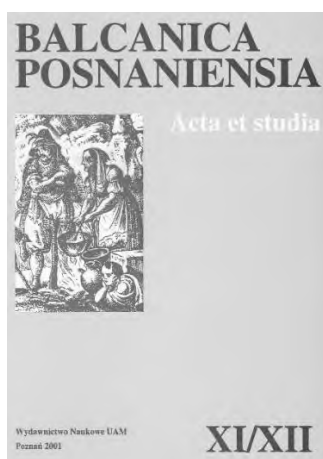




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MIGRATION OF THE MUHAJIRS IN MACEDONIA DURING THE GREAT EASTERN CRISIS (1875-1881)

MARIJA PANDEVSKA

ABSTRACT. Pandevska Marija, *Migration of the Muhajirs in Macedonia during the Great Eastern Crisis [1875-1881]* (Migracja Muchadżirów w Macedonii podczas Wielkiego Kryzysu Wschodniego [1875-1881]). Balcanica Posnaniensia. Acta et studia, XI/XII, Poznań 2001. Adam Mickiewicz University Press, pp. 103-111. ISBN 83-232-1078-0, ISSN 0239-4278. Text in English.

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The period of the Great Eastern Crisis (1875-1881) is one of the most significant phases in the retreat of the Osman Empire from the Balkan Peninsula. The migration movements of the Moslem, as well as of the Christian population in these areas that took place during the years of the Crisis, by its extent and intensity represented very important, complex and multifold historical phenomenon. Those migrations left important historical consequences on the later development of not only the Osman Empire, but also on the development of all Balkan people, and due to this phenomenon, until present day, in the historical science polemics and disputes are discussed. Metastatic migrations of both Moslem and Christian population in this period led to quantitative changes in the correlation among many confessional groups and in many respects had left permanent historical traces on the later ethnic constellation on many Balkan regions. Macedonia, with its geographical position, could not have stayed on the margins, nor outside of these migrations. On the contrary, it became a place where refugee caravans were flowing in and out. The historical fact that Macedonia after the end of the Crisis stayed with unchanged status within the borders of the Ottoman Empire, very strongly marks its later historical course. However, in this particular case, this fact is representing the reason for the phenomenon of migrations. The refugee movement in and out of Macedonia in its essence is divided in accordance with the difference by the directions of the migration, and by the ethnical structure of the refugees.

Thus out of Macedonia fled the Christian population, and mainly Macedonian population of the regions where the rebellions and uprisings were spread

(Kumanovo-Kriva Palanka uprising 1877/78, Pijanec uprising 1878, and Kresna uprising 1878/79), and meanwhile, Moslem population of different nationalities from all of the territories which Turkey was losing and had lost during the wars led in the Crisis period, came to Macedonia. As a result of the gained victories of the Slavic arms (in the Russian-Turkish War 1877/78 and the Second Serbian-Turkish War 1878) and of the European diplomacy, during the Crisis period, apart from the other territories, it had to leave the areas in Bosnia and Hercegovina, as well as parts of Serbia and Bulgaria. With the retreat of the Turkish army and administration from these Balkan regions there was a massive retreat also by the Moslem population. Greater part of the Moslem refugee mass had started deeper in the state – towards Istanbul and the Asia Minor regions of Turkey, thus abandoning the Balkans forever; but not a small part of the Muhadjirs had arrived and settled on the Macedonian territory.

Despite the fact that in the historical literature this term for all Moslem refugees has been established by the authors and is used as a general term – Muhajirs, these migrants did not represent homogeneous mass of population.¹ The term Muhajirs in its essence means collective noun for mutually heterogeneous Turks, Albanians, Pomacs Boshnjaks, Cherkeshians, Tatars and others, who lived on these Balkan areas, whose religious affiliation in the period of the Turkish retreat from Europe, got political character.

As a result of the occupation of Bosnia and Hercegovina by Austro-Hungary, massive emigration outflows of the Bosnian Moslems started towards Turkey. These immigrations continuously took place even in the next, 20th century. And in order to understand the enormous scale of the occurrence of abandoning the homeland by the Bosnian Moslems, also should be pointed out the specific situation of the spirit of the members of this population. The Bosnian Moslems as part of the Turkish Empire, in respect to the other convertites from the Balkans, had lived in specific social and living conditions. It is well known that the Bosnian Moslems originate from the old Bosnian feudal aristocracy, which with the acceptance of the Islam did not lose its privileges even after the fall of Bosnia and Hercegovina under Ottoman rule. Masters in their own country before the arrival of the Osmanlies, they stayed masters in the framework of the Ottoman-Turkish society. With the help of the awarded privileges and the obtained autonomous position, among the Bosnian Moslems was developed a strong apocryphal Turcism, to which were inoculated oriental feelings and a variety of comfortable domestic life. For this reason, it is no wonder that the Bosnian-Hercegovinian apocryphal Turks, were strongly affected by the Austro-Hungarian monarchy occupation: state characterized by catholic clerical marks and with developed and strong bureaucratic regime. All this led to a massiveness of the emigration waves of the Moslem population, despite the fact that in the war stage of the Crisis in this areas we can not find military actions of massive scale. The numbered motives, although of psychological nature, made Bosnian

¹ Muhadjiri (moadjiri). Turkish: muhaçir. followers of Muhamed who had gathered around him in Medina. Other meaning: migrants, refugees (M. Vujaklija, *Leksikon stranih reči i izraza*, Beograd, 1980, p. 594).

Moslems start abandoning the native soil, thus settling the areas with different language affiliation and in areas which were of lesser economic development than their fatherland.² Part of these Muhajirs from Bosnia and Hercegovina, on their way to Istanbul and Asia Minor arrived in Macedonia, on which territory, in some of its parts, had permanently settled.

On the other hand, the conditions under which, the Turkish, Albanian and Cherkesian population in the parts of Serbia which were in the war zone, had fled in conditions of active military operations.³ Since the Moslem population was armed, some, in order to protect their villages, even demonstrated resistance towards the Serbian troops. The strongest resistance to the Serbian army was demonstrated by the Moslem population living in the area of Toplice. The Albanians of Toplice formed flights of the non-fighting population and directed them towards the south, and the capable, who could carry and use arms stayed and fought guerilla fights with the Serbian army. In certain cases the Serbian command had to fight at the same time on the positions in the front of the front-line but also in the background, during which it had to perform actions of total destruction of some of the rebellious Moslem villages. The result of these operations was cleansing of Toplice of almost all of the Albanian population. In contrast to Toplice, the areas around Kurshumlja and Prokuplje were abandoned by the Albanian and other Moslem population at the very beginning of the war in December 1877.⁴ Interesting details of the emptying of these areas of Serbia gives the first census of population and property that was performed in the newly liberated regions in February 1878.⁵ The data that we can find, and which is related only to the Prokuplje area, undoubtedly speaks of the vastness of the emigrant wave of all of the Moslem population of Serbia. Serbian officials namely noted that in this area there were 2 420 Moslem houses, and for the total number of the population they have written the number of only 978 persons.⁶ To such a big number of empty Turkish, Albanian and Cherkesian houses, you can also add the fact that 60 whole villages of the Prokuplje surroundings remained uninhabited, while many of them were downsized to half of its population.⁷ In the historical literature exists information that in this period around 30 000 Albanians permanently left Serbia.⁸ The Muhajirian refugee population originating from the newly liberated areas in Serbia had flown into

² Ј. Цвијинћ, *Анексија Босне и Херцеговине*, Београд 1908, p. 35; Dr. F. Schmid, *Bosnien und Herzegovina unter Verwaltung Oesterreich-ungarus*, Leipzig 1914, p. 274-252; В. Чубриловић, *Стројске основе Републике Босне и Херцеговине*, in: *Одбрани историјски радови*, Београд 1983, p. 280; S. Rizaј, *O migracionim kretanjima na Balkanu (1877-1879)*, in: *Zb. 100 godi njice ustanka u Bosni i Hercegovini, I drugim Balkanskim zemljama u Istocnoj krizi 1875-1878*, том II, 1975, p. 194.

³ В. Чубриловић, *Политички узроци сеобе на Балкану од 1860 до 1880 године*, in: *Одбрани историјски радови*, Београд 1983, p. 540-543.

⁴ Ibidem, p. 541.

⁵ В. Николнћ, *Архивски прилози за изучавања етничких, социјалних и економских прилика у прокупљу 1877-78 године*, in: *Архивски Алманах*, Београд 1962, p. 135.

⁶ Ibidem, p. 142.

⁷ S. Rizaј, *O migracionim kretanjima na Balkanu*, p. 195.

⁸ Д. Богдановић, *Књига о Косову*, Београд 1895, p. 137-139.

the territories of Sanjak, Kosovo and Albania, but there was not a small share of those that started towards Macedonia. For the arrival of these Moslem refugees in Macedonia during the whirlwinds of the war, traces were left in the legends and songs of the Macedonian population of the northern parts of Macedonia. This population was on the first line of these waves during their penetration.⁹ In panic and anger these Albanian refugees on their way through Macedonia made different kinds of robberies and performed various crimes. After the ending of the wars and the suffocations of the uprisings, the Turkish state took care of the Moslem refugees that came from the newly liberated Serbian areas. Those refugees who were already in Macedonia, were permanently settled in its certain areas.

The Russian-Turkish War of 1877-1878, and the penetration of the Russian troops and Bulgarian volunteer units (opolchenics) in the Bulgarian regions, were the main reason for initiating massive refugee waves of the Bulgarian Moslem population in the direction towards the countries which were still within the Turkish state. Such war psychosis, filled with fear and terror, prevailed the west part of the Russian-Turkish front. The Russian troops after the fall of the very well fortified town Pleven, started penetrating towards Macedonia. The Moslem-refugees of the western Bulgarian areas starved, bared and poor during the winter of 1877 first entered Sofia. Greater part of these refugees, together with the Moslem population of the town, had left Sofia due to the assault of the Russian army, and started retreating towards Pazardjik (at that time Tatar-Pazardjik).¹⁰ However, also there were many of those refugees who fleeing from Sofia started towards Kjustendil, Dupnica (today Stanke Dimitrov) and Gorna Djumaja (today Blagoevgrad), and then again started retreating deeper into Macedonian territory.

Thus, in March 1878, when the San Stefano Peace Treaty was signed, several hundred thousands of miserable and exhausted Muhajirs had found themselves on the other side of the demarcation line, which was then established along the front lines. How big their number could have been? The exact collective data for this does not exist, but in the literature numbers between 600 000 and 1 million could be found of Moslem refugee population that had fled into the territories which remained under the Turkish state.¹¹

Greater part of many thousands of Muhajirs from Bulgarian territory left and had permanently settled in Asia Minor, Izmir (Smirna), Manisa, Ajdina, Ankara, even as far as Cyprus, in Syria and Arabia.¹² However, those parts of the Bulgarian Muhajirs, who in the period when the Odrin Armistice was signed, had found themselves beyond the demarcation line of the west sector of the Russian-Turkish front, arrived in Macedonia.

As to the numerical data, the Turkish Administration did not register precise statistical data of the arrival of the Moslem refugees in Macedonia. As a matter of

⁹ J. Хаивасиљевић, *Устнак Срба у Кумановској и Планечкој кази у 1878 години*, Братство, XI, књ. 21, Београд 1906, p. 159-163.

¹⁰ *Rumeli' den turk golçeri*, Belgeler, I, Ankara 1968, p. 248-250.

¹¹ S. Rizaž, *O migracionim kretanjima na Balkanu*, p. 195.

¹² *Ibidem*, p. 191.

fact, under the conditions of general war situation of the Turkish state, when the Turkish administrative apparatus in some areas had completely disintegrated, and at the time when the fronts were still changeable border lines, it could not have been expected that they would conduct measures for registration of the population who have moved in or out of the territory. Nevertheless, for the benefit of the historical science, again this time, the incomplete registering of different refugees stayed within the scope of work of foreign reporters from Macedonia, who managed to register certain collective numerical situations of the refugee flights in some areas. Thus, for example, in December 1878 E. Baroa, French engineer employed on the railway line Thesalonika-Mitrovica, informed the French Consul in Sofia Mr. J. Shefer, that "...at the moment, within the borders of Macedonia there are around 60 000 Moslem refugee families, mainly grouped in the vicinity of bigger towns, and they defy to be dispersed and settled, despite the reiterated orders issued by the Ottoman Government".¹³ Muhajirian flights, who were miserable and starved, were in state of "extreme destruction"; and due to this the author concludes: "The Moslem refugees are the first, most important and most burdensome evil in this part of Macedonia". This relevant data that is given to us by the engineer E. Baroa gains in credibility, because the person who conveys them to us is a person who himself was present in the very area and place – the place from which was followed the migration on the most important Macedonian railway communication. Consequently, it is logical to assume that the source of the numerical data, which some time later (January 1879) Mr. J. Shefer communicates in his report to the Minister of foreign affairs, is exactly Mr. E. Baroa, since Mr. Shefer, among the other things says: "...in it the flow of refugees is of such extent, ... that turned Macedonia into shelter for both, part of the deserters of the Ottoman Army, and Moslems from Bulgaria, Bosnia and Hercegovina, and even of some areas south of Stara Planina. The mass of these refugees could be between 50 000 and 60 000 families, scattered in towns and villages, where they were jammed in the homes of Christians. The Moslem refugees, hoping that they would go back armed in the regions that were taken away from them, defy to obey the call of the Sultan and the Government, who offered to move them to Asia Minor and resettle them. The refugees persistently insisted to stay in Macedonia, in which the impotence of the Ottoman Authority allowed them to do all kinds of excesses".¹⁴

In those years, throughout Macedonia there were no war fronts, but nevertheless, through some regions, like an avalanche poued in enormous masses, bitter and excessively poor Moslem refugees. The wars that were led in Macedonia's neighborhood heavily affected the country. If one observes the situation from this aspect, one will find out that Macedonia had really paid very high price for the freedom which was won in those years by its Balkan Slavic neighbors.

The reconstruction of the concrete activities that were conducted by the Turkish state authorities for taking care of the Muhajirs in Macedonia, leads to the con-

¹³ *Француски документи за исторјата на македонскиот*, серија V том V, (1878-1879), Скопје 1969, p. 737.

¹⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 98.

clusion that these activities of the state bodies were not performed in a planned and organised manner. On the contrary, they were conducted very often in accordance with the dictated concrete needs and in a hasty disorganised manner. Due to this, certain Macedonian areas heavily suffered under the blows of the immigration waves, while some other areas did not feel that pressure to such great extent. However, despite the apparent chaos of the whole situation and the urgency for solving the Muhajirs issue the fact can not be ignored that the concentration of the immigrants was directed towards the central and the north-eastern regions (Veles, Shtip, Kochani, Strumica, Thesalonika, Seres, Drama, Gorna Djumaja, Kriva Palanka, Kumanovo, Skopje and other areas). Undoubtedly the reason for such an incongruous division of the Muhajirian load throughout Macedonia should be looked for in the newly developed needs of Turkey. Two of those needs attract attention: 1) the need to strengthen the Moslem element in the newly established Turkish border areas with the Slavic states, Bulgaria and Serbia; and 2) to fill in with new human potential the well known Moslem Vardar-Orphan strip, which became more and more christianised. Therefore, the migration refugee wave was most strongly felt in the Macedonian regions along the valley of river Vardar.

The Skopje Kaza (district), as an administrative unit of the Kosovo Vilayet, during the years of the Eastern Crisis, on its own territory was forced to receive massive wave of settlers, consisting of various homeless population. In those years this Vilayet was overcrowded with about 100 000 Moslem refugees.¹⁵ For settling of a part of these Muhajirs in the Skopje and its surroundings, exists rich, unpublished Turkish archive documentation (the quoted Muhajirian Collection), which contains different letters, reports, correspondence, telegrams, lists and so forth. These documents were sent to the Turkish Muhajirian Commission in Skopje, which documents were produced by both official state bodies and by many individuals. But in the archive documents the total numerical data situation of the Muhajirs in the Skopje district was not registered. This circumstance may be explained with the fact that the process of settling of the Muhajirs in this region, as you can see from the documents, encompasses the period of 2-3 years when permanently and successively the available capacities were filled in with the Muhajirian population. In other words, some came, others left. But despite such a lack of evidence, these Turkish original documents supply us with valuable, rich data on the settling and the program for accommodation of the refugees in areas in the town and in the surrounding villages. With these documents we have a clearer picture of the unfolding of the Moslem infiltration in the Skopje Kaza. In the documents there is one partial total numerical data (the document is a Turkish list of April 1878), in which it is stated that in Skopje villages during the period 1877-1878 in 329 houses were moved in 2 627 Muhajirs who came from Rahovo, Vranje, Nish, Leskovac, Ernak, Sharkjoj, Kjustendil and Sofia. And also, in another list of a later date (October 1881) it is stated that in Skopje district arrived 2 162 women and 1 838 men, all

¹⁵ Архив на Макегонија, Скопје, Збирка Мухаири, ИЈЕ, IV, 6.

Muhajirs. For about 1 500 individuals there was no accommodation in these regions, so they were directed towards Shtip and Radovich.¹⁶

The name of each Skopje village in which colonisation was conducted, was registered in the documents. To be more precise, in the reports of the village senior non-commissioned officers, which were submitted to the Muhajirian Committee in Skopje. Through processing and filling of these individual reports, it can be concluded that out of 148 village settlements, which were registered by Vasil K'nchov,¹⁷ in the Skopje Kaza, in the Turkish sources, names of about 60 villages can be found.¹⁸ In those documents the number of indexes that show how many Muhajirs have individually been settled is within the scope of 2-3 families in some villages, up to the maximum of 15-20 families. Such examples are village Morane, in which were settled 116 people, village Injilar – 109 people, Drachevo – 50 (later additional 73 people), Dolno Kolichani – 71 person, Adjilar 105 Muhajirs, and so forth.

For the settling in the town of Skopje, the sources give one partial total information of which we learn that in the beginning of May 1879 in the town of Skopje were settled 250 Muhajirs in Moslem houses, 100 Muhajirs in Christian houses.¹⁹ These authentic documents contain data that in 39 Skopje mahala were settled

¹⁶ Ibid., document 221 and box no.5.

¹⁷ В. Кънчовъ, *Македонија етнографија и статистика*, София 1898, p. 205-209. When determining the data of the ethnical structure of the population of Macedonia, we are directed to use the well-known Bulgarian ethnographer Vasil K'nchov, since those data express the situation in the last years of the 19th century. However, we should point out that V. K'nchov for the Macedonian population of these territories (as well as the territory of all of Macedonia) uses the term "Bulgarians". Dr. Stojan Kiselinovskion this had written the following: "The statistics of V. K'nchov for the ethnographic situation in Macedonia are not based on church or language affiliation of the language in the education (Greek, Bulgarian, or Serbian), but by the language used in the families. Therefore, for K'nchov the family represents basic element of the affiliation of the population to one nationality. The basic failure of the Bulgarian authors is that they considered the Macedonian language as part of the Bulgarian. Although, on one hand, the proving of the Bulgarian authors of the numerical superiority of one of the elements over the others based on the language that is spoken in the family is correct, on the other band, they accept the compromise with the policy of Great Bulgaria, considering Macedonian language as Bulgarian, and Macedonian nation as part of the Bulgarian nation. Therefore, when we talk of Bulgarian people in Macedonia, then it does not have ethnographic or national meaning, but only political, and in reality under that word is hidden another nationality, with the same and exact numerical state, which the authors are stating, but with a Macedonian meaning. (S. Kiselinovski, *Nacionalna struktura stanovništva Makedonija (1900-1913)*, Časopis za suvremenu povisjest, br. I, 1979, Institut za historiju radničkog pokreta, Zagreb 1979, p. 67-79). With all due respect to the work of Mr. V. K'nchov, we can understand the alimiting factors of the period in which he lived and worked, and for that reason, to this terminology of his we will oppose the terms of the ethnical affiliation of the population in Macedonia, used in the book of Коста Веселинов, *Възбуждането на Македония и Илинденското въстание*, София 1939, p. 65, as well as the publication of the Macedonian Scientific Institute in Sofia in 1945: *Македония като природно и стопанско цяло*, in the establishment of which participated the well known Bulgarian geographer and ethnographer Dimitar Jaranov, where despite the fact that the numbers are taken from the works of Mr. K'nchov, the term is clarified, and only the word Macedonians is used.

¹⁸ The quoted Muhajirian Collection, IJE, IV, 6.

¹⁹ Ibidem, p. 161.

about 170 Muhajir families, the average of 2-3 families in one mahala (quarter). The practice of forced settlement of the Muhajirs in Macedonian houses is also confirmed by the French Baron Napoleon de Ring, who from the conversations he led with the representatives of Skopje church municipalities found out that in 50 Christian houses were placed 30 refugee families and 20 Macedonian houses were emptied for the reason of placing in them Muhajir families.²⁰ Turkish documents say that in the Skopje mahala "Hadji Salajdin" Muhajirs were settled in 18 houses, in "Ibni Pajko" – 114 Muhajirs in 14 houses, in "Ibni Kodjadjik" – 6 families, in "Gazi Mentesh" – 11 families, in "Sarachin" – 14, in "Novo hristijansko maalo" – 4 families etc.²¹ In these documents the name of the well-known Skopje Maadjir-mahala (originating from the word maajir, i.e. Muhajir) can not be found. But almost with certainty can be established that this is a new Muhajirian mahala built at the end of 1882. One list of Muhajirian families is related to the forming of that mahala, Muhajirian families who obtained location permit for building houses in the region "Jeni Tepe" along river Vardar, and from the document it could be seen that these houses were numerated and built by a plan. A confirmation of the fact that the process of populating of Skopje Sanjak continued in the several following years can be seen in the following two documents: 1) the letter of the Kosovo Valija sent to the Skopje Mutesarif of 1881, in which he was ordered to colonize one part of the total number of 30 000 Albanian Muhajirs, who were on the territory of the Kosova Kazas (Prishtina, Vuchitrn, Gnjilane); and 2) a Turkish list of 1881 in which it is stated that in Skopje Kaza the newly arrived 3 126 Muhajirs should be placed.²²

The migrations and the settling of the Muhajirs in Macedonia in the years of the Great Eastern Crisis, in fact, had represented a part of the wider Balkan migration process, caused by the Ottoman territorial retreat from Europe. Nevertheless, it is obvious that during the colonisation of the Muhajirs the Turkish state used its right as a ruler who reigned Macedonia, and for this reason arbitrarily and forcibly used Macedonian social and territorial potentials in order to settle there its expelled citizens. Maybe the increase in the Moslem potential in the total number of the population in Macedonia would not have been reflected negatively to that extent on the development of the Macedonian society, if this Muhajirian human potential would have been the carrier of the social progress. But the results of its settling were contrary. The Sultan's absolutist regime and the Turkish state in the humiliated and angry Muhajirs found faithful followers: inveterate and fanatic members of the ruling Turkish-Islamic population in Macedonia. The historical responsibility for these conditions is with, in the first place, the traditionally rigid politics of the Turkish Sultan authority, which entered the 20th century without clear idea and no vision of the future of the Turkish state. Macedonia, within the frames of the Empire, and in the years after the Eastern Crisis, stayed petrified in that outgrown, anachronous, semifeudal social system. As a result of that, the Balkan Wars (1912-

²⁰ *Француски документи*, p. 178, 186.

²¹ The quoted Collection, box no 6, document no. 1, 2, 3, 8, 10, 17, 25, 26, 40, 75, 94, 107.

²² *Ibidem*.

1913) during the period when Turkey finally retreated from this part of the Balkan Peninsula, led to the tripartition of Macedonia. The division caused real migration explosion in all three parts of Macedonia, during which the forced migrations led to dispersion of the Macedonian ethnicum in the neighboring countries and on the four continents of the world.

MIGRACJA MUHADŻIRÓW W MACEDONII PODCZAS WIELKIEGO KRYZYSU WSCHODNIEGO (1875-1881)

Streszczenie

Częste przemieszczanie się i przegrupowania ludów bałkańskich w czasie Wielkiego Kryzysu Wschodniego (1875-1881) spowodowały poważne zmiany w narodowościowej i kulturowej strukturze wielu krajów i regionów. Niespokojny czas wojen i powstań naznaczony był wzmożonym napięciem politycznym. W wielu krajach bałkańskich nietolerancja narodowa i religijna oraz związany z nią strach spowodowały migracje zagrożonej ludności w różnych kierunkach. W różnych fazach kryzysu wschodniego występowały duże różnice pomiędzy prądami migracyjnymi zarówno odnośnie do miejsca przeznaczenia, jak i grupy etnicznej, do jakiej należeli uchodźcy. Wedle istniejących już ustaleń, Macedonia i Macedończycy z pewnością brali udział w masowych ruchach migracyjnych na Bałkanach. Wojny wymierzone przeciw imperium tureckiemu (wojna serbsko-turecka i wojna rosyjsko-turecka), a także inicjatywy polityczne przedsięwzięte przez dyplomację europejską (układ berliński i inne układy z nim związane), wywarły duży wpływ na zjawisko emigracji ludności macedońskiej z Macedonii i osiedlania się na ziemiach macedońskich grup ludności muzułmańskiej.

Migracja i osadnictwo Muhadżirów w Macedonii podczas wielkiego kryzysu wschodniego stanowi część wielkiego procesu migracyjnego, spowodowanego wycofywaniem się Turków z Europy, który obejmował wówczas cały Półwysep Bałkański.