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ДВА ИЗВЕШТАЈА АРТУРА ЕВАНСА О СТАРОЈ СРБИЈИ ИЗ 1883. ГОДИНЕ*

Анстракт: У раду су представљена два критички приређена извештаја Артура Еванса о Старој Србији из 1883, упућена Министарству спољних послова Велике Британије. У њима су, на основу непосредног увида, описане политичке, друштвене и привредне прилике у Скопском санцаку и делу Старе Србије северно од Шар планине. Посебно су значајни као извор за познавање постојећих односа између различитих верских и националних заједница на том простору.

Кључне речи: Косово, Вилајет, Турска, Арнаути, Срби.

Одлукама Берлинског конгреса, Косовски вилајет¹ је 1878. године постао *de facto* крајња северозападна провинција Османског царства. Његов стратешки значај за државу је тиме порастао, будући да се налазио на границама четири државе (Аустро-Угарске, Србије, Црне Горе и Бугарске) чије претензије према Турској нису биле непознате. На том

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¹ Косовски вилајет је формиран у јануару 1877; обухватао је Новопазарски, Нишки, Приштински, Призренски, Скопски и Дебарски санцак. Територија Нишког санцака је 1878. највећим делом припојена Србији; Дебарски санцак је 1879. ушао у састав Битољског вилајета; подручје у којем су се налазили аустро-угарски гарнизони је 1880. конституисано као Пљеваљски санцак, а остатак старог Новопазарског санцака је задржао име, али је центар био пребачен из Новог Пазара у Сјеницу; исте године је Призренски санцак припојен Битољском вилајету, у чијем је саставу остао до 1888; године 1881. формиран је нови, Пећки санцак. Центар вилајета је до 1888. био у Приштини, а од тада до ослобођења 1912. у Скопљу. М. Јагодић, *Српско-албански односи у Косовском вилајету (1878-1912)*, Београд 2009, 4-7.

простору је од 1878. до 1881. деловала албанска Призренска лига. Створена, наоружана и на сваки начин помагана из Цариграда, она је имала за циљ да практично спречи реализацију одредби Берлинског уговора у погледу територијалних проширења Црне Горе и Грчке на рачун Османског царства у областима где се то сматрало могућим. Лојалност албанског муслиманског становништва Косовског вилајета према Турској била је недвосмислено доказана током ратова 1876-1878. За време Лигиног деловања, они су били предмет посебне пажње султана и Порте. Поред обилних новчаних поклона главарима из Цариграда, власти су постепено попуштале Албанцима у погледу њихових грађанских обавеза и дозвољавале су им да на територији Вилајета стварају неку врсту сопствене управе, паралелне са постојећим органима државних власти. Када су, међутим, спорна територијална питања била решена, Лига је постала излишна. Уз то, у међувремену су се и међу муслиманским Албанцима из Косовског вилајета почеле да појављују извесне аутономистичке тенденције, што свакако није било у складу са интересима Турске. Из тих разлога је Порта у пролеће 1881. послала генерала Дервиш пашу да угуши Лигу и успостави законити поредак на територији њеног деловања. Он је са 15 000 војника стигао 15. априла 1881.² у Феризовић (Урошевац), одакле је позвао албанске главаре на предају; позиву се одазвале неке старешине из Новог Пазара, Митровице, Приштине и Тетова, али су Албанци из Пећи, Ђаковице и Призрена остали непокорни. До сукоба између Дервиш пашиних трупа и Албанаца је дошло 20. априла 1881. код села Штимља на путу Феризовић-Призрен, и у њему су Албанци били поражени. Након тога је Дервиш пашина војска полако заузимала вароши у Косовском вилајету, заводећи у њима ред.

Мере које је Дервиш паша примењивао у Косовском вилајету приликом гушења Лиге су врло важне за разумевање политике Порте према тамошњем албанском становништву. Разоружање Албанаца није спроведено. Кажњавања Албанаца који су користили рад Лиге за злочине против хришћана није било. Хапшења и прогонства су била ограничена на главаре који су пружили отпор војсци. Према онима који су пред Дервиш пашом изјавили лојалност султану, поступало се благо. Највиђеније албанске старешине су именоване на високе функције: Али паша Шабанагић Гусињски је 1881. постављен за мутасарифа новоствореног Пећког санцака, Хасан Дерала из Тетова је дошао на чело Призренског санцака, а Иљаз паша на чело Дебарског санцака. Али паша Гусињски и Хасан Дерала су после именовања, у јесен 1881, отпутовали

² Сви датуми су по новом календару.

у Цариград на поклоњење султану, што је требало да представља знак посебне владарске милости и успостављање непосредне везе између Абдул Хамида и албанских главара.

Турски интерес је био да, и после гушења Лиге, сачува доказану албанску оданост исламу, султану и држави. С обзиром на гранични положај Косовског вилајета, они су имали улогу спољашњег одбрамбеног бедема државе. Осим тога, од њих се очекивало да и у будућности репресивно делују према српском хришћанском становништву са којим су живели измешани, а чија је оданост Османском царству била у најмању руку сумњива. Држава је свакако морала да чини извесне уступке албанском становништву како би на дужи рок осигурала његову кооперативност. Они су се огледали у толерантном ставу према изгредима учињеним против самих државних власти, лабавости у спровођењу закона и придобијању племенских главара. С друге стране, муслимански Албанци Косовског вилајета су у Турској царевини видели заштиту од нежељеног потпадања под власт неке од суседних хришћанских држава. Ова својеврсна заједница државних и локалних интереса, обезбеђивала је Албанцима у Косовском вилајету неформално ексклузиван статус у држави.³

Турска је после Берлинског конгреса активно спроводила политику верске хомогенизације становништва Косовског вилајета. Мухацири избегли из Србије током рата 1877 -1878. насељени су углавном у делу Вилајета северно од Шар планине; косовски валија је имао јасне инструкције од Порте да спречава њихову евенталну репатријацију. Наличје ове политике се састојало у подстицању исељавања српског православног становништва. Методи спровођења су се састојали из сваковрсних притисака и злочина којима су Срби били изложени, а које су некажњено чинили поједини Албанци и други муслимани. Историја српског народа у Старој Србији од 1878. до 1912. је стога била историја страдања и трпљења.⁴

³ Опширно о Призренској лиги: Б. Стули, Албанско питање (1875-1882), Рад ЈАЗУ 318 (1959), 287-391; Ј. Хаџи-Васиљевић, Арбанаска лига – арнаутска конгра – и Српски народ у Турском Царству (1878-1882), Београд 1909; Б. Храбак, *Призренска арбанаска лига 1878-1881*, Београд 1998; S. Skendi, *The Albanian National Awakening 1878-1912*, Princeton University Press 1967, 31-110; М. Јагодић, *наведено дело*, 17-30.

⁴ М. Јагодић, *наведено дело*, 183-304.

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Познати енглески археолог Артур Џон Еванс⁵ путовао је Старом Србијом током јула и августа 1883. године. У жељи да скрене пажњу британске јавности на тежак положај хришћана у тим крајевима, пре свих православних Срба, објавио је утиске са путовања у листу *Manchester Guardian* 1. септембра 1883. у чланку под насловом „Владавина терора у Старој Србији“.⁶ Користећи се тада стеченим сазнањима, Еванс је о истој теми опет писао у британској штампи, у листовима *Manchester Guardian* и *The Times*, у септембру и октобру 1885, када је било отворено питање уједињења Бугарске и Источне Румелије и пружања евентуалних компензација Краљевини Србији.⁷

Еванс је о свом путовању по Старој Србији 1883. године саставио два извештаја која овде објављујемо. Први је датиран само са „јул 1883“ и односи се углавном на Скопски санџак; други је датиран са „11. август 1883, Скопље“ и односи се на области северно од Шар планине, са нешто ширим освртом на Призрен, Ђаковицу и Пећ. Послао их је исте године

⁵ Артур Џон Еванс рођен је 1851. године. Студирао је на Оксфорду и у Гетингену, а археологију је предавао на Брајнс колеџу у Оксфорду. Реноме је стекао откривши градове Кносос и Фестос на Криту 1883. Од 1884. до 1908. био је директор Асмолем музеја у Оксфорду. Од 1916. до 1919. обављао је дужност председника Британског краљевског археолошког друштва. За Балкан се заинтересовао током седамдесетих година 19. века; пешке је обишао западни део полуострва 1875. Као резултат тога путовања, настала је његова књига *Through Bosnia and the Herzegovina on foot during the insurrection, August and September 1875*, London 1877. (преведена на српски и објављена под насловом *Пјешке кроз Босну и Херцеговину током устанка августа и септембра 1875*, Сарајево 1973). Године 1877. се вратио на Балкан; у Дубровнику је учио српски језик, а као дописник листа *Manchester Guardian* путовао је по Босни, Лици, Црној Гори и Албанији и извештавао о актуелним догађајима. Своје дописе је објединио и објавио у књизи *Illyrian Letters*, Лондон 1878. (преведена на српски језик и објављена под насловом *Илирска писма*, Сарајево 1967, Бања Лука 2008²). Његова интересовања за прилике на Балкану нису престала ни касније. Са Ситон Вотсоном је 1916. организовао Српско друштво у Великој Британији. Умро је 1941. А. Раствовић, *Велика Британија и Србија 1878-1889*, Београд 2000, 14, 114; *Српски биографски речник 3*, Нови Сад 2007, 694.

⁶ А. Раствовић, *наведено дело*, 141.

⁷ Исто, 141-142; С. Г. Марковић, *Гроф Чедомилъ Мијатовић. Викторијанац међу Србима*, Београд 2006, 130-131.

Едмунду Фицморису, подсекретару за спољне послове у влади Велике Британије и британском амбасадору у Цариграду Џорџу Хјуџу Виндхему. Извештаји су упућени из Форин офиса 12. маја 1884. као одговор на једно посланичко питање о стању у Македонији, постављено Фицморису у доњем дому енглеског Парламента. Значај Евансових извештаја лежи у чињеници да их је писала особа упућена у балканске проблеме тог доба, и то на основу двомесечног личног и непосредног увида. Узети скупа, они представљају драгоцену сведочанство о турској управи, политици, привреди и становништву тих крајева. Штампане извештаје смо пронашли у Државном архиву Републике Македоније (Државен архив на Република Македонија), у фонду Паблик рекорд офис (микрофилмована британска грађа), на ролни микрофилма број 30; оригинална сигнатура докумената у лондонском архиву је The National Archives, Foreign Office, Confidential print Turkey, Macedonia, Correspondence 1881-1884, 424/136. Први извештај је објављен у збирци архивске грађе *English documents on the Albanian League of Prizren and the Start of the Disintegration of the Balkans (1877-1885) II*, ed. S. Rizaj, Prishtinë 1996, 398-399, али фалсификован и тенденциозно скраћен, на шта смо указали на одговарајућим местима у тексту извештаја. Приликом приређивања, нисмо чинили никакве интервенције у оригиналном тексту. Напомене означене звездicom (*) писао је аутор.

Some Observations on the present state of Dardania, or Turkish Serbia (including the Vilayet of Kossovo and part of the Vilayet of Monastir), by Mr. A. Evans, July 1883.⁸

The present distribution of vilayets in the Upper Albanian or Old Serbian region⁹ is altogether artificial and apparently unintelligible. Thus, while Uskup (Skoplje) and Prishtina are included in the Vilayet of Kossovo, the neighbouring and geographically inseparable districts of Tetovo (Kalkandelen)¹⁰ and Prisrend¹¹ are placed under distant Government of

⁸ У збирци *English documents on the Albanian League of Prizren II*, 398 су изостављене речи „or Turkish Serbia“, а термин „Kossovo“ је свуда преобликован у „Kossova“.

⁹ „Old Serbian region“ изостављено у збирци *English documents on the Albanian League of Prizren II*, 398.

¹⁰ Тетовска каза; била је у саставу Призренског санцака.

¹¹ Призренски санцак; састојао се из каза Тетово, Љума и Призрен.

Monastir¹²! This partitionment has very probably a military object, since in the case of an Albanian movement in the Shar ranges the troops of two vilayets could be employed to crush it without any derangement of the normal distribution of forces. But it is also not impossibly due to a not unnatural dread on the part of the Porte of placing too large an Albanian district under the command of any one Pasha who might be tempted to play an ambitious game. Although the recent disturbances regarding the Montenegrin Frontier question were local and mainly confined to the catholic mountaineers of the Scodra district they certainly have found an echo on this side of the Shar Dag, and the Turkish authorities found it advisable to send several additional battalions to Gusinje and other points. At the present moment the Albanian League may be said to be dormant, but there is ample evidence of the prolongation of the movement of which it was a symptom. It may be said with truth that in the Vilayet of Kossovo and the neighbouring Old Dardanian districts, wherever the Albanian element preponderates Turkish authority exists because it is not exercised. Even in the Mutessariflik of Uskup¹³, the most peaceable part of the country, no Turkish official dares venture into one of the Albanian mountain villages unsupported by a considerable troop. These Albanian mountaineers are well-armed mostly with Government Martini-Henrys, and they are continually tyrannizing over their Christian neighbours; but though they constitute an eventual menace to the Turkish Government, there is no apparent disposition and there has been no serious attempt to disarm them. The local Turkish officials, and this is a significant symptom, rather cultivate their goodwill. They (the Turks) speak with more than tolerance of the Albanian idea of forming a vassal State under the Sultan, and I have heard the Turkish officers here openly execrate Dervish Pasha, whose treacherous seizure of the Albanian Chiefs at Uskup put a temporary extinguisher on the "League". It must, however, be remembered, that while Pashas, Mutaessarifs and Mudirs¹⁴ are perpetually changing, the Mahommedan religious officers sit *en permanence* in the divans of the konak and the local Medjliss¹⁵, and exercise a very real control over the administration. The Mahommedan religious influence is all on

¹² Битољски вилајет.

¹³ Скопски санџак; обухватао је казе Скопље, Куманово, Крива Паланка, Кочане, Кратово, Штип и Радовиште. Управник санџака је имао звање мутасариф.

¹⁴ Управник нахије.

¹⁵ Идаре меџлис; административно веће мешовитог верског састава са постављеним и изабраним члановима. Постојало је на нивоу вилајета, санџака и казе; његови чланови су имали саветодавну улогу у управи овим административним областима.

the side of the Albanian true believers, and any functionary who should ignore it sets in motion a whole machinery of intrigue ramifying to Stamboul.¹⁶

The Albanians of this part are a rougher and more fanatical set than those of the Adriatic coastlands, and to give them complete local autonomy would be simply giving them free hand to tyrannize, even more than at present, over the industrious Christian population of the Dardanian lowlands. I use the term “Dardanian“, because the districts of which I am speaking (those, namely embraced in the present Kossovo Vilayet and the northern strip of the Monastir Vilayet, including Kalkandelen and Prisrend, and which lie between Albania proper and Serbia) answer nearly exactly to the old Illyrian Kingdom and later Roman province of Dardania. Although, owing to the great Serbian exodus under Arsenius Tzerbojevich¹⁷, there has been a great Albanian immigration into this Dardanian region during the last three centuries, it is certain that, at least in the southern districts, the Slavonic element, though less self-assertive, still largely preponderates. The rich plains about Uskup are tilled almost exclusively by Slavonic peasants (falsely called Bulgars – really, as their language shows, very pure blood Serbs), and Serbian is the language of the market-place. Even about Prisrend, where the Albanian element is larger, a large number of so-called Arnaouts still speak Serb, while at Novipazar the Serbian language is overwhelmingly preponderant. In the mountain ranges alone can the population be fairly called Albanian.

My observations on the present occasion have been hitherto chiefly confined to the part of Dardania of which Uskup is the principal centre. It has, however, been pretty thoroughgoing, as I have had occasion to visit over fifty villages. This is by far the most tranquil and orderly region of the Kossovo Vilayet, and I found it entirely free from any kind of brigandage. The nearest bands, at present, are in the neighbourhood of Prilep and seem to be under the direction of the famous Niko. They have no political significance, and are equally detestable to Turk and Christian. Nor could I find any trace of a political conspiracy or movement among the Rayah population of the Skoplje (Uskup) and the neighbouring districts. Any such movement would be, indeed, hopeless and suicidal, as the Christian population, for the most part, inhabits the plain country and the lower ranges, and is kept in check by the armed Arnaouts of the surrounding highlands, as well as by the Turkish troops. Indeed, any such movement is, under present circumstances, so hopelessly out

¹⁶ Овде се завршава део извештаја објављен у *English documents on the Albanian League of Prizren II*, 399.

¹⁷ Арсеније III Чарнојевић (1633-1706) патријарх српски (1680-1706); предводио велику сеобу Срба у Угарску за време Бечког рата 1690.

of the question, that I see no reason to doubt the statement of the trustworthy natives, that the recent so-called conspiracy, by which the Turks have profited to seize many of the most intelligent and respected members of the community, existed only in the lying reports of Government spies and *agents provocateurs*.

As to this affair, the accounts that I have heard on all sides are most heart-rending. Such was the brutality with which these wholesale arrests were conducted that, in some cases, mere children were seized on political charges, and have since been at lost to their parents and relations as if the grave had swallowed them. To give a single instance: A boy of Uskup, Toder Mileo by name, aged 17, had written a letter to a friend in Bulgaria, in which he described some of the vexations to which the Christians are subjected. This coming to the ears of the authorities, he was seized and carried off to Prishtina, and, after being detained some time in prison there, was transported (with about 300 others) to Asia.¹⁸ All communication between the prisoners in Asia and their families has been cut off, and the only reports as to their condition that have reached their friends are due to a Serbian schoolmaster, who succeeded in escaping.¹⁹ It

¹⁸ У Приштини је почетком 1882. био успостављен војни суд ради учвршћивања законитог поретка у Вилајету. Најпре је судио албанским главарима који су пружили отпор Дервиш паши, а потом је био искоришћен за обрачун са истакнутијим Србима (најчешће трговцима, учитељима и свештеницима). Били су осуђени уз помоћ лажних сведочења и послати на робију у Малу Азију. На тај начин су се власти обрачунавале са елитом српског народа у Старој Србији. *Косово и Метохија у српској историји*, Београд 1989, 226-227; Ђ. Микић, *Политичка, културна и привредна стремљења*, Историја српског народа VI-1, 293-294; Ј. Х. Васиљевић, *Покрет Срба и Бугара у Турској после српско-турских ратова 1877-1878. године и његове последице (1878-1882)*, Београд 1908, 45-49; В. Бован, *Јастребов у Призрену*, Приштина 1983, 171-172; С. Недељковић, *Културно-просветна и национална политика Србије према Косову и Метохији од 1856. до 1897. године*, необјављена докторска дисертација, Филозофски факултет Универзитета у Београду 2008, 169-171; М. Јагодић, *наведено дело*, 144-145; П. Костић, *Аутобиографија*, приредила В. Митровић, Призрен 1997, 93-96; Ј. Поповић, *Живот Срба на Косову 1812-1912*, Београд 1987, 247-248; Т. Станковић, *Путне белешке по Старој Србији 1871-1898*, Београд 1910, 14-16; *Савременици о Косову и Метохији 1852-1912*, приредио Д. Батаковић, Београд 1988, 94-100; *Грађа за историју македонског народа из Архива Србије IV-1*, приредио К. Џамбазовски, Београд 1985, бр. 111, 113.

¹⁹ Реч је о наставнику Призренске богословије Ђорђу Камперелићу. Ухапшен је априла 1882. под оптужбом да је агент Краљевине Србије и да је радио на наводном организовању устанка у Старој Србији. Био је осуђен на десет година тешке робије у Акри (Сирија), али је приликом спровођења у затвор успео да побегне из Александрије у Египту, те је преко Крфа, Црне Горе и Аустро-Угарске стигао у Београд у марту 1883. Види литературу и изворе наведене у претходној напомени.

appears that several have already fallen victim to the rigour of their imprisonment, and whatever reports to the contrary may have been spread by the Turkish authorities, not a single individual has hitherto been liberated. So far, indeed, is this from being the case, that the threat of further arrests is now continually made use of as a mean of extortion. The chief places of detention seem to be Trebisonde, Djarbekir, Konjeh and Acre, and several are still imprisoned in Salonica. Of the two chief informers, one is a Vlach of Prishtina, who has since made himself Mahomedan, and swaggers about as “Omar Effendi”.²⁰ He has been decorated by the Sultan, and he has just received a sum of money to make a pilgrimage to Mecca. The other is no less a personage than the Fanariote Archbishop of Skoplje, Paysios²¹ – for the Porte still appoints here its “spiritual Pashas”.

Were there any reasonable prospect of a successful uprising, the motives for it are certainly very strong. Since the conclusion of the Treaty of Berlin, the Christian population of Dardania has been tyrannized over as it never has been before within the memory of man. No words of mine can sufficiently describe the abject slavery in which the peasantry of this region is at present held. In village after village that I visited, wherever the inhabitants had an opportunity of speaking to me out of official hearing, I heard everywhere the same tale; and all to which I myself was a witness corroborated its truth. The zaptiehs,²² the visible agents of the Turkish Government, are practically omnipotent. On the slightest provocation the peasants are beaten or hauled off to the filthy dungeons of Velles, Uskup or Prishtina. The Turkish functionaries live at the villagers’ expense, in the way in which food etc. is thus “requisitioned” would lead any one suddenly planted here to imagine that the country was in the military occupation of some invader. The most crying grievance, however, is the forced labour, or “angaria”, which is exacted here with merciless brutality. Some new military magazines and a new road to Kumanova being in course of construction, the “angaria” is just now

²⁰ Никола Ђуришић, Цинцарин из Битољског вилајета, био је у служби владе Србије. Са њом, али и са неким другим Србима из Приштине, дошао је у сукоб око новца, потом је прихватио понуду турских власти да прими ислам (узео је име Омер) и послужио је као сведок на процесима пред војним судом у Приштини. Види изворе и литературу наведене у напмени 18.

²¹ Пајсије (1806-1892) митрополит скопски (1868-1891); о њему видети више у Ј. Х. Васиљевић, *Скопски митрополит Пајсије (1868-1891)*, Сремски Карловци 1935. и Р. Грујић, *Скопска митрополија. Историјски преглед до обновљења српске патријаршије 1920 г.*, Скопље 1935, 247-250.

²² Жандармерија.

exceptionally heavy, and I found villages the male population of which has had to undergo seven entire weeks of forced labour during the last four months. The value of hired labour here is about 6 to 10 piasters per diem, so that the money value of the labour thus exacted represents at a moderate estimate 294 piasters a head, or nearly 900 piasters in the year. But the manner of enforcing this “angaria“ considerably adds to its oppressiveness. No consideration is shown for the necessities of field labour, and men are literally beaten in from the plough or the harvest field. In most villages here the “metayer“ system prevails – half the produce being paid to the Turkish landholder; in some of the mountain villages, however, the land is the peasant’s own. It is, however, saddled with a land tax (varying according to the estimated value of each “dulum“), known as the “vergija“, in addition to the payment of the Sultan’s tithe. A poll tax of from 40 to 60 piasters (or more) is paid by every Rayah man and male child over 10 years of age, and is still known as the “haratch“. The taxation itself, I imagine, is not so oppressive as the method of levying it and adding to it by irregular means. As a sample of a wholesale way in which the peasantry are “requisitioned“, I may mention that on a market day, when all means of transport were specially needful to the villagers, I saw no less than twenty wagons with their drivers impressed by the Turks in a single large Bulgarian village.

In a large number of villages I found the churches fallen to ruin or non-existent altogether, and to my inquiries why they were not built or restored I received the never failing reply that their Turkish (i. e. Mahomedan) neighbours would not allow it. This intolerance is not to be set down to the higher Turkish authorities, but to the local fanatics, whom, however, it is no part of their policy to thwart. In the matter of schools, however, these higher authorities seem only too prone to act as the champions of obscurantism. It is now only a few weeks since they made a raid on the Bulgarian school at Uskup, and seized and confiscated all the school books relating to history or geography. Henceforth the masters have had to content themselves with Church books. Everywhere the Christian schoolmaster is regarded as a suspected person, and with no class of the population is the dread of violence so constantly present.

Although a large part of the plain is vacouf of the mosques of Uskup, authorities deny that the Christian churches or the monasteries can hold lands in their own name. On the death of the Hegumen²³ of the monastery of Boujanski²⁴, a few weeks since, the authorities at Uskup profited by the

²³ Игуман.

²⁴ „Бујански“ манастир у околини Скопља нам није познат. Можда је Еванс погрешно забележио „Бујански“ уместо „Бањански“, односно манастир Св. Никите крај села Бањани у Скопској Црној Гори североисточно од Скопља.

occurrence to seize and confiscate the lands of the monastery. The protest of the Orthodox community was unavailing, and finally, to save the monastery from entire destitution, they had to repurchase the lands. The law of the land is still the Mahommedan religious law, and the complaints as to the non-admittance of Christian evidence are universal. As to the sentiments of the Christian population, I cannot do better than reproduce the words of a village Elder: "There is no justice for us. We toil day and night, but the Turks take all our earnings, and even then they will not let us alone. We can't send our children to fetch water at the fountain but they are stoned or otherwise ill-treated. I tell you we will take off our caps to any King who comes to us. The yoke ('zulum') is more than can we beare".²⁵

July 1883

Further Report by Mr. Evans on the Present State of Dardania, etc.,
August 11, 1883.

The preceding observations on the present condition of Dardania have been mainly confined to the district south of the Shar range, and of which Skopia (Uskup) forms the principal centre. The remaining part of the country - the Kossovo district proper, the plain of Metochia, including the towns of Prisrend, Djakova and Ipek (Peč) – is at present in a state of almost complete anarchy, and requires separate consideration; while in the more southern tract, for good or evil, Turkish government may still be said to exist, and while in the Mutessariflik of Uskup, at any rate, praiseworthy efforts are made to check non-official robbery and murder, I can only describe the state of things north of the Shar as a reign of terror. It is only at Prishtina itself, the seat of the Vali, Mitrovitza and the immediate neighbourhood of the Macedonia Railway²⁶, that the Turkish government can be said to be really existent. The exploration of this region is at present a matter of considerable risk, and though, with adequate precautions, it is possible for an Englishman (our nationality being favourably regarded by the Albanians) to visit some of the towns, many of the country districts are at the present moment as inaccessible as if they were in Central Africa. Under these circumstances, anything like a complete view of the state

²⁵ Упореди цитат са А. Растовић, *наведено дело*, 141-142.

²⁶ Пруга Митровица – Солун.

of the country is out of the question, and I must content myself with samples derived from a journey through some of the most interesting districts.

The day I arrived at Prisrend there were three cases of robbery with violence and murder in the immediate vicinity. From one village eighty sheep, together with the dogs and shepherds, were carried off by Arnaouts from Ljuma. A drove of horses was attacked on the road, three of the drivers more or less severely wounded, one of the marauders being killed. A Turk was waylaid and killed also by the Arnaouts, with five desperate gashes. In no case were the offenders brought to justice.

I found the Christian population, especially the Orthodox Serbs, in the most abject state of misery and degradation. The Serb seminary for teachers²⁷ still exists, as it is under the direct protection, and in the immediate vicinity of the Russian Consulate. The boys' and girls' school, however is closed, as the schoolmaster was seized and transported to Asia,* while his wife, who taught the girls, fled to Serbia, and the terrorism is such that no one dares to take their place.²⁸

The state of things in the Serb villages about is worse still; whereas in the Uskup district it is at any rate the Government, or its official, who demand forced labour and requisitions. Here the Arnaouts, without any official commission, exact this "angaria", as it is called, for themselves. A few days since an Arnaout of the village of Kabaš ordered a Serb of the village of Koriš to work in his field for him; on the Serb not coming, the Arnaout hunted him down and murdered him. As the name and abode of the malefactor were perfectly well known, the villagers ventured to complain to the "authorities" at Prisrend. Zaptiehs were accordingly sent, but instead of going to Kabaš at all, they betook themselves to the Serbian village; lived at free-quarters on the villagers for two or three days, and then returned to the konak with the usual report that the murderer had managed to escape. In the case of a similar recent murder in the village of Krouša by the Arnaout Bairaktar²⁹ of the neighbouring

²⁷ Призренска богословија, отворена 1871; премештена у Ниш услед рата 1999, где ради и данас.

* He has since escaped and returned to Serbia, of which he is a native.

²⁸ Очигледно је да Еванс у овој реченици говори о Ђорђу Камперелићу. Он је завршио Богословију у Београду 1873. Пре него што се вратио у Призрен исте године, примио је српско поданство и са српским пасошем отпутовао у Турску, али га од тада ниједном није обновио, Архив Србије, Министарство иностраних дела – Политичко одељење, ролна микрофилма 62, 1882, П, Посланик у Цариграду, Ј. Грујић, министру иностраних дела М. Пироћанцу, през. бр. 59, 28. 12. 1882/9. 1. 1883. Чини се, међутим, да је Еванс погрешно разумео да је Камперелић био наставник у основној школи.

²⁹ Старешина бајрака, одређене области из које су муслимански Албанци одлазили у рат као нерегуларна јединица турске војске. Овде је реч о Малохочком бајраку. О томе више видети у И. С. Јастребов, *Стара Србија*, Приштина 1995, 52-53.

village of Malahoča, zaptiehs were nor even sent, and this worthy has been since allowed to occupy himself with the task of levying black mail of about 200 piasters a head on various Christians of the neighbourhood. Old men say here that the “Zulum“ (Turkish yoke) has never been so bad as now. Cases of beating are almost daily occurrence, and the Arnaouts settle on the Christian villages in gangs, and live at free-quarters for days at a time. The Government does nothing, and is, in fact, inspired and directed by the worst of the local fanatics.³⁰ Christian evidence is not accepted, and the only code recognized is the Mahommedan sacred law.

The condition of the Catholic Albanians here, who are more or less under the aegis of Austria, is distinctly better than that of the Pravoslaves, but still have to suffer endless vexations; and such is the present reckless temper of the Arnaout population here, that the Austrian Vice-Consul was himself shot at last autumn in the streets of Prisrend. Within the last few days the chief entrance to the Roman Catholic churchyard here had been walled up by the native fanatics, acting through the Turkish authorities. The church bell can not be rung. The women have to go about veiled, as if they were Mahommedans. Twenty Miridites have recently been seized and imprisoned here for refusing to pay the military tax, the right of military service in lieu of this tax being, as is well known, one of their oldest privileges. Although the right of Catholic Albanians to possess arms has hitherto been acknowledged, a Catholic here who had bought a gun of Austrian fabric was seized and thrown into prison, and has not since been allowed either to see his friends or to receive food or money from them. Don Marco (the hero of the well known episode of the transportation of the Albanian Crypto-Catholics some thirty years ago) is at present the Catholic priest here, and, considering the martyrdom which he has himself endured, his opinion may be worth quoting: “Since the Treaty of Berlin the state of the Christian population here has been worse than I can ever remember it. Bad, however, as the condition of the Catholics is, that of the Greeks (i. e. Orthodox Serbs) is infinitely worse. The savagery with which they are treated is fearful: they are beaten and murdered with perfect impunity, and the forced labour that they have to undergo at the hands of the Arnaouts passes belief.“

At Djakova the state of the public security was such that the Mudir³¹ dared not allow us (myself and my wife) to show ourselves in the street; and it was subsequently, through the intercession of a local Aga, that we were allowed to visit a part of the Bazaar. Two days before a murder had been

³⁰ Упореди са А. Раствоић, *наведено дело*, 141.

³¹ Еванас је вероватно погрешно употребио термин мудир, уместо кајмакам. Ђаковица је била средиште казе (у саставу Пећког санцака), којом управља кајмакам, а не нахије, којом управља мудир.

committed in the principal street in the presence of Turkish zaptiehs, who discreetly turned their backs and walked away. The Christians here are terrorized over even worse than at Prisrend. As a sample of the ferocious spirit of the inhabitants, I may mention an incident, related to me on good authority, that occurred here few weeks since. A Turk who had an illicit connection with a girl falsely accused an old Christian man (of 65) as being the real culprit. The man was not even brought to trial; the native fanatics set upon him, and literally hacked him to death. After this his body was impaled, and the impaled corpse was finally used by the Arnaouts as a butt for their rifles. So far from molesting ourselves, however, many of the Arnaout Notables came to visit us and our quarters, and showed themselves friendly, though excessively curious.

The old Serbian monastery of Dečani (the church of which is the most valuable art momentum of the whole interior of the Balkan Peninsula) we found in the most pitiable condition. It is impossible to walk a hundred yards from the walled enclosure of the monastery without an armed guard. The wild Arnaouts are continually settling on the monks and living at free quarters; only last year they burnt one of the outbuildings of the monastery, and fired volley after volley into the interior; one of the monks had had his hair and beard cut off three times, and had once literally had the knife at his throat. The most recent extortion to which they have been subjected by the Albanians is the system of forced "loans", never repaid. The peculiar significance of the state of things here lies in the fact that the monastery is imperial vacouf, protected and privileged by the authority of innumerable Firmans.³²

In the Ipek (Peč) district the state of things is, if possible, worse than that of Djakova. Ali Pasha, of Gussinje,³³ is the Governor here, civil and military, but though powerful enough in his native town, he is here a mere puppet in the hands of the worst fanatics. He allowed us to visit the Bazaar, but gave us a guard of eight armed Albanians while we did so, and even then the appearance of the "Europeans" in the streets caused such a ferment that the Pasha dared not allow us to re-enter the Tcharshi, or even to visit the Serbian school (though we succeeded in seeing that when subsequently leaving the town). The Patriarshia or Monastery (the former seat of the Serbian Patriarchs of Ipek before the exodus of Arsenius Tcharnojevich) we found in much the same state as that of Dečani. The state of terrorism is such that three fourths of the normal congregation dare not attend the church, the Christians being set on,

³² Опширно о проблемима са којима се суочавао манастир Дечани видети у монографији Д. Батаковић, *Дечанско питање*, Београд 1989.

³³ Али паша Шабанагић Гусињски (1828-1888), један од првака Призренске лиге; мутасариф Пећког санцака 1881-1888.

shot at, and beaten by the Arnaouts on their way thither. The doors of the monastery itself are perfectly riddled with bullet-holes, and more than one murder has been committed in its immediate precincts. There are several house-fathers who dare not so much as venture outside their own yards. In this district alone there have been over 150 murders since the Treaty of Berlin, some of them mere children. I have been supplied with data regarding 92 cases, and I am assured that in no single instance has the murderer met with the punishment from the authorities. During the days I was at Ipek a great murder of a Serb occurred in the village of Gorazdova, where there have been recently two previous cases, and in the village of Trebovica there was a case of abduction of a characteristic kind. A Turk (Arnaout) persuaded a young Christian girl of 16 or 17 to marry him and turn Mahomedan. The girl's parents refused their consent. The authorities interfered so far as to seize the mother and convey her to the prison at Ipek (where she was when I left), while the Arnaout carried off her daughter. There have been five or six similar cases, and one of the leading Arnaouts here* commits with impunity outrages of a still grosser nature.

From what I heard there can be no room for doubt that there is an organized attempt by repeated acts of violence and robbery to drive out the whole Orthodox Serbian population that still exists in this nahia³⁴. Those who know the country best informed me that the Arnaouts, wild and lawless as they are, would not behave as they have been behaving unless they had got the wink to do so from those in power. The chief instigator of the worse outrages is universally recognized to be Mullazeg³⁵, a very wealthy Arnaout, who, with a knot of kindred spirits, has the Pasha and the local Government entirely under his thumb. The oppression being more than can be borne the Christian population are at the present taking to flight whole villages at a time, and making their way towards the Serbian frontier. The greater part of the inhabitants of the following villages have already fled: Budisavac, Ruhac, Gjurgjevich, Plaoljani, Sverk, Kijevo, Osojani, Zablači, Kruševo, Zač, Josanica, Novoselo, Ottomaci, Dolac, Drsnik, Radulovci, Koš, Naglavka, Draguljeva, Istok, Gjurakovac, Nabržje and a part of the inhabitants of Gorazdovac. The refugees have mostly reached the Serbian frontier: all hope to be able to return whenever this tyranny is overpast.

* Regja Balich.

³⁴ Термин нахија се односи заправо на Пећку казу.

³⁵ Хаџи Мула Зека (1832-1902), албански главар; члан Призренске лиге, организатор и вођа Пећке лиге 1899; један од најутицајнијих албанских главара у Косовском вилајету.

One result of the lawless defiance of all authority on the part of the Arnaouts is that the tax-farmers who have to drop a certain sum and who often can not get their due from the Albanian part of the population make the unfortunate Serb villagers pay for their oppressors as well as themselves. The “*vergija*“ or land-tax especially is frequently demanded twice or three times over and so no receipt is given, the villagers have no security against these extortionate demands. In committing these extortions the tax-gathers find every assistance from the authorities (who are entirely in the Arnaout interest), and several Christians are at this moment in prison at Ipek for refusing, or being unable, to pay the same tax twice, or may it be three times over.

The Serb school at Ipek is not interfered with, though the schoolmaster³⁶ lives in peril of his life. The ottoman soldiers and officers in garrison here, although not used by the Porte as an instrument of order, are well disciplined, and their presence is rather welcome by the Christian inhabitants. On the other hand, there is abundant evidence of the close relations subsisting between some of the most abandoned Albanian ruffians and the Palace at Stamboul. Both here and at Prisrend, however, there are many worthy Mahommedans who would welcome any change that should put a stop to the present frightful anarchy.

In the neighbouring district of Kolašine³⁷ I learned that the same anarchic state prevailed, to which I myself was a witness, these two years since. The Christians are murdered and plundered there without redress, or the possibility of redress, as in the Ipek district.

On way from Ipek to Mitrovitza I passed the night in the small Serbian village of Banja. For six hours the road ran across the fertile and well-watered and formerly thickly-populated plain, which has been reduced to a desert entirely void of habitation or cultivation. At Banja I found the villagers debating weather they should fly the country at once. The whole neighbourhood is a scene of horrors. These days since a young Serb, Simo Lazarić, of the neighbouring village of Maidan was bathing in the tepid spring from which Banja derives its name, when he was shot in cold blood and out of the pure wantonness by an Arnaout from Dervišević. The day before in the village of Djakorice, which is also near here, another young fellow, Josif Patakovič

³⁶ Лазар Николић, учитељ у основној школи у Пећи; К. Џамбазовски, *Грађа за историју македонског народа из Архива Србије IV-1*, бр. 118; С. Недељковић, *наведено дело*, 195.

³⁷ Ибарски Колашин; био је у саставу Митровачке казе, која је крајем 1883. или почетком 1884. пребачена из састава Новопазарског санцака у Приштински санцак, М. Јагодић, *наведено дело*, 6.

(aet.[as] 20), was shot in the same way, and another Serb badly wounded. The church is in ruins. The inhabitants spent six months in trying to restore it, but the “Turks“ destroyed it again. The school is also in ruins and no schoolmaster dares stay. One old cripple asked me with tremulous eagerness if there was any chance of a war.

At Vučitrn I found the school closed, as the schoolmaster is in prison, it is believed in Salonica; and the Serbian Pope here, Dančo, has been in prison two years.³⁸ At Janjevo, where the great bulk of the population is Catholic, the people had not so much to complain of bodily violence and murder as of illegal extortion. Here again, taxes are demanded as much as three times over for the benefit of the surrounding Arnaouts, who, to a great extent, go scot-free. The Crypto-Catholics, of whom there are large numbers in the Karadagh about Gilan, are perpetually trying to get some assurance of protection for the free exercise of their belief; the Gilan “Turks“, with the connivance and sympathy of the local Governor,* declaring their intention to murder them and burn their villages, should they openly profess Catholicism. The Franciscans at Janjevo have again and again appealed to the Porte to secure them the requisite protection, but the Porte has again and again put them off. The hold of the fanatical Mussulman party on the Palace is too strong for the Porte to act in the matter, even if it be liberally inclined. The Catholic monks here, as at Prisrend, corroborated the fact that the Pravoslaves are infinitely worse treated than the “Latins“. And the news just arrived of a horrible murder of two Serbs, one shot and the other hung to a tree by Arnaouts, in a village near Gilan, sufficiently illustrates the fact.

In considering possible remedies to the present state of things in these regions, the following observations suggest themselves:

1. The first and most crying necessity, and about this I found an universal agreement of opinion, is a thorough-going disarmament of the Arnaouts. Those well acquainted with the country assured me that this might be effected with far greater ease than I was at first inclined to suppose. In the presence of resolute acts of authority the Arnaout shows a submissiveness astonishing to those who know him in his fiercer moments. The whole history of the “Albanian League“ shows, indeed, how easily he may be guided. On the other hand, it is extremely doubtful whether the Turkish Government can be

³⁸ Јосиф Студић, учитељ у Вучитрну, и прота Данче Фрутунић били су осуђени од стране војног суда у Приштини 1882, и то Студић на осам година робије, а прота на доживотну робију, К. Џамбазовски, *Грађа за историју македонског народа из Архива Србије IV-1*, бр. 113; С. Недељковић, *наведено дело*, 170-171.

* So, at least, the Franciscans were convinced.

induced to put forth such an exercise of authority. The intimate relations between many of the Chiefs and the Palace are notorious, and the greater part of these Arnaout desperadoes are armed with *Turkish Government Martinis*.

2. No settled Government can be hoped for while the worst malefactors are allowed to swagger about unpunished. The execution of a score or so of the worst characters, and those not the humbler instruments, but the practical Governors of the country – men like Mullazeg and his compeers – is at least as necessary as disarmament. But these leading offenders are precisely those who have most influence at Stamboul.

3. I observe that the Franciscans, who take their cue from Austria, are all in the favour of some kind of Albanian Principality. Whether such has been the Austrian view or not, of course, I have no means of knowing; but if it has been so in the past, it is sufficiently evident that the growth of Slavonic influence in Austria will make it henceforth impossible for that Power to place south Slavonic holy places, viz., Dechani and Ipek – the goals of Orthodox ambition from the Drave to the Macedonian borders – in Albanian keeping. At the present moment, althoug the Albanians have everywhere the upper hand, the balance between the numbers of the Serb and Albanian population in the Kossovo and Metochia district is, as far as I can judge, pretty even. Whenever settled Government supervenes this will be no longer the case. The deserted plains will be again tilled, not by Albanian, but by Slavonic colonists. The tide of Slavonic colonization is already flowing up the Morava Valley into the part of Arnaoutluk acquired by Serbia at Berlin.³⁹ The re-Slavonization of the Kossovo and Metochia plains is only a question of time. By converting them into a desert the Turks have really been playing the Serbian game.

4. Apart from all economic considerations, and having solely regard to the tranquilization of the country, the importance of securing railway communication with the great plain of Metochia (at present the scene of worst terrorism) deserves the most serious attention. I learned that a trace of a line leading from Scodra (Scutari d'Albania) across the Albanian Alps to the neighbourhood of Prisrend and Djakova has already been made, and presents serious difficulties only at one point. This line of communication is really of the highest eventual economic importance, as it would give the plains and highlands of Dardania – the chief mineral treasury of the peninsula – direct access to the Adriatic port. It would also find a continuation in Morava Valley line to Nisch etc. and would coincide with a great line of Roman road,

³⁹ О насељавању нових крајева Србије видети М. Јагодић, *Насељавање Кнежевине Сбије 1861-1880*, Београд 2004, 131-144.

undertaken primarily as an engine of pacification and civilization amongst the wild forefathers of the Arnauts. The comparative security for life and property in the immediate neighborhood of the existing line from Mitrovitza shows the great desirability of railway communication with the districts at present plunged in apparently hopeless anarchy.

5. The abolition of forced labour (“angaria“) and “requisitioning“ would remove one of the principal grievances of the rayahs. It is, however, the last thing that the Turkish authorities will consent to. Were any local Governor to attempt to carry out such a reform and tax Mahomedan and Christian impartially, he would be at once intrigued against at Stamboul. As it is, the forced labour is practically a tax levied in the country districts where the Christians are in a majority (and almost exclusively on the *Christian* villagers) for the benefit of the towns where the “Turks“ are in a majority.

Uskup (Skopia), August 11, 1883.

Miloš Jagodić

TWO REPORTS BY ARTHUR EVANS ON OLD SERBIA IN 1883

(Summary)

The article presents two reports written by British archeologist Arthur Evans on Old Serbia (Vilayet of Kosovo and Sanjak of Prizren) in 1883 and sent to Foreign Office officials. The reports are based upon author's direct insight in domestic affairs of the region after his two months stay there. First report, dated July 1883, describes Sanjak of Skoplje, while second, dated August 11th 1883, is dedicated to areas north of Shar Mountain range. Evans in both reports wrote about current political, social and economical issues. He showed special interest in mutual relations between Christian and Muslim population. In report on Sanjak of Skoplje Evans stressed mismanagement and abuse of power on the side of local Turkish authorities. In the latter report, however, he emphasized the terrible position of Orthodox Serbs due to various unpunished crimes inflicted on them by local Albanian tribesmen. Therefore, Evans concluded that there was doubtlessly an ongoing organized attempt to eradicate Serbian population from the region. In the end, he proposed few measures (disarmament of Albanians, bringing criminals to justice, railroads construction etc.) which could, in his opinion, improve matters he had previously discussed.

Keywords: Kosovo, Vilayet, Turkey, Arnaouts, Serbs.