



cilt
3

BALKANLARDA
İSLÂM
MİADI DOLMAYAN UMUT

İSLAM IN THE BALKANS
UNEXPIRED HOPE

GÖNÜL FETHİNDEN ZİHNİYET TEMSİLİNE
FROM THE CONQUEST OF HEARTS TO THE
REPRESENTATION OF MENTALITY

EDİTÖR
MUHAMMET SAVAŞ KAFKASYALI



ANKARA - BELGRADE - BUCHAREST - BUDAPEST - CHISINAU - KIEV
PODGORICA - SARAJEVO - SKOPJE - TIRANA - ZAGREB





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MİADI DOLMAYAN UMUT

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From the Conquest of Hearts to the Representation of Mentality

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Dr. Muhammet Savaş KAFKASYALI

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Adres: Dr. Mediha Eldem Sokak 56/1 Kızılay/Ankara
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The Montenegrin-Turkish Relations before the Great Eastern Crisis As Reflected in Publications Crnogorac and Glas Crnogorca

Ivan TEPAVČEVIĆ

Dr., Faculty of Philosophy, Niksic, Montenegro

Summary

In this work, we aim to not only reconstruct the image and value system of the past but also to understand political goals of the governing group behind these publications. Most of the articles published in Crnogorac and Glas Crnogorca dealt with foreign affairs, interior education- cultural and economic themes. Their focus at the time was predominantly on provoking radical views on the “Eastern issue”, which was described as “the spark that will set the whole Europe on fire, as soon as it gets a hold of the lightest breeze”.

The correspondence column in both magazines was abounding with valuable data provided for these publications from Montenegro and other territories. These writings mostly referred to the extremely difficult situation, to brutality and violence, to the tyranny of the Turks over the discriminated common people of Zeta, Herzegovina, Bosnia, Old Serbia, Albania. These were not, as one might assume,

ordinary newspaper stories about daily, political or otherwise intriguing events, but something different and something more: an evaluation, most often also a condemnation, based on the principles of freedom, national equality, and human and social justice. Articles in the Crnogorac were rich in content, varied and ideologically colored in subject matter.

A present-day reader, based on what can be understood from these magazines, might assume that at that time a Turk would be killed as soon as he would set foot in Montenegro, and that a Montenegrin entering a Turkish city would thus end his own life. What remains to be said then of the relationship between the two countries – Montenegro and Turkey? Everlasting antagonism and warfare surely would be the first that come to mind of an average person.

Montenegrians respected real men and heroes, and likewise despised those who were not either of these two, wherever they came from. For example, it was stated that the Selmanovic family was outstanding among the others. The magazine claimed that if all the Turks had been behaving like the Selmanovic family (agha of one murdered Christian, Asanbeg Selmanovic, tried to get justice for his murdered servant), the Christians would not have suffered the injustice. Another article said that Ali Pasha was a man far above other Turks intellectually, and that the Ottoman Empire lost its wisest and finest representative (on occasion of the Great Vizier Ali Pasha's death).

Constant confrontations, casualties, suffering, and hatred resulting from all this, led to a situation where it was almost impossible to find a solution and a way for Montenegrians and Turks to make peace. The fight between Montenegrians and Turks would also last because of the neighboring nations which also found the Turkish oppression impossible to endure any longer. The magazine was calling for an overall rebellion against the Turks, against the oppressors who were beating them and intending to go on beating them for as long as there was life in them. The solution to the "Eastern issue" was, therefore, in dismantling the European Turkey and establishing new democratic countries instead, all of them in one federal union. Serbia, Greece and Montenegro would be the main players in this part. Contemporary Serbia would be followed by Bulgaria, Old Serbia and Romania, Montenegro by Bosnia, Herzegovina and Albania, and Greece by Rumelia and the Greeks from Epirus, Thrace and Macedonia. Tzarigrad would be a free European port.

When it comes to the Montenegrin-Turkish relationship, it should be noted that in the second half of the nineteenth century, border disputes occurred mainly due to economics, not politics. Conflicts are most often caused by disputable properties, cattle pastures or stealing... Not without reason, a political trait is attributed to these confrontations, a trait they could have had only indirectly, but one that gave them an air of an elevated and noble national-liberation struggle, and to its participants the aura of national heroes. The Montenegrins' fight for existence got the quality they wanted for it, which is the fight for the ultimate national ideals.

It is certainly interesting to mention the fact that several thousand Montenegrins worked in Tsarigrad every year. The Montenegrins freely traveled through surrounding Turkish areas, and there were cases where they attended Turkish markets armed. The Podgorica mayor, after the Skadar rebellion, ordered that no Montenegrin could enter Podgorica armed, but that they would have to leave their weapons at a Christian house by the Ribnica. Just like Montenegrins, the Turks from surrounding areas would freely come to Montenegro, mostly for trade.

Observing these ideological features of Montenegrin nationalism towards the Turks and all the content presented through the magazine, from a contemporary point of view, one gets an impression of an enduring and immense hatred, of an utter Montenegrin-Turkish dualism, of two opposite worlds with no similarities apart from mutual antagonism.

Crnogorac ve Glas Crnogorca Yayımlarında Yansıtıldığı Üzere Büyük Doğu Krizinden Önce Karadağ-Türk İlişkileri

Özet

Bu çalışmada sadece geçmişin görüntüsünü ve değer sistemini yeniden yapılandırmaya ilaveten aynı zamanda bu yayımların arkasındaki yöneten grubun siyasi hedeflerini anlamaya çalışılmaktadır. Crnogorac ve Glas Crnogorca yayımlarında yayımlanan makalelerin çoğu dış ilişkileri, dâhili eğitim – kültürel ve ekonomik temaları işliyorlardı. O dönemde odak noktaları daha ziyade ‘en ufak rüzgârda tüm Avrupa’yı ateşe verecek kıvılcım’ olarak tarif edilen ‘Doğu meselesi’ ile ilgili kışkırtıcı radikal görüşlerden ibaretti.

Her iki derginin okuyucu sütunu Karadağ ve diğer bölgelerden gelen yayımların sağladığı değerli verilerle doluydu. Bu yazılarda genellikle Türklerin ayrımcılığa uğrayan ve zor durumda olan Zeta, Hersek, Bosna, Eski Sırbistan, Arnavutluk halkları üzerindeki zorbalığı, zulüm ve şiddetten bahsedilmekteydi. Tahmin edileceği üzere bu yazılar günlük, siyasi veya başka türlü ilgi çekici olayları olmayıp farklı ve daha fazla idi: hürriyetin, ulusal eşitliği ve insani

ve sosyal adaletin ilkelerine dayalı değerlendirme ve çoğunlukla aynı zamanda bir kınama idi. Articles in the Crnogorac dergisindeki makaleler içerik açısından zengin, çeşitli ve konu malzemesi ideolojik olarak renkliydi.

Bu dergilerden anlaşıldığı üzere günümüzde bir okuyucu bir Türk Karadağ'a gitse ayağını basar basmaz öldürüleceğini ve Karadağlı birisinin bir Türk şehrine gidişi ile canından olacağı varsayabilir. O halde bu iki ülke – Karadağ ve Türkiye – arasındaki ilişkilerle ilgili olarak ne söylenebilir ki? Ortalama insanın aklına ilk geleceği unsurlar ebedi husumet ve savaş olurdu.

Karadağlılar nereli olursa olsun gerçek erkekler ve kahramanlara karşı saygılıydı ve bunun tersine ne böyle olmayanları hor görüyorlardı. Örneğin Selmanovic ailesinin diğerleri arasında öne çıktığı belirtilmektedir. Dergiye göre bütün Türkler Selmanovic ailesi gibi davransaydı (Asanbeg Selmanovic, ailenin ağası cinayete kurban giden bir hizmetkâr için adalet arayışına girmişti) Hıristiyanlar adaletsizliğe maruz kalmayacaktı. Diğer bir makalede Ali Paşanın entelektüel açıdan diğer Türklerden üstün olduğunu ve Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun en zeki ve üstün temsilcisini kaybettiğini belirtmektedir (Sadrazam Ali Paşanın ölümü ile ilgili olarak).

Sürekli çatışmalar, yaralanmalar, acı ve nefret sayesinde öyle bir duruma gelindi ki Karadağlılar ve Türkler arasında barışın tesis edilmesi için çözümlerin bulunması hemen hemen olanaksızdı. Ayrıca Karadağlılar ve Türkler arasındaki çatışma çevredeki komşu ulusların Türklerin baskısını dayanılmaz bulmaları nedeniyle sürmeye devam edecekti. Dergi herkesi onları vuran ve yaşadıkça onları vurmaya devam edecek olan zalimlere, Türklere karşı isyana çağırıyordu. Böylelikle 'Doğu meselesinin' çözümü Avrupa'daki Türkiye'nin çözülmesi ve onun yerine bir federal birlik kapsamında yeni demokratik ülkelerin kurulmasıydı. Bu kısımdaki başrolleri Sırbistan, Yunanistan ve Karadağ'a aitti. Çağdaş Sırbistan'ın arkasından Bulgaristan, Eski Sırbistan ve Romanya, Karadağ ile Bosna, Hersek ve Arnavutluk ve Yunanistan ile Rumeli ve Epirus, Trakya ve Makedonya'daki Yunanlar sıradaydı. Tzarigrad ise serbest Avrupa limanı olacaktı.

Karadağ-Türkiye ilişkilerine gelince on dokuzuncu yüzyılın ikinci yarısında ortaya çıkan sınır anlaşmazlıklarının sebepleri siyasetten ziyade genellikle ekonomi nedeniyle çıkmaktaydı. Anlaşmazlıklar en çok tartışılmalı mülkler, meralar veya hırsızlık nedeniyle ortaya çıkıyordu. ... Bu çatışmalara siyasi bir özelliğin atfedilmiş olması sebepsiz

değil, böyle bir özelliğın atfedilmiş olması onlara yüce ve asil ulusal-kurtuluş havasını vermekle birlikte katılımcıları da ulusal kahraman aurasına büründürüyordu. Karadağlıların var olma savaşları arzu ettikleri nihai ulusal idealleri için savaşma niteliğı kazanmıştı.

Birkaç bin Karadağlının her yıl Tsarigrad'ta çalıştığı belirtilmesi ilginçtir. Karadağlılar çevredeki Türk bölgeleri içinden serbestçe geçiyorlardı ve bazen Türk pazarlarına silahlı gitmişler. Skadar isyanından sonra Podgorica belediye başkanı Karadağlıların Podgorica'ya silahla girmesini yasaklayarak Ribnica'nın yanındaki Hıristiyan eve bırakmalarını emretmişti. Karadağlılar gibi çevredeki Türkler serbestçe Karadağ'a çoğunlukla ticaret amaçlı geliyorlardı.

Karadağlıların Türklere karşı hissettikleri milliyetçiliğın ideolojik özelliklerini ve dergi içeriğinde sunulanların çağdaş bir bakış açısından gözlemleyerek kalıcı ve muazzam bir nefret algısı, mutlak Karadağ-Türk ikiliğı ve karşılıklı düşmanlıktan başka benzerlik olmayan zıt dünyalar izlenimi ortaya çıkmaktadır.

Introduction

In this work, we aim to not only reconstruct the image and value system of the past but also to understand political goals of the governing group behind these publications. Most of the articles published in *Crnogorac* and *Glas Crnogorca* dealt with foreign affairs, interior education- cultural and economic themes. Their focus at the time was predominantly on provoking radical views on the “Eastern issue”, which was described as “the spark that will set the whole Europe on fire, as soon as it gets a hold of the lightest breeze”.

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European Turkey and establishing new democratic countries instead, all of them in one federal union. Serbia, Greece and Montenegro would be the main players in this part. Contemporary Serbia would be followed by Bulgaria, Old Serbia and Romania, Montenegro by Bosnia, Herzegovina and Albania, and Greece by Rumelia and the Greeks from Epirus, Thrace and Macedonia. Tsarigrad would be a free European port.

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Observing these ideological features of Montenegrin nationalism towards the Turks and all the content presented through the magazine, from a contemporary point of view, one gets an impression of an enduring and immense hatred, of an utter Montenegrin-Turkish dualism, of two opposite worlds with no similarities apart from mutual antagonism.

By the second half of the 19th century, newspapers became a commodity, a mass consumption daily use product. The pace of this process varied in different countries, and, even when the initial cause was the same, the press was acquiring specific features depending on the national mentality and historical circumstances. Some of the features survived until the present day. "*If all periodicals are taken into account, by the end of 1871, as many as 2,776 newspapers were being issued in Europe*".¹ A newspaper bears the stamp and color of both the events and the aspirations of those whose interests it served. However, it is not always the most convenient tool for revealing truth as numerous factors are involved, such as society's development, certain social interests, spirit of time, and so on. Many historians were hesitant about using journalistic publications as historical sources,

¹ *Crnogorac*, II/1872, n. 4, p. 16.

even though they were aware that a newspaper had, if not first-rate, then certainly second-rate importance as a historical fact.

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Crnogorac and *Glas Crnogorca* did not merely convey the truth about the liberation movements of the Balkans nations and the given circumstances - they incited upraise, inspired and encouraged the Balkan nations to free themselves of the Ottoman Empire.

The correspondence column in both magazines was abounding with valuable data provided for these publications from Montenegro and other territories. These writings mostly referred to the extremely difficult situation, to brutality and violence, to the tyranny of the Turks over the discriminated common people of Zeta, Herzegovina, Bosnia, Old Serbia, Albania. These were not, as one might assume, ordinary newspaper stories about daily, political or otherwise intriguing events, but something different and something more: an evaluation, most often also a condemnation, based on the principles of freedom, national equality, and human and social justice. Articles in the *Crnogorac* were rich in content, varied and ideologically colored in subject matter.

Most of the magazines' correspondents were from neighboring areas, mainly occupied regions of Montenegro (Podgorica, Zeta, Spuz, Niksic, Kolasin, Berane, Bijelo Polje), then from Skadar, Herzegovina (Trebinje, Zupci, Gacko, Nevesinje, Stolac, Gabela, Mostar), Old Serbia, Bosnia.

Much has been written about the Montenegrin-Turkish relationship. There is undoubtedly a considerable amount of material that was only partially used. In view of the topic of this work, our main sources were: *Crnogorac*, a magazine for politics and literature, from the period 1871-1872, notably its phototypic edition issued in Cetinje in 1983; and the magazine *Glas Crnogorca* from 1873, 1874 and 1875, in its electronic form for each of these years, respectively.

Crnogorac published 218 articles on the afore-mentioned subject: 120 articles were published in 1871 while 98 articles were published in 1872. In 1875, almost every single issue of *Glas Crnogorca* wrote about grave conditions under Turkish occupation, often in more than one article. These articles typically advocated rebellion and uprising against Turkish tyranny, and final liberation of the nations

2 *Crnogorac*, I/1871, n. 1, p. 3.

oppressed by the Ottoman Empire. In addition, the magazines were encouraging all the Christians to fight against the Turks, as any such rebellion would have been in favor of the Montenegrin resistance. Towards that end, many of the articles were mentioning the Montenegrin interests in bringing down the Ottoman Empire. Namely, by freeing the Montenegrin territories from the Turks, numerous economic and other issues that the country was dealing with at the time would have been solved.

At the time of the *Crnogorac* magazine, the Principality of Montenegro consisted of four areas (Katunska, Rijecka, Ljesanska and Crmnicka), as well as the regions Bjelopavlici, Piperi, Rovca, Moraca, a part of Kuci tribe, Drobnjaci, Grahovo, Niksicke Rudine, Zupa Niksicka, Uskoci, Gornje Lipovo and Gornji Vasojevici. These took up 4,400 km², and as there was no valid census at the time, the population of the Principality was estimated at 125-130 thousand.

The Montenegrin state politics in the mid-19th century had several political-strategic goals, which included active support to the national liberation movements in Herzegovina, Vasojevici, Old Serbia and Donja Zeta with the aim to force out Turkish authorities, and annexation of these territories to Montenegro.

Strong national enthusiasm and fighting spirit were overwhelming Montenegro especially in the 1870s. The idea of war against Turkey prevailed in the minds of Montenegrins. The Montenegrin army, armed with new rifles and trained partly by new methods applied in the Serbian army, had faith in its own strength. The impending war was the main topic at the people's assemblies and gatherings. This was the final stage of the Classical period in the history of Montenegro characterized by endless stories of ancient heroes, a vision of retribution for Kosovo, and a firm belief in the fall of the Ottoman Empire. Prince Nikola strived to enhance the war spirit toward Turkey among the Montenegrins, so that people would see the purpose of their mission in it.

In 1860s and 1870s, Montenegro and Turkey were having a very intensive political relationship. The "Montenegrin issue" was brought to attention by Prince Nikola, whose idea was to incite insurgencies in Herzegovina and make big countries settle this issue diplomatically, thus getting territorial expansion and official independence for Montenegro. However, things would not work out the way he had planned. In the early 1862, the Sublime Porte declared war to Montenegro. The powerful Turkish army under Omar Pasha Latas was heading for Montenegro once again. Despite the losses they suffered, Montenegrins managed to prevent the Turkish army's advance from April to August 1862. Upon the end of the battle and signing peace in Rijeka, there came an almost ten-year period of Montenegrin-Turkish negotiations on disputed border areas. Most of the negotiations referred to Velje and Malo brdo, near Podgorica, as well as Jezero and Šaranci. In 1864, a Montenegrin-Turkish commission signed the "Cetinje protocol", dealing with principles and procedures for solving the disputed border

issues. In 1866, Prince Nikola sent Duke Ilija Plamenac to Tsarigrad on a special mission intended to speed up the resolving of these issues. The Montenegrin-Turkish border disputes referred to disagreements in governing border areas, occupation of a part of the disputed territories by the Turkish army, and building Turkish fortifications around Montenegro. A bilateral commission of four people was established in Tsarigrad, working on solving these issues. The bilateral commission's work (having Duke Ilija Plamenac and captain Pero Pejovic as members) lasted until the end of September 1866, and was finished to the satisfaction of the Montenegrin party. Turkey was obliged to withdraw from the disputed areas (Novo Selo), to remove the fortification at Visocica, and to hand Velje and Malo brdo over to Montenegro, on condition that land owners pay tax to the Turkish authorities in Skadar. A Montenegrin-Turkish protocol was signed on October 26, 1866, in Tsarigrad.

During 1868, there were Montenegrin-Turkish negotiations concerning border disputes towards Herzegovina. It was necessary to draw a precise borderline between Montenegro and the Ottoman Empire in the area of Banjani, Drobnjak, Piva and Saranci. The negotiations were ended successfully at the end of 1868. Montenegro accepted to concede some of the disputed territories to Turkey, with 100,000 florins of compensation and guaranteed proprietary rights to the Montenegrin subjects owning land in these territories.

The disputes between Montenegro and Turkey referring to the border towards Podgorica were not so easy to resolve. Montenegrin government breached the Tsarigrad agreement. Namely, they were refusing to pay the agreed taxes for Velje brdo and Malo brdo as they considered it a Montenegrin territory within Turkey. That provoked a major dispute in mid-1869, which was solved at the end of 1870 when the Sublime Porte decided to buy the privileges for Velje and Malo brdo off of Montenegro for 120,000 florins.

The source publications were convinced that the fall of Turkey was imminent as the Christian nations within the Empire wanted to be free and independent. In the nineteenth century, the outskirts of the Empire entered a period of changes, similar to the time of Ottoman invasions. The enlightened romanticist Europe and Hellenicism re-discovered each other. Yet, it was the Balkans nations who were destined to commence the independence process.

The source publications claimed that Turkey, the way it was, did no good to itself or to the others. It was described as a heavy rock on the suffering chest of Christian nations, and a putrid boil on the body of Europe. They suggested that the solution was at hand, and it was simple : the boil had to burst, for that was the only way Christian nations could be free. Until that, Europe would continue twitching in pain and fever.³ "A nation, just like a person, has one unalienable

3 *Crnogorac*, I/1871, n. 42, p. 165; I/1871, n. 17, p. 65.

right, which is the right to freedom and everything that freedom implies, such as education and welfare. If someone wants to take this away, or prevent it from being given as a right, that someone is a tyrant, and that someone is unjust. And that is Turkey.”⁴

There were numerous articles in *Crnogorac* and *Glas Crnogorca* describing the Turks in Europe, their institutions, customs and lifestyle . Several articles were about Tzarigrad, its history, architecture, bazaars and social life of the city.

A few articles pointed out that the Balkan Peninsula was one of the richest and most fertile areas in the world. And how did the Turks use “*the richest of the European lands*”? As an answer to the question, the magazine argued that, in spite of the vast mineral wealth, huge forests with abundant fruit, plenty of natural products of all kinds, imports in Turkey were four times greater than exports. Furthermore, they stated that the Turks were incapable of utilizing the natural riches largely due to their indifference, inertness, eccentricity, domestic life, and interpretations of Islam. It was further noticed that, due to the inherent Ottoman laziness, all the roads on the Balkan Peninsula were dilapidated, and unusable during the rainy season until dried off by the single engineer of the East, and also the best one - the sun. The journalist seemed to have a formula to balance out Turkish deficit, and he maintained that the Turkish Government would easily pay off its debts if they would put the country’s natural wealth to good use, which would be possible only with proper communication, good roads and sea ports. The Turkish Government had had offers from foreign enterprises to build traffic infrastructure, but it turned them all down.⁵

The source magazines offer several articles on the sultans, their rule, and the atmosphere at the Imperial Court. The question of who ruled in Tzarigrad in this period would naturally produce sultans as the answer by most people. However, the magazines claimed that the ruling power was actually in the hands of the Great Vizier and the Great Powers. It was further claimed that the Great Vizier was normally chosen from the political group that would use the Harem’s and Divan’s intrigues to get hold of the leadership in Turkey. The Vizier’s successor was chosen while he was still alive. Thus, before he died, Fuad Pasha recommended Ali Pasha to the Sultan, and Ali Pasha inaugurated Mahmud Pasha as the Great Vizier. It is stated that each Great Vizier was an autocrat who had the power of the Turkish state machinery in his hands. On the other hand, ever since the Crimean War and its acceptance among the European Great Powers, Turkey was obliged to follow their instructions. According to *Crnogorac*, every envoy representing a Great Power would take part in the debates in the High Porte. If the Great Vizier would wish to push through an act, it would first have to be approved by the envoys, or it would never see the light of day. So, what was the

4 *Glas Crnogorca*, I/1873, n. 1, p. 1.

5 *Crnogorac*, II/1872, n. 14, p. 54.

Sultan's role then, the magazines asked. They claimed that the Sultan truly was the head of the Government, the unrestricted ruler over the Government and the Council, the autocrat. In theory, all his subjects were slaves with no right to freedom, life or property. In reality, the Sultan's autocratic rule was limited by the Great Powers in every aspect. The Great Vizier's role was to persuade the Sultan to accept whatever request the Great Powers would have.

Obviously, the Montenegrin magazines were set to demonstrate that the Turkish authorities and the Sultan himself did not care for the country or their subjects. They were pointing out that the Sultan was neglecting his duties and was spending his days carefree in the Harem, "*where lust, luxury and greed are a necessity*". According to *Crnogorac*, the rebellion against Turkey was imminent. Yet, the ruling group in Tzarigrad was still untroubled. Smoking their pipes and sipping coffee as ever, they were singing the old song: "*a couple of Vlachs to rebell starts, the small (gunpowder) flasks are not enough...*"⁶

Despite this generally negative view of the Sultans, the Sultan's mother was described as a "smart woman" in one political discourse, which is certainly a point showing the respect for Turkish women in family and society.

Turkish army assumed many duties that were, in other European countries, usually performed by civil bodies. However, its military performance was the main pillar of the Empire survival. *Crnogorac* did not miss a chance to speak about it. They stated that the biggest and the most important wheel in Turkey was the army, which kept alive "*the sick man*" that would have been long gone without it. The magazine noted that in Turkey, just like elsewhere in Europe, the most of the state budget was spent on the army. "The state debt of Turkey is appalling and growing every year, with the army eating up three fifths of the state income. The taxes that the common people have to pay are enormous, and the consequence, of course, is the increasing poverty."⁷

The same article stated that the military power of Turkey in times of peace amounted to 150 thousand, and if there was an uprising in the country, it could grow to 220 thousand. If Turkey would get attacked from one side, additional 400 thousand would be activated, and if it was attacked from more than one side, it would call to arms 700 thousand people.⁸ Even if these numbers were far from exact, it was clear that this was a massive military power, against which Montenegro, with its 16,700 soldiers hardly represented a considerable force.

According to the *Crnogorac*, in the countries ruled by the Turks even the birds' song was not as cheerful as in other happy countries. The articles were bringing many examples of Turkish disposition, their aggressive intentions, their

6 *Crnogorac*, I/1871, n. 35, p. 140. The song belittles the will and the military power of the rebels.

7 *Glas Crnogorca*, I/1873, n. 22, September 15, p. 1.

8 *Crnogorac*, II/1872, n. 16, p. 63.

cruelty, and especially, their immorality. The magazine said it illustratively that the irreverent Turk held an executioner's sword over the exposed Christian's neck all the time.⁹ An annex titled "Christmas in Cetinje," described how the Zeta people invited bishop Danilo to consecrate their church. The Turks ambushed and caught him, then took him to Podgorica to be tortured and dragged through the city in chains.¹⁰ Also, in one correspondence from Podgorica from February 22, 1871, it was told how the Skadar commander was supposed to build garrison barracks after two years of empty promises. The article concluded that the Turks would easily make promises but would hardly ever fulfill them.¹¹

The articles "Our newest dispute with the Turks" and "Of the Lipovo Battle" further stated that the Turks would often harm Montenegrins through false pretenses and deceit. They conveyed the story of the Turks taking over Lipovo under the veil of the night with full military equipment, many tents, gunpowder, munitions and cannons, attacking the peaceful people out of the blue.

Obvious conclusion drawn from the articles is that the manner in which the Turks would wage a war was immoral and non-chivalrous, and that they used to inflict damage and casualties on the Montenegrins by using trickery. Therefore, fighting against such an enemy presented a noble moral act. The Montenegrin man "*had fought for centuries against the Ottoman force, against those people and nations whose only goal was to destroy Montenegro and to capture the Montenegrin as a servant and slave*".¹² He grew up with a song praising virtue, honesty, chivalry and bravery, witnessing fierce and bloody clashes and battles. And his mother would advise him to be like those many Montenegrin heroes, naming them all, or she would scold him with the words „ you, dastard son, you will never separate a Turk from his head"¹³

These examples of Turkish moral inconsistency aim to demonstrate the existence of the opposite qualities in Montenegrins, their morality and chivalry in battle, which the Turks lacked. In addition, they suggested that the Montenegrins suffered losses not because the Turks are courageous fighters but because they were sneaky and mean. Or in other words, Montenegrins were not weaker but merely more naive.

Crnogorac was regularly informing the public of the Turks imprisoning and murdering the Christians, taking away their possessions, brutalizing common people, capturing prominent individuals and filling their dungeons, imposing their religion, slaughtering, impaling, and all this in order to present themselves as the oppressors that nobody can stop.¹⁴

9 *Crnogorac*, I/1871, n. 1, p. 3.

10 *Crnogorac*, I/1871, n. 3, p. 11.

11 *Crnogorac*, I/1871, n. 6, p. 23.

12 *Crnogorac*, I/1871, n. 32, p. 127.

13 *Crnogorac*, I/1871, n. 6, p. 23.

14 *Crnogorac*, I/1871, n. 13, p. 52.

Nearly entire history of Montenegro from the Crnojević dynasty to Prince Nikola is portrayed as an incessant struggle for freedom against the Turks, those *venomous snakes*, who caused so much grief. The difficulties imposed on Montenegro by the Turkish surrounding were clearly noted. The hostile surrounding presented a constant threat for the interior stability of Montenegro and a big obstacle for its faster advance towards independence. Turkey waged so many wars against Montenegro in order to invade and occupy it, and Montenegro always fought against Turkey to protect and preserve its freedom and independence.¹⁵

It was believed that the Montenegrins were able to break free from the unfavorable surrounding with the help from other Balkan nations and great Russia. Thus, numerous articles were calling out the neighboring nations to unite their forces and confront the Turks in a battle from which they would retreat only with the regained freedom and unity. Many articles were stating that, when provoked by the mighty Turkish Empire, Montenegro would not only defend itself with courage but put a stop to these attacks once and for all.¹⁶ Because of the Turkish assaults and almost permanent threat from the Turks, the Montenegrins were forced to fight to protect their freedom.

Constant confrontations, casualties, suffering, and hatred resulting from all this, led to a situation where it was almost impossible to find a solution and a way for Montenegrins and Turks to make peace. The fight between Montenegrins and Turks would also last because of the neighboring nations which also found the Turkish oppression impossible to endure any longer. The magazine was calling for an overall rebellion against the Turks, against the oppressors who were beating them and intending to go on beating them for as long as there was life in them.¹⁷ The solution to the “Eastern issue” was, therefore, in dismantling the European Turkey and establishing new democratic countries instead, all of them in one federal union. Serbia, Greece and Montenegro would be the main players in this part. Contemporary Serbia would be followed by Bulgaria, Old Serbia and Romania, Montenegro by Bosnia, Herzegovina and Albania, and Greece by Rumelia and the Greeks from Epirus, Thrace and Macedonia. Tsarigrad would be a free European port.

*The eastern issue must be solved by the sword, the sword of the Christian nations on the Balkan Peninsula. The prerequisite for this is a widespread rebellion of all southern Slavs and Greeks, united and immediate.*¹⁸

In a series of articles “Us and the Turks” and “Montenegro toward Turkey”, it was said that Turkey attacked Montenegro many times, each attack extending the Montenegrin-Turkish gap and toughening the long existing mutual hostility.

15 *Glas Crnogorca*, I/1873, n. 8, p. 1.

16 *Crnogorac*, II/1872, n. 36, p. 142.

17 *Crnogorac*, I/1871, n. 13, p. 51.

18 *Glas Crnogorca*, I/1873, n. 23, p. 2.

The magazine argued that Turkey used its mighty forces countless times in order to destroy Montenegro, but these Turkish invasions and the constant aspiration of the Sublime Porte to occupy Montenegro resulted in a counter-effect: the reinforced and strengthened resistance of Montenegrins. They resulted in battles of Carev Laz and Grahovac, as the foremost testimonies that Montenegro would not surrender until the last Montenegrin.¹⁹

In line with the needs of the Montenegrin Court, the animosity toward the Turks was strongly encouraged and the war against Turkey announced. All the correspondence regarding the circumstances in the surrounding areas was aimed at justifying the political action in these areas that were directed from Cetinje, and to validate the war goals of Montenegro.

The anti-Turkish attitude in the magazines culminated after the Lipovo battle (September 1872), the Podgorica massacre in 1874 and the Herzegovina uprising in 1875.²⁰ The Montenegrin-Turkish relations were severely affected by the Herzegovina rebellion; numerous writings from these areas were being published in the newspapers daily, pushing the existing tension to the extreme.²¹ A series of articles described Turkey as a barbarous and tyrannical country in which arrogance, brutality and disorder were ruling. Furthermore, they stated that Turkey was not capable of utilizing the abundant natural riches of the Balkans and, instead of ensuring the welfare of its subjects thus making them a strong tie and a guarantee of its own existence, it was doing just the opposite. This approach would devastate even the strongest country in a very short time, they argued in Cetinje. Turkey wreaked havoc in beautiful and rich countries, bringing them only the most terrifying poverty, and it turned virtuous people into mute slaves.²²

Regardless of such nationalist rhetoric imposed via the magazine – the instrument of the government, and regardless of the ever present epic awareness of the Turks as “*ancient oppressors, always the same, and never better*”,²³ the relationship between Montenegrins and Turks was of astonishing regularity, in some aspects.

19 *Crnogorac*, I/1871, n. 37, p. 145.

20 Dispute in Lipovo was caused by an inaccurate border line drawn by the international commission in 1859 and 1860. This line gave four fifths of Lipovo to Turkey and one fifth to Montenegro. Ottoman colonel Salih Beg headed for Lipovo with 3,000 soldiers on September 16, 1872. Montenegrin side was timely informed of their intentions, so they were ready for the Turkish forces consisting of three nizam battalions and 1,000 bashi-bazouks. Over 600 people from Morača and Rovca participated in the battle. The battle was fierce; it lasted from 9 in the morning until dark; The Montenegrin side had 7 dead and 15 wounded people. The Turks had 20 dead and around 150 wounded. The Montenegrins also captured considerable war material (Radoman Jovanovic, *Crnogorsko-turski pogranični odnosi i boj na Lipovu 1872*, Historical writings, n. 4, Titograd, 1963, 563-583.; Branko Pavicevic, *Istorija Crne Gore, Sazdanje crnogorske nacionalne drzave*, book IV, vol. II, Podgorica, 2004, p.149.; Milo Vukcevic, *Crna Gora i Hercegovina uoci rata 1874-1876*, Cetinje, 1950, p. 17).

21 *Glas Crnogorca* III/1875, n. 25, p. 1, n. 26, p. 1, n. 27, p. 1, n. 28, p. 1., and all the way till the end of 1875, newspaper reports about tribulations, war operations and Montenegrin help to Herzegovinian rebels.

22 *Crnogorac*, II/1872, n. 29, p. 113.

23 *Crnogorac*, I/1871, n. 25, p. 99.

The nationalist tone and antagonism towards the Turks were, in certain cases, suppressed to an extreme extent. Both the Montenegrins and the Turks, as much as we may doubt the emancipation of their political consciousness, pushed their “historical confrontations” to the side whenever it came to normal human relationships. This was certainly due to high esteem for certain moral principles. Even though they often battled in border areas, usually over disputable properties, even though murders and pillages occurred, both the Turks and the Montenegrins observed a moral code. Both sides respected “the guest”, i.e. those who would come to their territory on some business etc.

The magazine confirmed that the daily bloody clashes with the Turks, which occurred in the period preceding the peace signed in Rijeka, ceased altogether. Every day, Turks and their caravans with loads of money and goods crossed the Montenegrin border traveling from Niksic to Podgorica, and did not have to worry at all. They traveled peacefully and without fear, and it never happened that a single Turk was mugged or murdered in the ten years since peace was declared on the Montenegrin territory.²⁴

Montenegrins respected real men and heroes, and likewise despised those who were not either of these two, wherever they came from. For example, it was stated that the Selmanovic family was outstanding among the others. The magazine claimed that if all the Turks had been behaving like the Selmanovic family (agha of one murdered Christian, Asanbeg Selmanovic, tried to get justice for his murdered servant), the Christians would not have suffered the injustice.²⁵ Another article said that Ali Pasha was a man far above other Turks intellectually, and that the Ottoman Empire lost its wisest and finest representative (on occasion of the Great Vizier Ali Pasha's death).²⁶

When it comes to the Montenegrin-Turkish relationship, it should be noted that in the second half of the nineteenth century, border disputes occurred mainly due to economics, not politics. Conflicts are most often caused by disputable properties, cattle pastures or stealing... Not without reason, a political trait is attributed to these confrontations, a trait they could have had only indirectly, but one that gave them an air of an elevated and noble national-liberation struggle, and to its participants the aura of national heroes.²⁷ The Montenegrins' fight for existence got the quality they wanted for it, which is the fight for the ultimate national ideals.

Observing these ideological features of Montenegrin nationalism towards the Turks and all the content presented through the magazine, from a contemporary point of view, one gets an impression of an enduring and immense hatred, of an

24 *Crnogorac*, I/1871, n. 37, p. 145.

25 *Crnogorac*, I/1871, n. 25, p. 98.

26 *Crnogorac*, I/1871, n. 35, p. 137.

27 Zivko M. Andrijasevic, *Crnogorci i Turci*, Almanac, 7-8, Podgorica, 1999, 97.

utter Montenegrin-Turkish dualism, of two opposite worlds with no similarities apart from mutual antagonism.²⁸

A present-day reader, based on what can be understood from these magazines, might assume that at that time a Turk would be killed as soon as he would set foot in Montenegro, and that a Montenegrin entering a Turkish city would thus end his own life. What remains to be said then of the relationship between the two countries – Montenegro and Turkey? Everlasting antagonism and warfare surely would be the first that come to mind of an average person.

The Montenegrin-Turkish relationship was more complex than it would be concluded from the ideological content of the Crnogorac magazine. Montenegrins regularly attended markets in nearby Turkish cities, and got almost all of their life necessities from Turkey. At a trial to one Montenegrin, accused of murdering a Turkish soldier as an act of vengeance for the Podgorica massacre, it was testified that the same man had been selling milk, cheese, eggs, chicken and fish to the Turkish garrison, and that they had had no dispute whatsoever.²⁹

It is certainly interesting to mention the fact that several thousand Montenegrins worked in Tsarigrad every year. The Montenegrins freely traveled through surrounding Turkish areas, and there were cases where they attended Turkish markets armed. The Podgorica mayor, after the Skadar rebellion, ordered that no Montenegrin can enter Podgorica armed, but that they would have to leave their weapons at a Christian house by the Ribnica.³⁰ Just like Montenegrins, the Turks from surrounding areas would freely come to Montenegro, mostly for trade. What is more, one of the Turkish traders brought several issues of Crnogorac from Cetinje to a Christian in Podgorica.³¹

There were examples of courteous respect in Montenegrin-Turkish relationships, for instance when the Skadar Pasha himself came to resolve border disputes,³² or when several Turks and Albanians attracted attention in Cetinje during the baptism ceremony of the heir to the throne, Danilo. In addition, there were sincere efforts to improve relationships, such as the agreement to establish the mail traffic and a telegraph line in Montenegro. The telegraph line was to be connected to the Turkish line in Spuz. It could be said that the Montenegrin authorities tried to do justice in Montenegrin-Turkish disputes, regardless of the subject being a Montenegrin or a Turk.

28 "I do not know how it is going to end, but it is not going to end without blood, for both sides are angry, both sides are blood-thirsty, and there is no mighty hand for either side to order: "Peace"! (Crnogorac, II/1872, n. 37, p. 147).

29 Glas Crnogorca, III/1875, n. 17, p. 3.

30 Crnogorac, I/1871, n. 30, p. 119.

31 Crnogorac, I/1871, n. 30, p. 119.

32 "On the 30th of previous month, Mr. Mustapha Asim Pasha, the civil governor and military commander of Albania, arrived. He was cordially received by HE Prince Nikola, which he truly deserves not only as a high official, but also as a man of wide education and fine manners" (Crnogorac, II/1872, n. 1, p. 4).

All the above examples demonstrate that the Montenegrin authorities assumed an anti-Turkish attitude based chiefly on political causes, and not on noble national ideals. It can be concluded that the Montenegrins fought against the Turks not because they were of another faith, but because they had occupied their land. They did not hate the Turks only because they were arrogant, haughty, wild, unrestrained by laws, but primarily because they had enslaved a part of their people.³³ They did not wage war against the “*godless Turks*”, but against the Turkish Empire.

Gaining official independence and expanding the territory were most certainly two crucial issues for Montenegro. The main obstacle was the Turkish Empire, hence the systematically created negative portrayal of the Turks. At the time, that was the only possible way.

33 *Crnogorac*, II/1872, n. 29, p. 113.

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