconciliation, official institutions often did not pay sufficient attention to the Habsburg veterans or invalids who were seen as the latter were seen as enemies within the imagined community. This implies that war did not end with the announced demobilization but continued to rampage in another form because wartime mentalities and attitudes were, in many ways, still alive in the period between two world wars.<sup>247</sup>

The situation of the demobilized Ottoman soldiers and POWs gained another dimension as soon as the latter legally returned from Istanbul. The authorities in Akova caught them claiming to be Ottoman prisoners (sic!) and as punishment, employed them to do the grueling work of road construction.<sup>248</sup> At the time of the 1920 assembly elections, the Slavic-speaking Muslims from Akova who compromised themselves in public or who voluntarily joined the enemy armies during the occupation were expelled from the ballot.<sup>249</sup> This meant they were basically drawing a target on their backs because the local authorities did not care at all about protecting them from the attacks of various gangs and the locals, who used this opportunity for their own personal benefit. Also, they were incapable of providing security given the low number of police and military forces in the region.<sup>250</sup> This is even more paradoxical since the ruling elites claimed that every subject was equal before the law regardless of their national or confessional belonging.<sup>251</sup> What was missing on the ground was the practical part of this narrative. Thus, the legacy of war in the case of SCS should not be solely confined to clashes between the Habsburg

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<sup>245</sup> Giovanna Procacci, ““Fahnenflüchtige jenseits der Alpen”: Die italienischen Kriegsgefangenen in Österreich-Ungarn und Deutschland,” in *Kriegsgefangene im Europa des Ersten Weltkriegs*, ed. Jochen Oltmer (Paderborn - München - Wien - Zürich: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2006), 213-15.

<sup>246</sup> Mark Cornwall, *The Undermining of Austria-Hungary: The Battle for Hearts and Minds* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2000), 16.

<sup>247</sup> Njumen, *Jugoslavija u senci rata: Veterani u novoizgrađenoj državi, 1903-1945*, 22, 24-25, 27-30, 76-77, 172, 82-86, 88, 90. See also Šarenac, *Top, vojnik i sećanje: Prvi svetski rat i Srbija 1914-2009*. Danilo Šarenac, “Udruženje rezervnih oficira i ratnika 1919-1941,” *Istorija 20. veka*, no. 1 (2011): 27-38. and Petrović, *Nevidljivi geto: Invalidi u Kraljevini Jugoslaviji 1918-1941*, 83-200.

<sup>248</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MUDuI, OP 1919/K1, unnumbered, Belgrade, 09.08.1919, Prime Minister to the MoI, 9.

<sup>249</sup> AJ/Belgrade, 14-4-14, #6723, 29.09.1920, Bijelo Polje, District Chief to the MoW.

<sup>250</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MUDuI, OP, 1919/K1, unnumbered, 09.08.1919, Belgrade, Prime Minister to the MoI, 5, 6 7 and VA/Belgrade, P4/3, K57, F5, 10/11, #20158, 12.03.1919, Beograd, MoW to the KIIIAO.

<sup>251</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MUDuI, OJB 1919/K2, #4872, 09.09.1919, Beograd, MoI to various district chiefs.

and Serbian veterans. In some parts, it must be analyzed beyond this dichotomy since there were also locals serving in the Bulgarian or Ottoman armies at the end of the war, which in turn complicated the situation on the ground even further. Unfortunately, sources do not allow for one to get to the bottom of this issue in the regional context.

The victorious party certainly did not act monolithic either insofar as the hierarchization among them is apparent. Those who retreated through Albania in late 1915/early 1916 hoped, in this post-war setting, to distance themselves from others who had not participated in this endeavor, while other veterans turned to brigandry.<sup>252</sup> Driven by similar rationale, the military elites ordered the returned POWs to serve in the army because not paying their debt could cause “justified and indignant resentment, and even hatred among the soldiers who have honestly and conscientiously carried out all their war efforts.”<sup>253</sup> This problem then spilled over into the military. Despite his enthusiasm at the outset and being promoted after 1918, the victory culture forced Pero Blašković, the above-mentioned Habsburg officer, to resign simply because “the spirit and manner of the Serbian army was kept.”<sup>254</sup> Ghosts of the past emerged for recruits conscripted in the post-Habsburg lands who were called derogatorily by the inferior terms *Švabe* (pejoratively labelling for the Habsburg residents), *black-yellows* (alluding the Habsburg imperial flag), or *volunteers*.<sup>255</sup> It should be understood that this, too, was not peculiar to the SCS context. This engulfed post-Habsburg Czechoslovakia, where the former Habsburg Czech veterans were called *Rakušaci* or *Austriaken* instead of the term *Rakušan*, which was otherwise commonly used for an Austrian. Also, in post-WWI Poland, the former imperial rank and file were dubbed *zaborcy*, a pejorative term based on the word *zabór*, which denoted the three parts of partitioned Poland.<sup>256</sup> However, only in the SCS would one encounter the decision to not allow the former Ottoman soldiers to return.

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<sup>252</sup> Danilo Šarenac, "Die Vergessene: Schlaglichter auf die Geschichte der serbischen Kriegsgefangenen des Ersten Weltkriegs," (2020), 1-13, pp. 9. Njumen, *Jugoslavija u senci rata: Veterani u novoizgrađenoj državi, 1903-1945*, 25, 29-30, 87. and Danilo Šarenac, "Serbia's Great War Veterans as Haiduks and Rebels: 1919-1924," *Der Donauraum* 49, no. 1-2 (2009): 109-15.

<sup>253</sup> VA/Belgrade, P3, K170, F3, 9/8, #34.716, 07.01.1919, Supreme Command to various military units.

<sup>254</sup> Blašković, *Sa Bošnjacima u Svjetskom ratu*, 491. See also PA AA/Berlin, RZ 206, R 73191, #503, 28.05.1922, Belgrade, Embassy to the MoFA, 2-5. More on the fate of Habsburg officers see Bjelajac, *Vojska Kraljevine SHS 1918-1921*; Bjelajac, *Vojska Kraljevine SHS/Jugoslavije*; Mile S. Bjelajac, *Jugoslovensko iskustvo sa multietničkom armijom 1918-1991* (Beograd: Udruženje za društvenu istoriju, 1999). and Hrvoje Čapo, "Broj primljenih časnika bivše austrougarske vojske u vojsku Kraljevine Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca," *Časopis za suvremenu povijest* 40, no. 3 (2008): 1087-103.

<sup>255</sup> VA/Belgrade, P4/3, K58, F6, 4/8, #12.692, 14.10.1920, Belgrade, MoWN to the KIIIAO.

<sup>256</sup> Martin Zückert, "Memory of War and National State Integration: Czech and German Veterans in Czechoslovakia after 1918," *Central Europe* 4, no. 2 (2006): 111-21, here pp. 14-18. Martin Zückert, *Zwischen Nationsidee und staatlicher Realität: Die tschechoslowakische Armee und ihre Nationalitätenpolitik, 1918-1938* (München: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 2006), 80-94. Václav Šmidrkal, "The Defeated in a Victorious State: Veterans of the Austro-Hungarian Army in the Bohemian Lands and Their (Re)mobilization in the 1930s," *Zeitgeschichte* 47, no. 1 (2020): 81-105. Eichenberg, "Consent, Coercion and Endurance in Eastern Europe: Poland and the Fluidity of War Experiences," 252-56. See also Julia Eichenberg, *Kämpfen für Frieden und Fürsorge: Polnische Veteranen des Ersten Weltkriegs und ihre internationalen Kontakte, 1918-1939* (München: Oldenbourg Verlag, 2011). and Böhler, *Civil War in Central Europe, 1918-1921: The Reconstruction of Poland*.

This does not mean that the corporate representatives did not seek to negotiate with the post-1918 governing elites, asking that people who had served in the Ottoman administration should be given jobs, as was the practice in post-Habsburg territories. This was necessary for establishing mutuality since they wanted nothing more than justice, equality, and freedom.<sup>257</sup> However, aligning with the enemy produced further consequences which should be viewed as one of the defining factors which pushed some bi/multilingual Muslims eventually leave the region and immigrate to Turkey for good. In addition to state exclusion efforts, direct and indirect experience of violence, political instability of the country, economic factors, and the perception of various state powers, backing the Central Powers only exacerbated the already fragile vertical loyalty in the eyes of the SCS governing elites.<sup>258</sup> Getting accustomed to the new setting represented a challenge because immediately after the war, the Ottoman soldiers were viewed as supporters of the enemy. In the eyes of the former, the ethnonational identification became more solidified and reified; still, one should understand that this did not occur in every part of the borderlands simultaneously, meaning that this has to be elucidated by exemplifying persons and their lifeworld.

### 6.3. Shifting State Loyalty

#### 6.3.1. *Example #1: Mülazım Şerefeddin or Milan Milovanović*

There [on the Serb-Bosnian border] was also Lieutenant Milovan Milovanović [sic!]. He was a real Turk from Anatolia, who was captured in 1912 as an active Ottoman officer. He was enchanted by the cultural and chivalrous attitude of Serb authorities towards imprisoned Ottoman officers. They lived in hotels in Valjevo, receiving a salary according to their ranks and had free movement [permission] through the town. He converted himself [to Christianity] and became Milovan Milovanović. [He] learned the Serbian language, married a Serb woman from Taşlıca, and joined voluntary the Serb army. He got a company. He showed himself on all occasions as a good and courageous officer. He liked to sing during a fight, "Shot *Švabo*, but not in the head!" and as if his wish were fulfilled; in one battle, he was wounded in both legs.

A Serbian Officer on Şerefeddin/Milan (1914)<sup>259</sup>

According to his military personnel file, Milan Ahmeda Milovanović was wounded in three places during the military campaign in Bosnia in late 1914 while heading a company of the 4<sup>th</sup> Regiment of the Serbian army. He even received a Silver Medal for Bravery in the same year. However, this was not the only honor that Milan gained during his career as an officer in the Serbian armed forces. He was awarded the Commemorative Medal for the Balkan Wars, meaning that Milan participated in every single war that Serbia waged between 1912 and

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<sup>257</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MUDuI, OP, 1919/K1, unnumbered, 09.08.1919, Belgrade, Prime Minister to the MoI, 5-6, 9-10,

<sup>258</sup> Pezo, *Zwangsmigration in Friedenszeiten? Jugoslawische Migrationspolitik und die Auswanderung von Muslimen in die Türkei (1918 bis 1966)*, 150, 51-54. See also Rogers Brubaker, "Aftermaths of Empire and the Unmixing of People," in *After Empire. Multiethnic Societies and Nation-Building: The Soviet Union and the Russian, Ottoman, and Habsburg Empires*, ed. Karen Barkey and Mark von Hagen (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1997), 155-80, pp. 58, 67-68.

<sup>259</sup> Šikoparija, *Sećanja srpskog oficira (1900-1918)*, 237-38.



1918.<sup>260</sup> Taking a step back from the detail that Milan had a successful vocation after 1912, the question is why would an Ottoman officer shift his loyalties and decide to join the Ottoman enemy? What were the factors that led to this shift? The quoted text suggests that Milan was supposedly thrilled by the manner of the Serbian authorities when he was a POW. This could be true, but it does not sufficiently elucidate why someone would decide to swap his/her state allegiance. The latter should be included in the narrative here; however, the present case argues that his decision should be embedded in the broader picture and crucial events of 1912, which altered his life for good. By drawing on similar examples, it can be asserted that Şerefeddin's lifeworld was not exceptional since similar cases are traceable in different settings.

Milan Milovanović was born in the Ottoman capital under the name Şerefeddin in 1886, he was the son of Ahmed Husni, an Ottoman general and a former marshal of the Sultan's palace. After completing his education at a primary (*sıbyan mektebi*), and later a junior high school (*rüşdiye mektebi*), Şerefeddin entered the Ottoman military educational system (1899). In Istanbul, he underwent training at the Junior Officers School and the Military Academy, finishing the Gendarmerie course as well. At the beginning of 1912, Şerefeddin became second lieutenant (*mülazım*) and as a result, was temporarily deployed to the Taşlıca-based 60<sup>th</sup> Regular Infantry Regiment.<sup>261</sup> In the first month of the Balkan war, after participating in a battle against the Montenegrin army, Şerefeddin decided to stay in Taşlıca rather than, take shelter with the rest of his unit in Habsburg Bosnia.<sup>262</sup> He was in the town as both the Serbian and Montenegrin armies set foot in Taşlıca (October 1912) and gave his word to the occupying Serbian military authorities that he would no longer fight against Serbia, Montenegro, Bulgaria, and Greece.<sup>263</sup> Though the cited paragraph indicates that he spent time in Valjevo as an Ottoman POW, this was not the case because. According to a post-Ottoman account, Şerefeddin took shelter in the home of his fiancée, a Slavic-speaking Orthodox Christian, and her mother. The latter updated the Montenegrin command about him, claiming that he wanted to become an Orthodox Christian in order to marry his wife-to-be, which was granted.<sup>264</sup>

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<sup>260</sup> VA/Belgrade, DPP, K-1115/699, Milovanović Ahmeda Milan.

<sup>261</sup> VA/Belgrade, DPP, K-1115/699, Milovanović Ahmeda Milan and BOA/Istanbul, HR.SYS, 2084/7, leff 7, 9.07.1914, Chargé d'affaires of the Ottoman Embassy in Belgrade to the Grand Vizier and Minister of Foreign Affairs Said Halim Pasha. (...) altmışıncı alayda müstahdem olmayıb altmışıncı alayda hizmeti sebak etdiği (...)

<sup>262</sup> VA/Belgrade, DPP, K-1115/699, Milovanović Ahmeda Milan.

<sup>263</sup> VA/Belgrade, P2, K101, F1, 4/1, Operacijski dnevnik protokol Javorske brigade od br. 1 do 752, red. br. 359, (henceforth ODPJBr) od ove komande, 22.10.1912: Saslušala turskog p[od]poručnika Şerefeduna. Prilog: časna reč istog da se neće boriti protiv Srbije, Crne Gore, Bugarske i Grčke. Apart from Şerefeddin, an Ottoman captain Jusuf Mehmedović and retired captain Mamer Moraimović gave their words that they will not fight against the allied forces. See VA/Belgrade, P2, K101, F1, 4/1, ODPJBr, red. br. 376, 23.10.1912 and red. br. 415, 24.10.1912. Soon after that the Commander of Taşlıca sent a list of all Ottoman officers remained in Taşlıca to the Command of the Brigade. See VA/Belgrade, P2, K101, F1, 4/1, ODPJBr, #403, 22.10.1912.

<sup>264</sup> Nikica V. Knežević, *Oslobođenje Pljevalja 1912. godine* (Pljevlja: izdanje autora, 1971), 35.

From March 1913 onwards, available sources no longer refer to him as Şerefeddin, but instead as Milovan Milovanović, who had converted to Christianity among the Montenegrins.<sup>265</sup> Contrary to this, a Belgrade-based deputy of the Ottoman ambassador was informed one year later that Şerefeddin had joined force with the Serbian army and converted to Christianity during the Serbian occupation of Taşlıca (*Taşlıca'nın Sırbılar tarafından hîn-i işgalinde*).<sup>266</sup> Apparently, Şerefeddin had no problem with the new role because at the end of the six-pages-long report, which he personally recorded at the order of the Montenegrin commander, he penned his name in Cyrillic script as “Ottoman lieutenant, a new Serb Milan Milovanović.”<sup>267</sup> After converting to Christianity, Milan did not initially join the Montenegrin, but rather, first became part of the Serbian army. A Montenegrin commander wrote in a somewhat angry tone that the local Serbian authorities approached and accompanied Milan in mid-1913 to Belgrade without his knowing and granted him the rank of lieutenant.<sup>268</sup> Soon afterwards, Milan was incorporated into the Serbian military where he led, a gendarmery company in Taşlıca, the same town where his military call as Ottoman officer began and where he performed this duty until the town submitted to Montenegro (early 1914).<sup>269</sup>

It is difficult to explain exactly why he converted to Christianity and enter into the Serbian army. His enthusiasm for the Serbian authorities cannot be accepted as the only possible factor of why he would change his state loyalty. A captured Ottoman Captain Bahri of Selanik, who was a POW for eight-and-a-half months in Serbia's eastern town of Pirot, praised and spoke highly of the Serbian Army and its attitude towards the Ottoman officers in his memoirs. Yet he neither converted to Christianity, nor joined the enemy.<sup>270</sup> In the previous chapters, it can be seen that sometimes, behind the polite behavior of various state actors, stands a planned strategy whose goal it is to encourage people to act on behalf of the interest of the state. But at the same time, there are also those who saw a mutual profit in this, meaning that their shifting loyalty can be regarded as a tactic that helped a local find a suitable spot in a new context. This was essential in the moments when one governance was disappearing, another one was emerging, and when a person was forced to acclimatize to the new conditions. Amidst these transitions and wars, the possibility to act was shrinking, while options to maneuver narrowed down.<sup>271</sup> Therefore,

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<sup>265</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MV-KMV, 1913/F8, #6252, 23.05.1913, Pljevlja, Commander Periša Tomanović to Janko Vukotić.

<sup>266</sup> BOA/Istanbul, HR.SYS, 2084/3, leff 2, 6.05.1914, Istanbul, Said Halim Pasha to the Chargé d'affaires of the Ottoman Embassy Hrand Noradunkian.

<sup>267</sup> NMCG-ABO/Cetinje, Nikola I, F66/1913, #18, 15.03.1913, Turski poručnik novi Srbin Milan Milovanović, *Taşlıca 60. Alayı Nizamiye ve Redif Kıtaaatı*, 6.

<sup>268</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MV-KMV, 1913/F8, #6252, 23.05.1913, Pljevlja, Commander Periša Tomanović to Janko Vukotić.

<sup>269</sup> VA/Belgrade, DPP, K-1115/699, Milovanović Ahmeda Milan.

<sup>270</sup> Yüzbaşı Selanikli, *Balkan Savaşı'nda Sırp Ordusu ve Batı Ordusu*.

<sup>271</sup> Grandits, Clayer, and Pichler, "Introduction: Social (Dis-) Integration and the National Turn in the Late- and Post-Ottoman Balkans. Towards an Analytical Framework," 1-12, here pp. 6, 12.

changing religion is to be interpreted as a way to build a new space of security and downplay any possible suspicion that might arise, similar to the deserters shown previously.

For example, Claude-Alexandre, comte de Bonneval who would later be known as Humbaracı Ahmed Pasha in the Ottoman Empire, after being discharged for military insubordination both from the French and Habsburg military in the first half of 18<sup>th</sup> century, decided to abandon Christianity for Islam, believing that this gave him the right to seek protection from the Sublime Porte. In danger of being either poisoned to death or sent back to Vienna, this was the most convenient option because his conversion to Islam mattered more for political rather than religious reasons. Practicing Islam served as a display of loyalty to the Ottoman dynasty, and the depth of one's confessional conviction was seldom questioned.<sup>272</sup> Others would simply declare that they were Muslim with the purpose of improving their position at the time, as Üsküp-born Kosta Đorđević did.<sup>273</sup> Similar things can be said for the Ottoman soldier Nazif Ismail, who after being interned in Montenegro's central town of Danilovgrad, converted to Christianity and obtained the name Nikola Nenadović.<sup>274</sup> Thus, it seems that all these people fell under the category of religious indifference. The cited paragraph shows that Milan's peers supportively considered his loyalty since he proved it by shedding blood for Serbia and chanting songs about the Habsburgs (*Švabe*). Mastering the language only made horizontal loyalty between them even stronger.

Dissolution of the Ottoman Empire in the region meant that not only former Ottoman officials, but also the Ottoman rank and file had to think about how they would sustain themselves and their kin. While referring to this acute situation in the Sandžak, a local Serbian commander updated the Supreme Command that "there are a large number of Ottoman officers and functionaries who are [residing here in Seniče] with their families in the greatest poverty without having any more resources for livelihood. I was forwarding them to the municipalities but there was no help either."<sup>275</sup> Although monthly assistance was granted to the families of the captured Ottoman officers and bureaucrats, the same commander assured in his next report that there were no such families in the region and thereby, no one was entitled to obtain the aid.<sup>276</sup> Sources do not divulge anything about possible Serbian propaganda in POW camps which

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<sup>272</sup> Julia Landweber, "Leaving France, "Turning Turk", *Becoming Ottoman: The Transformation of Comte Claude-Alexandre de Bonneval into Humbaracı Ahmed Pasha*, in *Living in the Ottoman Realm: Empire and Identity, 13th to 20th Centuries*, ed. Christine Isom-Verhaaren and Kent F. Schull (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2016), 209-24, here pp. 13-15, 20.

<sup>273</sup> VA/Belgrade, P3, K178, F3, 3/1, *Podaci o prilikama u Srbiji okupiranoj od Bugara 1916-1918. godine*, #19434, 18.10.1917.

<sup>274</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MV-KMV, 1913/F7, #303/377-1912, 31.03.1913, Danilovgrad, Municipal President to the MoW.

<sup>275</sup> VA/Belgrade, P2, K18, F1, 22/2, 7.01.1913, Sjenica, Anđelković to the Supreme Command.

<sup>276</sup> VA/Belgrade, P2, K18, F1, 22/12, 24.04.1913, Sjenica, Anđelković to the Supreme Command.

sought to gain the hearts and minds of the captured Ottoman officers and soldiers, something which, as shown earlier, was a practice worldwide during WWI.

Being an Ottoman officer who stayed behind meant that Şerefeddin was faced with financial difficulties particularly because, as he emphasized in mid-1914, he did not receive salary for the last three months of 1912 and that therefore the Empire owed him wages.<sup>277</sup> This is unsurprising since the same problem beset the families of the captured Ottoman officers who lived in Yeni Varoş.<sup>278</sup> However, in his case, the Ottoman institutions claimed that because he received more money than planned, Şerefeddin was the one who should pay off his debt.<sup>279</sup> The setting in which he found himself at this time might have triggered him to think about his future moves. Did something exist which connected him to the Empire? Mesut Uyar argues convincingly that the high level of integration, *esprit de corps*, and institutional loyalty were some of the reasons why the majority of the Ottoman officers from the east provinces were keen to stay in the military until the very end of WWI. Still, following the retreat of the Ottoman army from these provinces in late 1918, the majority of the officers asked for approval to walk out in order to return to their families.<sup>280</sup>

Şerefeddin's military socialization was not entirely successful, although he completed the military schools in his birthplace. Between 1899 and 1912 he had practically grown up in the Ottoman army. A few reasons why the then 26-year-old Şerefeddin decided to align himself the enemy could include: witnessing the quick end of Ottoman rule locally, the careful behavior of the new authorities, and the hard-economic situation at the beginning of 1913. One should not overlook his word that he would not fight against the allied Balkan forces, including a psychological moment that may have engulfed him at the time. The latter, for instance, forced another Ottoman lieutenant Mahmud Kran, who also deployed in Taşlıca, to surrender himself to the approaching Montenegrin army at the outset of the war because he believed that the Empire had failed in the Balkans and lost the war after being attacked from multiple sides.<sup>281</sup> It is also possible that Şerefeddin simply needed a job in the wake of the state dissolution, and at the moment the Serbian army offered him a rank, salary and a military life that he could pursue in a new context.

However, this phenomena of switching loyalties in the wake of a state collapse did not take place exclusively in the borderlands because similar occurrences can be found worldwide. The impression is given that the improvement of the economic and security setting played a crucial

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<sup>277</sup> BOA/Istanbul, HR.SYS, 2084/7, leff 16, 22.08.1914, Istanbul, Said Halim Pasha to the Minister of War Enver Pasha.

<sup>278</sup> VA/Belgrade, P2, K101, F1, 31/1, #34, 10.01.1913, Nova Varoš, Local Command to the Command of Javor Brigade.

<sup>279</sup> BOA/Istanbul, HR.SYS, 2084/3, leff 3, 22.08.1914, Istanbul, Ministry of the Interior to the Ministry of War.

<sup>280</sup> Uyar, "Ottoman Arab Officers between Nationalism and Loyalty during the First World War," 542-43.

<sup>281</sup> Knežević, *Oslobođenje Pljevalja 1912. godine*, 23-24.

role in reflecting where someone's allegiance lay. For instance, the MGG/M stated in early 1916 that

The [Montenegrin] officers in many cases begin to take off their uniform. Some have asked for an acceptance in Austrian [military] service. There is also a great diversity of political views among them. They are in a difficult position. The received salary is almost worthless, since it exists merely in paper, but the officer is not supposed to have a job, so he understandably sees his future gray and drab, if we remain masters of the country [Underlined in original].<sup>282</sup>

Fawzi al-Qawuqji, one of the leading military figures of the Arab anti-colonial movement, wanted to continue his career as a soldier in late 1918 while the Ottoman Empire was vanishing. Like other former Arab-speaking Ottoman officers, Qawuqji could either try his luck in Anatolia with the rest of the Ottoman army or he could stay close to his family and friends, thereby joining the emerging Arab military. At the time, the Arab army was perceived as the best option available for the former Ottoman officers. However, following the French occupation of Syria, Fawzi al-Qawuqji, like others, joined the new French-led army, the Syrian Legion. Similar to Şerefeddin's case, it is difficult to understand why Qawuqji joined the French Syrian Legion, when he had been fighting against them just a few months prior. However, it is known that Qawuqji sought a job after the Arab army was disbanded, whereby the Syrian Legion put forward a rank, paycheck and military calling. The fact that he was married in 1918 made this proposal difficult to turn down.<sup>283</sup>

In North Carolina, during the American Civil War, poor local Southerners took advantage of the Union's invitation and recognized the many practical advantages of joining its army. Material benefits for the locals as well as their families pushed them to enroll. Being a member of the army provided food, clothing, shelter, and protection for their families, whereas being paid in Union currency, whose inflation rate was much lower than that of Confederate scrip, represented an extremely economic opportunity. While this was granted, vertical loyalty between the institution and the able-bodied was solidified. In contrast, if this security was not ensured it would often lead to shaking someone's loyalty vis-à-vis the state. Thus, in some cases, the Southerners were almost in a state of near-mutiny in certain regiments due to not receiving their pay.<sup>284</sup>

There is also another reason why Milan might have decided to shift his loyalty; this was a marriage with the daughter of the medical officer and major Milan Labud Stojković who hailed from Tašlica and whose wife updated the Montenegrin commander about Şerefeddin.<sup>285</sup> Could

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<sup>282</sup> ÖStA/HHStA/Vienna, PA I 998, 49e, Montenegro, #266, 17.03.1916, Cetinje, MGG/M to the AOK, 8.

<sup>283</sup> Parsons, *The Commander: Fawzi al-Qawuqji and the Fight for Arab Independence, 1914-1948*, 31, 44, 48, 53-55. See also Michael Provence, *The Last Ottoman Generation and the Making of the Modern Middle East* (Cambridge, New York, 2017).

<sup>284</sup> Judkin Browning, *Shifting Loyalties: The Union Occupation of Eastern North Carolina* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2014), 42, 73-74.

<sup>285</sup> VA/Belgrade, DPP, K-1115/699, Milovanović Ahmeda Milan and Knežević, *Oslobođenje Pljevalja 1912. godine*, 35.

it be that Milan Stojković had approached Şerefeddin as the local Montenegrin Commander stated? Could it be that Şerefeddin had decided to convert to Christianity because he fell in love with the daughter of the Serbian officer? These questions have remained unanswered because sources are lacking. What can be argued, however, is that, through this marriage, Milan secured his loyalty to Serbia and to the army. This explanation sounds most tenable because it is difficult to justify his decision to stay in a Bulgarian POW camp after falling into captivity around Prizren in late 1915.<sup>286</sup> As previously shown, the Albanian and Slavic-speaking Serbian soldiers who were Muslims had a choice between remaining in the camps or (re-)joining the Ottoman, Habsburg, or Bulgarian army. If there was something which could motivate Milan to go back to Istanbul, he could have certainly done this on a number of occasions between 1916 and 1917. Yet, at that moment, he was no longer an Ottoman officer or a Muslim but was husband to the woman from Taşlıca, son-in-law of an officer who was also fighting against the Central Powers, an Orthodox Christian, and a captured Serbian officer. For almost three years Milan stayed loyal to Serbia as a POW in Bulgaria, where he saw the end of the war. In late 1918, he was assigned as one of the Commanders within the 24<sup>th</sup> Infantry Regiment, where he was promoted to the rank of First-Class Captain later on. Two years later, he was stationed in Niš within the 16<sup>th</sup> Infantry Regiment, meaning that Milan successfully continued his military career in the Army of the Kingdom of SCS.<sup>287</sup>

However, Milan's "abnormal" conduct represented an isolated case in the Serbian army while the case of military reserve officer Hakki Efendi represented another one. An Ottoman chargé d'affaires from Belgrade informed the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in mid-1914 that an embassy official conducted detailed research on the topic and discovered that, without a doubt, Hakki Efendi had joined the Serbian military with a rank of second lieutenant. The embassy official had even seen him personally in Belgrade.<sup>288</sup> As a result, the Ministry notified the Hüdavendigâr Vilayet about the matter of where Hakki Efendi was coming from and that his father, Hacı Hüseyin Ağazâde, had already passed away.<sup>289</sup> Unfortunately, due to the lack of sources the fate of Hakki Efendi after he joined forces with Serbian army is unknown. It is important, however, to emphasize that existing sources suggested that Hakki Efendi did not convert to Christianity, which would imply that Şerefeddin's decision, in contrast, was personally motivated.

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<sup>286</sup> VA/Belgrade, DPP, K-1115/699, Milovanović Ahmeda Milan.

<sup>287</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>288</sup> BOA/Istanbul, HR.SYS, 2084/6, leff 4, 02.07.1914, Belgrade, Chargé d'affaires to the Grand Vizier and MoFA Said Halim Pasha.

<sup>289</sup> BOA/Istanbul, HR.SYS, 2084/6, leff 3, 14.07.1914, MoFA to the Hüdavendigâr Vilayet.

Besides these cases of religious indifference, in some instances, a new state would greet those who shifted their loyalty for practical reasons. In reference to the Montenegrin case during the Balkan Wars, a Habsburg military attaché discussed the conditions of the Montenegrin army command, stating that those of the medical service were worse off than any other field of war provision.<sup>290</sup> Therefore, after being captured in Āpek, the acceptance of Ottoman army medical doctors into the Montenegrin military and the continuation of their work in this new setting comes as no surprise. One of those captured was Ali Riza, who was first employed in Āpek as a local doctor after being promised a regular state income.<sup>291</sup> Soon after the 1912/13 war, Ali Riza provided a letter of recommendation from local authorities so that no one would have doubts about his loyalty. He then applied and obtained Montenegrin subjecthood.<sup>292</sup> After being hired in the Berane District, Ali Riza was granted a state position with a regular monthly salary and although he did not have to change his confession, he did have to make an oath of allegiance.<sup>293</sup> In contrast, the shifting of state loyalty could be negatively branded, as a Habsburg military officer in late 1916 shows when he stated that “in the last four years, some Albanians had to make already five different oaths and nevertheless, they have done what they thought was the best for them.”<sup>294</sup> All together, these cases duly exemplify that the shifting of state loyalties among people with a military background were not as seldom as imagined; it is distinguishable in different settings as well. The trajectory of these soldiers illustrates how a person can successfully adapt to new circumstances amidst periods of transition.

### 6.3.2. *Example #2: Mehmed Izzet Pasha Bajrović*

Prior to 1912, a contemporary once labeled Mahmud Pasha in a highly exaggerated fashion, claiming that while one Sultan was sitting in the Ottoman capital, another could be found among the locals in Tašlica; he was seen as the most powerful man, both in wealth and reputation, from the Habsburg-Ottoman political border all the way to Selanik.<sup>295</sup> Nevertheless, his subjective

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<sup>290</sup> ÖStA/KA/Vienna, AhOB GSt Militärattachés Cetinje 60 G-Akten Geheime Berichte, Eindrücke und Erfahrungen auf dem montenegrinisch-türkischen Kriegsschauplatze 1912/13 vom k.u.k. Militärattaché in Cetinje, Hauptmann des Generalstabskorps Gustav Hubka, 35.

<sup>291</sup> BIUUCG/Podgorica, F85, 18.10.1912, Peć, Vukotić to L. Vojvodić and ÖStA/KA/Vienna, AhOB GSt Militärattachés Cetinje 60 G-Akten Geheime Berichte, Eindrücke und Erfahrungen auf dem montenegrinisch-türkischen Kriegsschauplatze 1912/13 vom k.u.k. Militärattaché in Cetinje, Hauptmann des Generalstabskorps Gustav Hubka, 35 and DACG/Cetinje, MV-KMV, 1913/F9, #3001, 11.05.1913, Cetinje, MoW to the MoI.

<sup>292</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MUD-UO, 1914/F142, #302/2, 10.12.1913, Cetinje, Ministerial Council to the MoI.

<sup>293</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MUD-UO, 1914/F142, #302/6, 14.01.1914, Cetinje, MoI to the Berane District Chief.

<sup>294</sup> ÖStA/KA/Vienna, AOK Op. Abt. B-Gruppe, 510/1916, #34433, Präs. Nr. 6874, 15.11.1916, Cetinje, Chief of the MGG/M General Staff to the MGG/M, 4. (...) In den letzten vier Jahren haben manche Albaner schon fünf verschiedene Eide schönen müssen und sie taten trotzdem, was ihnen gut dünkte. (...)

<sup>295</sup> Đurković-Jakšić, *Pljevlja i manastir sv. Trojica: Borba protiv rasrbljivanja do oslobođenja od Turaka 1912*, 1367. and Varadi and Laki, *Novopazarški sandžak - Pljevlja: Crteži, pripovetke i putopisi o Novopazarškom sandžaku Turske od okupacije do aneksije*, 139-40.

account summarizes how the Pasha was seen locally. Until 1912 and later on, Mahmud Pasha was a member of the local council, a prosperous merchant, president of a trade company which dealt with livestock and the import of Habsburg-manufactured goods, the principal supplier of the Habsburg military garrisons in the region until 1908, Tašlica municipal president, owner of the largest estate in the region, and an MP in the last Ottoman Parliament.<sup>296</sup> It is no wonder why preachers of the national historiographies in Montenegro and Bosnia-Herzegovina romanticized him, whereby the Pasha was characterized in lexicons as one of the most famous Bosniaks/Muslims.<sup>297</sup> But this type of categorization is deceiving insofar as the Pasha, along with other actors at the time, had multiple loyalties. Therefore, depicting them exclusively along singular national and/or religious one represents lines would be a mistake.

Concerning his social network, Mahmud Pasha managed to build influential friendships and patronages not only in Istanbul, but he also nurtured contact with the ruling political elites in Vienna, Belgrade, and Cetinje. Still, his rise locally had much more to do with the presence of the Habsburg Monarchy in the region (1879-1908) than it did with the Ottoman Empire. Because he was the principal supplier of the Habsburg military for two decades, most of the sources from Belgrade and Cetinje define him as a tool of the Habsburg and someone did not have his own. But the question is, was he really a Habsburg supporter? The authors of such reports did not know that the Habsburg side made the same claims when referring to Mahmud Pasha, namely because identifying where his loyalty lay represented a challenge.<sup>298</sup>

Depending on the moment, the Pasha was unpredictable since sometimes, he behaved friendly and other times, he was hostile towards the Habsburg authorities, being described as a troublemaker and someone was prone to spreading rumors that might infuriate the locals against the Monarchy. He did this despite of benefiting financially from the Habsburg presence until 1908. So how did Mahmud Pasha at become the main supplier in the first place? As soon as Habsburg troops entered region in 1879, he supported the resistance of the local Mufti against them. He also led a grouping of the locally rooted notables who were branded as fanatics. As a result, both the Ottoman and the Habsburg sides decided that Mahmud Pasha should become a main military supplier, believing that if he accepted this offer, he would abandon his attitude.

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<sup>296</sup> Petrović, *Pljevlja u dokumenatima 1918-1941*, #69, 18.09.1930, Belgrade, Mehmed Paša, Muhamed Bey and Rašid Bey Bajrović from Pljevalja to the King Aleksandar I, 212. and Đorđe Mikić, *Politički kraj Turskog carstva na Balkanu i otomanski Srbi: Nasilni i neobjavljeni parlamentarni izbori 1912* (Banjaluka: Nezavisni univerzitet Banjaluka, 2013), 138.

<sup>297</sup> Mustafa Memić, *Poznati Bošnjaci Sandžaka i Crne Gore: od Ahmed-paše Hercigovića i Vehbi Mehdi Šemsikadića do Rifata Burdžovića i generala Sefera Halilovića* (Sarajevo: Matica, 1998), 10. and Šerbo Rastoder and Š. Sait Šabotić, *Leksikon Bošnjaka/Muslimana Crne Gore* (Podgorica: Almanah, 2016).

<sup>298</sup> DACG/Cetinje, PPKŽ, F2, 315, #1, 11.1908, Bobovo, Bojović to Vule Knežević; *ibid*, #5, undated, unknown to Vulu Kneževiću; *ibid*, F5, 177; 1/1910, 05.06.1909, Mih. Kurtović to the PPKŽ; DAS/Belgrade, MID-PO R358, F4, D2, 4/202, #222, 03.07.1911, Javor, Customs Office to the MoFA and Durković-Jakšić, *Pljevlja i manastir sv. Trojica: Borba protiv rasrbljivanja do oslobođenja od Turaka 1912*, 1156, 81, 230.



In order to pacify him, the Ottoman ruling elites honored him with title of Pasha (1898) as well. Not all notables in Tašlica supported him. One finds among the latter the so-called “peaceful fraction” who the Habsburg authorities cooperated with and who stood under the influence of the Selmanovići, another local family, who represented Mahmud Pasha’s main opposition.<sup>299</sup>

The proclamation of the Second Constitutional Era and the annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina (1908) affected Mahmud Pasha’s network both inside and outside the Empire since he was not a member of the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP). Thus, “all the power was taken from him,” meaning that accommodation to the new situation was needed, but did not go smoothly.<sup>300</sup> The only company that did not accept the call from local authorities to participate in the boycott of Habsburg goods was that of Mahmud Pasha and his associates, for which reason the CUP warned him. He had to apply this policy only after he received a visit from an Ottoman officer. Acting together with other Ottoman officials, Slavic-speaking Orthodox Christians, and Muslims, Mahmud Pasha succeeded in redrawing new loyalties with the post-1908 governing elites by participating in the establishment and management of a local association whose goal it was to direct the boycott.<sup>301</sup> In mid-1909 “everything [was going] well” for the Pasha, as a local teacher stated. During this time, he not only expanded his influence but also gained several contracts so that he and his family could supply the Ottoman garrisons.<sup>302</sup>

He was forced to negotiate namely because he sought to protect his brother, Hadži Bey, who was seen by the CUP as a devotee of the Old Turk party (*Staroturci*) and a person who championed the overthrown Sultan, for which reason Hadži Bey fled from Tašlica.<sup>303</sup> Thus, declaring state loyalty meant protection for not only lucrative business, but also for the family members. The mutuality was obvious as well because the post-1908 elites needed such actors to help so that legitimization would be easily solidified. Mahmud Pasha had friendly relations with his Christian peers because they were members of the Tašlica Orthodox Church-School Municipality, his associates in the trade, and they also continued to hold one another in high esteem before the Ottoman and/or Serbian authorities.<sup>304</sup>

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<sup>299</sup> P. K., „Dopisi“, *Glas Crnogorca/Cetinje*, god. XXVII, 19.09.1898, br. 38, 2 and Scheer, *„Minimale Kosten, absolut kein Blut“: Österreich-Ungarns Präsenz im Sandžak von Novipazar (1879-1908)*, 53, 60-61, 66, 132, 53-54.

<sup>300</sup> NMCG-ABO/Cetinje, N. I 1908/F54, #6, 28.08.1908, Žabljak, Marko P. Nikolić to the Prince.

<sup>301</sup> Petrović, "Dokumenti o Raškoj oblasti, 1900-1912," #137, 224-25; #140, 229. and Durković-Jakšić, *Pljevlja i manastir sv. Trojica: Borba protiv rasrbljivanja do oslobođenja od Turaka 1912*, 1195.

<sup>302</sup> DACG/Cetinje, PPKŽ, F5, 177, #1, 05.06.1909, Dovolje, Mih. Kurtović to the PPKŽ and *ibid*, 158, #3, 03.06.1910, Džambasanović to the PPKŽ.

<sup>303</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MID-PP 1912, A red 95/III, #4343, 14.03.1912, Javor, Telegram of the Customs Officer to the MoFA.

<sup>304</sup> Durković-Jakšić, *Pljevlja i manastir sv. Trojica: Borba protiv rasrbljivanja do oslobođenja od Turaka 1912*, 1105, 56, 81, 228, 252 and Mikić, *Politički kraj Turskog carstva na Balkanu i otomanski Srbi: Nasilni i neobjavljeni parlamentarni izbori 1912*, 104.

The Balkan Wars represented a major watershed for the Pasha because he had to leave the town even before it was occupied and spend some time in Bosnia-Herzegovina.<sup>305</sup> Soon afterwards, Mahmud Pasha ended up in Istanbul, where, with the help of Talât Pasha, a Minister of the Interior and Secretary General of the CUP, he was introduced to the Serbian ambassador. The latter wrote him a recommendation letter that allowed him to travel to Belgrade so he could visit Nikola Pašić, the president of the government.<sup>306</sup> However, after arriving in Tašlica, the new authorities did not change their perceptions of him: he was still denounced as a Habsburg agent whose movements were being followed.<sup>307</sup> The arrival of Mahmud Pasha and his brother-in-law Ahmet Effendy Korijeniĉ, an Ottoman-age municipal president, encouraged the local Muslims to remain hopeful for change, which upset the new officials who harbored fears that all the Muslims would revolt at the signal given by the Monarchy.<sup>308</sup> Thus, their restriction from the area, including other notables from Prepole and Preboy, was suggested but never put into force because this would lead to riots which could have effect on Bosnia. Overall, this illustrates that his ascribed influence was preserved.<sup>309</sup> He was *the* Pasha, a person who could mobilize both the prominent notables as well as the locals of lesser form of capital. Other local power holders profited from the 1912/13 transition, such as Murat Bey Selmanoviĉ, who kept his position site as a municipal president not only under Serbian, but also under Montenegrin rule.<sup>310</sup>

There was a chance for establishing vertical loyalty between Mahmud Pasha and the Serbian authorities. He once again became a member of the most respected figures (*građanstvo*) and occupied thereby a place in the Municipal Committee which sought to prevent Tašlica from being submissive to Montenegro. In the filed petition, the corporate grouping, who acted “in the name of whole town citizens,” demanded the town stay within Serbia and indicated that they longed to stay “obedient subjects of Greater Serbia.”<sup>311</sup> It is not clear whether the committee composed the petition; however, Mahmud generally preserved his good relations with both the Serbian and Montenegrin ruling elites given the land he owned was located on both sides of the new political border.<sup>312</sup> Among the thirteen people who signed the petition,

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<sup>305</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MID-PO, R409, F19, D7, 19/521, 10.08.1913, Belgrade, MoI to the MoFA.

<sup>306</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MID-PO, R386, F3, D6, 3/391, 02.08.1913, Istanbul, Ambassador to the Prime Minister.

<sup>307</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MID-PO, R409, F19, D7, 19/521, 10.08.1913, Belgrade, MoI to the MoFA.

<sup>308</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MID-PO, R405, F16, D8, 16/575, 16.09.1913, Belgrade, MoI to the MoFA and Durkoviĉ-Jakšić, *Pljevlja i manastir sv. Trojica: Borba protiv rasrbljivanja do oslobođenja od Turaka 1912*, 1282.

<sup>309</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MID-PO, R401, F14, D2, 14/129, 19.09.1913, Belgrade, MoI to the MoFA.

<sup>310</sup> Durkoviĉ-Jakšić, *Pljevlja i manastir sv. Trojica: Borba protiv rasrbljivanja do oslobođenja od Turaka 1912*, 1293.

<sup>311</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MID-PO, R400, F13, D1, XIII/100-101, 04.09.1913, Pljevlja, Petition of the citizens of Pljevlja to the Prime Minister.

<sup>312</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MID-PO 1913, R400, F13, D1, XIII/112, unnumbered, 25.09.1913, Beograd, MoI to the MoFA; DACG/Cetinje, MUD-UO, 1913/F137, #5844, 31.08.1913, Cetinje, MUD to the Bijelo Polje District Chief; *ibid*, F138, 2744 (2), #6734, 28.09.1913, Cetinje, MoI to the Plevlja District Chief and *ibid*, 1914/F143, #651(2), br 110, 19.02.1914, Pljevlja, District Chief to the MoI.

eight of them joined the town deputation that visited Cetinje in early 1914, which was headed by Mahmud Pasha. They were accepted by the Montenegrin authorities with the utmost care and consideration.<sup>313</sup> This was not the first time that these actors acted in this manner because they had worked together in the state and confessional institutions (e.g. the local *meclis*, church-school municipality or the municipal committee), or in private enterprises.<sup>314</sup> The Cetinje visit also represented an important opportunity for establishing vertical loyalty with the new ruler and being part of the local elites implied certain privilege because during the transition period these actors could help each other when one of them was disgraced by the new occupying power.

But is it possible to exemplify how horizontal loyalty works on the ground? By focusing on the priest Sava Vukojičić, Hieromonk Serafim Džarić, Mufti Derviš Šećerkadić, and the Pasha, effort was made to clarify in which situation a changing of loyalty took place, and then, whether this shift led to consequences for these four persons. Relying on the ego-document written by the Hieromonk during and after WWI, as well as the hearing of the Mufti taken as soon as the first Habsburg occupation of Tašlica was over (August 1914), one sees how the local elites functioned after the establishment of the short Habsburg rule. Both sources discuss in the same manner about how a new municipal president was elected: the Hieromonk and the Mufti were invited to the municipality building where the prominent actors gathered and they elected Mahmud Pasha as the new municipal president, including the new municipal committee whose members became the Hieromonk and the Mufti. Yet, the two sources disagree on how the Habsburg military was welcomed and what happened in the town before and after the new power had arrived. While Serafim penned,

the whole Muslim world has come before the military as if it were the Sultan's army; there was no end to the joy. The cavalry has come across, in front of which two officers were going. I was aside, watching what was happening. Here I have forgotten that with us Milan Galoša, a professor at the Tašlica Gymnasium was also present who spoke German well. The Pasha and other prominent Muslims greeted with the cavalry commanders. They [the commanders] gazed at me very strange, saying something unusual which I did not grasp. I have heard that the Pasha was telling them something about me. Certainly, he was defending me and had spoken a good word about me. Afterwards Milan had told me that one of the officers told to another, the curate should be killed. [...] The prominent Muslims had protected the Serbs in every way, and they hadn't allowed the *Švabe* to commit any violence whatsoever against the Serb population in the town, while in the surrounding villages there had been a lot of killings, including robberies committed by the Muslim bashi-bozouks<sup>315</sup>

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<sup>313</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MID 1913/F214, #2154, 01.01.1914, Pljevlja, Acting District Chief to the MoI and Milić F. Petrović, "Pljevlja u Kraljevini Crnoj Gori, Prvom svjetskom ratu, jugoslovenskoj državi (1913-1941)," in *Istorija Pljevlja*, ed. Milorad S. Vasović and et (Pljevlja: Opština Pljevlja, 2009), 280. For the social background of certain delegation members see DACG/Cetinje, MID 1913/F214, #2184, 05.01.1914, Pljevlja, Acting District Chief to the MoI.

<sup>314</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MUD-UO 1914, F143, #652, 19.02.1914, Pljevlja, Acting District Chief to the MoI. For the cooperation between them under Ottoman rule see Durković-Jakšić, *Pljevlja i manastir sv. Trojica: Borba protiv rasrbljivanja do oslobođenja od Turaka 1912*, 1151, 60, 61.

<sup>315</sup> Džarić, *Doživljaj igumana Serafima Džarića*, 89-90. See also DACG/Cetinje, MUD-IK, 1914/F5, #1, 19.09.1914, Pljevlja, Serafim Džarić to the Commission of Inquiry.

the Mufti stated,

one Habsburg company came which was welcomed by the local inhabitants (Muslims and Serbs). There were the Pasha and us, local town councilors. Our Muslims had broken into the army depo and had taken rifles. All Serbs-Montenegrins had put the fez on their heads, while throwing away their Montenegrin caps, but I do not know on whose command. Montenegrin munitions, which was left here, was destroyed by the local Serbs whom the Habsburg had arrested. Of course, by the order of the latter. It is possible that some Muslims destroyed the munition.<sup>316</sup>

While Serafim seeks to form a collective categorization of the local Muslims by referring to them as the whole Muslim world, at the same time, he defines a clear boundary between urban and rural locals along an axis of good vs. bad. Although he does not say it directly, it is apparent that his narrative suggests a generalization about the Muslims as people who worked with the occupier and were inclined to diminish the participation of prominent Orthodox Christian notables. However, one also sees that Mahmud Pasha persuaded the officers that the local Hieromonk did not represent a threat and protected Serafim once more during the first Habsburg occupation. As the troops picked him up with other local women, the Hieromonk wrote in his memoirs that “God knows where they would have banished me” if Mahmud Pasha had not been there. “He begged them to let me be and vouched for me by telling them that I am an honest man; why are you bothering an honest man!”<sup>317</sup> Serafim’s past behavior and reputation as a person who was connected with other prominent Muslims was sufficient encouragement for the Pasha to help him.<sup>318</sup>

In contrast, Derviš’s narrative provides a more colorful picture, which shows that not just the Muslims, but also their Christians peers, were present as the Habsburg troops came, revealing a small but significant detail: the throwing off of the Montenegrin cape and wearing of the fez. As seen in previous chapters, wearing the fez or the Montenegrin cape was closely interlinked with national and/or confessional identification, something which the locals and the new establishing power both knew. In doing so, the former wanted to prove that they were no longer loyal to the previous state, not least because the new authorities might classify them as Montenegrins. Rather, by discarding the cape, they conveyed a message that they were ready to situate themselves once again within new arrangements in the community. Since the paramilitaries were present, their lives, families and land holdings were all in danger, hence publicly showing that their loyalty did not lie with Montenegro any longer. It would be false to characterize them as traitors since this concept represents a political construct, meaning that is negatively associated and does not adequately fit with the specific context.

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<sup>316</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MV-VS 1914/F11, #74, Hearing of the Mufti Derviša Šećerkadića, dated 19.09.1914.

<sup>317</sup> Džarić, *Doživljaj igumana Serafima Džarića*, 91. and DACG/Cetinje, MUD-IK, 1914/F5, #1, 19.09.1914, Pljevlja, Serafim Džarić to the Commission of Inquiry.

<sup>318</sup> Durković-Jakšić, *Pljevlja i manastir sv. Trojica: Borba protiv rasrbljivanja do oslobođenja od Turaka 1912*, 1151, 64.

Vertical loyalty between Serafim and Mahmud Pasha worked the other way around because after only two weeks, the Montenegrin power returned and at this time, the Hieromonk wrote that many Muslims were afraid and thought that the Montenegrins would harm them. This is why he explained to the commanding Montenegrin officer how Muslims in the town behaved and asked him to command the army not to touch the local Muslims, a request which the officer subsequently granted. Yet the Pasha was not in Tašlica at that moment. Beforehand, Serafim saw the Pasha twice in his *konak*, where he asked the Hieromonk whether he could stay and wait for the Montenegrin army. The Hieromonk promised him, “I was going to pledge my life for him because the Pasha is my savior” and even offered him and his whole *harem* a *konak* of the local monastery. Mahmud Pasha confirmed that he was going to stay. During his second visit, Mahmud Pasha was drinking *rakija*. It was obvious that it would not be easy for him to stay. “His friends”, as the hieromonk referred to the Habsburgs, would not leave him and so they took him with them to Bosnia. For this reason, Serafim concluded that “indeed, if Mahmud Pasha had stayed, he would later have been useful for our region. It would not have been excluded [for him] to be even a minister.”<sup>319</sup>

However, even before the Habsburg troops occupied the town, the local Montenegrin authorities wanted to take Mahmud Pasha to the inner part of the country as a hostage. In a desperate attempt to escape, the Pasha had hidden himself in a toilet, whereas his family was concealed in the home of another Muslim local.<sup>320</sup> Thus, the trust in the Pasha was shaken even before the Habsburg army had arrived. Taking hostages was a common strategy conducted by every state. In doing so, the authorities thought that either prominent people would refuse to change sides, or the locals deemed as disloyal would not rebel as long as their influential persons were help captive.<sup>321</sup>

How would state authorities react to this loyalty? The case of Mahmud Pasha does not offer any answer, meaning that one must turn to another setting. This is Montenegro-occupied Ipek, where Nikola Inoičić, a Slavic-speaking Orthodox Christian and trader, complained in mid-1913 to the King about an injustice he was forced to endure. Nikola lied to the Montenegrin military that among the livestock of certain Albanian-speaking town dwellers, they could find a number of cattle that also belonged to him. Ultimately, he was caught in the lie, put in jail, and forced to pay a fee. Nikola claimed that under Ottoman rule he had people who offered

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<sup>319</sup> Džarić, *Doživljaj igumana Serafima Džarića*, 92-93. and DACG/Cetinje, MV-VS, 1914/F11, #74, Hearing of Lazo Popović, dated 18.08.1914, 23-24.

<sup>320</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MV-VS 1914/F11, #74, Hearing of the Mufti Derviša Šećerkadića, dated 19.09.1914.

<sup>321</sup> Stefan Manz, Panikos Panayi, and Matthew Stibbe, "Internment during the First World War: A Mass Global Phenomenon," in *Internment during the First World War: A Mass Global Phenomenon*, ed. Stefan Manz, Panikos Panayi, and Matthew Stibbe (London and New York: Routledge: Taylor and Francis Group, 2019), 1-18.

protection not only for him and his family but also for other local Christians. After 1912, many bilingual Muslims who were in trouble asked Nikola to return the favor, which he did, having been indebted (*dužan*) to his clients and those who had helped him. Although the *identitarian language* is found in Nikola's petition, he underlined something which accurately summarized the logic of the post-1913 occupying authorities: he was sorry that "the authorities did not want to understand that [he] could not but help" them. In doing so, Nikola "did not perpetrate any crime."<sup>322</sup> Thus, an unambiguous and unquestionable alliance was desired because it could lead to the mistrust of the authorities.

What happened to the Pasha after WWI officially ended? Did the war exacerbate the horizontal loyalty between him and other people? In the case of Serafim, Mahmud Pasha was remembered in a positive sense. The same cannot be said for Sava Vukojičić, another local Orthodox priest who spent certain time of WWI in captivity in the Monarchy, who recalled the Pasha in an entirely manner. After 1918, Sava became an MP of the newly formed kingdom. It is clear in his narrative that Mahmud Pasha's close work with the Monarchy was viewed as treason, and so legal action in the court was launched against Mahmud Pasha. However, it did not go smoothly, which irritated the priest and so he complained in Parliament about the case as follows:

It is almost a year since the First-Degree Court in Tašlica is expecting Mahmud Pasha Bajrović from Tašlica, who now lives in Sarajevo, to begin the process regarding the deeds that he committed amid the occupation. On every claim of the Court of First Instance in Tašlica and Yeni Pazar the Sarajevo Police Directorate was not able to route Mehmed Pasha. Since this is incomprehensible and absolutely incredible to me and our people in the Sandžak, I ask the Minister to respond to my following questions in writing: 1) who protects Mahmud Pasha in this country, who must answer for his crimes before the court? 2) Why hasn't the Police Directorate in Sarajevo acted in according to the claim of the Court of First Instance and by order of your Ministry? 3) Is the Minister willing to give an order to the Police Directorate in Sarajevo to send Mahmud Pasha immediately to Tašlica, where he will answer with his friends to charges brought before the court?<sup>323</sup>

In his address Sava referred to the Pasha's network which had endured yet another transition, who perceives. Mahmud Pasha was believed to have committed crimes in WWI, crimes which he and his friends would have to atone for. This did not only encompass interning locals in the Habsburg camps or participating in the recruitment of the locals, but also referred to organizing the so-called Seniče Conference, where it was demanded, among other things, that the borderlands would be annexed by Habsburg Bosnia-Hercegovina.<sup>324</sup> A Habsburg MdÄ

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<sup>322</sup> DACG/Cetinje, MUD-UO, 1914/F149, #2899(2), 22.07.1913, Peć, Nikola Inoičić to the King.

<sup>323</sup> AJ/Belgrade, 14-4-14-262, unnumbered, 17.09.1920, Belgrade, Priest Sava Vukojičić to the MoI.

<sup>324</sup> On the 1917 conference see, for instance, a very romanticized narrative Vasvija Gusinac, "Sjениčka konferencija u kontekstu prava na samoodređenje građana Sandžaka," in *Okrugli sto "Sjениčka konferencija, 1917-2017"*, ed. vijeće Bošnjačko nacionalno (Novi Pazar: Bošnjačko nacionalno vijeće, 2017), 28-29; Izet Šabotić, "Sjениčka konferencija iz 1917. godine: Historijski kontekst, stodinu godina poslije," in *Sto godina Sjениčke konferencije (1917-2017): Međunarodna naučna konferencija "Društveno-politički, pravni i historijski značaj Sjениčke konferencije"*, Sjenica, 20-22. oktobar 2017, ed. Muhedin

envoy even guaranteed that local Muslims would become eternal enemies of the Christians.<sup>325</sup> In the end, he was wrong because, as shown earlier, the Taşlıca residents endured together during 1918 transition and helped to safeguard everyone regardless of whether they were a Christian or a Muslim. In other post-Ottoman cases, such as in Bulgaria-occupied Kavala, this was not the case and both local Muslim and Jewish communities suffered from the Bulgarian paramilitaries and resident Christians. The latter were soon deemed by their Jewish neighbors as traitors since they used the opportunity to attack and loot their helpless neighbors.<sup>326</sup> After reading the address, it is clear that any past acquaintance between the two did not help the Pasha to escape because the Habsburg occupation had exacerbated their horizontal loyalty.

After 1918, Mahmud Pasha was in Sarajevo with his family, enjoying the protection of the local officials who held off his extradition and claimed that the process had instigated fear locally given the Pasha's esteem and post-war violence. In order to evade the process, Sarajevo officials even relied on the argument that he was the most eminent Muslim figure in the Sandžak since he was rewarded by all monarchs including the reigning SCS King.<sup>327</sup> Yet, despite his notoriety, Mahmud Pasha was transported to Taşlıca, where he was forced the court.<sup>328</sup> However, due to the intervention of the future Kingdom's reis-ul-ulema, the King instructed the court process to be suspended.<sup>329</sup> Unfortunately, the 1918 transition and the 1919 Agrarian Reform in particular stripped the Bajrović family of its main income. In this context, wielding the identitarian language appeared to be a worthy endeavor. In addition to discussing the negative outcomes of the ongoing land reform, Mahmud Pasha once again emphasized that he had been honored with a medal that was awarded to him by the King's father. "In order to avoid the underserved disaster of an old, distinguished, and notable Serb Muslim family in the Sandžak," Mahmud Pasha and his sons asked for the payout for the property since they had

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Fijuljanin and Redžep Škrijelj (Nova Varoš: Bošnjacko nacionalno vijeće, 2018), 93-118. For the pre-history and context of the conference, however, see ÖStA/HHStA/Vienna, PA I 999, 49h Montenegro, #19.950, 31.05.1917, Baden, Proxy at the AOK to the MdÄ and ÖStA/KA/Vienna, AOK Qu. Abt., 2478/1917, M.V. Nr. 163490/S, #11.868, 16.05.1917, Belgrade, MGG/S to the MGG/M. As for the Habsburg stance, see ÖStA/HHStA/Vienna, PA I 976, 32k, Serbien, #21/8 A-G, 07.04.1918, Belgrade, Proxy at the MGG/S to the MdÄ.

<sup>325</sup> ÖStA/HHStA/Vienna, PA I 977, 32k, Serbien, #23.594, 16.10.1917 Baden, Proxy at the AOK to the MdÄ, 11.

<sup>326</sup> Ginio Eyal, "Enduring the Shift from an Empire to a Nation-State: The Case of the Jewish Community of Kavala during the First Balkan War," in *Ebraïkes koinotētes anamesa se Anatolē kai Dysē, 15os-20os aiōnas: oikonomia, koinōnia, politikē, politismos: Praktika Diethnus Epistēmoniku Synedriu (Iōannina, 21-23 Maïu 2015) = Jewish Communities between East and West, 15th-20th Centuries: Economy, Society, Politics, Culture: Proceedings of the International Conference (Ioannina, 21-23 May 2015)*, ed. Anna Machaira, Lēda Papastephanakē, and Mōysēs Elisaph (Iōannina: Panepistēmio Iōanninōn, Tmēma Istorias et Archaïologias - Ekdoseis Isnaphi, 2016), 173-81, here pp. 77.

<sup>327</sup> AJ/Belgrade, 14-4-14-263, #1948/1920, 28.09.1920, Belgrade, Department for Bosnia and Herzegovina to the Ministry of the Interior.

<sup>328</sup> AJ/Belgrade, 14-4-14-260, #1289, 12.10.1920, Belgrade, MoI to Sava Vukojičić.

<sup>329</sup> *Sarajevski list*, god. XXXVII, 20.11.1914, br. 284, 1 and Memic, *Poznati Bošnjaci Sandžaka i Crne Gore: od Ahmed-paše Hercigovića i Vehbi Mehdi Šemsikadića do Rifata Burdžovića i generala Sefera Halilovića*, 10.

been “sincerely loyal” to the king.<sup>330</sup> Thus, a chance to establish vertical loyalty between himself and the post-1918 governing elites transitioned into a new phase.

### 6.3.3. *Example #3: Ferhad Bey Draga*

Thanks to their father’s various forms of capital, Mehmed Nedjib, Ferhad, Aydın, and Şefket Draga (all of whom held the title of bey) could maintain their authority in the Mitroviça region and beyond. Mehmed Nedjib Bey had graduated from the School of Administration in Istanbul, Ferhad Bey was also educated in the same city. Because they were taught in a secular education system, his brothers supervised high administrative responsibilities and became civil servants of the Empire.<sup>331</sup> After 1908, Nedjib Bey was elected to the Ottoman parliament and at the same time, he maintained close ties with the CUP members whom the family had kept as political contacts since the 1890s when a secret CUP branch was established in their house in Üsküp. This does not mean that serving as Ottoman representatives prevented the brothers from acting more independently vis-à-vis the state. For example, Ferhad Bey openly spoke out against state reform attempts.<sup>332</sup> In some instances, the close cooperation with the CUP led to open disputes with other locally prominent power holders, such as the feud with Isa Boletín who stayed firmly loyal to the dethroned Sultan after 1908. By wielding their ties with the new ruling elites, the Draga family emerged as victorious from this local clash because the Ottoman army destroyed Isa’s fortress-like house, thereby forcing him to seek refuge in Montenegro. This did not mean that these local notables could not join forces and become allies when their interests were endangered.<sup>333</sup>

Both brothers actively built networks not only with the Habsburg consul from Mitroviça, but also with the Italian, Serbian, and French consuls from Prizrin, Priština, and Üsküp respectfully.<sup>334</sup> These interactions came easily to the brothers because of their education and also since they benefited from a multilingual background (they had an Albanian-speaking father and a Slavic-speaking mother).<sup>335</sup> Available sources do not allow for a more detailed

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<sup>330</sup> Petrović, *Pljevlja u dokumentima 1918-1941*, #69, 18.09.1930, Belgrade, Mehmed Pasha, Muhamed Bey and Rašid Bey to Aleksandar I, 173-181. (...) da se tim izbegne nezaslužena katastrofa jedne ugledne, zaslužne stare srpske muslimanske porodice u Sandžaku.

<sup>331</sup> ÖStA/HHStA/Vienna, PA XXXVIII/Kt. 385, #34, 07.05.1905, Mitrovica, Zambaur to Gotuchowski; Borisavljević, "Žitije porodice Borisavljević," 23-153, here pp. 14. and „Pogibija Bajram-Cura“, *Vreme*, god. V, br. 1181, 02.05.1925, 1.

<sup>332</sup> ÖStA/HHStA/Vienna, PA XXXVIII/Kt. 385, #31, 03.05.1904, Mitrovica, Zambaur to the MoFA; Clayer, "The Albanian Students of the Mekteb-i Mülkiye: Social Networks and Trends of Thought," 291-311, here pp. 292, 94, 300. Robert Elsie, *Historical Dictionary of Kosovo*, Historical dictionaries of Europe, (Lanham, Md.: Scarecrow Press, 2011), 83. and Gawrych, *The Crescent and the Eagle: Ottoman Rule, Islam and the Albanians, 1874-1913*, 152.

<sup>333</sup> DAS/Belgrade, KuP 1912, #663, 20.05.1912, Priština, Consulate to the MoFA and Gawrych, *The Crescent and the Eagle: Ottoman Rule, Islam and the Albanians, 1874-1913*, 152, 61-63, 92.

<sup>334</sup> Bogumil Hrabak, *Džemijet: Organizacija muslimana Makedonije, Kosova, Metohije i Sandžaka 1919-1928* (Beograd: VMD: Beograd, 2003). and Frantz, *Gewalt und Koexistenz: Muslime und Christen im spätosmanischen Kosovo (1870-1913)*, 50, 136.

<sup>335</sup> Clayer, "Appendix," 317. and Fazli Hajrizi, *Mitrovica dhe Shala e Bajgorës në fokusin e historisë (ngjarje, personalitete historike, hrsimore dhe kulturore)* (Prishtinë: Shtëpia Botuese Libri Shkollor, 2011), 297.



reconstruction of the life trajectory of Ferhad Bey at the time; however, it is apparent that he acted closely with his brother. This meant, to a certain degree, that their lifeworld cannot be studied independently since both of them worked together until Nedjib's death in 1921. Ferhad Bey supported his brother's action in the movement for Albanian education and promoting the use of the Latin alphabet, and together attended the Ferizovik meeting (1908), where they conjured the crowd by centering their argument on the threat of foreign intervention. They did their best, and were successful.<sup>336</sup> Without a doubt, their influence among the locals was evident not least because local, regional and vocational cooperation played an important role in building local esteem which the brothers could depend on. Thus, this development does not represent a purely a top-down process enacted by them but special attention should be paid to the balance of power between other locals and the brothers.<sup>337</sup>

Given their authority and the fact that they acted occasionally as preachers of Albanian nationalism, the post-1913 occupying power did not view the brothers in a positive light. For example, Nedjib Bey was interned in Belgrade alongside Hasan Bey Prishtina and other prominent traders and persons, who would then have to rely on Habsburg and Italian diplomatic action. As a result of their internment, the latter campaigned for their immediate release in a memorandum submitted to the Serbian government.<sup>338</sup> It is very likely that their internment was related to Ferhad and Aydın Draga's activities at the time, as they commanded Ottoman paramilitaries during the Balkan War.<sup>339</sup> In this case, one sees how Ferhad Bey acted alone while he was situated in the Ottoman capital, where, thanks to Louis Mosel, a German trader and representative of the *Kölnischen Zeitung*, he made a contact with a German ambassador. The latter spoke highly of him and discussed the need for Germany to put more effort into the Albanian-speaking areas. Ferhad Bey then became a member of the so-called Albanian Committee where he worked together with Hasan Bey Ferović, a "main chief of North Albania" from Plava, whose lifeworld were mentioned earlier.<sup>340</sup>

Just before and during Nedjib's incarceration, amidst the 1912/13 transition, the family estates were destroyed. This only worsened the family's financial situation since the Montenegrin army demolished the sawmill, which provided one of the main sources of income

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<sup>336</sup> "Draga, Ferhat bej (1880-1944)," *Fjalor Enciklopedik Shqitar* Botim i ri (2008): 508. M. Şükrü Hanioglu, *Preparation for a Revolution: The Young Turks, 1902-1908*, Studies in Middle Eastern History, (Oxford - New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 272. and Gawrych, *The Crescent and the Eagle: Ottoman Rule, Islam and the Albanians, 1874-1913*, 152, 62, 91.

<sup>337</sup> Clayer, "The Dimension of Confessionalisation in the Ottoman Balkans at the Time of Nationalisms," 89-109, here pp. 04-05. and Clayer, *Arnavut Milliyetçiliğinin Kökenleri: Avrupa'da Çoğunluğu Müslüman bir Ulusun Doğuşu*, 16-20, 22-25, 43-45, 422-28.

<sup>338</sup> AS/ Belgrade, MID-PO, 1912, R382, XIII/31, undated, Beograd, captured merchants to Nikola Pašić and Gostentschnigg, *Wissenschaft im Spannungsfeld von Politik und Militär: Die österreichisch-ungarische Albanologie 1867-1918*, 580.

<sup>339</sup> ÖStA/HHStA/Vienna, PA XII/Kt. 385-1, XLV/3 Balkankrieg, #4395, Mitrovitza, 18.10.1912, v. Tahy to the MoFA and PA AA/Berlin, RZ 201, R 13385, #41, 08.02.1913, Pera, Botschaft to the Reichskanzler.

<sup>340</sup> PA AA/Berlin, RZ 201, R 13385, #41, 08.02.1913, Pera, Botschaft to the Reichskanzler.

to the family. A related problem was that the woodlands remain in post-1913 Montenegro.<sup>341</sup> Due to the internment policy, this insecurity engulfed the family as well and all of this combined played a decisive role in reconsidering whether national or family loyalty came first. In fact, this can be read in a petition filed to the Serbian Prime Minister, signed by Nedjib Bey and other notables, which states that “our families, affairs, and estates have been left in a disheveled state.” In late 1913, Nedjib Bey decided to approach the Serbian government and suggested that he would help fight against the Albanian national movement, since he often presented himself as “[their] friend and an opponent of the Albanian idea.” This proposal was welcomed by the government; not only did it suit the interests of the state but also his support might create confusion among other local players.<sup>342</sup> Therefore, the brothers managed to restore the destroyed sawmill and obtained the right for timber rafting on the local river. Seemingly, they sold the sawmill to a consortium which was headed by no one other than the Serbian Prime Minister and leader of the People’s Radical Party (PRP), Nikola Pašić.<sup>343</sup> Due to limited sources, further information regarding their lifeworld under Serbian rule is impossible to reconstruct. However, by using a post-1918 testimony, it can be concluded that Ferhad Bey was in Selanik with his family just as the Habsburg Monarchy was establishing its power in the town, which he returned to sometime around mid-1916.<sup>344</sup>

The brothers belonged to a small circle of influential power holders, who were deemed by the authorities as capable of recruiting able-bodied locals into the armies of the Central Powers. Thus, they became military entrepreneurs and also obtained economic privileges, whereas Ferhad Bey headed the local municipality. As they were quite motivated, the brothers were able to convince around 1,000 recruits to join the Habsburg and Ottoman armies. Since this mutuality did not represent a fixed category, putting their authority into question made them either open or clandestine enemies of the same power that had supported their upward mobility. Ever since the Habsburg authorities took control of sawmill, they noticed how Nedjib Bey became particularly hostile towards them and the brothers were no longer mentioned in a positive manner.<sup>345</sup> Neither furthered the Habsburg-initiated mobilizations and Nedjib Bey was labelled

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<sup>341</sup> PA AA/Berlin, RZ 201, R 13385, #41, 08.02.1913, Pera, Botschaft to the Reichskanzler and Hadri and Avramovski, *Kosovska Mitrovica i okolina*, 98.

<sup>342</sup> DAS/Belgrade, MID-PO 1912, R382, XIII/31, undated, Beograd, captured merchants to Nikola Pašić. (...) Binaenaleyh bi'l-sebeb ailelerimiz ahval ve emlağımız perişan bir halde bırakılarak Belgrad kalesine götürüldük and *ibid*, MID-PO 1913, R405, F16, D8, 16/584, 16.09.1913, Belgrade, MoI to the MoFA.

<sup>343</sup> DAS/Belgrad, VGG, 8-874, 04.03.1917, #3741, Belgrad, Abteilung 8 des MGG/S ans AOK, Beilage zum Halbmonatsbericht #3741 and Hrabak, *Džemijet: Organizacija muslimana Makedonije, Kosova, Metohije i Sandžaka 1919-1928*, 287-88.

<sup>344</sup> „Treći dan pretresa Ferad beg Dragi, vođi Džemijeta“, *Vreme*, god. VI, br. 1801, 23.12.1926, 3 and B. Antić, „Sudjenje Ferad beg Dragi: Prvi dan sudjenja u Kosovskoj Mitrovici“, *Politika*, god. XXIII, br. 6703, 21.12.1926, 5.

<sup>345</sup> ÖStA/HHStA/Vienna, PA I 977, 32k, Serbien, #Z. 33/P C, 16.05.1917, Belgrade, MdÄ Proxy to the AOK to the MdÄ; *ibid*, #Z. 64/P D, 26.09.1917, Belgrade, MdÄ Proxy to the AOK to the MdÄ; ÖStA/KA/Vienna, AOK Qu. Abt, 2427/1917, #8465/S, 02.02.1917, AOK to various military instances and Elsie, *Historical Dictionary of Kosovo*, 82.

as a main instrument of Ottoman propaganda in the area, but also as someone who maintained relations with the Serbian governing elites in post-1913 Albania and with the Bulgarian authorities in Üsküp.<sup>346</sup>

The Habsburg side could not verify these assumptions, but they accurately illustrate how their vertical loyalty relied on the economic-based policies. By acquiring the sawmill, the authorities endangered the brothers' local prestige. Unlike during the post-1913 period, they had various methods for exerting influence on the locals at their disposal, such as spreading rumors, in an attempt to undermine the Habsburg authority.<sup>347</sup> Another tool they utilized was fostering the Albanian nationalism locally or regionally. This did not overlap with the Habsburg temporary interests, given the ongoing clashes between various powers in the Habsburg political and military fields concerning the future of the borderlands.<sup>348</sup> Nedjib Bey even had a stone obelisk removed, which was located near to Mitroviça and which represented a symbolic line between the former Ottoman provinces of Bosnia and Rumelia, thus conveying the message that the future border between Habsburg Bosnia and imagined Albania should run west of Seniče.<sup>349</sup> These and similar actions incited the Slavic-speaking notables to act against the former, who sought to incorporate their residential areas into Bosnia and were supported by the military authorities.<sup>350</sup> This aggravated Habsburg rule, which despite losing support from the Draga brothers, still nurtured good relations with other power holders from Mitroviça, such as Hassan Bey and Derviš Bey, thus successfully limiting the brothers' influence. As previously argued, Nedjib and Ferhad Bey were in a silent dispute with the former.<sup>351</sup> Ultimately, due to this unstable and suspicious behavior, the Ottoman envoy from Belgrade indicated in mid-1918 that the authorities had arrested Ferhad Bey under the pretext that he had allegedly gotten two murderers liberated from jail.<sup>352</sup>

After the Habsburg retreat, Ferhad Bey spent some time in Sarajevo as a hostage, where he obtained a permit granted him safe return to Mitroviça; however, similar to the case of Mahmud Pasha, the new/old authorities did not change their view about who Ferhad Bey was.<sup>353</sup> After

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<sup>346</sup> ÖStA/KA/Vienna, AOK Qu. Abt, 1917/2478, 163651/S, #30257, 26.10.1917, Belgrade, MGG to the AOK and ÖStA/HHStA/Vienna, PA I 973, 32a, Serbien, 03.12.1916, Mitrovica a/K, *Reise durch den Sandjak*, 8.

<sup>347</sup> ÖStA/HHStA/Vienna, PA I 977, 32k, Serbien, #Z. 33/P C, 16.05.1917, Belgrade, MdÄ Proxy to the AOK to the MdÄ.

<sup>348</sup> Gostentschnigg, *Wissenschaft im Spannungsfeld von Politik und Militär: Die österreichisch-ungarische Albanologie 1867-1918*, 502-06. and Fried, "'A Life and Death Question': Austro-Hungarian War Aims in the First World War," 117-40.

<sup>349</sup> ÖStA/HHStA/Vienna, PA I 977, 32k, Serbien, #12.616, 21.05.1917, Belgrade, MGG/S to the AOK.

<sup>350</sup> ÖStA/HHStA/Vienna, PA I 977, 32k, Serbien, #28.868, 01.09.1917, Belgrade, MGG/S to the AOK.

<sup>351</sup> DAS/Belgrade, VGG, 8-874, 04.03.1917, #3741, Belgrade, MGG/S to the AOK; ÖStA/HHStA/Vienna, PA I 1007, 50w, Albanien, #12056, 09.12.1917, Belgrade, MdÄ Proxy to the MGG to Ottokar Czernin; ÖStA/KA/Vienna, AOK Op. Abt. B-Gruppe, 516, 1918, Nr. 143775, #28700, 09.07.1918, Belgrade, MGG/S to the AOK, Monthly Report between 01.05 and 31.05.1918.

<sup>352</sup> BOA/Istanbul, HR.SYS, 2456/44, 19.07.1918, Belgrade, Envoy to the MoFA.

<sup>353</sup> „Juče je počelo suđenje Ferad beg Dragi u Kosovskoj Mitrovici“, *Vreme*, god. VI, br. 1799, 21.12.1926, 3, „Suđenje Ferad-beg Dragi“, *Pravda*, god. XXII, br. 349, 21.12.1926, 4 and „Kasacioni sud poništio je presudu kojom je Ferad beg Draga osuđen na 20 godina robije“, *Vreme*, god. VII, br. 1863, 25.02.1927, 4.

tracking him closely, the authorities labelled his activity as being part of Albanian propaganda whose goal was directed against the Kingdom.<sup>354</sup> In 1921, the general amnesty was proclaimed, meaning Ferhad Bey could return to Mitroviča, where he actively participated in establishing the confessional and political organization dubbed the Džemijet/Xhemijet/Cemiyet, whose foundation Nedjib Bey had laid down in late 1919. At that time, Nedjib Bey managed to benefit politically and economically from the struggle between the Democratic Party (DP) and the People's Radical Party, during which he backed the PRP (the family's pre-1916 associates) until his death. The Draga brothers and other power holders relied mainly on the votes of Muslims in the southern parts of the Kingdom. Hence, Ferhad Bey promoted the same policy until 1924 but because the Agrarian Reform was initiated, members of the Džemijet were afraid of losing their economic base and linked to that, their influence. Other questions, such as schools and sharia-courts, were on the table but it was the former what came first.

In contrast, the PRP sought a partner in order to pass the first constitution in the Kingdom, which in turn led to both parties running together in the 1920 municipal elections, whereupon the PRP ensured financial compensation, if the Džemijet voted for the first constitution.<sup>355</sup> Nastas Petrović, a PRP member and an initiator of the close cooperation with the former, became a shareholder in the brothers' sawmill, upon whom the property was registered as family assets, meaning that the allegiance between them was once again established on an economic basis. As a result of the 1923 parliamentary elections, Ferhad Bey entered into the National Assembly; however, by the end of the same year, problems arose between the Džemijet and the PRP on account of not receiving their financial compensation. Ferhad Bey then had, after cooperating with the DP, a realization of the goals. The Džemijet gave support to the DP to form the government but since the PRP had taken power in late 1924, it began coercing not only the Džemijet, but other opposition parties to change their course.<sup>356</sup> By not hesitating to use the state apparatus to achieve its intention of staying in power, the PRP decided that the Džemijet had to be eliminated from the election race. Just one month prior to the 1925 parliamentary elections, Ferhad Bey was arrested under the pretext of supporting the Habsburg occupation, including galvanizing the locals to join the enemy army; for these reasons he stayed imprisoned until the end of 1927.<sup>357</sup> Following the unsuccessful appeal by his lawyers to the

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<sup>354</sup> Hrabak, *Džemijet: Organizacija muslimana Makedonije, Kosova, Metohije i Sandžaka 1919-1928*, 46-47.

<sup>355</sup> Hrabak, *Džemijet: Organizacija muslimana Makedonije, Kosova, Metohije i Sandžaka 1919-1928*, 75-76, 79-80, 86, 88-89, 109, 15, 17, 30-31, 34. and Zoran Janjetović, *Deca careva, pastorčad kraljeva: Nacionalne manjine u Jugoslaviji 1918-1941* (Beograd: Institut za noviju istoriju Srbije, 2005), 173-76, 82-85, 88.

<sup>356</sup> Hrabak, *Džemijet: Organizacija muslimana Makedonije, Kosova, Metohije i Sandžaka 1919-1928*, 86-87, 164-66, 88, 213, 29, 32, 87-88.

<sup>357</sup> „Hapšenje Ferad beg Drage“, *Vreme*, god. V, br. 1120, 31.01.1925, 1.

Court of Cassation, who, it should be noted, were also members of the DP, it was finally decided that the hearing would be held in 1926.<sup>358</sup>

The trial had politically destroyed the Džemijet and for a time, thwarted Ferhad Bey's political career because the court case perfectly illustrated that amidst a political battle, a political establishment would not be reluctant to misuse past deeds of one person in order to maintain its power. Whenever political or election campaigns were about to happen in the Kingdom, political polemics in the press became more frequent and the question of cooperation with the occupiers kept being utilized as a political leverage, whose goal was to discredit an opponent, just as some post-war accusations which happened in France show.<sup>359</sup> Besides hijacking the judicial system and bending its decision so that it would only suit the party's interest, the ruling elites deployed paramilitary units supported by parts of the military power, a strategy which is also seen in the post-Habsburg territories of the Kingdom.<sup>360</sup> In brief, it was not *just* the Habsburg authorities which utilized and furthered local conflicts between imagined local enemies in make it easier to mobilize the Muslim populations and establish control in the region, as Andrej Mitrović and Miloš Damjanović claim. However, this also illustrates that post-war trials and violence prior to or during elections was wielded for homogenizing possible voters, as well as for drawing the ethnic boundaries along a national/religious axis countrywide.<sup>361</sup>

What makes Ferhad's case even more interesting is that this process occurred more than once, lasting almost three years, which implies that the goal was to keep Ferhad Bey nearly as long as possible while the political campaign was happening, thereby forcing him to exert influence on his peers to side with the PRP. He was the only person from the borderlands sentenced to twenty years in jail for enrolling volunteers and organizing goon squads.<sup>362</sup> The

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<sup>358</sup> Hrabak, *Džemijet: Organizacija muslimana Makedonije, Kosova, Metohije i Sandžaka 1919-1928*, 279. and „Kasacioni sud osnažio je rešenje o pritvoru Ferat-beg Drage“, *Vreme*, god. VI, br. 1483, 14.02.1926, 1.

<sup>359</sup> Marko Pejović, "Beogradska štampa o sudenjima za saradnju sa okupatorima u Srbiji 1918-1920. godine," *Godišnjak za društvenu istoriju* XII, no. 1-3 (2005): 85-108. and Connolly, "Mauvaise Conduite: Complicity and Respectability in the occupied Nord, 1914-1918," 7-21, here pp. 12-13.

<sup>360</sup> Njumen, *Jugoslavija u senci rata: Veterani u novoizgrađenoj državi, 1903-1945*, 75-76, 86-87, 89-90, 174-86, 88, 200-03. Janjetović, *Deca careva, pastorčad kraljeva: Nacionalne manjine u Jugoslaviji 1918-1941*, 183. and Salko Užičanin, *Nacija i teror: Djelatnost nacionalističkih organizacija u Bosni i Hercegovini (1921-1929)* (Tuzla: Društvo istoričara i Akademija društveno-humanističkih nauka, 2019). On the ideological background of various paramilitary organizations in post-1918 Yugoslavia see Vasilije Z. Dragosavljević, "Ideološki uticaji evropskog fašizma na jugoslovenske integralističke pokrete radiklane desnice u međuratnom periodu (1921-1941)" (Doktorska disertacija, Univerzitet u Beogradu Filozofski fakultet, 2017). and Sandra Prlenda, "Young, Religious, and Radical: The Croat Catholic Youth Organization, 1922-1945," in *Ideologies and National Identities: The Case of Twentieth-Century Southeastern Europe*, ed. John; Mazower Lamper, Mark (New York: Central European University Press, 2004), 82-109. On the 1920s political situation in the kingdom see Christian Axboe Nielsen, *Making Yugoslavs: Identity in King Aleksandar's Yugoslavia* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2014), chapter 2.

<sup>361</sup> Andrej Mitrović, "Albanians in the Policy of Austria-Hungary towards Serbia 1914-1918," in *Srbi i Albanci u XX veku (ciklus predavanja 7-10. maj 1990)*, ed. Andrej Mitrović (Beograd: Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti, 1991), 107-33. and Damjanović, "O nekim ubistvima srpskih civila iz okoline Kosovske Mitrovice tokom austro-ugarske okupacije u Velikom ratu," 79-95, here pp. 81, 86.

<sup>362</sup> *Vreme*, god. VI, 14.02.1926, br. 1483, 1. For the first trial: *Vreme*, god. VI, 23.04.1926, br. 1561, 5. Second trial: *Pravda*, god. XXII, 21.12.1926, br. 349, 4; *Vreme*, god. VI, 21.12.1926, br. 1799, 3; *Pravda*, god. XXII, 22.12.1926, br. 350, 3; *Vreme*,

actions of the ruling elites eventually created the desired outcome to the extent that, while Ferhad Bey was in prison, the PRP approached him, offering him freedom in lieu of obtaining his political support. Ferhad Bey accepted and soon afterwards, he was pardoned.<sup>363</sup> In brief, by negotiating with the same party that arranged for him to be imprisoned, Ferhad Bey earned his freedom. In late 1927, he announced a new political life, including his new-found determination not to be driven off of his political path.<sup>364</sup> In early 1928, Ferhad Bey was in Belgrade, where he was seen having a meeting with no one else other than Nastas Petrović, a former member of the PRP and a shareholder in Ferhad Bey's sawmill. In late 1928, Ferhad Bey began to re-establish the Džemijet, meaning that new avenues of action were now open to him.<sup>365</sup>

In brief, these three cases aptly show that although the 1912/13, 1915/16 and 1918/19 transitions could hamper their upwards mobility locally given their negotiating capabilities, momentary settings that engulfed not just them but also the locals and new occupying authorities, and their tactics, they could profit. While Şerefeddin/Milan established loyalty with Serbia by joining its army and marrying a local woman, Mehmed Pasha and Ferhad Bey had to play along as the context changed since their locally rooted authority, families and holdings were all located with their localities. This is why they were forced to be volatile and were ready to negotiate with every new state. Their pre-war networks also assisted them because in numerous cases they could rely on the former during and after the transitions. Although the occupying elites had doubts about them, in trying to foster their state-building processes, they also needed these two brokers because they represented a significant factor locally and sought their help to stabilize their power. This goal drove them to tolerate, to a certain extent, the presence of notables but authorities were able to exert coercion measures as soon as Ferhad Bey crossed a certain line. One should also not lose out of sight other locally grounded power-holders as well as locals because by participating in this interplay they could add to and thus, complicate the game. Though sources focus more on the relationship between various local brokers, one must pay heed to the mutual horizontal loyalty between the former and the

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god. VI, 22.12.1926, br. 1800, 5; *Pravda*, god. XXII, 23.12.1926, br. 351, pp. 4; *Vreme*, god. VI, 23.12.1926, br. 1801, 3. Verdict of the first trial: *Pravda*, god. XXII, 23.12.1926, br. 351, 4; *Vreme*, god. VI, 24.12.1926, br. 1802, 5. View of the Court of Cassation on the first verdict: *Pravda*, god. XXIII, 23.02.1927, br. 53, 5; *Vreme*, god. VII, 25.02.1927, br. 1863, 4. Third trial: *Pravda*, god. XXIII, 17.05.1927, br. 131, 5; *Vreme*, god. VII, 17.05.1927, br. 1947, 5. View of the Court of Cassation on the second verdict: *Vreme*, god. VII, 05.09.1927, br. 2050, 3; *Vreme*, god. VII, 18.10.1927, br. 2093, 4. Fourth trial: *Pravda*, god. XXIII, 13.12.1927, br. 339, 4; *Vreme*, god. VII, 13.12.1927, br. 2149, 4. The Court of Cassation and releasing from the prison: *Vreme*, god. VII, 27.10.1927, br. 2102, 4 and *Vreme*, god. VII, 29.12.1927, br. 2165, 8.

<sup>363</sup> ASANU/Belgrade, 13316/103, *Ferad-beg Ali Draga: Prvak albanskog Kosovskog komiteta, turski, italijanski i nemački špijun i jugoslovenski političar*, 3.

<sup>364</sup> Voj. Baljozović, „Četvrto suđenje Ferad beg Dragi u Kosovskoj Mitrovici“, *Pravda*, god. XXIII, 13.12.1927, br. 339, 4.

<sup>365</sup> „Dnevne vesti: Ferad beg Draga u Beogradu“, *Pravda*, god. XXIV, 28.01.1928, br. 25, 5 and „Ferad beg Draga pokušava da obnovi Džemijet“, *Vreme*, god. VIII, 30.11.1928, br. 2493, 7.

inhabitants. All these various levels supplement, empowered and supported each other in the mobilization field and therefore, each of them is crucial.

## Conclusion

By adhering a local perspective, this dissertation conceptualized the state-backed military mobilizations as a field in which the various actors who possessed different forms of capital interacted. It exhibits that the mobilizations cannot be analyzed from the state-society dichotomy. The mobilizations were not a top-down process. By paying particular attention on the actors in this field, it is apparent that the locals also were capable of self-mobilization. Appreciating and understanding their agency is crucial. The present work has illustrated that the able-bodied men cannot be investigated separately from the ruling elites, the brokers, and their families, with whom they bargained and whom their life revolved around. The interrelation between all of them facilitated the mobilizations. Being just one of the many arenas of social communication, the latter created a setting in which the governing elites, the locals, women, and the entrepreneurs negotiated and renegotiated the very notions of domination, bonding, and duty. This provided a framework through which the study traced the locals' tactics and their lifeworld before, during and after the conflicts. The present dissertation proposed a conceptually and methodologically innovative approach, which can be applied in the similar constellation of strength, time periods, and/or borderlands. The initial hypothesis was verified by the sources and the resulting empirical analysis. In what follows, four concluding remarks are provided: the main elements of the military mobilizations in the local settings; the evaluation of the categories of analysis and of practice; underlining the local peculiarities in which physical violence occurred; and finally, the endurance of borderlands.

### Military Mobilizations

There are numerous studies dealing with a top-down approach but what occurs when one includes a bottom-up perspective despite all the methodological issues? The study, apart from looking at the mobilizations from the point of view of an officer and/or an official, absorbs the perspective of a soldier and/or a native. It also illustrates that a soldier's family was omnipresent in the officers' speech-act and in and around the mobilization field even though the ruling elites sought to minimize their influence on the rank and file. Behind the military mobilizations stood the rigid patriarchal hierarchization and maintenance of the ascribed gender roles, as well as the fixed black-and-white binaries through which the complex social world was to be remolded (Chapters 3 and 4.1). This was just one of many hidden transcripts of the governing elites that the military mobilizations concealed. However, the examples argue that this was not one-dimensional. Not only did the women disregard (Chapter 4.2) what the ruling elites were saying about their presence in and around the army, but the men did as well (Chapters 2.3 and 3.1.4). The dissertation demonstrates that there is a clear discrepancy between the discourses furthered



by the governing elites (which only engulfed some) and the locals' actions. Those who might appear to be as the strongest within the mobilization field could not always enforce their ideas in practice. Given the momentary context and the narrative of being a protector and/or friendly state, those who possessed the lower forms of capital could change the tacit rules of the game, thus affecting the brokers as well (Chapters 3.2.1 and 5.1.2). Every one of them could not exit from within the webs of discipline and some were forced to stay, albeit under better conditions. The locals were acting from asymmetric positions; however, by negotiating they achieved a better deal. This was not always possible (Chapter 5.2) since the state sometimes was not interested in mobilizing them.

This interaction does not include only the locals of the lower capital and different societal backgrounds but also many brokers (Chapter 1.2), who, depending on their pre-war and pre-political networks and spaces, might preserve their local strength and influence.<sup>1</sup> In order to win them over, along with other inhabitants over, the military mobilizations demanded above all to establish the tacit security contracts, which was cemented with the strategies of inducements. In turn, the latter improved their various forms of capital but these actual deeds also legitimized the *raison d'être* of the state (Chapter 2.1). Mobilizations could be launched from the top-down but the preparatory part was always difficult since it required the actors to sacrifice their present forms of capital in favor of uncertain future benefits.<sup>2</sup> Therefore, maintaining or boosting the locals' capital is crucial to understanding practices of the social bounding and the building of horizontal loyalty. Whether or not the mobilization would be successful depended on the mundane social and cultural practice of the brokers, who knew how to translate the state's ideology and the material into the political – the so-called framing and encoding – in order to resonate with the locals' experiences, grievances, and expectations.<sup>3</sup>

The entrepreneurs who encouraged the natives during peacetime to vote for them during elections did the same in the mobilization field. The present study shows that through the latter, the state-making process was fostered, which included the formal and the informal governance. However, this does not imply a clear binary because some brokers always found a way to act autonomously between these imagined poles, moving between these spaces.<sup>4</sup> Still, from the perspective of the governing elites, it was about the building of the formal-*cum*-informal

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<sup>1</sup> On the political and pre-political see *Das Politische und das Vropolitische: Über die Wertgrundlagen der Demokratie*, ed. Michael Kühnlein (Baden-Baden: Nomos, 2014).

<sup>2</sup> Charles Tilly, *From Mobilization to Revolution* (New York: Random House, 1978), 64, 74.

<sup>3</sup> David R. Cameron, "Toward a Theory of Political Mobilization," *The Journal of Politics* 36, no. 1 (1974): 138-71, here pp. 45, 69. and Ulf Brunnbauer and Peter Haslinger, "Political Mobilization in East Central Europe," *Nationalities Papers: The Journal of Nationalism and Ethnicity* 45, no. 3 (2017): 337-44, here pp. 40-41.

<sup>4</sup> Christine Philliou, "The Ottoman Empire's Absent Nineteenth Century: Autonomous Subjects," in *Untold Histories of the Middle East: Recovering Voices from the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> Centuries*, ed. Amy Singer, K. Neumann Christoph, and Selçuk Akşin Somel (Abingdon / New York: Routledge: Taylor & Francis Group, 2011), 143-58.

governance in order to cover the contested spaces and the able-bodied. Thus, the military mobilizations facilitated in the borderlands the mutual empowerment of the state authorities and the brokers, as a necessary step for the further homogenization, nationalization, and confessionalization of the locals (Chapters 1.3 and 3.1).

The work argues that the state-fostered strategies could be hampered by the brokers that the governing elites supported since they realized that the mobilization field offered them a chance to fight against their locally grounded competitors, who at the same time could be the brokers of a given polity. The state knew that the brokers were volatile or were committing crimes but it shut one eye since the governing elites needed local allies to help them implement their plans (Chapters 1.2, 2.2, and 5.1.2). This was not weakness; the dissertation shows that the ruling elites sought to play off the brokers against each other, hoping for their mutual weakening, while at the same time, they or the rest of the loyally deemed players gained the upper hand on the ground, and the brokers could encipher these hidden transcripts. The latter established alliances if not with their local competitors, then with the potential enemies or allies of a given polity which was used as leverage vis-à-vis the state. In that case, the governing elites might renegotiate or apply coercive methods, which always represented a last resort whose effects might generate disorder and have an unnecessary cost.

The study shows that the state powers were diffused and did not act always together since disputes between the officers or between the military and bureaucratic fields are evident (Chapters 1.1 and 5.1). However, in reference to the military mobilizations, these powers were able to find a common language. They generated the grid of interactions locally or in the barracks (Chapters 1.1 and 3.1).<sup>5</sup> The military needed additional social forces because it was important that the narrative that a soldier was forced to listen under the banner was reiterated before and after military service by other state powers. Constructing the unified social disciplines and techniques was achieved, which is not evident in the Ottoman case (Chapter 3.1).

When one combines the strategies of inducement, the ideological strategies introduced in the military and/or the school, and the coercive methods with the locals' consent, it becomes clear that the state's mobilization efforts – and this is crucial – never revolved around one strategy, namely, around the national and/or religious fervors. Instead, it was the interdependent mobilization tools that yielded the result whose numbers in a way corresponded with time, space, local idiosyncrasies, and expectations of the locals. In some cases, one sees that the state actors even turned to human-animal or human-nature bonding in order to mobilize the locals'

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<sup>5</sup> Mann, *The Sources of Social Power*, 2: The Rise of Classes and Nation States.

emotions or to reframe and code their agency (Chapters 2.1, 2.3, 3.1, and 4.1), so they could perceive current or future wars as their own. Even if the locals were nationalized or radicalized in the meantime, the strategies of inducement were necessary because through the material they better understood the political of ideology (Chapter 2.1). In brief, one cannot name *the* factor that incites the locals to act but the answer rather lies in the interdependent movement of various dynamics. While playing together, they worked and facilitated a powerful effect, although with different weights, and methodologically is infeasible to gauge which one weighted more compared to the other.<sup>6</sup> Thus, it was the state that had to approach and adjust to the locals' expectation and ways of acting.

### Beyond Dichotomies and Monolithic Categories

By wielding the clear-cut categories, the governing elites only revealed their own biases that affected and shaped their perceptions. They believed that peoples acted in every part of the region simply because they belonged to an imagined group. The present dissertation detects that their overgeneralizations do not correspond with the picture on the ground. They tried to convince themselves, the public and the locals to see "things as being more similar and homogenous than they actually are if they belong to the same category, and vice versa."<sup>7</sup> What is problematic is also the fact that certain scholars have fallen into the same trap. Holm Sundhaussen writes, for example, that there were sharp dividing lines between Muslims and non-Muslims, rulers and ruled, between urban and rural populations, migrant shepherds and farmers.<sup>8</sup> But such labels are misleading and fail to see the in-between spaces. A town dweller could be a craftsman who sold knives at the market, while at times he tilled his field in the countryside.<sup>9</sup> Bandits could become gendarmes and represented the state.

These labels were not fixed but porous and negotiable, and depending on the context the delineation between, say, the urban and the rural areas might resurface.<sup>10</sup> The study has shown that these classifications were used to legitimize the state's actions toward the locals and their kin (Chapter 3.2) and could cover the incapacity of the state authorities while encountering serious obstacles on the ground. In that moment, they put all the blame on this or that (national

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<sup>6</sup> Koselleck, "Der Einfluß der beiden Weltkriege auf das soziale Bewußtsein," 324-43, here pp. 28-29.

<sup>7</sup> Wendl and Rösler, "Introduction. Frontiers and Borderlands: The Rise and Relevance of an Anthropological Research Genre," 1-27, here pp. 2-3.

<sup>8</sup> Sundhaussen, "Die Ethnisierung von Staat, Nation und Gerechtigkeit: Zu den Anfängen nationaler "Homogenisierung" im Balkanraum," 69-90, here pp. 71.

<sup>9</sup> Varadi and Laki, *Novopazarški sandžak - Pljevlja: Crteži, pripovetke i putopisi o Novopazarškom sandžaku Turske od okupacije do aneksije*, 130.

<sup>10</sup> Jelena Tošić, "City of the "Calm": Vernacular Mobility and Genealogies of Urbanity in a Southeast European Borderland," *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies* 15, no. 3 (2015): 391-408.

and/or religious) community, trying to show that the failure was of course expected precisely due to the inner features of the (imposed) labels.

The study asked whose categories these were and who tried to reify them locally. That is why the narrative advocated here has sought to illustrate examples and settings in which the meanings of the categories are context-driven. The categorization behaviors by the same person or official varied across situations and space. The dissertation paid heed to both social interaction and the context namely because the context and the social world set the boundaries for making sense of things. Devoting more attention to specifying the societal inference settings is necessary since it demonstrates why such settings affect the building of the categories.<sup>11</sup> Thus, it becomes clear why being a Slavic-speaking Orthodox Christian in the Vasojevići did not automatically imply that one was equal with a local tribesman who was also a Slavic-speaking Orthodox Christian. In the eyes of the latter, the former was less worthy (Chapters 1.2.7 and 3.1.4).

However, in times of conflict, this changed, similar to Ottoman Lebanon, since, at that moment, the confessional sense of belonging arises, while in peacetime originating from a given fraternity was more important.<sup>12</sup> Still, in the case of Taşlıca during the Balkan Wars, one notices that this does not always come to the fore (Chapter 1.2.6). By adhering to the clear-cut dichotomies and not reflecting on the context in which the locals act, one would not be able to explain why some Orthodox Christians performed their military duty in Ottoman Syria, while others simply dodged the military. Did they flee because they are Christians or Muslims? Some might and some might not, meaning that there is a risk of overemphasizing the centrality of confessional belonging since “people who identify as Muslims (like those who identify with any other religion) do not identify *only* or *always* as Muslims, and they may not identify *primarily* as Muslims.” This implies that one has to be pay heed to categories of analysis and categories of practice.<sup>13</sup>

The present study does not claim that certain categories of analysis should be fully discarded or replaced at all costs, as Fatma Müge Göçek has rightfully criticized.<sup>14</sup> The argument is that certain loyalties, such as the confessional one, are crucial for the worldview of the locals but they are not *the* only ones since trying to grade them is a slippery slope argument. Rather, taking

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<sup>11</sup> Berger and Luckmann, *Die gesellschaftliche Konstruktion der Wirklichkeit: Eine Theorie der Wissenssoziologie*, 20. and Hannan et al., *Concepts and Categories: Foundations for Sociological and Cultural Analysis*.

<sup>12</sup> Reinkowski, *Düzenin Şeyleri, Tanzimat'ın Kelimeleri: 19. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Reform Politikasının Karşılaştırmalı Bir Araştırması*, 262.

<sup>13</sup> Brubaker, "Categories of Analysis and Categories of Practice: A Note on the Study of Muslims in European Countries of Immigration," 1-8, here pp. 5-7, citation on page 6. *Italic in original*.

<sup>14</sup> Fatma Müge Göçek, "Parameters of a Postcolonial Sociology of the Ottoman Empire," *Political Power and Social Theory* 23, no. 73-104 (2013): 73-104, here pp. 80, 83-84.

a middle way and embedding the locals in their social world and context sounds more reasonable because, similar to the first point, there were other factors at play that pushed them to act. Reflecting the local- and self-identifications are pivotal because, for example they cut the imagined communities along the confessional line and dichotomies.<sup>15</sup> Exclusively accepting the categories furthered by the preachers of nationalism without criticism is not sufficient. For Serbian national workers the population of the Tirovište district represented an “Albanian oasis,” as an Ottoman journalist states, claiming that it consisted entirely of the Slavic-speaking Muslims.<sup>16</sup> Such nationally minded agents have viewed nationally indefinite communities as a sign of backwardness.<sup>17</sup> Similar to the context of Habsburg Herzegovina, it is important how a local community was seen and named from the perspective of the outside because the group definitions refer to the perceptions and designations from outside, as well as to self-designations of neighboring communities.<sup>18</sup> Still, they do not always act a group but rather as a grouping. That is why one should speak instead about Christian or Muslim communities in the borderlands and avoid using the term in the singular.

#### Conceptualizing, Historicizing, and Contextualizing Physical Violence

The dissertation argues that the Balkan Wars have to be approached by relying on a micro-historical perspective, not forgetting the belligerent parties, their regular-*cum*-paramilitary armies, and the fronts. The narrative applied here has revealed the differences between the local communities and the shades of violence. Why massive violence took place in a particular village or why the latter was burned down while others were not can be explained by looking at the local constellations and the locals. In doing so, one should be mindful of the narrative offered by those who neither understood the local fabrics (e.g. war correspondents, foreign peace commissions), who constructed their narratives writing far from the places where violence happened, and who encoded these episodes exclusively by following the narrative of the age-old hatreds (e.g. brokers). Diving thus into the local archives and libraries represented a necessary step in reconstructing such events. Cross-checking written and visual sources helped better understand how violence is communicated within and beyond the local setting. The work also tried to illustrate various forms of sexual violence (Chapters 2.3 and 4.1) and at

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<sup>15</sup> As some Slavic-speaking Orthodox Christians around Tašlica at the Montenegrin-Ottoman borderland have uttered, how they were identified by their Christian peers on the other side of the political border sounded kind of awkward, like the Montenegrin subjects wanted to emphasize that they are smaller than them. Božović, *Kroz nekadanju tromeđu: putopisna proza o pljevaljskom kraju iz 1932. godine*, 16-17.

<sup>16</sup> Filipović, "Etničke prilike u Južnoj Srbiji," 387-497, here pp. 29. Gravje, *Novopazarski sandžak*, 15. and Šerif, *Arnavudluk'da, Süriye'de, Trablusgarb'de Tanîn*, II, 93, 96.

<sup>17</sup> Sundhasssen, "Die Ethnisierung von Staat, Nation und Gerechtigkeit: Zu den Anfängen nationaler "Homogenisierung" im Balkanraum," 79.

<sup>18</sup> Grunert, *Glauben im Hinterland: Die Serbisch-Orthodoxen in der habsburgischen Herzegowina, 1878-1918*, 19.

the same time, sought to look beyond 1912 and 1913. What is needed therefore are the case studies that show the regional peculiarities and that acknowledge the agency of the locals before, during and after conflict, drawing upon studies that have been published over the last two decades.<sup>19</sup> The Balkan Wars might have begun for the governing elites in 1912 but examples show that for some locals, *their* wars had started before that (Chapter 2.2).

The scholarship on the Balkan Wars (1912/13) has predominantly viewed the latter conflicts by adhering to the perspective of the ruling elites and their armies (the ethnic cleansings narrative), meaning that behind every violent act stood the systematic plans to wipe out a specific imagined community. Looking at the Balkan Wars through the prism of the Wars of Yugoslav Secession or WWII is also palpable and the current narrative according to which WWI is seen as a simple continuation of the Balkan Wars blurs the local agency as well. Such studies fail to explain drastic variations between the same ruling elites, their armies, local communities, areas, and nationally minded paramilitary leaders.<sup>20</sup> The present study speaks about the shades of physical violence during the Balkan Wars, implying that not every violent act falls under the category of state-sponsored violence. This is crucial because “violence and pain, detached from specificities of context, become in effect abstract universals, ‘violence’ in general.”<sup>21</sup> The argument is that local constellations of power and the locals’ agencies had to be addressed, which still are largely missing in the scholarship, although young scholars such as Christopher Kinley, Denis Ljuljanović, Stefan Sotiris Papaioannou, and Panagiotis Delis, try to deconstruct the dominant narrative by showing a more complex history of the Balkan Wars and physical violence in general.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> For example, see Omer Bartov and Eric D. Weitz, "Introduction: Coexistence and Violence in the German, Habsburg, Russian, and Ottoman Borderlands," in *Shatterzone of Empires: Coexistence and Violence in the German, Habsburg, Russian, and Ottoman Borderlands*, ed. Omer Bartov and Eric D. Weitz (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2013), 1-20. Provençe, *The Great Syrian Revolt and the Rise of Arab Nationalism*. Timothy Wilson, *Frontiers of Violence: Conflict and Identity in Ulster and Upper Silesia, 1918-1922* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010). Tomas Balkelis, *War, Revolution, and Nation-Making in Lithuania, 1914-1923* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018). Gingeras, *Sorrowful Shores: Violence, Ethnicity, and the End of the Ottoman Empire, 1912-1923*. Tasić, *Paramilitarism in the Balkans: Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, and Albania, 1917-1924*. See also articles in the two following edited volumes *Kıyam ve Kutâl: Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e Devletin İnşası ve Kolektif Şiddet*, ed. Ümit Kurt and Güney Çeğin (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı, 2015). and *In the Shadow of the Great War: Physical Violence in East-Central Europe, 1917-1923*, ed. Jochen Böehler, Ota Konrád, and Rudolf Kučera (New York / Oxford: Berghahn, 2021).

<sup>20</sup> The state-backed paramilitaries, for instance, had at their disposal means and opportunities to wield physical violence against the imagined Muslim community and yet they did not render this, what is evident in the case of Sreten Vukosavljević and his unit in the Yeni Varoş area. Rather, the muhajirs are the ones who became a target of physical violence and not *every* Muslim, whereby the muhajirs were not so liked by other Muslims.

<sup>21</sup> Sumit Sarkar, *Writing Social History* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1997), 102.

<sup>22</sup> See Papaioannou, "Balkan Wars between the Lines: Violence and Civilians in Macedonia, 1912-1918." Delis, "Violence and Civilians during the Balkan Wars (1912-1913)," 547-63. and the ongoing PhD project of Christopher Kinley "We Are Not Sheep: War, Military Occupation, and Diplomacy in Epirus, 1912-1925" at the Ohio State University, his forthcoming article that is supposed to appear this year in *Balkan and Near Eastern Studies* entitled "The Balkan War in Epirus: Religion and The Continuity of Conflict," as well as the ongoing PhD project of Denis Ljuljanović entitled "Imagining Macedonia in the Age of Empire: State Policies, Networks and Violence (1878-1912)" at Justus-Liebig-Universität in Giessen.

Besides being nationally minded, the ruling elites could be believing in eugenic, racist and *bringing the civilization* narratives, but examples show that they also were pragmatics.<sup>23</sup> Depending on the context, they were not prone to utilize political violence, which is not a major tool of nation-building, and which should be analyzed together with other non-violent but yet important homogenization factors. In most cases, this is discarded since scholars keep focusing on violent policies.<sup>24</sup> In claiming that the governing elites stood behind all violent events committed during the war, the scholars actually (un-)knowingly dispossess the locals of their capabilities for wielding physical violence or uphold the narrative of the all-mighty state. They are, according to this narrative, only the receivers of everything that comes from the capital.

The present study deconstructs this claim by looking at the paramilitaries from the Vasojevići, Plava, Gusine and Rugova areas (Chapter 2.3). The inhabitants, after becoming members of the state security structures locally, were able to hijack and misuse the state infrastructure for their own goals. By adhering to the identitarian language of the ruling elites or their tactics, which were used to legitimize and/or veil their actions, these actors sought to solidify their local tribal or kinship autonomies vis-à-vis the state. In doing so, the ownership question over certain resources, which were crucial for their further independent development, pushed them to negotiate and, when this failed, act and commit physical violence against certain societal fabrics which also claimed the right over these resources. The dissertation does not exclude the state from the narrative because the latter was always been present in a certain way locally. Although from the outside these clashes might be interpreted along clear national and/or religious lines because one detects bilingual Christians and Muslims on the opposite side, the situation was more complex. Depending on the time, the role of perpetrators and victims was subject to change. Whereas the perpetrators were targeting certain victims, they did arm or spare the others, who were supposed to belong to the victims because they were of the same confession as the true victims in the former settings. In short, the correlation between A (Christians) and B (Muslims) does not work.<sup>25</sup>

The study does not downplay the confessional or national dimension. However, being a Slavic-speaking Orthodox Christian in the Vasojevići or in Taşlıca was not the same because

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<sup>23</sup> Dejan Djokic claims the same for the post-1918 period Dejan Djokic, *Elusive Compromise: A History of Interwar Yugoslavia* (London: Hurst, 2007).

<sup>24</sup> By looking at the distribution of violent and non-violent state strategies in the context of the Kingdom of SCS, Albania, Turkey, Bulgaria and Greece between 1918-1923, Harris Mylonas argues that 47 percent of the imagined non-core groups were targeted with assimilations policies, while merely 10 percent were subject to exclusionary ones. The rest falls on those who were accommodated, meaning that the scholarship deals only with the violent 10 percent, obscuring the other non-violent yet important policies. Mylonas, *The Politics of Nation-Building: Making Co-Nationals, Refugees, and Minorities*, 75. See also Philipp Ther, *Die dunkle Seite der Nationalstaaten: "Ethnische Säuberungen" im modernen Europa* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011), 11-12.

<sup>25</sup> I thank to Janis Nalbadidacis for this intervention.

the confessional was not enough for one to fully become integrated into the local tribal-based fabrics. The lack of state-backed security and defending communal lands created a framework in which the locals could act in unison. The dissertation emphasized that it is equally important to also pay heed to other forms of loyalty and societal norms. Following the rigid periodization until 1912 or between 1912 and 1918 does not always help because the latter hides possible reasons for why the locals acted in a certain manner. This does not mean that they perceived these conflicts as the continuity of the previous one because one could not know what the future might bring. This was a job of the entrepreneurs who framed, encoded, and represented these clashes as part of collective violence, thereby invoking the narrative of the age-old hatreds. Behind this they could foster their material or other goals (Chapters 1.2, 2.3 and 3.1).<sup>26</sup> However, experience and the envisioned future by the locals are palpable in the record which reveals their horizon of expectations.<sup>27</sup> Depending on the context, the shifting of motives is inevitable; however, by focusing on the latter, actors, pre-, war- and post-war situations, and the local constellations of power, the present work explains why only in certain parts of the borderlands violent episodes are evident and not in another. In short, one has to conceptualize, historicize, and contextualize the local setting in which physical violence emerged because sometimes the much-praised alliance between the locals and the ruling elites is not on the spot. Violence did not happen just *because of* the war.

#### The Persistence of Open-End Borderlands

Conducting annual drafts, collecting data on and medicalization of the populations, introducing the school system, building infrastructure, the changing of the inner meanings of the local societal norms, the subjecthood question, the inner colonization, choosing who would be drafted, ethnic fostering, the strategies of inducements, the nationally charged clothes, and employing political violence were meant to facilitate the transition from the borderlands as a place where societal boundaries were blurred, to a bordered land, where the clear black-and-white hierarchization reigned. The dissertation shows that this is not a one-dimensional process. One of the reasons for this lies in the fact that the region was part of the five states, which all had similar and different approaches over the question of how these borderlands ought to be “modernized.”<sup>28</sup> Similar policies are palpable in the Polish-Soviet borderlands between 1923-

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<sup>26</sup> Charles Tilly, *The Politics of Collective Violence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

<sup>27</sup> Koselleck, ""Erfahrungsraum" und "Erwartungshorizont": Zwei historische Kategorien," 349-73.

<sup>28</sup> A Slavic-speaking Orthodox recalls in the post-1918 setting that the new powers, in contrast to the Ottoman Empire, were not keen to leave the whole area of public life to the people. Rather, these hotheaded and nimble gentlemen wanted to cover every rural aspect with their rigid and immovable regulations, aiming to have total power locally. Vukosavljević, *Istorija seljačkog društva: Seoske zajednice i oblici ponašanja u njima*, 5, 152.



1953.<sup>29</sup> This “modernization” meant the large-scale and clear delineation of “us” vs. “them” in terms of space, civilization, and culture in opposition to one or multiple imagined others.<sup>30</sup> Whereas the Ottoman, Serbian, Montenegrin, and the SCS ruling elites followed the concept of inner colonization (Chapter 2.1.1), whose final aim it was to accelerate the inclusion of the region into the national territories, the Habsburg Monarchy rambled between various projects (Chapter, 5.1.1, from annexing the borderlands or adhering to ethnic fostering).

Although the homogenizing campaigns had been only intensified with each new state, the clear line was not achieved everywhere. Or rather, the locals, regardless of faith, did not act as the governing elites wanted to because either brokers or locals protected their neighbors (Chapters 1.3, 2.3 and 5.3). Again, one should not romanticize these examples, as some scholars have.<sup>31</sup> The present work illustrates that some could identify themselves as members of an imagined community.<sup>32</sup> Therefore, a community did not constitute a meaningful whole; however, the most influential locals understood the importance of keeping things and the locals at bay, particularly in times of transitions. The locals also understood that the borderlands and territorial configurations offered them a pretext to successfully negotiate with the state about the length of military service and the preservation of autonomy (Chapters 1.1 and 2.2). In addition to discursively (re)constructed social spaces, the physical configurations of landscapes and the locals’ adjustment to the latter could limit the state’s attempts to encroach in the region, similar to post-1918 Poland or the Ottoman-Iranian borderlands.<sup>33</sup> The case of Rugova confirms this claim, whose inhabitants kept their autonomy in the post-1918 period. Still, the state established its institutions and named officials, gradually encroaching in one of the most contested spaces in the region.<sup>34</sup> The study demonstrates that state-building acted as an ebb and flow (Chapters 1 and 2). The ruling elites underestimated the locals’ tactics and the use of the borderlands for bargaining. Sometimes they did not have another choice but to accept this situation given to the outer and inner pressures.

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<sup>29</sup> Alexander V. Prusin, *The Lands Between: Conflict in the East European Borderlands, 1870-1992* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010). and Kate Brown, *A Biography of No Place: From Ethnic Borderlands to Soviet Heartland* (Cambridge, MA / London: Harvard University Press, 2003).

<sup>30</sup> Wolfgang Schmale, "Europe: Eighteenth-Century Definitions," in *Bordering Early Modern Europe*, ed. Maria Baramova, Grigor Boykov, and Ivan Parvev (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2015), 79-93, here pp. 92.

<sup>31</sup> See Branko Banović, "Grad koji je uvijek bio dom za sve," in *Utemeljenost manjinskih naroda u Crnoj Gori*, ed. Tanja Pavićević (Podgorica: Građanska alijansa, 2019), 24-31. and Enis ef. Burdžović, "Priča o muftiji Jusufu Deleviću: Čovjek koji je ličnu slobodu žrtvovao za humane ideale," in *Utemeljenost manjinskih naroda u Crnoj Gori*, ed. Tanja Pavićević (Podgorica: Građanska alijansa, 2019), 32-37.

<sup>32</sup> These even denounced certain brokers of different creed to the old/new governing elites with the goal of getting them arrested. DACG/Cetinje, MV-VS, 1914/F11, #74, Protocol of Laza Popovića, director of the Pljevlja Gymnasium, dated September 18, 1914 and composed in the Court of the Pljevlja Captaincy, 23-28.

<sup>33</sup> Ciancia, "Poland's Wild East: Imagined Landscapes and Everyday Life in the Volhynian Borderlands, 1918-1939," 21-23. and Ateş, *The Ottoman-Iranian Borderlands: Making a Boundary, 1843-1914*, 5.

<sup>34</sup> AS/Belgrade, MUDuI, OJB 1919/K2, #906, 31.07.1919, Peć, District Chief to the MoI; *ibid.*, #941, 09.08.1919, Peć, District Chief to the MoI and Dimić and Borozan, *Jugoslovenska država i Albanci*, II, #670, 28.05.1920, Priština, KKDO to the KIIIAO, 690-691.

The dissertation shows that there have always been those state agents and actors that interfered in the policies of other states even though they might not plan or wanted that (Chapters 3.2 and 5.1). Thus, hinging, one aspired to have a fuzzy situation. But enclosing a borderland is an unattainable end, as the case of the US-Mexican, French-Spanish, and Ottoman-Iranian borderlands had exemplified.<sup>35</sup> The governing elites needed a certain number of the inhabitants who could act horizontally whereby together they would reconfigure the localities. However, the tightening of the boundaries is evident through which state power was established in a dialogue with numerous actors. Since the Sandžak did not represent a whole unit, this did not happen everywhere simultaneously. Siding with the enemy exacerbated the local relations along the confessional lines because the neighbors knew who was armed and who supported the old/new power. In those areas where locals aligned with the enemy army and committed wrongdoings, the situation was particularly sensitive since it led to a collective categorization (Chapters 2.1 and 2.3). The experiences of the locals varied, and although ethnicization was noticeable, “what was at stake was more the issue of power linked with new territorial divisions than an ethnic conflict per se.”<sup>36</sup>

This is why the SCS ruling elites in the early 1920s launched various strategies in order to enhance their authority. Similar to their British and French peers in post-Ottoman Syria, they also saw the Young Turk movements and conspiracies in their post-Ottoman territories.<sup>37</sup> Therefore, the Ottoman legacy as continuity and perspective echoed in the Balkans and the Middle East.<sup>38</sup> Realizing that a large number of the able-bodied Muslims chose the enemy side *during* – not *because of* – the occupation accelerated the SCS policies which step-by-step became more ethno-nationally oriented (Chapter 5.2). The post-war period became a separate, specific layer of meaning in which the legacy of war events and regime actions had become indissolubly but opposingly intertwined.<sup>39</sup> Although military, economic, and political mobilizations ceased, cultural and political cultural demobilization after 1918 did not, which, depending on the context, was intensified with paramilitary violence (Chapter 2.2).<sup>40</sup> A new

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<sup>35</sup> Peter Sahlins, *Boundaries: The Making of France and Spain in the Pyrenees* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, Oxford: University of California Press, 1989), 240, 65, 70-71. Rachel St. John, *Line in the Sand: A History of the Western U.S.-Mexico Border* (Princeton / Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2011). and Ateş, *The Ottoman-Iranian Borderlands: Making a Boundary, 1843-1914*, 6, 318, 20.

<sup>36</sup> Clayer, "Kosova: The Building Process of a Territory from the Nineteenth to the Twenty-First Century," 79-92, here pp. 89 (citation).

<sup>37</sup> Rogan, *Frontiers of the State in the Late Ottoman Empire: Transjordan, 1850-1921*, 244-45, 55. and Dimić and Borozan, *Jugoslovenska država i Albanci*, II, #626, 27.04.1920, Department of Public Security to the MoI, 633-634.

<sup>38</sup> Todorova, "The Ottoman Legacy in the Balkans," 45-77.

<sup>39</sup> Klau Naumann, "Einleitung," in *Nachkrieg in Deutschland*, ed. Klau Naumann (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2001), 9-26, here pp. 13.

<sup>40</sup> John Horne, "Kulturelle Demobilisierung 1919-1939: Ein sinnvoller historischer Begriff?," in *Politische Kulturgeschichte der Zwischenkriegszeit 1918-1939*, ed. Wolfgang Hardtwig (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2005), 129-50. See Šarenac, *Top, vojnik i sećanje: Prvi svetski rat i Srbija 1914-2009*, Chapter 3. and Njumen, *Jugoslavija u senci rata: Veterani u novoizgrađenoj državi, 1903-1945*, Chapters 2-5.

wave of civilizing the borderlands began since in the eyes of the old/new authorities, the imagined lines of separations were and had always been imperfect and problematic. Simply put, the transition from borderland to bordered land did not happen in every part of the region between the 1900s and the 1920s.

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Allerhöchster Oberbefehl Chef des Generalstabs  
Militärattachés Cetinje  
Armeeoberkommando Operationsabteilung Balkan-Gruppe:  
506, 507, 509, 510, 511, 512, 514, 516  
Armeeoberkommando Quartiermeisterabteilung:  
1917, 2412, 2420, 2427, 2436, 2437, 2447, 2448, 2469, 2477, 2478, 2479  
Feldakten Neue Feldakten MGG/S-M  
1629, 1642, 1645, 1666, 1667, 1668, 1669, 1670, 1698, 1702, 2070, 2147, 2272,

### *Bosnia-Herzegovina*

Arhiv Bosne i Hercegovine/Sarajevo

Zemaljska vlada

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A-643/B  
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### *Germany*

Leibniz-Zentrum Moderner Orient/Berlin

Nachlass Gerhard Höpp

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<b>RZ 201</b>	R 8201: Montenegro 5, Militärisches R 11648: Serbien 29, Innere Angelegenheiten Serbiens R 11517: Serbien 8, Militärangelegenheiten Serbiens R 13385: Türkei 143, Albanien R 14218: Türkei 203, Balkankrieg (1912-1913) R 14222: Türkei 203, Balkankrieg (1912-1913) R 14236: Türkei 203, Balkankrieg (1912-1913) R 14549: Orientalia Generalia 9, Der Muhamedanismus R 14551: Orientalia Generalia 9, Der Muhamedanismus
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### *Montenegro*

Biblioteka Istorijskog instituta Univerziteta Crne Gore/Podgorica

Fascikla 13                   = Fond Vukašina Božovića  
Fascikla 21, 5               = Vandredna komisija u novodobijenim krajevima (1912)

Fascikla 85, 1-8 = Istočni odred (1912-1913)  
Fascikla 135, 137 = Fond vojvode Sima Popovića  
Fascikla 176, đ = Arhivska građa Jovana S. Plamenca, Uoči Balkanskog rata

Državni arhiv Crne Gore/Cetinje

Kapetanija cetinjska  
Ministarstvo inostranih djela  
Ministarstvo inostranih djela, Poslanstvo u Carigradu  
Ministarstvo unutrašnjih djela  
Unutrašnje odjeljenje  
Istražna komisija  
Ministarstvo vojno  
Kabinet ministra vojnog  
Raspisi i zakoni  
Vojni sudovi  
Donjovasojevićka brigada  
Oblasna uprava Bijelo Polje  
Oblasna uprava Peć  
Oblasna uprava Pljevlja  
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*Serbia*

Arhiv Srpske akademije nauka i umetnosti/Beograd

Stevan Simić, Uspomene o ljudima i događajima u Makedoniji od 1912. do 1941  
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Arhiv Jugoslavije/Beograd

14 = Ministarstvo unutrašnjih dela  
63 = Ministarstvo pravde  
69 = Ministarstvo vera  
370 = Poslanstvo Kraljevine Jugoslavije u Turskoj: Carigrad, Ankara

Državni Arhiv Srbije/Beograd

Konzulat u Prištini  
Konzulat u Skoplju  
Ministarstvo inostranih dela  
Komisija za ispitivanje zločina  
Političko-prosvetno odeljenje  
Političko odeljenje  
Štab Vrhovne komande  
Ministarstvo prosvete i crkvenih dela  
Ministarstvo unutrašnjih dela  
Policijsko  
Ministarstvo unutrašnjih dela u izbeglištvu  
Odeljenje policijsko  
Odeljenje javne bezbednosti

Istorijski arhiv/Užice

1.603 = Milan i Aleksa Borisavljević, Nova Varoš

Istorijski arhiv Ras/Novi Pazar

Fond 283 = Zbirka hronika  
Zbirka fotografija (1912-1945)

### Vojni arhiv/Beograd

- Popisnik 2 = Arhiva Prvog i Drugog balkanskog rata (1912-1913)  
Popisnik 3 = Arhiva srpske Vrhovne komande (1914-1920)  
Popisnik 4/2 = Popisnik ratne arhive Druge armijske oblasti (1914-1920)  
Popisnik 4/3 = Popisnik ratne arhive Treće armijske oblasti (1914-1920)  
Popisnik 6 = Ratna arhiva divizija i divizijskih oblasti (1914-1920)  
Popisnik 7 = Arhivska građa raznih odreda, jedinica i komandi (1914-1920)  
Popisnik 14 = Arhiva vojske Kraljevine Srbije do Balkanskih ratova (1847-1911)  
DDP = Dosije personalnih podataka oficira Kraljevine Jugoslavije

### *Switzerland*

#### Schweizerisches Bundesarchiv/Bern

- E27\* Landesverteidigung (1848-1950)  
E27\*#06.C3.c.5.d Erster Weltkrieg, 1914-1918, Österr. Armee  
E27#1000/721/#12663\* Oberst Egli zur österreichischen Armee nach Serbien

### *Turkey*

#### Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi/Istanbul

- Dahiliye Nezareti Emniyet-i Umumiye Müdüriyeti Kısmı Adli  
Dahiliye Nezareti Emniyet-i Umumiye Kalemi  
Dahiliye Nezareti İdare  
Dahiliye Nezareti Mektubi Kalemi  
Dahiliye Nezareti Siyasi Kısmı  
Hariciye Nezareti Siyasi Kalemi  
Hariciye Nezareti Tercüme Odası  
Meclis-i Vükela Mazbatkları  
Teftişat-ı Rumeli Kosova Evrakı  
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