

## MUSLIM EMIGRATION FROM THE BALKAN PENINSULA IN THE 19<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY: A HISTORICAL OUTLINE<sup>1</sup>

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### ABSTRACT

The article presents the problem of Muslim emigration from the Balkan states (Bulgaria, Serbia, Greece, Romania, Montenegro) and other territories (Bosnia and Herzegovina), which were separated from the Ottoman Empire in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The process is analyzed in the context of the power takeover by the Christians in these territories, and the main reasons for the Muslim exodus. These migrations in the Balkans led to a great transformation in the spheres of politics, society, and culture.

**Keywords:** Balkan Peninsula, Muslims in Balkans, Migrations, 19<sup>th</sup> Century.

### INTRODUCTION

The 19<sup>th</sup> century was a tempestuous time for the Balkans. There were wars, revolts against local liege lords, battles between armed bands, and national uprisings during which Christians and Muslims were fighting each other and between their own. The effect of these conflicts was a gradual collapse of the Ottoman Empire. First Serbia gained independence from Turkey, then Greece, Bulgaria, and – at last – Albania. The path to independence for Wallachia and Moldova (the later Romania) and Montenegro was longer and gradual. The events connected with the end of Turkish rule in the region led to large migrations, which, in the history of Southeastern Europe, can be compared only to the movements during the collapse of the Medieval Balkan states and the Ottoman conquest in the 13<sup>th</sup>–15<sup>th</sup> century. An increase in human mobility

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in the 19<sup>th</sup> century was noticed primarily among Muslims. The German historian Wolfgang Höpken noted that the situation in 19<sup>th</sup> century Balkans can be summarized in the simple words: “Without a doubt, the Turks are leaving and the Christians are coming.”<sup>2</sup> Between 1821 and 1922 about 5 million Muslims emigrated from the Balkan Peninsula and the coast of the Black Sea, in 1878–1913 1.7–2 million people left European Turkey.<sup>3</sup> Not by accident Maria Todorova concluded that the most significant effect of the creation of national states in the region and the collapse of the Ottoman Empire were the 19<sup>th</sup> century migrations.<sup>4</sup> The ethnic map of the present Balkan states is the effect of the 100 years of human mobility. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century it would have been hard to find an ethnically and religiously homogeneous region in the Southeastern Europe – today it is not a difficult task.

Muslims were not a homogenous group in the Balkan Peninsula – among them, there were Turks, Albanians, Slavophonic people (Bosniaks, Pomaks, Torbeshes, Gorans), Roma, Tatars, Circassians, etc. It is worth pointing out that in the 19<sup>th</sup> century most members of the Muslim population identified themselves through the prism of religion (as *ummah*) and membership of local communities (except for the Albanians). National identity based on language and ethnic origin was not a widespread concept in the Balkan Peninsula at that time, especially among Muslims. In the sources the term “Muslim” is usually alternative to “Turk.”

That phenomenon is linked to the biggest problem with the researches of the migrations in the Balkan Peninsula until the 20<sup>th</sup> century. There was the mix-up linked to the different civil, national, religious, and ethnic terms using in the different contexts and without the uniform definitions.<sup>5</sup> The term ‘Turk’ was used as the ethnic or national, religious (means Muslim), even civil (a subject of the sultan).<sup>6</sup> The statistical data are full of the manipulations, defects, and false information. The best example is the Ottoman censuses. According to the different Turkish sources, in the 1870s, Bulgarians were 24–39% of the total Balkan inhabitants, Greeks – 9–16%, and Muslims – 11–24%.<sup>7</sup> Justin McCarthy said that the Ottoman Empire in the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century is “a nightmare for demographer.”<sup>8</sup> That is why it is important

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<sup>2</sup> W. Höpken, “From Religious Identity to Ethnic Mobilisation: The Turks of Bulgaria before, under and since Communism” [in:] *Muslim Identity and the Balkan States*, eds. H. Poulton, S. Taji-Farouki, London 1997, p. 54.

<sup>3</sup> M. Mazower, *The Balkans: From the End of Byzantium to the Present Day*, Phoenix 2002, pp. 12–13; K. Karpat, *Studies on Ottoman Social and Political History*, Leiden–Boston–Köln 2002, p. 321.

<sup>4</sup> M. Тодорова, “Османското наследство на Балканите,” *Либерален преглед* 2013, ч. 1, pp. 1566–1567.

<sup>5</sup> V. Mutafchieva, “The Turk, the Jew and the Gypsy” [in:] *Relations of Compatibility and Incompatibility between Christians and Muslims in Bulgaria*, eds. A. Zhelyazkova, J. S. Nielsen, J. Kepell, Sofia 1994, p. 25.

<sup>6</sup> М. Сарафов, “Населението в градовете: Русе, Варна и Шумен,” *Периодическо списание* 1882, кн. 3, pp. 44–45; В. Арденски, *Заснанали огнища. Изселническите процеси сред българите мохамедани в периода 1878–1944 г.*, София 2005, p. 10.

<sup>7</sup> K. Karpat, *Ottoman Population 1830–1914: Demographic and Social Characteristic*, London 1985, p. 45.

<sup>8</sup> J. McCarthy, “Muslim in Ottoman Europe: Population from 1880 to 1912,” *Nationalities Papers* 2000, vol. 28, no. 1, p. 29.

to confront the sources of the different provenance: the internal one (as the recourses from the Balkan state's or Ottoman archives), but also the external (for example, the diplomatic materials from the British archives are full of the interesting information).

The article presents the process of Muslim emigration from the Balkan states (Bulgaria, Serbia, Greece, Romania, Montenegro) and other territories (Bosnia and Herzegovina) that separated from the Ottoman Empire in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The process is analyzed in the context of the power takeover in these territories by Christians.<sup>9</sup> The paper will focus on the period of 1804–1912. The first date is linked to the breakout of the First Serbian Uprising – the event that started the mass Muslim migrations from the modern Balkan states. In 1912 the Balkan Wars started – they led to the collapse of Turkish rule in the Balkans, heralding the beginning of a new era in the region's history.

## BULGARIA

Migrations in the Bulgarian lands before 1878 were linked mostly with the Russo-Turkish Wars and the colonization carried out by the Sublime Porte. Every conflict between the Romanov Empire and the Ottoman state since the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century led to migrations of the Muslim population. During these wars not only the Russian and Turkish soldiers were seen in the Balkans, but so were refugees fleeing for their lives. During of the War of 1806–1812 about 100,000 Muslims ran away from the Bulgarian lands to Ottoman state. Because of the disturbances in Balkans at the turn of the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century (the uprisings in Serbia, the *ayan* rebellions, the activity of *kircali*), there was a migration of 200,000 Muslims (a large group of them returned to their homes after the crisis).<sup>10</sup> During the War of 1828–1829 movements of Russian and Ottoman troops led to new escapes of Muslims and Christians, e.g. Stara Zagora (Eski Zağra) and surroundings became desolate. Again, after the end of the conflict most of them returned to their homes (only the Bulgarians who ran away to Bessarabia and the south of Russia decided to settled there).<sup>11</sup>

One of the most important migration processes that took place in the Bulgarian lands before 1878 was the settlement of Tatars and Circassians. The biggest migration wave of about 60,000 Tatars from Russia came during the Crimean War and subsequent years (1854–1862).<sup>12</sup> The first mass colonization of Circassians took place

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<sup>9</sup> That is why the case of Albania will not be presented.

<sup>10</sup> J. McCarthy, "Muslim in Ottoman Europe," p. 33; Ö. Turan, "Turkish Migrations from Bulgaria" [in:] *Forced Ethnic Migrations in the Balkans: Consequences and Rebuilding of Societies*, eds. E. Попова, М. Најдинјак, Sofia–Tokio 2006, p. 78.

<sup>11</sup> В. Мучинов, "Ролята на хаджи господин Славов за появата на първите български статистико-демографски проучвания" [in:] *Известия на Старозагорския исторически музей*, т. 4: *Личността в историята*, ред. Г. Бакалов, Стара Загора 2011, p. 503.

<sup>12</sup> С. Антонов, И. Миглев, "Татари" [in:] *Общности и идентичности в България*, ред. А. Кръстева, София 1998, p. 357.

in the first half of 1860s (mainly 1862–1863), in which about 522,000 people from the Caucasus took part. Until the end of 1876, about 600,000 Circassians settled in the Balkans.<sup>13</sup>

The Russo-Turkish War of 1877–1878 led to migrations in the Bulgarian lands on an incomparable scale. In result, about 500,000 Muslims left the territory. After the creation of the Bulgarian state, the migration processes gained impetus. The Turkish historian Isa Blumi recognized the year 1878 as one of the most meaningful moments in the history of Balkan migrations.<sup>14</sup> The first years of this new state's existence in the Balkans were linked with mass returns of the Muslim refugees (*muhajirs*) to their homes, and an influx of Bulgarians from the land still ruled by the Turks: Macedonia and Thrace, also Serbia, Romania, and Russia. The muhajirs' returns stopped around 1885, whereas Bulgarian settlement continued for a long time. Also, there was a mass exodus of Muslim communities in that time, mostly Turks and Pomaks (Bulgarian Muslims). It is estimated that in 1878–1912 about 350,000 Muslims left Bulgaria, which impacted its demographical map. Before the War of 1877–1878 about 1 million Muslims had lived in the Bulgarian lands (50% of the whole Muslim population).<sup>15</sup> Around 1880 there were 527,000 Muslims in the Principality of Bulgaria (26% of the population) and 200,000 in Eastern Rumelia (21%). After the Unification in 1887, 676,000 Muslims lived in the territory of Bulgaria. In the following years their percentage decreased systematically, mainly because of emigration, but they remained a numerous minority: in 1892 – 643,000 (19% of the whole population), in 1900 – 643,000 (17%), in 1905 – 603,000 (15%) and in 1910 – 602,000 (14%).<sup>16</sup>

## SERBIA

Migration processes had had a much older tradition in the Serbian lands. Before the 19<sup>th</sup> century migrations were linked not only to wars and Muslim colonization (the most important one was Albanian settlement in Kosovo), but also with Serbian emigration to Vojvodina. The crucial date in the history of the Serbian nation is the year 1690, when the “Great Exodus” to the lands taken by the Austrians happened. Kosovo was left by 70,000 Serbs, Albanians settled in their place.<sup>17</sup> The 19<sup>th</sup> century witnessed crucial migration processes that are still underestimated in historiography.

<sup>13</sup> K. Karpat, *Studies on Ottoman*, pp. 66–69.

<sup>14</sup> I. Blumi, *Ottoman Refugees, 1878–1939: Migration in a Post-Imperial World*, London–New Delhi–New York–Sydney 2013, p. 45.

<sup>15</sup> В. Стоянов, *Турското население в България между полусите на етническата политика*, София 1997, pp. 3–4; B. Şimşir, *The Turks of Bulgaria (1878–1985)*, London 1988, pp. 24–25.

<sup>16</sup> *Статистически годишник на Българското Царство*, год. 1: 1909, София 1910, p. 38; *Статистически годишник на Българското Царство*, год. 3: 1911, София 1914, pp. 46–47. Look also: K. Popek, “Muhadžirowie. Uwagi na temat emigracji muzułmanów z ziem bułgarskich na przełomie XIX i XX wieku,” *Balkanica Posnaniensia. Acta et studia* 2016, t. 23, pp. 47–69.

<sup>17</sup> T. Wasilewski, W. Felczak, *Historia Jugosławii*, Wrocław 1985, p. 179.

In 1804–1815 the two Serbian Uprisings took place in the Pashalik of Belgrade, during which there were pogroms on Muslims and a mass exodus of that population.<sup>18</sup> 50,000 Muslims left the territory by 1813.<sup>19</sup> The uprisings showed that the Orthodox Christianity was the main factor of the Serbian national identity – not only Turks were escaping from the Serbian lands, so did Slavic Muslims (known later as Bosniaks).

In the latter period, the exodus continued: until the 1820s next 10,000–15,000 left.<sup>20</sup> In 1830 and 1833, the authorities in Belgrade made Muslims sell their lands and move to cities or abroad by 1838. Before the uprisings, there were about 40,000 Muslims in the Belgrade Pashalik (among them, 25,000 in Turkish fortresses), in 1834 that number decreased to 4,560, concentrated in Belgrade and Užice.<sup>21</sup> In 1862 and 1867 Serbia concluded the treaties with the Sublime Porte, under which the Turkish garrisons were liquidated, and Muslims had to leave Serbian cities. Until the “Great Eastern Crisis” (1875–1878), there were about 6,000 Muslims in the Principality of Serbia.<sup>22</sup>

The Serbian accession to the Russo-Turkish War of 1877–1878 led to a new wave of Albanian, Turk, and Circassian immigration from the lands taken by the Serbian army. Muslim civilians organized resistance in the region of Niš. The battles against partisans usually ended with the Serbs’ victory and led to the depopulation of whole villages, especially in the region of Toplice. In the beginning of 1878, the Serbian authorities conducted a census in the new lands, which showed that in the region of Niš there were 2420 Muslim households, but only 978 Muslims left. About 60 villages emptied completely, in many places the number of Muslim inhabitants decreased by 50%. It is estimated that during the war even 30,000 Albanians left Serbia for Sandjak, Kosovo, Albania, and Macedonia.<sup>23</sup> The more general data points out that in 1876–1882 about 98,000 Muslims emigrated from the region of Niš and 21,000 died.<sup>24</sup> As soon as the administration in the new lands was controlled by the army, the policy of repression, dispossession, and persecution was continued. After that, the civil authority tried to stop the emigration, even encouraged the refugees to come back (these actions were a result of the Serbo-Turkish agreement). Instead of that,

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<sup>18</sup> T. Sahara, “Forced Ethnic Migrations and Modernity in the Balkans” [in:] *Forced Ethnic Migrations*, pp. 26–27.

<sup>19</sup> W. Höpken, “Der Exodus: Muslimische Emigration aus Bulgarien im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert” [in:] *Osmanen und Islam in Südosteuropa*, eds. R. Lauer, H.G. Majer, Berlin–Boston 2014, p. 313.

<sup>20</sup> J. McCarthy, “Muslim in Ottoman Europe,” p. 32.

<sup>21</sup> B. Milković-Katić, *Poloprivreda kneževine Srbije (1834–1867)*, Beograd 2014, pp. 41, 54–59; H. Тодоров, *Балканският град XV–XIX век. Социално-икономическо и демографско развитие*, София 1972, p. 316; M. S. Protić, “Migration Resulting from Peasant Upheavals in Serbia during the XIX<sup>th</sup> Century” [in:] *Migrations in Balkan History*, ed. N. Tasić, Belgrade 1989, p. 92.

<sup>22</sup> H. Тодоров, *Балканският град*, p. 316; S. Drakulic, “Anti-Turkish Obsession and the Exodus of Balkan Muslims,” *Patterns of Prejudice* 2009, vol. 43, no. 3/4, p. 243.

<sup>23</sup> A. Toumarkine, *Les migrations des populations musulmanes balkaniques en Anatolie (1876–1913)*, Istanbul 1995, p. 38; K. Karpat, *Studies on Ottoman*, p. 370; M. Pandevska, “Migration of the Muhajirs in Macedonia during the Great Eastern Crisis (1875–1881),” *Balkanica Posnaniensia. Acta et studia* 2001, vol. 21/22, pp. 105–106.

<sup>24</sup> J. McCarthy, “Muslim in Ottoman Europe,” pp. 35–36.

returns were limited, many important urban centers, as Niš, Prokuplje, Leskovac, or Vranja, became dominated by Serbs.<sup>25</sup> In 1890, 16,764 Muslims lived in the Kingdom of Serbia (0.8% of the whole population), in 1900 15,000 (0.6%).<sup>26</sup>

## GREECE

The Greek case bears more similarity to Serbia than to Bulgaria. One of the most important consequences of the Greek War of Independence (1821–1829) was a mass exodus of Muslims. In contrast to the Serbian Uprisings, the revolt in Greece had a nationalist character since the beginning – the insurgents thought the “New Greece” would be a nation-state.<sup>27</sup> In March and April 1821 15,000 Muslims were killed and 3,000 houses destroyed. In the first years of the uprising, the Peloponnese became the “pure Greek land” in consequence of exile and pogroms.<sup>28</sup> The Chios massacre in 1822 triggered an anti-Islam mood among Greeks and a mass slaughter of Muslims in the Peloponnese followed.<sup>29</sup> As in Serbia, the insurgents did not distinguish between Greek and Turkish Muslims.<sup>30</sup> Before 1821 in the territory of the future Kingdom of Greece 60,000–90,000 Muslims had lived, after the first month of the uprising there were 20,000 left, in 1828 – only 11,000.<sup>31</sup> During the Greek War of Independence 25,000 Muslims were killed and thousands emigrated to the Ottoman Empire. In the first period of the existence of the Greek state, Muslims were openly treated as the others – citizenship, nationality, and religion were deemed inseparable elements of Greekness. In result there were no Muslims in Greece by the 1870s.<sup>32</sup>

The government in Athens presented a different attitude to the Muslims living in Thessaly and Arta, which were incorporated to the Kingdom of Hellenes in 1881. Before the annexation there were 35, 000–40,000 Muslims in that territory, concentrated mostly in Larissa, Trikali, Tyrnavos, Almyro, and surroundings. That event led

<sup>25</sup> I. Blumi, *Ottoman Refugees, 1878–1939*, pp. 53–54; M. Јагодић, *Насељавање Кнежевине Србије: 1861–1880*, Београд 2006, pp. 134–136.

<sup>26</sup> S. Drakulic, “Anti-Turkish Obsession,” p. 247; J. McCarthy, “Muslim in Ottoman Europe,” p. 38.

<sup>27</sup> J. McCarthy, *Death and Exile: The Ethnic Cleansing of the Ottoman Muslims 1821–1922*, Princeton 1996, pp. 23–24.

<sup>28</sup> T. Sahara, “Forced Ethnic Migrations,” p. 27; J. McCarthy, “Muslim in Ottoman Europe,” p. 32.

<sup>29</sup> See J. McCarthy, *Death and Exile*, pp. 20–21.

<sup>30</sup> T. Sahara, “Forced Ethnic Migrations,” p. 26; N. Immig, “The ‘New’ Muslim Minorities in Greece: Between Emigration and Political Participation, 1881–1886,” *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs* 2009, vol. 29, no. 4, p. 512.

<sup>31</sup> S. Drakulic, “Anti-Turkish Obsession,” p. 243; J. McCarthy, “Muslim in Ottoman Europe,” pp. 32, 38; idem, *Death and Exile*, pp. 23–24.

<sup>32</sup> W. Höpken, “Der Exodus,” pp. 312–313; H. Poulton, “Changing Notions of National Identity among Muslims in Thrace and Macedonia: Turks, Pomaks and Roma” [in:] *Muslim Identity and the Balkan States*, eds. H. Poulton, S. Taji-Farouki, London 1997, pp. 82–83.

to a mass exodus – in 1882 there were only 5,000 Muslims, which meant that about 30,000–35,000 emigrated from that territory (some of them returned shortly).<sup>33</sup> In contrast to the emigration in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the main reason of that phenomenon was not expulsion, but socio-economic factors.<sup>34</sup> In 1890, 13,163 Muslims lived in the Kingdom of Greece (0.6% of the whole population), in 1907 – 4,000 (0.2%).<sup>35</sup>

Migration processes had place also in the other Greek lands in that period, e.g. Crete. The followers of Islam were leaving the island gradually during the 19<sup>th</sup> century despite the fact that it was still a part of the Ottoman Empire (till the Balkan Wars). There was an intensification of that process after the Uprising of 1897 and an autonomy for Crete was introduced. At the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century, the decrease of the Muslim population was noted in the main cities: in Iraklion from 15,000 to 9,000, and in Rethymno from 3,000 to 1,000. Even the Bektashis, who were traditionally in good relations with Christians, were leaving the island.<sup>36</sup> The total number of Muslims who emigrated from Crete between the beginning of the Greek War of Independence and the Balkan Wars is about 130,000.<sup>37</sup> There was also a mass exodus of Muslims from Cyprus after a British protectorate was established there in 1878 – as a result about 15,000 Muslims emigrated to the Ottoman state.<sup>38</sup>

## BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

The mass migration of Muslims from Bosnia and Herzegovina took place after the Austro-Hungarian occupation of the province in 1878. The immediate result of that event was the exodus of 130,000 people. The next biggest emigration wave was a reaction to the first census in 1881, and another one – after the annexation of the territory in 1908.<sup>39</sup> The Ottoman officials and people who had recently settled in the province emigrated in the first place.<sup>40</sup> In the further years the number of Muslims

<sup>33</sup> A. Toumarkine, *Les migrations*, pp. 35–36; N. Immig, “The ‘New’ Muslim Minorities,” p. 515; J. McCarthy, “Muslim in Ottoman Europe,” pp. 35–36.

<sup>34</sup> S. Katsikas, “European Modernity and Islamic Reformism among Muslims of the Balkans in the Late-Ottoman and Post-Ottoman Period (1830s–1945),” *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs* 2009, vol. 29, no. 4, p. 539; N. Immig, “The ‘New’ Muslim Minorities,” p. 513.

<sup>35</sup> N. Clayer, X. Bougarel, *Les musulmans de l’Europe du Sud-Est: des empires aux Etats balkaniques*, Paris 2013, p. 72; S. Drakulic, “Anti-Turkish Obsession,” p. 247; J. McCarthy, “Muslim in Ottoman Europe,” p. 38.

<sup>36</sup> A. Anagnostopoulos, “Cosmopolitanism or Constitutive Violence? The Creation of ‘Turkish’ Iraklio” [in:] *Post-Ottoman Coexistence: Sharing Space in the Shadow of Conflict*, ed. R. Bryant, New York 2016, p. 103; S. Drakulic, “Anti-Turkish Obsession,” p. 243.

<sup>37</sup> O. Turan, “Turkish Migrations,” p. 78.

<sup>38</sup> M. Heper, N. B. Criss, *Historical Dictionary of Turkey*, Lanham 2009, p. 92.

<sup>39</sup> A. Karić, *Myth of Bosniak Pan-Islamism*, Sarajevo 2015, pp. 72–73.

<sup>40</sup> B. Pekesen, “Expulsion and Emigration of the Muslims from the Balkans,” *European History Online*, p. 4, <http://www.ieg-ego.eu/pekesenb-2011-en> [access: 18.10.2015].

in Bosnia and Herzegovina under the Austro–Hungarian occupation was increasing (449,000 in 1879, 549,000 in 1895, 612,000 in 1910<sup>41</sup>), but their percentage was decreasing – from 38.7% in 1878 to 32.3% in 1910.<sup>42</sup> According to the official data collected by the Austro-Hungarian administration, in 1883–1905 32,625 Muslims emigrated from the province (among whom 4,042 decided to come back later), and between 1906–1914 other 24,000. These statistics included only legal border crossing, there were no specific data about the people who emigrated illegally. Historians estimated that about 100,000–300,000 left Bosnia and Herzegovina between 1878 and 1914, Serbian researchers usually assumed about 60,000.<sup>43</sup> The migration from the province had a gradual character, and about 15–20% of muhajirs decided to come back later (for example, in 1902–1904, there were more returns than emigrations). Many emigrants kept their Austrian passports in case the circumstances made them return to Bosnia.<sup>44</sup>

## ROMANIA

During the Uprising of 1812 in the Romanian lands there were pogroms on the Muslims in Galați and Iași, but they did not have the scale of those in Greece and Serbia and did not lead to mass migration movements.<sup>45</sup> The exodus of Muslims from Wallachia and Moldova took place after 1828, when about 200,000 people escaped to the Ottoman state, scared of Russian occupation.<sup>46</sup> After the Russo-Turkish War of 1877–1878, Romania incorporated Dobrudja, where the big population of Muslims lived: mostly Turks and Tatars. In that time, the government in Bucharest was presented by the Western world as a champion of pursuing a liberal minority policy. The policy of “open doors” for the Muslim war refugees was announced, including muhajirs from the Bulgarian lands.<sup>47</sup> That political line was changed shortly: after the declaration of respect for property rights after the war, in 1882, there was nationalization of the Ottoman state and municipal lands, also 1/3 of a territory of every chiftlik was taken as symbolic compensation (55 lei for a hectare).<sup>48</sup> It led to a simultaneous

<sup>41</sup> J. McCarthy, “Muslim in Ottoman Europe,” p. 38.

<sup>42</sup> S. Drakulic, “Anti-Turkish Obsession,” p. 247.

<sup>43</sup> N. Malcolm, *Bosnia: A Short History*, London 1994, pp. 139–140.

<sup>44</sup> B. Şen, “Empires from the Margin: Bosnian Muslim Migrants between Ottoman Empire and the Austro-Hungarian Empire – Petitions of the Returnees,” *Balkanistic Forum* 2015, no. 3: “Emigrants and Minorities: The Silenced Memory of the Russo-Ottoman War 1877–1878,” pp. 19–20.

<sup>45</sup> J. McCarthy, *Death and Exile*, p. 22.

<sup>46</sup> M. Heper, N. B. Criss, *Historical Dictionary*, p. 92.

<sup>47</sup> FO 195/1311 (no page’s numeration), Ashburgham to the Marquis of Salisbury, no. 42, Sofia 03.1880.

<sup>48</sup> “Закон за регулиране на поземлена собственост в Северна Добруджа, Букурещ 3.04.1882” [in: *Извори за историята на Добруджа*, т. 1: 1878–1919, съст. Ж. Попов, К. Пенчиков, П. Тодоров, София 1992, pp. 44–47.

exodus of the Muslim population to the Ottoman Empire. In 1880 there were 50,000 Muslims in Dobruja, in 1911 that number decreased to 35,000.<sup>49</sup>

## MONTENEGRO

Muslim emigration also happened in Montenegro, but little concrete data is available on the subject. Before 1875 about 32,000 Muslims lived in that small Slavic state; in 1909, according to the first official census, there were 17,863 Muslims, mostly Albanians, concentrated in the region of Ulcinj.<sup>50</sup> The difference between these numbers (about 14,000) can be estimated as the effect of Muslim emigration from Montenegro during the Great Eastern Crisis of 1875–1878 and subsequent three decades. However, territorial changes occurred in 1878, so these calculations are just approximations.

## WHY WERE MUSLIMS MIGRATING?

There was a lot of reasons for Muslim emigration from the Balkan Peninsula in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Although the differences in minority policies of the newly created states are visible, there were common features for the whole region at that time. Historians usually suggest that the phenomenon was an effect of the shrinking of the Ottoman territories in the region. However, it is a complex question.

The difference between voluntary migrations and motivated by violence are hard to grasp. Only in the cases of a population exchange or immediate threat to life during wars or other unrest (by a state, society, group or organization), we can be sure about a forced displacement. During the other conditions, it is usually hard to say if it was a forced and unsolicited migration. In the time of deconstruction of the politico-social order and the creation of a new one (like collapsing of the Ottoman rules in the Balkan states), the motivations of Muslim emigrants were usually interlacing.<sup>51</sup>

The mass exodus of Muslims from the Balkan Peninsula was the result of **expulsions and acts of violence**, which took place mostly during national uprisings and wars (between Turkey and Russia, but also Serbia, Montenegro, and Greece). Muslims escaped death, pillage, and repressions – acts of violence in many cases were

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<sup>49</sup> N. Clayer, X. Bougarel, *Les musulmans de l'Europe*, p. 70.

<sup>50</sup> T. Gallagher, *Outcast Europe. The Balkans, 1789–1989: From Ottomans to Milošević*, London–New York 2001, p. 46; A. Toumarkine, *Les migrations*, p. 38; П. С. Радусинович, *Становиштво Црне Горе до 1945. године*, Београд 1978, p. 132; J. McCarthy, “Muslim in Ottoman Europe,” p. 35.

<sup>51</sup> T. Sahara, “Forced Ethnic Migrations,” p. 23.

motivated by a want for retaliation on former rulers after the “Turkish yoke.”<sup>52</sup> Many took revenge after recent events, for example, the Bulgarians after the suppression of the April Uprising in 1876, and the Greeks during the Greek War of Independence after the Chios massacre. Muslim refugees emigrated because of the direct danger, but also in result of fear and rumors (which were a key reason during the Russo-Turkish War of 1877–1878). There were also Muslim revolts against the new Christian powers: as in Bosnia and Herzegovina against Austro-Hungary between the 1870s and 1880s, and in the Rhodope mountains and the east of Bulgaria against the authorities in Sofia and Plovdiv. The suppression of these rebellions led to a new wave of refugees. After the time of disturbance and the stabilization of situation, emigration motivated by discrimination was limited – minority policies of the Balkan states became more tolerant. In time of peace discrimination was limited mostly to individual cases and did not have a mass character.

The authorities of the Balkan states usually explained the motivation of Muslim emigrants by “**religious fanaticism**.” That term can be interpreted as cultural discontent of Muslims with the new sociopolitical situation after the collapse of Ottoman rule in the territory. Their “fanaticism” was not linked to the strictly religious questions, but to a critical attitude to the loss of privilege, Europeanisation, and societal changes. Many Muslims, who had been officially the dominant class in the Ottoman Empire, could not accept the loss of that status, that they lost power to the former *rayah*. The moment of the creation of a Balkan state was linked to a reversal of social roles: the lord became the servant and the minority became the elite.<sup>53</sup> The Polish ethnographer Bronisław Teodor Grabowski wrote about that phenomenon: “... [Turks] are changing from despotic lords into peaceful citizens.”<sup>54</sup> They could not imagine a life in a land ruled by *giaours*, even they had not a bad experience in contacts with their Christian neighbors.<sup>55</sup> It was unfamiliar, unnatural, contradictory to their basic social standards. That atmosphere was additionally fueled by the missionaries sent by the Ottoman Empire, who were encouraging people to emigrate to the *Vatan* (homeland).<sup>56</sup> Most of the people who emigrated because of their “fanaticism” did it soon after the collapse of Ottoman rule in a territory.

Many cases of emigration were linked to **economic reasons**: new tax burdens, end of privileges that were guaranteed by the Islamic state, bad situation after wars

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<sup>52</sup> More about the relation between the minority policy in the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century and the stereotypes about Turks: S. Drakulic, “Anti-Turkish Obsession,” pp. 233–249; K. Popek, “Cruel Tormentor or Good Neighbour? Stereotype of the Turk and Bulgarian State Policy Towards the Muslim Minority in 1878–1912,” *Slovanský Přehled* 2017, vol. 2, pp. 261–284.

<sup>53</sup> K. M. Zalewski, *Naród, religia, rasa. Muzułmańskie ideologie i ruchy narodowe w Południowo-Wschodniej Europie. Przykład Sandżaku nowopazarskiego w XX wieku*, Warszawa 2010, pp. 115–116; A. Karić, *Myth of Bosniak Pan-Islamism*, pp. 73–75; M. Pandevska, “Migration of the Muhajirs,” pp. 104–105; I. Blumi, *Ottoman Refugees, 1878–1939*, p. 5; M. Neuburger, *The Orient Within: Muslim Minorities and the Negation of Nationhood in Modern Bulgaria*, Ithaca–London 2004, p. 12.

<sup>54</sup> B. T. Grabowski, *Bulgarya i Bulgarowie*, Warszawa 1889, p. 11.

<sup>55</sup> С. Н. Шишков, *Българо-мохамеданите*, Пловдив 1936, pp. 72–73; И. Вазов, *Събрани съчинения*, т. 12, ред. Г. Цанев, София 1977, p. 158.

<sup>56</sup> K. Karpat, *Studies on Ottoman*, pp. 314–315.

and uprisings. Many Muslims could not deal with it and had to sell their property and move to the Ottoman Empire.<sup>57</sup> It was also linked to the phenomenon of the “hunger for land” among Christian peasants, who wanted to expand their property after the creation of a new state. Additionally, many Muslims believed that a better life was waiting for them in the Ottoman state.<sup>58</sup> Of course, not only Muslim farmers dealt with these problems, so did Christian ones – the best example of that were the peasant rebellions in Balkans in that time, for example, in Bulgaria in 1899–1900<sup>59</sup> or in Romania in 1907.<sup>60</sup> However, when it came to economic problems, the natural way for Muslims was to emigrate to the Ottoman Empire; there was a lot of other options for Christian peasants (e.g. moving to a different part of the country or to America).

It can be said that the Muslim population was “driven out” by **Christian immigrants**, who were coming to the Balkan states from the territories controlled by the Turkish Sultan or the Habsburg Empire. It is estimated that in 1878–1911 about 143,000–171,000 Bulgarians came to Bulgaria from Western Thrace, Macedonia, Romania, Bessarabia, and Banat.<sup>61</sup> In Serbia there was also a settlement of people from the neighbouring countries, e.g. from Montenegro (there were land and food shortages), Vojvodina (Serbs from the Habsburg Monarchy were better qualified and educated – they became officials, politicians, teachers), and, before 1878 – Bosnia, Bulgaria, or the region of Niš (refugees escaping the Turkish repressions).<sup>62</sup> In Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Austro-Hungarian administration organized settlements of Germans, Poles, and Ukrainians in the depopulated regions.<sup>63</sup> Also, the government in Bucharest organized a big settlement action placing Romanians from Transylvania in Dobruja – in result, 20% of the population of the province in 1878 were Romanians, at the end of 19<sup>th</sup> century, that percentage increased to 70%.<sup>64</sup> All of these

<sup>57</sup> “Sir A. H. Layard to the Marquis of Salisbury, Philippopolis 12.12.1879” [in:] *Ethnic Minorities in the Balkan States 1860–1971*, vol. 1: 1860–1885, ed. V. Destani, Cambridge 2003, pp. 416–417; T. Czekalski, *Bulgaria*, Warszawa 2010, p. 69; В. Арденски, *Загаснали огнища*, p. 38.

<sup>58</sup> В. Дечев, *Миналото на Чепеларе. Принос за историята на Родопя*, т. 2, ред. Г. И. Чичовски, Чепеларе 2002, pp. 173–174; Е. Кейе, *В България и Румелия*, ред. Г. Пеев, София 2006, pp. 49–50; А. Karić, *Myth of Bosniak Pan-Islamism*, pp. 72–73; В. Şen, “Empires from the Margin,” pp. 19–25.

<sup>59</sup> В. Дечев, *Миналото на Чепеларе*, pp. 173–174; Е. Кейе, *В България и Румелия*, pp. 49–50; А. Karić, *Myth of Bosniak Pan-Islamism*, pp. 72–73; В. Şen, “Empires from the Margin,” pp. 19–25.

<sup>60</sup> See D. Chirot, Ch. Ragin, “The Market, Tradition and Peasant Rebellion: The Case of Romania in 1907,” *American Sociological Review* 1975, vol. 40, no. 4, p. 428–444.

<sup>61</sup> К. Попов, “Стопанска България (София 1916)” [in:] *История на българите 1878–1944 в документи*, т. 1: 1878–1912, ч. 1: Възстановяване и развитие на българската държава, ред. В. Георгиев, С. Трифонов, София 1996, pp. 143–144.

<sup>62</sup> М. Јагодић, *Населѡавање Кнежевине Србије*, pp. 26, 183.

<sup>63</sup> T. J. Lis, *Polskie osadnictwo i duchowieństwo w Bośni i Hercegowinie od 1894 do 1920 roku*, Toruń 2014; K. Kwaśniak, A. Orlovac, *Dzieje Polaków w Bośni (1895–1946)*, Legnica 2008; P. Wichniewicz, “Zapomniani koloniści w północnej Bośni” [in:] *Przestrzenie, których już nie ma. Pamięć w południowej i zachodniej Słowiańszczyźnie*, eds. R. Sendek, K. Poppek, M. Maszkiewicz, Kraków 2015, pp. 167–180.

<sup>64</sup> “Рапорт от Д. Минчович до К. Стоилов, Букуреш 5.01.1897” [in:] *Извори за историята на Добруджа...*, т. 1, pp. 90–91; “Рапорт от Д. Минчович до К. Стоилов, Букуреш 15.02.1897” [in:] *Извори за историята на Добруджа...*, т. 1, pp. 91–93; K. Karpat, *Studies on Turkish Politics*

people were looking for new houses and lands, which, in many cases, were the easiest to obtain from Muslims. There was no coincidence in the fact that the authorities of the Balkan states directed the immigrants to the territories where Muslims lived.<sup>65</sup>

In the case of Bosnia and Bulgaria, what influenced Muslim emigration was a **duty of military service**. Muslims did not accept the idea of serving under the Christians officers; also there was a problem with the diet rules (serving pork in army canteens) or Christian elements in uniforms (the Orthodox cross in the Bulgarian soldier's hat). The Austro-Hungarian and Bulgarian authorities allowed them to pay an extra tax in lieu of the duty, but most of the Muslims could not afford that. They became deserters who had to choose between emigration and jail.<sup>66</sup>

The effect of **crowd psychology** should not be overlooked while discussing Muslim emigration. Moving to the Ottoman Empire was said to be motivated by the emigration of other family members or neighbors. They did not want to live in emptying villages, where houses were being taken by Christian settlers, where mosques and Islamic schools were closed, and there were no *hodjas*.<sup>67</sup>

## CONCLUSION

The most rapid migration processes in the 19<sup>th</sup> century Balkans were linked to national uprisings and wars, separation of a territory from the Ottoman Empire and taking power by the Christians: not only by the creation of a new state, but also obtaining autonomy, expansion, occupation or change of its international status. Isa Blumi stated that the national states in the Balkans could not have been created without Muslim migrations.<sup>68</sup> It is not true that every Balkan state had sought ethnic and religious homogeneity – that characteristic fits Serbia and Greece in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, but not in the period after the Berlin Treaty. Furthermore, we cannot

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*and Society*, Leiden–Boston 2004, p. 540; А. Кузманова, Б. Нягулов, П. Тодоров, К. Пенчиков, Ж. Попов, В. Милачков, *История на Добруджа*, т. 4: 1878–1944, Велико Търново 2007, pp. 81–85.

<sup>65</sup> A. Kalionski, *Communities, Identities and Migrations in Southeast Europe*, Sofia 2014, p. 34.

<sup>66</sup> “Sir A. H. Layard to the Marquis of Salisbury, Constantinople 13.12.1879” [in:] *Ethnic Minorities...*, vol. 1, pp. 423–424; К. Иречек, *Княжество България. Негова повърхнина, природа, население, духовна култура, управление и новейша история*, ч. I: *Българска държава, Пловдив 1899*, pp. 60–61; Ж. Назърска, *Българската държава и нейните малцинства 1878–1885 г.*, София 1999, pp. 179–180; Ö. Turan, *The Turkish Minority in Bulgaria (1878–1908)*, Ankara 1998, p. 152; O. Köse, “The Policies of the Bulgarian State towards the Minorities (1878–1914),” *Sosyal Bilimler Araştırmaları Dergisi* 2012, 3(6), p. 224.

<sup>67</sup> ЦДА ф. 159к оп. 1 а.е. 84 л. 4, Рапорт от Шуменски окръжен управител до Министерство на вътрешните работи, Шумен 16.03.1885; С. Н. Шишков, *Избрани произведения*, ред. К. Василев, Пловдив 1965, p. 124; А. М. Миркова, “‘Population Politics’ at the End of Empire: Migration and Sovereignty in Ottoman Eastern Rumelia, 1877–1886,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 2013, 55(4), pp. 972–973.

<sup>68</sup> I. Blumi, *Ottoman Refugees, 1878–1939*, p. 6.

say that the Bulgarian state was pursuing that kind of policy before the Balkan Wars. In many cases (Serbia, Greece, Romanian Dobruja), these processes led to the ethnic homogenization of the territory, but in other (Bulgaria, Bosnia and Herzegovina) there were still Islamic communities at the end of that period. However, the multiethnic Balkans under the Ottoman rule, where representatives of many nationalities and religions lived side by side, changed their character profoundly after the mass 19<sup>th</sup> century migrations. Nowadays most of the Balkan countries are in general ethnically homogenous, the minorities are mostly separated from the rest of the society; ethnic and religious groups live in tight-knit communities. Also, the 19<sup>th</sup> century exodus from the Balkans was just the beginning of the mass Muslim migration processes in the region in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. They were linked to the Balkan Wars, World War I, the population exchange between Greece and Turkey in 1923, and the “Revival Process” in Bulgaria in the 1970s and 1980s.

The Muslim emigration had not only the crucial impact on the Balkan Peninsula, on Anatolia as well – it was a factor in the creation of the modern Turkish society.<sup>69</sup> Justin McCarthy wrote: “The new Republic of Turkey is a state of immigrants, whose citizens came from Bulgaria, Greece, Yugoslavia, Armenia, Georgia, Russia, Ukraine, and other countries.”<sup>70</sup> The muhajirs created the Young-Turkish version of the Ottoman Empire and the Turkish Republic. It can be illustrated by the biographies of Enver Pasha (grandson of a Russian as well immigrant), Mustafa Kemal Atatürk (born in Saloniki), İsmet İnönü (whose mother was a muhajir), or Celal Bayar (his parents came to Anatolia from Bulgaria).<sup>71</sup> Also, Isa Blumi admitted that the millions of immigrants who were coming to the Ottoman Empire had a crucial impact on the development of capitalism in that territory – they were a cheap labor force for the biggest investments realized in the Balkans and the Middle East at the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Muhajirs became the young proletariat.<sup>72</sup> Also, many immigrants from the Balkans were educated people, with strong anti-Russian and anti-Christian worldviews, open to the emerging Turkish nationalism.<sup>73</sup> The frustrated muhajirs sought revenge on Christians for the exile, the loss of their patrimonies, and the tragedy of the community in the region. Some commentators said that the waves of furious and armed refugees from Bulgaria and Bosnia, many among them Circassians, were responsible for the chaos that swept across Macedonia at the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century. After the War of 1877–1878, muhajirs were “driving out” Christians from the Macedonian lands, who were escaping to the Balkan countries (mostly to Bulgaria and Eastern Rumelia). It was a vicious circle: Christians were leaving the lands under control of the sultan, because Muslims immigrated there; and the latter

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<sup>69</sup> X. Bougaler, “Balkan Muslim Diasporas and the Idea of a ‘European Islam’” [in:] *Balkan Currents: Essays in Honour of Kjell Magnusson*, ed. T. Dulić, Uppsala 2005, pp. 147–148; T. Balci, “Ottoman Balkan Heritage and the Construction of Turkish National Identity,” *Journal of Ottoman Legacy Studies* 2014, vol. 1, issue 1, p. 61.

<sup>70</sup> J. McCarthy, *Death and Exile*, p. 13.

<sup>71</sup> K. Karpat, *Ottoman Population*, pp. 76–77.

<sup>72</sup> I. Blumi, *Ottoman Refugees, 1878–1939*, pp. 8–9.

<sup>73</sup> S. Katsikas, “European Modernity,” pp. 537–538.

emigrated from the newly created countries because Christians from the Ottoman Empire settled there.<sup>74</sup>

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<sup>74</sup> “От У. Дж. Палгрейв до Р. А. С. Солзбъри, София, 7 януари 1879 г.” [in:] *Британски дипломатически документи по българския национален въпрос*, т. 1: 1878–1893, ред. В. Трайкова, А. Гребенаров, Р. Караганев, Р. Прахова, София 1993, pp. 108–113.

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