MIGRATIONS OF THE POPULATION OF THE ŠAR MOUNTAIN ŽUPA GORA *

The name of Gora situated in the Šar Mountain complex was mentioned back in 1348 in the Hrisovulja of Tzar Stephan Dušan. With that official document bearing a gold seal the Tzar tested that seven villages in Gora were given as a present to the monastery of St. Archangel (Facsimile No.1) 35. There are no other preserved cultural and relevant monuments where Gora is mentioned. Its name occurred in other, later written documents. A region bearing that name was referred to at times of the medieval Serbian state.

The nahiyyah Gora (subdivision of vilayet) was named between 1452 and 1455 in Turkish defters (income and property records) as a part of the sanjak (minor province) of Prizren. Almost all the villages of Gora, including total numbers of houses, first and family names of house or household owners, individual or in some villages total income were recorded in such documents. First or family names listed in defters of that time are much more important because they speak for themselves (Facsimile No. 2) 36.

In the work of distinguished Greek astronomer, geographer and mathematician Claudius Ptolemy (2nd century A.D.) "the Slavic name Goranies, i.e. residents of mountain regions, is recognized in the Greek term Orinei (Orini)" said Dr. Miodrag Stojanović, our well-known Hellenist.

Basic geographical information

Gora is the most southerly mountain ravine of the Republic of Serbia. Located south of Prizren, between the highest peaks of the mountains Šar, Korab

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35 Хрисовуља цара Стефана Душана (Hrisovulja of Tzar Stephan Dušan), Гласник Друштва српске словености, Bgd., 1862, p. 282.

36 Подаци добијени од академика М. Пешикана у Београду 1992. г. (Information obtained from M. Pešikan, Full Member of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, in Belgrade in 1992).
and Koutnik. Its natural and ethnic border is the Albanian mountain Galaič, covering the surface of 385.6 m².

After World War I when the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes was established its borders with Albania were "corrected" in 1925 by decision of the International Commission on Limitation. Unfortunately, the župa Gora of the Šar Mountain region was then divided. Nine settlements with over 15,000 present-day residents (Borje, Zapod, Košarište, Novo Selo, Orgosta, Orešek, Paksa, Crničevo and Šištevac) were allotted to Albania. The Commission certainly did not take into account natural-geographical, ethnic and historical facts, as well as the rightful wish of that ethnic community to be in one and the same country. Interests and strategic pretensions of Italy, exerting decisive influence at that time, were dominant. In Albania Goranies were all the time exposed to the process of strong ethnic assimilation, which also meant physical displacement from their homes put up centuries ago. In that way all their ethnic characteristics were erased and every contact with their native land Gora and Serbia was broken.

Some essential characteristics of demographic relations from the period of Turkish occupation until today

Goranies stand for Islamized Serbo-Slavic population. Jovan Cvijić and some other authors thought that the assimilation process in Gora ended up in the 16th century. On the contrary, P. Kostić, I. Yastrebov, M. Lutovac and others think that it lasted longer in Gora than in some other territories and that it ended up in the second half of the 19th century.

According to P. Kostić the last Christian resident, named Božana, was buried in Brod in 1856 because she could not bear separation from her already Islamized children.

Based on anthropological, anthropogeographical, ethnological, ethnosophical, philological, folklore and other characteristics Goranies represent a separate ethnic group of people and they feel like it. In their homeland as well as in a

38 Плипчић, Ј. (1911), Основе за географију и геолошку Македонију и Старе Србије (Basic Requirements for Geography and Geology of Macedonia and Old Serbia), кн. III, Београд, стр. 1098.
39 Костић, П. (1928), Црквен живот православних Срба у Призрену и његовој околини у XIX веку (The Church Practice of Orthodox Christian Serbs in Prizren and its Surroundings in the 19th Century), Београд, стр. 47-48; Јастрбова, И.С. (1879), Подаци за историју српске државе –из путничког записа (Statistics of the Serbian State's History – From a Traveller's Notebook), Београд, Лутовац, М., ibid., стр. 269.
foreign country, regarded as their second homeland where they must 'work hard' as migrants, in contacts with other people they most often call themselves Goranies and their local speech "our fellow countrymen's speech". Brought up under particular conditions of the reality in and out of Gora only they could manage to survive and remain what they used to be. They imposed themselves as a separate kind of people who hold patriotism and patriotic feelings above narrow national interests. They at the same time tended, and still do to be close to all other people, but to remain on their own.

Brod was mentioned as a settlement as far back as the Middle Ages. Tzar Dušan gave it with precisely marked boundaries to St. Archangel’s monastery in 1348:

"село Брод и држави Брод с попови диканонки и с ниња подома и с ниња кацаници и с њезелком Грабајево а мега мох љ пла
мине љ прислава на слап на све брдо на сокой стоядници; на лудини охел, није рфкоу на Милчека кошарца и није рфкоу крошевку до потока како оупада Зан Потоку ох рфкоу. није рфке охз охел на Прјобожњение, на крај оу стоядница попоемели на потоку на стратерву, тере појтима како чвеста гув оу рфкоу на вранки, а црвни гвозди и чисте да скну оу опкноу Орчоша и Глебовица и Брод, на рфке оу цели, ох по тома крстоцацки како се стање једном великом, и охз вил дол вако"

(Text in Old-Church Slavonic)

Facsimile No.1 Official document of Tzar Dušan with a gold seal (Glasnik Društva srbske slovesnosti, XV. Beograd, 1862, pp. 181-182)

Nahija Gora (qwre)

1. Village Brod (brwd):
   (1) Bojko, Dobromir, Bojko, Bogdan; (2) Dabiživ, priest, Bratoslav (bradslav), Rajko;
   (2) Bogdan, Bracan, Milin, Rad, Dragoš; (4) Vojislav, Dragoslav, Novak, Grube or Grujica.
   Bogdan: (5) Dabić (?) (dabOx-), Rajko, Djurdj, Dobručin, Bojko; (6) Radoslav, Radić, Draja.
   Bogdan, Rajko; (7) Draga or Drage, DobrOslav, Bardo, priest Drajk, Rajko; (8) Petri, Djura,
   Draji, Drajk, Jovana; (9) Bogdan, Milić (mlyc-), Bogdan, Brajan, Brato; (10) Radoslav, Radić,
   Lazor, Rajko, Boja.

5. Village Radeša (radše): (1) Djurko, Bojo, Rajin, Bojčica (?) (bw0xOx-), Bogdan; (2)
   Rajko, Jovan, Vlado, Rajčin, (3) Bogdan, Radoslav, Rajko.

6. Village Dikanica (dqanOx-): (1) Radoslav, Bojko, Dabiživ, Radić, Miloc (?) (mlwc);
   (2) Dabiživ, Dimitrij, Nikola, Stanko or Stajko, Drajk; (3) Bogdan, Bojko, Djurdj, Djin, Rad.

20. Village Orgoste (arkwste): (1) Branko or Brajko, looking after horses, plants and
   crops, see Radoslav; see Bojko, Stanko or Stajko, DobrOslav, Stage, Stanko or Stajko; (2)
   Bogdan, Dragoslav, Novak, Novak, priest, see Grman, Petri (btry), Dobričin, Dimitri. – House
   14, income 700.

28. Village Rabča (rabc-), Jovaniš, looking after horses, plants and crops: (1) Petko, Prodan, Petran or Mizan, Branko or Brajko, Brajan or Bratan; (2) DobrOmir, Cvetko or Svetko (aswdkw), Rajan, Brajan or Bratan. – House 9, income 450.
29. Village Lešani (Iština), Jovaniš, looking after horses, plants and crops: (1) Stanišna, priest, Bogić (bwgOx), Bogdan, Veliša. – House 9, income 450.
30. Village …..(asracwe), already mentioned Jovaniš, looking after horses, plants and crops: Marko, Andrija, Bogdan. – House 3, income 150\textsuperscript{40}.

**How residents of Gora used to emigrate in the past**

The population of Gora was not caught by great migrations, which took place in the region of Kosovo and Metohija, i.e. south Serbia in the 17th and 18th century. The settlements forming part of the mountain massif of Šar Mountain and Koritnik were situated away from the mentioned roads. This is why their population was not subjected to greater movements and direct pressure. Such movements started with the beginning of Islamization and went on in two directions: in the first case towards Prizren and the Sirinčić župa and in the second towards Tetovo and the villages Dolno, Palčište and Tearce. Residents of several villages of Gora, carried by a migration wave, settled down in Urvič and Jelovjane situated on the eastern side of Šar Mountain as a subgroup of the settlements of Gora\textsuperscript{41}.

Another larger migration of Goranies occurred after Balkan War I, i.e. after the liberation, which took place in 1912. At that time great numbers of Goranies left their homes for socio-economic and political reasons and went to Turkey.

World War I and two consecutive droughts and barren years exerted crucial influence on decrease of the population of Gora. Because of hunger and poverty masses of Goranies left their homes and went to Prizren and Tetovo. Many of them were dying of hunger and disease not only in the villages of Gora but on the way to Prizren and Tetovo as well.

After World War II many Gorany families left their homeland forever because of new socio-economic relations, political circumstances, introduction of collectivization and bying up of crops in their villages. Land was abandoned and sold very cheaply. One group of families went to the nearest towns: Prizren, Priština, Tetovo, Skopje, Belgrade, and the other group immigrated into Turkey to 'work hard'. Therefore a number of settlements had a negative balance in the 1961 census in comparison with the results of the earlier census taken in 1948.

\textsuperscript{40} A part of the facsimile from the defter BVA, 12 - No. 2, 1452/5, which has been transcribed and translated by Mitar Peškan and Olga Zirojević. The capital letter (O) was added to fill the blank spaces in the middle of certain names (for example Radoslav) whenever the same letter had supposedly been there. The names have thus in all probability been reconstructed. Underlined letters are used to show that the scribe had previously written the same letters in their place and that reconstruction of the names was carried out according to reality rather than assumptions. Where it was necessary Latin transliteration strictly followed the spelling of Arabic originals.

\textsuperscript{41} Трифуновски, Ј.Ф. (1952), УРВИЧ И ЈЕЛОВЉАНЕ (Urvič and Jelovljane ), Гласник Етнографског института САН, св. 1-2, Београд, стр.413.
Going abroad in search of employment

Intensive separation of Goranies from their homes to 'work hard' in foreign countries began in the 1950s after a certain pause because of the war and the post-war period.

It is hard to find out who was the first to leave his home, his Gora, or when and why Goranies in their new domicile started to make and sell Turkish delights.

Since their survival in Gora did not depend on agriculture but on cattle-breeding as a dominant sector of economy, and on profuse pastures, it is believed that the first Goranies started going abroad, into the world, when the balance between summer pastures on spacious slopes of Šar Mountain and winter quarters in areas alongside the Vardar River was disturbed. The robbers (haramije – kačaci) from Albania (Ljuma) were more and more often waiting for shepherds on their way back from winter quarters and were grabbing whole flocks from them. Cattle breeding in the settlements around Gora rapidly decreased and the number of emigrants increased. Almost all men capable of work went away, very often with elder men and children. As soon as the children turned seven they were frequently going away together with their fathers, relatives or neighbors to become small-scale tradesmen in the streets of the Balkan towns.

The life of migrants in foreign countries was painful. Therefore, pain, sorrow, longing, hopes and expectations, as well as the joys of love, mingled with social and other aspects of their position, were the basic subjects of many folk songs composed by migrant workers:

"Rano me isprati, majčice mila mua, na gurbet da idem, o mila majčice, od sedom godine, pare da carujem, majčice mila mua, izmećar da bidem..."42

'Come, me Mom, at crack of dawn to see off thine tiny 7-year sonny, going to serve them bloody haves, leaving to earn them bloody quids, far, far from thee, me Mom'. *

The migrant workers used to send or bring to Gora what they earned. Under conditions of typical economic underdevelopment and poverty the work abroad seemed to be a way to preserve Gora. The wives of migrant workers did heavy masculine jobs at home. raising children and supporting families at the same time. With great rejections and temptations they accomplished their tasks and waited for the members of their families to come back. Their expectations were painful and frequently uncertain. It should be said with pride that Goranys

* Translated by Smiljana Naumović.
women succeeded to preserve their speech, songs, and folklore undoubtedly contributing in that way to the maintenance of their entity and identity.

While earlier migrants either sent, with great self-denial, or brought home and their families everything they earned, contemporary migrants take their wives and children with themselves to share common fate in the new location. Migrant work has preserved Gora and kept people around it. Schoolyards were full of children.

Contemporary migrations

The comparison of the last census statistics, obtained in Gora ten years ago, with data of the preceding censuses reveals that interesting and important demographic, ethnosocial, economic and other processes are currently going on.

Increasingly great number of households run by elderly people, rapid decrease of the number of pupils at school and the number of population in spite of equalized birth rate, i.e. of the natural increase of population, lead to a conclusion that in the last decades intensive migration movements were taking place in Gora.

Contemporary migration processes have continually been going on in Gora for more than fifty years. They were rather intensive in the 1970s when Goranies succeeded to create more favorable conditions (apartments, houses) for life in their "second homelands" and when they most often used to take close family members with themselves. They usually returned for Djurdjevdan festivities (St. George's Day feasting) lasting six days in the spring or in the summer. They did not want to work in the fields, to reap and collect crops that migrant workers usually did in the past. They were coming back to spend summer vacations, to visit relatives, to take part in traditional wedding ceremonies well-known in Gora, to make friends and fall in love with local girls whom they would like to marry and enjoy their own glorious wedding ceremonies next summer.

Directions of migration movements

It could be expected that Goranies in their migrations would prefer areas and city quarters where the majority of Muslims live. On the contrary, data collected and presented in Table 1 show that the reason of their settlement in town centers was not the presence of their fellow Moslem believers. Economic reasons, hopes for better payment and living conditions were of crucial importance.

In former Yugoslavia around 12,000 people in 234 settlements took part in migratory movements. The greatest migration end was normally Serbia or the territories within its borders. More than 8,552 immigrants found shelter in it in
the course of several decades (Table 1). More than half of the migrants (53.8%) settled in 79 smaller or bigger towns in the central part of Serbia.

More than 4,500 Goranies who remained in Gora were unlucky. They believed that the southerly Serbian region was their proper home and that available possibilities could be shared with all other fellow countrymen. Unfortunately, under pressure of Albanian terrorists and separatists nearly all of them had to leave the second homeland. Their property (houses, apartments, shops) was taken up, occupied, plundered, and destroyed. They had to go away and shelter with their relatives, friends, neighbors most often in the central part of Serbia or Vojvodina.

Further analysis of migrants from Gora shows that over 34% found shelter in Belgrade with their families. They got various, frequently strenuous jobs with the exception of about ten pastry makers who had their own shops. They all, especially members of the second and third generation, point out that they are generally well accustomed and satisfied with their position. They regard Belgrade as their second homeland and are thankful to it for everything they achieved in it and in Gora (Table 4).

Other migration directions led towards other republics of former Yugoslavia (Cartogram 2. Tables 1 and 2).

It has been proved that all settlements were more or less caught by migratory movements of various intensities. In the settlements: Brod, Vranište, Leštan, Mlje, Kukuljane, Orčuša, Dikance and Bačka the migratory part of the population has been bigger than the stationary. For example: over 72% of inhabitants of the village Mlje live and work in places beyond the boundaries of their homeland. 85.4% of them in Belgrade. Let us take another example: in the village Bačka there had been 116 houses before NATO aggression on our country 94 of which were uninhabited and closed; of 650 local residents only 84 remained. I think that every comment is unnecessary.

That region of Serbia was also heavily struck by economic emigrations to highly developed West European countries, most intensive towards the end of the 1960s and the beginning of the 1970s, when large numbers of workers from Gora went for temporary work to other countries.

*Settling of Albanians in Dragaš*

In the last two decades, the population of Albanian nationality has intensively been settling in Dragaš, the seat of the Municipality of Gora. It is difficult to follow up the number of Albanians who moved to Dragaš because they boycotted the last census.
Table 3. Goranies in their homeland and in all other parts of former Yugoslavia (1991-1992)

| Settlements | Residents in Gora | | Residents outside Gora | | Total in former SFRY |
|-------------|-------------------|----------------|------------------------|------------------|
|             | Number            | %              | Number                 | %               |                |
| Bačka       | 215               | 22.1           | 399                    | 77.9            | 614            |
| Brod        | 1660              | 12.6           | 2236                   | 57.4            | 3896           |
| Vranješte   | 731               | 40.2           | 1088                   | 59.8            | 1819           |
| Globočica   | 968               | 56.3           | 750                    | 43.7            | 1718           |
| Dikance     | 257               | 38.6           | 409                    | 41.4            | 666            |
| Dragas      | 1018              | 73.3           | 371                    | 26.7            | 1389           |
| Zipotok     | 609               | 47.6           | 669                    | 52.4            | 1277           |
| Krstac       | 837               | 75.0           | 279                    | 25.0            | 1116           |
| Kruševo     | 714               | 86.8           | 823                    | 13.2            | 823            |
| Kukuljane   | 621               | 53.4           | 1162                   | 46.6            | 1162           |
| Leštane     | 679               | 48.6           | 1396                   | 51.4            | 1396           |
| Ljubovlje   | 799               | 75.4           | 1060                   | 24.6            | 1060           |
| Milke       | 335               | 25.4           | 1317                   | 74.6            | 1317           |
| Orčuša      | 221               | 23.8           | 929                    | 76.2            | 929            |
| Radeša      | 1226              | 53.3           | 2301                   | 46.7            | 2301           |
| Rapče       | 1781              | 81.1           | 2177                   | 18.9            | 2197           |
| Restelica   | 1881              | 82.3           | 1116                   | 17.7            | 5307           |

Total | 16817 | 58.6 | 11900 | 41.4 | 28717 |

* Donji and Gornji Krstac together
** Gornja and Donja Rapče together

Table 4. Goranies in Beograd – their second homeland

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Settlement</th>
<th>Householders</th>
<th>Without family</th>
<th>With family</th>
<th>Division of labor</th>
<th>Member of family</th>
<th>Total</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>privately</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>female</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>publicly-owned</td>
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<td>Bačka</td>
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<td>35</td>
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<td>Brod</td>
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<td>20</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>42</td>
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<td>81</td>
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<td>59</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
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<td>5</td>
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<td>111</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>156</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>164</td>
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<tr>
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<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>14</td>
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<tr>
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<td>11</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total | 901 | 129 | 772 | 93 | 808 | 1068 | 1699 | 3668

³ Donji and Gornji Krstac together
⁵ Gornja and Donja Rapče together
Map 3. Distribution of Goranies in former SFRY, Situation in 1992, Data provided by Dr. Harun Hasani and Dr. Srećko M. Nikolić

The number of Albanians in Dragaš doubled after tragic events in Kosovo and Metohia, and the settlement was physically divided into upper Dragaš where Albanians are prevalent, and lower Dragaš where native Goranies live.
Return to Gora

Possibilities of migrants to come back were limited because the Municipality of Gora is one of the most underdeveloped regions of Serbia. Their return to and stay in Gora will depend on their future status. Will it be possible to create conditions for their security, personal and ownership safety? If not the majority of Goranies and of other non-Albanian population would persist with migrations because they speak Serbian and regard Serbia as their native country.

The number of Goranies who have already left or are in the course of leaving their homeland is becoming greater from day to day (6,500). Bearing in mind that Gora is a region geopolitically and geostrategically very important to integrity and sovereignty of the Republic of Serbia consequences of their migrations could not be foreseen.

Gora as the Šar Mountain župa at the most southerly tip of Serbia is presently experiencing tragic historical moments with far-reaching consequences, which could affect first of all the chances of Goranies to preserve and assert their ethnic being.

"The New York Times" has lately published a report of Benedict Givier, "head of the OSCE Regional Group" for Prizren and its surroundings. It is underlined in the report that "Albanians are allowed to threaten and even kill unprotected members of the national minorities" in Kosovo and Metohija, including Serbs, Romanies, and other non-Albanian population, especially "Slavic Muslims – Goranies" in the most southerly part of Serbia.

What an absurd opinion of "democratic" Europe! Since the beginning of her statehood Serbia has been protecting safety and security of all her citizens within her borders and at the beginning of the 21st century she is deprived of that right.

Gora has always been sharing her fate with Serbia as the only and unique homeland of Goranies. She managed to survive down the ages withstanding assaults of Albanian anarchists. Therefore she should not be now left to herself or taken as a matter of some political agreements that would lead to her separation from Serbia. The population of Gora has throughout history by defending itself been defending the state of Serbia and her continued existence as well. This is why Tzar Dušan allowed the people of Gora special rates and privileges: "Goranies should not pay tax per head or cattle. They should pay annual tax per their households. We order them to do so because they represent the greatest devotees of our state and the most faithful element of our population."