

II

Osmanlı İdaresinde Balkanlar

II

Editörler:
Prof. Dr. Alaattin AKÖZ – Prof. Dr. Slobodan ILIĆ
Prof. Dr. Doğan YÖRÜK – Phd, Assistant Professor Danko LEOVAC

Osmanlı İdaresinde Balkanlar



SELÇUK ÜNİVERSİTESİ



SELÇUK ÜNİVERSİTESİ

Osmanlı İdaresinde Balkanlar

II

Editörler:

Prof. Dr. Alaattin AKÖZ - Prof. Dr. Slobodan ILIĆ

Prof. Dr. Dođan YÖRÜK - Phd, Assistant Professor Danko LEOVAC

İÇİNDEKİLER – 2. CİLT

SUNUŞ	i
INTRODUCTION	iii
Источно питање и Османско Царство у политици пречанских Срба 1857-1878 Dejan MIKAVICA	1
Ottoman Administration In The Balkan Provinces Of The Empire: The Theory Of Three Circles Ema MILJKOVIĆ	45
Сукоб скадарског паше Мустафе Бушатлије и турских власти 1831 године Slaviša NEDELJKOVIĆ	53
Mro (Macedonian Revolutionary Organization) – A New Perspective On The “Millet” In Ottoman Macedonia Borche NIKOLOV	71
XVI. ve XVII. Yüzyıllarda Belgrad Şehrinin Gelişmesine Osmanlı Düzeninin Katkıları (1526-1688) Yusuf OĞUZOĞLU	101
Lefkoşa Şeriye Sicillerine Göre Osmanlı İdaresinde Kıbrıs'taki Arnavutların Sosyo-Ekonomik Hayattaki Durumları Ali Efdal ÖZKUL	133
Modernisation In Bosnia And Herzegovina In The Nineteenth Century Lydia PAKHOMOVA - Ksenia MELCHAKOVA	147
Serbia And The Opening Of The First Turkish Parliament In 1876 Jelena PAUNOVIĆ	155
Foreign Trade Of The Ottoman Empire With The Balkan Countries Before And After The World War I Jelena RAFILOVIĆ	171
Serbian Diplomatic Representatives In Constantinople From The Establishment Of Diplomatic Relations To The Balkan Wars (1879–1912) Suzana RAJIĆ	193
Жена и брак: шеријатски прописи у изворима на османском језику (XVI-XIX век) Irena Kolaj RISTANOVIĆ	207
Bosna ve Kıbrıs'ta Tanzimat: Benzerlikler ve Farklılıklar Hasan SAMANİ	231
Hussain Pasha Kavanozşâde, Belgrade Muhafız And Mutessarif Of the Smederevo Sanjak (1827-1833) Aleksandar M. SAVIĆ	257

Savremena osmanistika u Bosni i Hercegovini: standardi i dometi Ramiza SMAJIĆ	277
Francuska i Osmansko Carstvo u ogledalu francuskog konzulata u Bosni (1806-1814) i francuska percepcija orijentalne Bosne Slobodan ŠOJA	285
Cumhuriyet Devri Tarih Ders Kitaplarında Devşirme Bir Osmanlı: “Sokollu Mehmet Paşa” Ahmet ŞİMŞEK - Mehmet Alper CANTİMER	303
Osmanlı Devleti'nin İlk Belgrad Elçisi: Hüseyin Hüsnü Sermed Efendi Ve Sırbistan'daki Faaliyetleri Abidin TEMİZER] - İbrahim SERBESTOĞLU	337
Tereke Kayıtlarına Göre XVII. Yüzyılın Sonlarında Sofya Şehrinde Ailelerin Sosyo-Ekonomik Durumu Züleyha USTAOĞLU	349
The Impact Of The Balkan Region On The Rise Of Turkish Nationalism Umut UZER	357
Osmanlı Maden Kanunnâmelerinde Balkan Dillerinden Geçen Terimler Ve Tâbirler Mehmet Ali ÜNAL	365
The Fall Of Constantinople To The Ottomans In The Eyes Of Edward Gibbon: A Case Study In Orientalist Discourse And Post-Colonial Criticism Larisa Orlov VILIMONOVIC	399
Економски односи Кнежевине/Краљевине Србије и Османлијске Империје 1878-1914 године Vladan VIRIJEVIĆ	421
XIX. Yüzyıl Ortalarında Balkanlarda Gülcülük: Hasköy (Kran) Örneği Mehmet YILMAZ	439
Mektepsiz Polis Kalması: Selanik Polis Mektebi Yücel YİĞİT	459
1795'de Rumeli'deki İstabl-ı Amire'ye Bağlı Koru ve Çayırlarla İlgili Düzenlemeler] Doğan YÖRÜK	485

Serbian Diplomatic Representatives In Constantinople From The Establishment Of Diplomatic Relations To The Balkan Wars (1879–1912)

Suzana RAJIĆ*

ABSTRACT

Since the establishment of bilateral relations between Serbia and the Ottoman Empire in 1879, the most educated and capable persons has been appointed and sent to the post of deputies. The capital of the Ottoman Empire for Serb national, political, economic and cultural interests was of paramount importance during the last quarter of the nineteenth and the first decades of the twentieth century. From Istanbul, educational policy was co-ordinated among Serb compatriots, and a deputy in Constantinople was in charge of all Serbian consuls in the Turkish provinces. A very responsible and demanding place of the diplomatic representative of Serbia on the Bosphorus was occupied by eminent Serbian scientists, politicians, statesmen. In the above chronological period, we distinguish, by quality and intensity, two periods. The first (1879–1903) is characterized by constant progress, of a moderate pace, while the features of the second (1905–1912) are stalled, tensions and frequent incidents. The official reports, as well as the private correspondence of Serbian Ministry of Foreign Affairs from this era, are valuable testimonials and are a true data mine for studying not only political, but also educational, ethnographic, cultural and economic circumstances of the period.

Keywords: Serbia, Ottoman Empire, Diplomatic Relations, Contractual Relations, King Milan Obrenovic, Sultan Abdul Hamid II, Sublime Porte, Serbian people in the Ottoman Empire.

The first decade of bilateral Serbo-Turkish relations is fraught with disruptive factors that were a direct consequence of the incongruity of the decisions of the Berlin Congress of 1878, and immediately thereafter of new treaties between major powers that were devastated by Congress's decisions, most importantly for the Ottoman Empire¹ and Serbia at the same time. The first question concerns Bosnia and Herzegovina and the European mandate given to Austria-Hungary in Berlin to occupy these Turkish territories indefinitely, and the second concerns Bulgaria, that is, two countries of the same people with different autonomous statuses. The Berlin order was not satisfied with Serbia either, but even greater dissatisfaction reigned in Turkey. Germany became the main arbiter of international relations, who, despite all the treaties and efforts after Berlin, failed to realize the much-desired plan to

*Professor, Department of History, University of Belgrade, Republic of Serbia, srajic@f.bg.ac.rs

¹ We used the terms the Ottoman Empire, Turkey, the Sublime Porte as synonyms for the same country.

eliminate Austro-Russian rivalry in the Balkans. Both Serbia and Turkey, but also Greece and Bulgaria, found themselves in this post-Berlin vortex, fearing each for its future. A new factor has emerged in the vortex - Albanians whose influence will be steadily growing. Tensions have accumulated to threaten not only the Balkans, but the entire world at the end of the 19th and early 20th centuries.

Of course, there are important internal factors, both in Serbia and in the Ottoman Empire, which also largely influenced the dynamics and characteristics of Serbo-Turkish relations. If we start from the top of the pyramid, we will notice that two sovereigns, Milan Obrenovic and the Sultan Abdul Hamid II, successfully developed, strengthened and strengthened their mutual relations, without distinction as the vassal and sovereign relationship transformed into the relationship of two sovereign masters (1878). However, the positions of both of them on the throne were very fragile. This significantly influenced their decisions, since they had to take into account the mood of public opinion in their country.

Abdul Hamid II ascended the throne in extraordinary circumstances in 1876 after the overthrow of his brother Murad V on August 31, 1876 and, it may be said, after the military coup on May 29, 1876, which deprived their uncle Abdul Azis of the throne. Many thought that the new Sultan would have liberal ideals. But he had to take great care not to resent his generals, who could deal with him as quickly as they did with his uncle. That the Palace had no power to influence and make decisions in favor of Turkey was evident in the 1885 Plovdiv coup. This situation continued in the next great crises for the Empire, both in relations with the Bulgarians and in relations with the Greeks and Serbs. Abdul Hamid II ruled absolutely throughout, until 1909, gradually strengthening and strengthening his position. Milan Obrenovic tried to do the same, but he had less success.

King Milan was one of the few who, after Berlin, realized that by dividing the territories after the wars, Serbia in the east had received a serious competitor, not that it was the Ottoman Empire, but Bulgaria. Although divided into two parts, its unification became a matter of days. He himself entered the throne at the age of fourteen, at the moment when his uncle breathed his hand at the hands of the assassin in 1868. He spent the first ten years on the throne in constant fear for his survival, and his decisions were largely dictated by a weak position that forced him to act spontaneously and beyond his own conviction. In fact, he was, until 1880, a ruler without power, dependent as much on the internal pressures in the country as well as on the foreign relations and the will of Austria-Hungary and Russia to keep him on the throne. This was especially evident in the period from 1874 to 1876, at the most critical time after its holding, but also afterwards.

Twelve years older than Milan, the Sultan joined his uncle, Sultan Abdul Aziz in 1867, when he was in Paris Lyceum in college, on trips to Europe, when he visited Paris, London, Vienna, and other European countries. capitals. Both rulers were advocates of education and culture - one more inclined to music, the other to fine arts and antiques. As a minor ruler, Milan visited Abdulhamid's uncle Sultan Abdul Aziz in Constantinople in 1874. Then he was introduced to the military potential of the Empire, he saw for the first time schools and barracks of the modern type, a uniformed army. From that moment on, he never underestimated the real power of the Empire, unlike many of his contemporaries. In public, among numerous intelligence and senior officials, there was the illusion of a swift and great victory over the Ottoman Empire, the removal of the yoke of five centuries of slavery, and national unification where all Serbs, both on this and the Sava and Danube sides, would enter into one state. At just twenty years old, more than the older and more experienced, Milan Obrenovic understood that Serbia was risking its survival and entering into a conflict with a great power that cannot be measured, even though its strength had already been greatly recovered.

The wars of 1876–1878 brought about changes, but they also brought lasting problems in the Eastern Question, since huge differences in the interests of the great powers remained after the Berlin Congress. One of the leading Serbian statesmen who succeeded Jovan Ristic in 1878 as prime minister, Milan Pirocanac, stated that after the Berlin Congress, a “craft that could not be imagined” occurred. Namely, Austro-Hungary and Britain, as opposed to a Serbian ally in the war in Russia, promised Serbia a southern state whose task was to counter Russian penetration into the Balkans. Pirocanac understood the offer as a maneuver for separating Serbia from Russia and all that power in the visions of Serbs for liberation. In addressing the Eastern question, this statesman and politician saw no “rational combination”, concluding that Austria-Hungary must not extend too far in the East because it would become a Slovenian state; it also cannot sustain Turkey, but it will not help the Slavs in their national plans either. Russia, however, wants to strengthen its influence in the East, but is not yet strong enough to stand up to Europe. Germany is very welcome in Europe to take on the role of arbitrator. And Turkey does not know who it will be - with Britain, or with Russia. Even the Serbs do not know with whom - or with Russia - to fight for Greater Bulgaria or to fight with Britain and Austria-Hungary to preserve Turkey.² Indeed, Serbia has opted for the second option, realizing that disintegration would weaken Turkey could revive the

² Милан Пироћанац, *Белешке*, Београд, 2004, ed. by. Сузана Рајић, 7–9.

Greater Bulgaria project, which is considered to be the greatest threat to the future of the Serbian state.

The Protocol on the Balkans, annexed to the Treaty of Trieste by the Federal Treaty of Berlin on 18 June 1881, established it for key events in the Balkans that lasted much longer than the 'long' 19th century. The three courts agreed in the Protocol on areas of interest in the Balkan Peninsula, east and west of Serbia, but not around it. Thus, there was a certain future unification of Bulgaria and Eastern Rumelia and the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina by Austria-Hungary.³ In such circumstances, Serbia would remain without satisfaction. Worse, she could have been subjected to double pressure as a "neutral" or "buffer zone". This important document, which represents anything but the maintenance of the status quo in the East and respect for the Berlin Treaty of 1878, significantly influenced Serbia's foreign policy steps, pointing it to the path of establishing good relations with the Sublime Porte and the struggle to maintain the Balkan balance.

*

Since independence, Serbia has become a third-order threat to the Ottoman Empire, but due to internal instability, financial problems on both sides, as well as foreign power interference, it has never been possible to transform old rivals into potential associates.

Serbo-Turkish diplomatic relations were established before the international commission established a new Serbo-Turkish border. Namely, after the government decision of October 1878, Serbia raised its representative office in Constantinople and by decree of 13 November of the same year Prince Milan appointed Filip Hristic as the first Serbian Foreign Minister and plenipotentiary minister in the Ottoman Empire.⁴ The same, highest ranking diplomacy, Serbia assigned to its representative in Vienna. Hristic was an experienced diplomat, having been in various diplomatic missions since the early 1960s - from London, via Paris and Livadia to Vienna. He was no stranger to the Bosphorus either. He represented Serbia in Constantinople from 1870 to the end of 1877, during the severe crises and the Serbo-Turkish wars. Then, with the help of British Ambassador Eliot, he sought to interest London in supporting Serbia's plan to reorganize the administration and establish a mixed administration in Bosnia and Herzegovina, as a form of consolidation of the Ottoman Empire and, at the same time, through the unity of the Serbian people within Turkey and under its auspices. with the aim of mutual protection and defense against the ever-increasing invasion of imperialism,

³ *Balkanski ugovorni odnosi 1876–1918*, I, ed. by Momir Stojković, Beograd, 1998, 176–177.

⁴ Српске новине, бр. 246, 5/17. November 1878; Јелена Пауновић, Филип Христић - државник, дипломата и први српски англофил (1819–1905), Београд, 2015, 157.

which at the time, after German unification, was gaining momentum.⁵ Russia and Austria-Hungary have also blasted such a plan, fueled by their interests in the division of spheres of influence in the Balkan Peninsula. Since then, it has been said in the Serbian public that it was believed that the Serbs could have hoped to get Bosnia from the Turks, but never from Austria. Even today, Serbian historiography, like the Yugoslav one before it, is bends under the burden of controversy that, after the occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1878, and after it, Serbia entered the field of the greatest national defeats. To date, the largest group of historians believes that at the Berlin Congress, Serbia lost Bosnia and Herzegovina, which was actually Turkish rather than Serbian territory, and that the Berlin Congress was a failure of Serbian politics.⁶

It is clear that after the Berlin decisions, relations with the Ottoman Empire for Serbia were very important, both because of the issues of railways that had to be built and the international obligations in this matter that both countries had, and for the sake of establishing a consular, trade convention and telegraph agreement. But the Empire was in dire straits, characterized by frequent government shifts, empty government coffers, the army and clerkship without regular pay, and failed loan negotiations with the United Kingdom. These are all reasons why it was not easy to turn formal bilateral into the practical. Although Hristic was well received by the Sultan, with all due honors, he did not move further from consular and trade convention projects. Turkey was burdened with huge and far more important issues - negotiations with Britain on reforms and a loan, Russia's pressure to enforce the provisions of the Berlin Treaty regarding territorial concessions to Montenegro and Greece, negotiations with Austria-Hungary on the handover of the administration to Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Due to major complications on the new Serbo-Turkish border, where there were about 179 Albanian incursions into Serbian territory in half a year, accompanied by killings, looting and arson, many important issues between Serbia and Turkey were left aside. Frankly speaking, the return of the Albanians was not even the goal of the Sublime Porte policy, which sought to help with their help, and to the mujahideen who left Bosnia and Herzegovina after the Austro-Hungarian occupation, to strengthen their new border in the west and thus ensure the survival of the Kosovo vilayet. Disputes ended with diplomatic communication and notes

⁵ See more: Сузана Рајић, *Спољна политика Србије између очекивања и реалности (1868–1878)*, Београд, 2015, 152–159.

⁶ Радош Љушић, *Српска историографија о Берлинском конгресу*, Српске студије 2 (2011), 261–276.

from the Turkish, British and Serbian sides that were important to keep fit.⁷ Serbia and Turkey, however, managed to come up with new financial arrangements in the eighties of the 19th century, to establish a system for consolidation of the state mechanism and military forces, to form part of the railway infrastructure. At the same time, there were new strikes by imperial powers from Africa to the Balkans.

Like those first years of bilateral relations in 1879 (one hundred and forty years of diplomatic relations came to an end in 2019), the following years were not fruitful. Jevrem Grujic, who succeeded Hristic transferred to Vienna in 1880, represented Serbia in the capital of the Ottoman Empire for almost seven years (1880–1886). This was not Grujic's first encounter with Turkey, since he spent 1869 and part of 1870 on the Bosphorus as a diplomatic representative of the vassal Principality of Serbia. The eighties were, it would be said, more difficult and arduous for both countries, and posed both Serbia and the Ottoman Empire great challenges.

One of the problems after the Berlin Treaty that received a lot of attention from Serbia and Turkey was the new state in their neighborhood, Bulgaria. Due to frequent border conflicts with the Bulgarians, the Serbian ruler already in February 1879 asked his government to send a Serbian diplomatic representative to Sofia and relations were established in October.⁸ But the problems did not end there. Border disputes continued in the 1980s, but with less and less will to settle peacefully and in mutual interest. On the contrary, a disturbing news came from the Serbian diplomatic agent that the situation in the Balkans was becoming increasingly complicated and that the preparation of the Bulgarians for unification was intensively carried out, the more so through the Bulgarian Exarchate, more efforts were made to penetrate Bulgarian aspirations towards the Vardar valley, in the territory of the Old Serbia⁹ and Macedonia, where Bulgarians invested heavily in the opening schools and supporting teachers.¹⁰

Macedonia has entered the epicenter of the European public since the beginning of 1885 on the pretext that Turkey has failed to fulfill its obligations under the Berlin Treaty and implement reforms in its European provinces. The Macedonian issue has been discussed at the protests in Eastern Rumelia, in the Bulgarian Assembly, in Belgrade, in the Bulgarian press, but also in the British

⁷ Милош Јагодић, *Насељавање Кнежевине Србије 1861–1880*, Београд, 2004, 131–144; Милош Јагодић, *Упади Албанаца у Србију 1879. године*, *Историјски часопис* 51 (2004) 87–107; Miloš Jagodić, *The Emigration of Muslims from the new Serbian Regions 1877/1878*, *Balkanologie* 2-2 (1998), 99–122.

⁸ Момир Самарџић, *Успостављање дипломатских односа између Србије и Бугарске 1879. године*, *Споменица Историјског архива Срем* 3 (2004), 156–164.

⁹ Under geographical determinant the Old Serbia included Kosovo and Metohija and the Raska region, parts of today's the Republic of North Macedonia, Kumanovo, Skopje, Tetovo and Debar.

¹⁰ Момир Самарџић, *Од Сан Стефана до Сливнице*, Нови Сад, 2008, 101–117, 142–147, 235.

Parliament, which is certainly not a coincidence. The establishment of the Bulgarian Secret Revolutionary Committee in Plovdiv in February 1885 signaled serious complications, to which Turkey reacted not to the causes, but to the consequences, by preventing the Bulgarian Exarchate's bishops in Skopje and Ohrid from taking their positions.

All that was happening was known in Serbia, and certainly in the camp of the signatories to the Berlin Treaty. They have, by all means, devastated the Serbo-Bulgarian border dispute that in June 1884 brought an end to the diplomatic relations between the two countries. Then they handed him over to King Milan and Prince Alexander of Battenberg for resolution, so when the two agreed within seven days, they again urged the Bulgarian government not to accept the ruler's agreement. And so on.

The creation of Greater Bulgaria was a serious threat not only to Serbs, but also to Turkish interests. The strategic position of Eastern Rumelia was such that it provided access to the straits and capitals on one side and warm seas on the other. The loss of such a position can be compared to the loss of a doorstep, which is why you have to enter your own house, if not just through a window, and then safely through the back door. Serbia, in addition to its powerful neighbor in the north and west, also received in the east a state that would increase its territory by as much as 33,000 km and nearly one million inhabitants. United Bulgaria had 96,345 km in 1885, and Serbia has been just under 48,000 km and was becoming in the true sense of the word "besieged country". However, the Serbian top was obsessed with the immigrant issue and alarming news about the incursion of Nikola Pasic and emigrants from Bulgarian territory into Serbia over the overthrow of the government and overthrow of the king.

Serbian, Bulgarian, and Russian historiography have exhausted the subject of the Serbo-Bulgarian war and its aftermath, but what has not been mentioned is the question whether, at the time of the Ottoman Empire's threat of losing its territory and Serbia's threat of a twice-stronger neighbor, there was a chance that the two countries would unite against the unilateral change of the international order established in 1878?

In addition, it must be said without a twist that the pressure of public opinion on the Serbian leadership to agree with the Bulgarians - although there was no political will on either side for rail, trade, customs, border and other contracts - was great. The good relations of the two rulers could not suppress the accumulated problems, and usually what they were contracted, the Bulgarian ministers did not want to do, because they were advised and supported by the Russian

representative to resist. On the other hand, the Serbian public has been extremely negative about strengthening co-operation with Turkey, despite arguments that state interests were at stake. A very similar mood prevailed in Turkey. For example, only six years after the establishment of diplomatic relations between Serbia and the Ottoman Empire, Jevrem Grujic considered it a great success that, in the midst of the Serbian-Bulgarian crisis, on August 22, 1885, he was able to inform his government that without the Turks' opposition, he erects a Serbian tricolor on the mast, similar to all other independent states that had their national insignia in front of their diplomatic outposts on the Bosphorus. "Below the royal flag, which was first hung in the friendly capital of the Ottoman Empire," Grujic wrote, among other things, extolling his merits, and in fact showing the true state of Serbo-Turkish relations at that moment. The prejudices of eternal enmity neither side has yet managed to overcome. At the beginning of 1882, deputy Jevrem Grujic put forward the Sublime Porte' proposal to regulate relations with Serbia through the signing of several conventions, including a consular one, but the proposal came at a time when France and the United Kingdom reached over to Turkish possessions in Africa (Tunisia, 1881 and Egypt, 1882).¹¹

Since the Plovdiv coup in September 1885 to January 1886, Grujic awakened natural senses of self-defense with Turkish statesmen. At crucial moments, as the united Bulgarian forces set off to meet the Serbs, the Eastern Rumelia remained open to Turkish troops, as large forces pledged to return the status quo in Bulgaria at numerous conference meetings. But the Sultan hesitated and ultimately rejected his government's proposal. The Austro-Hungarian, German and Russian ambassadors encouraged the Sultan to join the Eastern Rumelia with the army, without waiting for the results of the conference. The Serbian Kingdom received a response that the sultan did not approve the action because the United Kingdom had told him not to do so. It remains unknown whether the forces could not influence the British cabinet, which had its own, separate motives, for such treatment or whether they acted together in both anti-Turkish and anti-Balkan interests, as noted by Serbian MP Grujić. We would note here draw on the reason for the Russo-British conflict in Afghanistan because, considering the consequences of the collapse of the Berlin Treaty of 1885/86. It is evident that the losers were the Balkan peoples and the Ottoman Empire.

The status quo ante that Turkey sought for Bulgaria from the great powers, Serbia endorsed with all its might. In spite of the obvious situation that did not

¹¹ Јеврем Грујић, *Животопис*, Аранђеловац, 2009, 163; Архив српске академије наука и уметности (АСАНУ), Збирка Јеврема Грујића, 10.027 А, бр. 67.

support it, Turkey stood with its arms crossed at crucial moments. A month and a half since the Plovdiv coup, nothing has moved from the blind spot in her favor. The Serbian government's offer to coerce Bulgaria into complying with the Berlin Treaty was replied by the Turkish side by compromising the proposal, which appeared to the Turkish press the next day, but the Sultan praised the idea itself, which essentially meant nothing. Time passed inexorably, and in twenty days, from October 20 to November 9, 1885, nothing changed. At the three meetings in Constantinople, the representatives of the force determined that Turkey should supplement its proposal for the return of the status quo, which was hardly agreed with the British and French representatives. And from November 9 to 14, things did not go any better, except that it threatened Serbia more strongly that it should not, by military intervention in Bulgaria, violate the "united" will of the three emperors (Austria, Germany and Russia) to restore the status of quo ante by peaceful means.¹²

The declaration of war on Bulgaria with Serbia followed, which was not unexpected given the accumulated problems in Serbia-Bulgaria relations. Realizing that Turkey cannot counter the concert of the Great Powers, Serbia has taken a step in the interests of both sides locally, without involving the Sublime Porte in external entanglements. Both the Minister of Foreign Affairs and the Grand Vizier of the Ottoman Empire have more clearly expressed their friendly opinion, without denying that Serbia's move is in Turkey's favor. She also proved this by her restraint towards the Bulgarian prince, who asked Turkey for help against Serbia, but received a response that the attack by Serbia was triggered by a coup and urged him to withdraw from the Eastern Rumelia and first allow the Berlin Treaty to return to force. The Turkish press also started writing positively for Serbia.¹³ But Serbia's expectation of organizing another attack after the battle of Slivnica, provided that Turkey is launched and enters Rumelia with its forces, was not realistic. The Serbian side had been warned about this before the war.¹⁴ The League of the Three *Emperors* was throwing hot potatoes at turmoil in times of crisis, and since advised not to use force, they began secretly advising the Sultan to enter in Rumelia with army.¹⁵

The Serb-Bulgarian War was not waged for territorial compensation, but for broader national reasons that were to secure the future of both Serbia and other nations in the Balkans! With a consensual violation of the international order from

¹² Ibid., 186–187.

¹³ Ibid., 192–193.

¹⁴ Ibid., 217, 222.

¹⁵ Ibid., 224, 262.

Berlin, peace was bought for a quarter of a century! But that time was not everyone's order! During this period, Turkey continued to weaken, Russia after a few swings succumbed to the war against Japan, entering a wave of revolutions, in which it disappeared, French and British capital in Turkey were deeply suppressed in favor of Germany, while Serbia was all a force has been collecting the entire 19th century into the 20th century for a long time on the impossible missions of numerous Yugoslavia!

But what should not be overlooked is the fact that after the upheaval of the Ottoman Empire and Serbia, they embarked on a new stage of bilateral relations building. work on drafting a consular convention, which was accepted in its entirety by the Ottoman authorities. The political significance of the opening of Serbian consulates in the Ottoman Empire was enormous for Serbia and the Serb population in the Old Serbia and Macedonia, but it was also important for the Empire as a counterbalance to the strong penetration and dominance of Bulgarian propaganda-educational action in the area. Although temporary, this consular convention allowed the Kingdom of Serbia to open its first consulates soon in the Ottoman Empire - in Skopje (1887), Pristina (1889), Bitola (1889), Thessaloniki (1887).¹⁶

For the sake of understanding and as a sign of future friendship, the Serbian king and the government, decorated Sultan Abdul Hamid II with the highest Serbian medal – the Order of the White Eagle, which the Sultan wore at the farewell ceremony with Jevrem Grujic on December 17, 1886. This was also the end of Grujic's diplomatic mission on the Bosphorus as the government sent him to a new post in London.

*

The experience of the crisis of 1885-1886 was used to find new spheres of activity in the construction of Serbo-Turkish relations, which gradually, moderately but continuously marked the rise until the Young Turks revolution and the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (1908).

Jevrem Grujic was succeeded by Stojan Novakovic, one of Serbia's most prominent statesmen and national workers. His first mission to the Bosphorus lasted just under five years (1886–1891). Until then, Novakovic had never left Serbia or lived outside the country. However, after a short period of time as a Member of

¹⁶ Ibid., *Животопис*, 264–276; Славенко Терзић, *Конзулат Краљевине Србије у Битољу (1889–1897)*, *Историјски часопис LVII* (2008), 327–342; Јелена Лопичић Јанчић, *Конзулат Краљевине Србије у Приштини 1889–1912. године*, *Национални интерес* 3 (2017), 261–278; Ђорђе Н Лопичић, *Конзуларни односи Србије 1804–1918*, Београд, 2007.

Parliament, he wrote that he had “returned to himself” at the Bosphorus and had “found himself” there.¹⁷

Arriving in Constantinople, Novakovic began to apply new methods of work. He is the main creator of a policy of establishing good relations with Turkey, with constant strengthening and expansion of contacts with the *Сублиме Porte*. It aimed at facilitating and privileging the Serbian people in the Ottoman Empire, which would be achieved by strengthening bilateral relations and signing new treaties. In his understanding, the war of 1885 definitely identified the injustices that the Berlin Congress had inflicted on Serbs. Any repetition of war operations in the Balkans was dangerous for both the Serbian people and Serbia, he argued. The Serbian people, he says, were due to their liberation aspirations in 1876/1878. He experienced a Poland's fate and at the same time won a serious rival in the newly created Bulgarian state.¹⁸ On many occasions, even in old age, he kept coming back to this topic, especially during the Annexation crisis.

His views on the future of the Balkans and relations with the Ottoman Empire were, for a very short time, endorsed by King Milan and many politicians and public workers in Serbia, seeing as well that Serbia's interests in the world of high politics, in every international crisis, were seriously jeopardized. At the same time, the Ottoman Empire was also experiencing great temptations, as losses in the Balkans were followed by strikes from those who presented themselves as its chief advisers. The cases of Tunisia 1881, Egypt 1882, Bulgaria 1885, could be multiplied with Epirus, Thessaly, Crete, Macedonia. The priority for Turkey was to protect what was left, not fight for the lost. This caused the turn of the Empire to Germany, which, both militarily and financially, continually strengthened its position in the Ottoman Empire until the end of the 19th century, but at the same time allowed the Empire to emerge from a state of total collapse.

The second phase came after the breakup of Bismarck's political legacy in the 1890s, which opened the door to the Russian-French, rather than the then German-Russian alliance. This milestone will be pivotal in the bloc's division of powers in the early 20th century, largely dictated by Germany's financial dominance and the Balkans' dependence on its capital.¹⁹

Novakovic's strategy was based on his famous memoir on the spread of Serbian literacy in Macedonia, where Serbs were far behind in terms of Bulgarians

¹⁷ Архив Србије, Лични фонд Владана Ђорђевића (АС, ВЂ), бр. 225, Стојан Новаковић – Владан Ђорђевић, 21. август 1887.

¹⁸ Стојан Новаковић, Балканска питања и мање историјске белешке о Балканском Полуострву 1886–1905, Београд, 1906, 495–496.

¹⁹ Владилен Н. Виноградов, “Восточний вопрос в большой европейской политике”, *В пороховом погребѣ Европы, 1878–1914*, Москва, 2003, 12–25.

- in terms of teachers, schools, not to mention that Serbs had no national priests. With great effort, Novakovic was able to revive the church-school municipalities in the Ottoman Empire. There are more results. He advocated a policy of preserving the national identity of Serbs through education, with only one quarter of Serbs living in the Principality / Kingdom of Serbia in the 19th century and three quarters outside the state borders. In order that the books sent by Serbia to the Ottoman Empire should not be doubted, seized and forbidden, Novakovic demanded that his shipments be delivered to Constantinople. There he gave them to the Turkish censors to inspect them and hit them with a stamp, and from there they were sent to schools with the approval of the Turkish Minister of Education. The next phase was the printing of Serbian-language spelling books in the Ottoman capital itself. Readers and other school books were printed in the same way.²⁰

Evidence for the advancement of Serbo-Turkish relations in the late 19th century is the 1887 Railway Convention and the 1888 Trade Convention. The concrete sign was the Belgrade-Thessaloniki railway, opened in May 1888. Serbia did not benefit from it as it exported mostly live cattle, but it was of great importance to it during the Customs War with Austria-Hungary (1906–1911).²¹

On the foundations laid out in Constantinople by Stojan Novakovic, all his successors worked until 1903, but we must be honest, not with his energy and not with his knowledge and consistency. One of his most successful followers and consistent implementers of the unified line of action on the Bosphorus was his great friend and friend from his school days, Doctor Vladan Djordjevic. Djordjevic followed Novakovic's advice and instructions everywhere and always - as long as Novakovic was a deputy on the Bosphorus and Djordjevic government minister of education. Novakovic was ousted for party reasons in 1891 when he was recalled from the Bosphorus by radicals. But he was still a rare connoisseur of real relations in the Ottoman Empire. Vladan Djordjevic, who was entrusted with the diplomatic mission in Athens (1892), was the right-hand man, the main advisor.²²

After Athens, Vladan Djordjevic went to Constantinople, where he represented the king and Serbia for almost four years (1894–1897). And then, with new circumstances, Vladan Djordjevic became Prime Minister of the Serbian government, one of the longest in modern Serbia (1897–1900). Then Djordjevic sent Stojan Novakovic (1897–1900) back to the post on the Bosphorus.

²⁰ Сузана Рајић, *Влада Николе Христића 1888–1889*, Београд, 2003, 116–119; Михаило Војводић, *Србија у међународним односима крајем 19. и почетком 20. века*, Београд, 1988, 28–41.

²¹ Сузана Рајић, *Влада Николе Христића*, 139–141, 162–167, 175–176; Михаило Војводић, *Стојан Новаковић у служби националних и државних интереса*, Београд, 2012, 209–229.

²² Сузана Рајић, *Владан Ђорђевић. Биографија поузданог обреновићевца*, Београд, 2007, 127–141.

Let's just briefly look back to the period when Vladan Djordjevic represented Serb interests on the Bosphorus. The agenda of the work, which was personally identified by King Aleksandar Obrenovic and Vladan Djordjevic at the meeting before Constantinople, also included a completely new point, which meant realizing the king's important political idea - that Serbia and the Ottoman Empire jointly maintain peace and order in the Balkans. The situation was again becoming more critical and was very similar to that of 1885. The Macedonian question was on the dock and the king changed the initial plan of his travels, first visiting the Sultan. The foreign press reported that the young Serbian king made his "politeness" and "tact" a "better impression" on the sultan and foreign diplomats in Constantinople.²³ Encouraged by the revolutionary methods of Armenians in the Ottoman Empire, the Bulgarians set up their own revolutionary organizations and in the summer of 1895 put their troops into Macedonia. In the summer of 1895, a small uprising was erected at the instigation of the Bulgarian Chetnik (guerrilla) organization.²⁴ The Sultan, however, did not respond to the aspirations of individuals from his area who advocated political-military co-operation with Serbia, nor to the king's proposal made in that direction.

Soon, in the Greek-Turkish crisis and war, the Sultan will invoke a contractual friendship with the Serbian king. In the midst of the crisis, in mid-1896, the Serbian government decided to favor church and school issues, and to work in the diplomatic field in favor of maintaining the system created in 1878 in Berlin, denying any possibility of agreeing to unilaterally disrupt it. The Sultan, however, proved his friendship with Serbia with reasonable concessions made to the benefit of the Serbian people in the Empire, in order to suppress the dominant position of the Bulgarians and the growing tensions between the Bulgarians and the Greeks about Macedonia. The product of this policy was the appointment of Dionisius Petrovic to the head of the Raska-Prizren Metropolitanate in 1896. After more than sixty years, it was the first Serbian metropolitan in Turkey, and as early as the fall of 1897, another Serb Firmilian Drazic took over as metropolitan position. The third, but no less significant, concession was the Sultan's license to open Serbian schools in the Bitola and Thessaloniki vilayets.²⁵

In fact, from 1879 to 1903, Serbia pursued a unified policy towards the Ottoman Empire, a policy of good neighborly relations that encompassed trade,

²³ АС, Посланство у Цариграду, ф. 68, В. Ђорђевић –Ђ. Симићу, 17. фебруар/1. март 1897; АСАНУ, бр. 7.940, Исписи из бечких архива, бр. 11.706, док. 52 (1894).

²⁴ Greek paramilitaries who invaded the territory of Macedonia in mid-1896 reacted to this, with the intention of defending from the Bulgarians Greek interests in Macedonia. Никола Жежов, *Предавствата и атентатите во македонската историја*, Скопје, 2004, 50–52.

²⁵ АС, Посланство у Цариграду, ф. 73, пов. бр. 444, 445, 450, 467; Исто, пов. бр. 470; Александра Новаков, *Стубови српске просвете. Српске средње школе у Османском царству 1878–1912*, Београд, 2017.

consular, railway cooperation, and in particular had results in church and educational matters relevant to the survival of the Serbian of the peoples in the Ottoman Empire. Thanks to such a policy, the global Ottoman policy of the second half of the 19th century, which was a policy of religious homogenization of the population, implemented by strengthening the Muslim population and encouraging the process of emigrating Serbs by tolerating Albanian crimes, managed to keep the relationship between the Christian and Muslim population in Kosovo Vilayet defeating the Serbian side.²⁶

The main figure in the 20th century when it came to our topic was Djordje Simic, who represented Serbia in the Ottoman capital from 1903 to 1907.²⁷ Simic began his career as a diplomat in Sofia in 1882, to pursue it in Vienna, Rome, Petrograd, and ended it in Constantinople. Without a specific state task, he was bored in Constantinople. For the first two years, 1903 and 1904, even part of 1905, he spent more in Belgrade for the assembly than at his main destination. Just then, twilight begins in Serbo-Turkish relations. Prime Minister Nikola Pasic, stripped and sent to Bosphorus the ineligible, those who bothered him, thereby multiplying his personal mission. At that time, Serbia began to communicate with the Port the protest notes. Nothing has remained of the politics of good neighborly relations in previous decades. Let us also mention the latest research, which, primarily from the point of view of sources of Russian provenance, has explained the Serbo-Turkish relations at the time of the Young Turk revolution. Without going into the details, and in those years there was much to be desired, it was found that the new and more powerful strikes that survived Serbia and the Ottoman Empire in the first decade of the 20th century did not give the slightest hope of approaching the two countries in defense of their own interests.²⁸

By the end of the first decade of the 20th century, Serbo-Turkish relations had completely disappeared. The eyes, after the great changes created by the Balkan wars, were renewed for a long time and with great effort. Suffice it to mention that diplomatic relations between Serbia and Turkey were restored only one year after the signing of the peace between the Balkan Alliance and the Ottoman Empire in London on May 30, 1913. The ratification was carried out on 7 April the same year. However, the peace treaty remained briefly in force. Following the entry of the Ottoman Empire into the war by the Central Powers, the Serbian Foreign Ministry announced that from December 1, 1914, all treaties, conventions and arrangements between the two countries had ceased to apply.²⁹

²⁶ Милош Јагодић, Српско-албански односи у Косовском вилаету 1878–1912, Београд, 2009.

²⁷ Ана Столић, Ђорђе Симић, Последњи српски дипломата XIX века, Београд, 2003.

²⁸ Абдурахман Ичйер, *Србија и Турција в године младотурецкој револуцији и Русија*, Српске студије 6 (2015) 283–297.

²⁹ Томислав Марковић, *Српско-турски уговор о миру 1914. године*, Српске студије 6 (2015), 66–94.