POVZETEK
MIGRANTI Z MANDATOM ZA FORMIRANJE NACIJ: MEDNARODNA DEJAVNOST NA MÜLTETNIČNEM OZEMLJU KOSOVA

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Avtorica v Slanku zagovarja tezo, da je povojno ozemlje Kosova primerno implementing implementacije dejavnosti večer generacije operacij za ohranjanje miru, ki vključuje (civilno) upravljanje teritorija in mandat za formiranje nacije. Administrativno teko, ki ga je ustanovila mednarodna skupnost in kateremu je bila ta naloga zaupana, je Misija Združenih narodov na Kosovu (UNMIK), ki naloge opravlja skupaj z EU, OSBE in misijo KFOR. Ena izmed primarnih agend omenjenih organizacij ostaja pomiritev etničnih skupnosti, predvsem kosovskih Albancev in Srbet, za zagotovitev varnosti in nadaljnjo rekonstrukcijo Kosova. V ta namen se je na Kosovu prislišlo veliko število mednarodnega osebnega, ki sodiščuje pri formiranju nacije po vzoru zabodoavareskega teritorialnega modela, promoviranega kot uspešnega in primernega. Zaradi konfliktnih odnosov med etničnima skupnostima, ki so posledica vojne v devetdesetih letih, se mednarodno osebje spopada s številnimi težavami pri implementaciji želenega modela formiranja nacije. Posledično so zato predlagane nejasne, slabše usvajitve, celo nasprotujejo si strategije in ukrepi za dosego zastavjenega cilja. Avtorica ugotavlja, da je bila integracija etničnih manjšinskih skupnosti v večinsko kosovsko družbo sprejeta kot primarna strategija, hkrati pa poteka implementacija decentralizacije in oblikovanje novih občin, večinoma po etničnem ključu.

THE PRIJUŽJE ENCLAVE: A CONSTRUCTION OF LOCAL IDENTITY

Biljana SIKIMIĆ

ABSTRACT
The Prijūže Enclave: A Construction of Local Identity
The present study examines a view of the "Other" in the enclave of Prijūže (Kosovo). The image of the "Other" was obtained by qualitative analysis of interviews made with Serbs in this enclave.
KEYWORDS: Serbs, Kosovo, Other, enclave

IZVLEČEK
Enklava Prijūže: Oblikovanje lokalne identitete
Prispevek s pomočjo kvalitativne analize obravnava pogled na »drugih, izoblikovane v diskurzem Srbov en ključev Prijūže na Kosovu.
KLJUČNE BESEDE: Srbi, Kosovo, »drugih, enklava

INTRODUCTION: SITUATING THE FIELDWORK

In the summer of 2003 when the fieldwork in the Prijūže enclave was done, the station in Prijūže could be reached twice a day by train from Zvečan. The train also stopped in Pletmitina. However, Prijūže was additionally connected to other villages in the enclave (Gracë, Babin Most, Janina Voda and Crkvena Vodica) by a school bus. Most of the interviews took place in Prijūže, while due to the difficulties with transport connections, research in Gracë, Babin Most and Pletmitina was reduced to only half a day and a handful of interviewees.

Babin Most is a Serbian-Albanian village in the foothills of Mt Kopaonik, 18 km northwest of Prizitan. It is mentioned in the Turkish census of the Province of the Serbian Despot Durad Dranković from 1455 as Babun, with 33 Serbian houses and the priest Radioje heading the list. On January 13, 1530, the Austrian travel writer Benedict Kuripeči spent a night in the village of "Babinos in Kosovo Pepe" upon his return from the

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village is divided into a Gornja and Donja Mahala, and the indigenous clan is the Mašić family (3 houses celebrating their slava or patron saint’s day on the feast of St. John the Baptist). It was the chieftain of the Mehmudbegović family from Peć. Apart from a few houses of Muslim Roma, Serbs were mainly settled here from different areas (Urošević 1965: 273). In the early twentieth century Prižufje was inhabited only by Serbs and the agha [minor Turkish feudal lord] of the village were Ašlan and Liman-beg Mehmudbegović from Peć (Mikić 1988: 180).

Crkvena Vodica is a Serbian-Albanian village in the foothills of Mt. Čićavecica, 8 km west of Priština. An earlier name for the village was Crvena Vodica. Serbs from “Crvena” or “Crenava Vodica” were registered as donors in the Memorial Book of Devič monastery several times from 1763 to 1870. The remains of the old church and graveyard with stone crosses are in the village (Ivanović 1987: 541). The village was probably deserted for a certain time and was reconstructed at the beginning of the twentieth century. The Menić clan is regarded as an indigenous family that was displaced and then brought back, while the Albanians belong to the Berisha fis. The Serbian clans are settlers and there are also some Gypsies (Urošević 1965: 312–313). At the beginning of the twentieth century all Serbian households were in the chieftain system (Mikić 1988: 138). Janina Voda is a small village dating from 1860 when the Kovčani clan from Kopaonicka Saja bought the land. It is regarded as a hamlet of Crvena Vodica (Urošević 1965: 216), and at the beginning of the twentieth century it numbered 3 Serbian households with their land (Mikić 1988: 181).

In the research in the Prižufje enclave and the surrounding villages the focus of scholarly curiosity was the complexity of ethnic relations prior to 1999. The present study examines a one-sided view of the “Other”, as only Serbs were interviewed in this enclave, which is still mixed today. The image of the “Other” that was obtained through analysis of the interviews does not aspire to universality, unless the well-preserved traditional culture in the Prižufje enclave and surrounding villages is taken as a safe indicator that the individual opinions of elderly, less educated people may reflect the attitude of the whole community.1

THE OTHER IN TRADITIONAL CULTURE AND IN THE LOCAL CONTEXT

The traditional semiotic binary opposition own : alien is today analyzed as if it were on a sliding scale, and the alien/stranger/other may be less or more formally alien depending on the point s/he occupies in time and/or space.

1 In this kind of field studies, a problem-centred approach to interviewing is intended to neutralise the contradiction between steering the conversation by theory and a completely open approach. Communication strategies were aimed at a subjective approach to the problem. The narratives thus stimulated were enriched through dialogue and the use of imaginary and semi-structured prompts.

Theoretical knowledge is developed by using elastic concepts, further developed through empirical analysis (cf. Wiestel 2000).
Slavic ethnolinguistic research has shown that in a traditional folk culture the image of someone ethnically or confessionally alien can be described with the help of a standard pattern. This can be selected from a series of main positions by which a community "recognizes" the alien. These are: outward appearance, smell, absence of soul, supernatural attributes, language, and inappropriate behavior from the point of view of local tradition. However, Slavic material shows that there is a specific hierarchy in attitudes towards the alien; it is divided into an attitude towards the "other" and towards the "alien". The positive meaning of the foreigner's folkloric image (as the bringer of abundance, health, fertility etc.) is based on his "alien-ness". Hence, foreigners are effective in various rituals and works of magic (Belova 2002: 71, 81). Tradition attracts and uses "aliens", while behaving indifferently to "Others", and so the attribute "Other" becomes almost neutral. However, "alien" is a marked element, in many cases effective and important within the system that the bearer of tradition experiences as his or her "own". There is reference also to a specific "bilingualism of characteristics/attributes" - the ascribing of additional characteristics across cultural spheres. While in the area of "learned culture", the perception of Jews as "alien, damned and the like" survives, in the area of everyday culture there is a complex idea of "our own aliens" who are always hard and can cooperate in everyday life, above all in magic, more so than "Others". There is reason to presume the existence of great differences in the cultural heritage of local communities in the Slavic world, conditioned both by the concrete reasons of history and the mechanisms of a general mythologisation of foreigners or people of different religions (Belova 2002: 83; 1997). Among the Slavs, however, it seems impossible to reconstruct the figure of a person of specifically different ethnic background in a particular local community using standard methodological procedures, except as the figure of a faceless foreigner, without his ethnic, religious or regional traits. Each local community has its own complex system for marking others, and this system proves to be changeable in the diachronic perspective. In this article, the "foreigner/alien" is not viewed in his traditional role of guest or in any other role that is characteristic for traditional culture. The image of the other was constructed spontaneously in conversation or, more rarely, in answer to a direct question. To analyze the image of the "other" from the material recorded among Serbs in the Prihůřje enclave, we took only statements about "others", "aliens" who speak the same (Serbian) language, i.e., who have the same language identity. Conversation about "others", about neighbours with whom one does not marry or did not marry "before", reflects the traditional concept of the relation between "us" and "others". In contemporary linguistic-anthropological writing the researcher is also the subject of attention as the third party, thus further impairing the binary opposition. The limitations on the researcher-outsider are due not only to lack of knowledge of the language or the local vernacular, they often result from mutual misunderstanding between the representatives of the local culture (about the purpose of the research itself) and the researcher (about the scholarly presentation of "private" conversations with the informant). Older local ethnographic and historiographic sources were used to complement transcripts of the constructed subjective image of Prihůřje, whereas the applied linguistic methodology and lexicographic sources are seen as being more objective, or at any rate less subjective. We will try here to take into consideration local knowledge and the social or psychological distance of the interviewee from the problem. Oral histories provide a sort of barometer of history, proof that members of the local community have noticed that things have changed, that certain historical changes have taken place. Oral history cannot explain how these changes came about, but it can indicate how the local community dealt with them. Transcripts of oral history are constructed stories with a co-narrator, not the pure narrative of an experienced story-teller. The researcher wishes to build his or her own coherent picture. We are faced with the peculiar "heterorythmy of the researcher" which limits the informant (Agar 2005: 15). The limitations thus imposed affect the very topic of the conversation, depending on what the researcher wants the narrative to become. A closer reading of transcripts reveals elements of co-construction of the local discourse and the researcher's contribution to its success or failure. Deixis (understood as socio-psychological distance) is another reason for limitation of local discourse. It is affected by the closeness of the narrator – physical, social or psychological – to the events of which he speaks, since the location in time and space, the psycho-social location, the coordinates of the events observed and of oral histories all differ. In their approach to researching ethnic conflict in Kosovo, anthropologists indicate the need to include the urban/rural dichotomy, but also to take into consideration the traditional context: religion, family, kinship, tribalsm, gender etc. (Dujzings 2000: 20–21). The Prihůřje enclave has preserved several interesting and distinctive characteristics that deserve the researcher's serious attention: a characteristic cult of the dead which adresses tombstones in items of clothing, complex systems of customs in the circle of life (post-mortem and for weddings), an archaic manner of inviting people to their slava, the cult of St. Onarachius and the Devič monastery in the Dračina hinterland, or the well preserved epic saga of the Battle of Kosovo. Nevertheless, the ethnic diversity and ethnic mingling that still take place around Prihůřje today seem particularly relevant for an approach to the problem of "enclavelessness".

THE CONCEPT OF HONOUR AND DISGRACE IN CONSTRUCTING THE IMAGE OF THE OTHER

Local concepts of honour and disgrace in Prihůřje emerged in conversations without any external intervention by the researcher. Here, the interviewee is probing the researcher's knowledge of local circumstances, and getting negative answers, constructs an image on his own:

[1] The Kovačani are people whose surname is Kovačević, but they were in Kovačević village up beyond, you don't know where that is? (Nos.) Through Zvečane, Kovačica. They fell out with the Siptari there and left, and now they are called Kovačani, some
were in the village of Sibovac, some in the village of Plenettina, some were in the village of Bivoljac, here and there. And the Drobnjaks, the Drobnjak family are the ones who celebrate their slava on St. George's Day and the Prophet Elijah's day. And who the Drobnjaks are, you don't know? (No, I haven't heard that at all). The Drobnjaks are, it's the tribe and the seed of Vuk Branković. Remember that. The seed of Vuk Branković is cursed because it was cursed by the mothers, wives, sisters, all who lost sons, sisters who lost brothers, wives who lost husbands at the Battle of Kosovo, they cursed him. For your treachery at Kosovo, may God grant, Vuk Branković, that your seed, breed and generation be cursed while the world turns and the ages pass. And cursed it was, see, six hundred years have passed and three hundred more must pass, since it goes to the ninth generation. And that's the seed of the Drobnjaks, it's what they were called, but the seed is of Vuk Branković. Well, even now his family hasn't had one member that wasn't blind, crippled, deaf, or dumb, handicapped, and that's the tribe of Vuk Branković. A man from Slakac village came here to us in Prilužje thirty years ago, twenty years they kept their handicapped son, he couldn't get up, or stand up, or talk, the seed of Vuk Branković. Well, well, well, later one son died, left two children and a wife, the second son died, a son and two daughters and that daughter of the second son was supposed to marry our cousin. The girl was normal and all, and she married here with us and had a handicapped child with us, from her tribe. No matter it wasn't in their house, but it's their seed and she came to my cousin and had a handicapped child, there has to be some consequence. A girl from Kuzmin married during the occupation in Prilužje, had a handicapped daughter and be that as it may, she found a man, and he's no good, she married him. Handicapped, see. And she's from Vuk Branković's tribe too, that seed is cursed. See what it did, Vuk Branković and his tribe and seed, they celebrate St. George's Day, and I told my nephew, ask which family celebrates St. George's Day or [Ejvan] [Elijah's Day] in August, don't take her, it's Vuk Branković's tribe. It'll have to come out, either in their house or in another house where they goes, it'll have to come out that she's not right. (136-Prilužje-14-BS)

Many folklorists and historians have researched the tailoring of historic facts and the creation of the myth of betrayal by Vuk Branković at the Battle of Kosovo, as well as his primal sin and that of his descendants. There are many local legends about the fate of certain places and their inhabitants in relation to Lazar's curse (see Đurić 1989: 72–75). Many of these legends are etiological and paraetiological, reflecting the identification of the "heroic age" with that of the earliest mythical beginnings (Loma 2002: 153).

The legend from Prilužje has parallels in Metohija. In the oral tradition of the Dabići/Brahimović clan from the old village of Drnki in northern Metohija, two main figures appear: the founder of the dynasty, Hjijana [Duka] Daba, killed at Kosovo, and in another, later generation another “crippled” Daba, since whom there is “always someone crippled in the tribe” (Loma 2002: 156). In the village of Prilep near Dečani, the Dabići, “Albanians living in Dajbe Mahala, are descendants of the Serbian Duke Daba who was at the Battle of Kosovo in 1389. They also recount that they are kin to the Dabići from the village of Drnki near Kline, who are Serbs and who claim to be Daba's descendants. They say that in those days there were two brothers: Daba and Kraso, and so the Dabići are descended from Daba and the Krasnići from Krasa. They further say that there were always two or three lame people in the Dabići tribe” (Đorđević 1985: 419).

The interviews conducted in Prilužje locate the Kosovo Drobnjak family in the villages of Slakovec and Kuzmin, or links the Drobnjak clan to the slavas of St. George's Day and the Prophet Elijah. In his "Dictionary of Dialects of Kosovo-Metohija" (Elezović 1932, s. v. Drobnjak), Gjilma Elezović confirms that the Drobnjaks are "all who celebrate St. George's Day." Anthropologist-geographer Atanasije Urošević confirms the existence of the Drobnjak clan in Kosovo. There were 5 houses in Kuzmin that celebrated St. George's Day and the Prophet Elijah. Due to oppression, they moved from Drobnjak (near Nenadštica) to Mala Slatina, and then to Kuzmin in the mid-nineteenth century. The founding clan of the village of Slakovec were the Drobnjaks. There were 18 houses celebrating St. George's Day. Originally from Drobnjak, they later lived in Preseke (Stari Kolčani), from where they moved to Slakovec in the eighteenth century (Urošević 1965: 209, 226, 292).

Anthropo-geographical material contains much data on the Kovačani clan in Kosovo.2

1 The sound archives of the Serbian Language Institute of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts (SANU) contains recordings of conversations with people born in the villages of Vrnjačka and Buković (300-K-Mitrovica-1-ML, 300-K-Vrnjačka-1-ML) by Milotu Luković. Both interviewees are originally from the village of Drobnjak, celebrate St. George's Day and their "little slava" is Elijah's Day. Recent fieldwork in Baski Kolčani shows that in this area it is the Bosnians who are regarded as descendants of Vuk Branković.

2 From other data provided by this anthropologist-geographer, it could be reconstructed that there were also Drobnjaks in Kosovo in the following villages: Babin Most - 3 houses, Vrnjačka - 11 houses, Gojžula - 12 houses, Nevoljane - 1 house, Novo Selo Dobravlje - 6 houses, Novo Selo Mađarško - 4 houses, Ugljan - 5 houses (Urošević 1965: 142, 171, 252, 255, 310–311). According to summary in the same study, there were 12 clans and 70 houses of immigrants from Drobnjak (Urošević 1965: 72). There are also twentieth-century colonists in Kosovo from Drobnjak, but it is not likely that they are linked to the legend of Vuk Branković. They are probably regarded as "Montenegrins." According to the tradition of the Serbs from the Drina river valley, the Slabovci clan from the village of Zapče - one house celebrating Đurđević (Renovation of the Church of St. George) and St. George's day - are descendants of Vuk Branković “who sold the Serbs to the Turks and took the money” (Vukanović 1986: 430).

3 Urošević mentions the Kovačani clan in Babin Most, Bivoljav, Vrnjačka, Glavotina, Janina Voda,
Urošević (1965: 118) notices that “Serbs do not have endogamy in their clans [...] This is so in the Kovačani clan, which is divided into the Pantići, Micolići and Lazići, but there is still no intermarriage.” The village of Bivoljek is mentioned in an account from Prljižje, and anthropo-geographic research in 1934 registered the Kovačani clan with four houses and celebrating Sts. Cosmas and Damian. They were moved from Kovačica (Kopaonicka Šaština) to the hill-folk land around 1839 and their earlier origins were in Montenegro. At that time there were also four houses of Kovačani in Premetina celebrating Sts. Cosmas and Damian and who moved from the village of Kovačica around 1840. There were nine houses of Kovačani in Sibovac, celebrating Sts. Cosmas and Damian, who moved from Kovačica around 1860. Their earlier origin was in Montenegro (Urošević 1965: 153, 267, 289).

THE CONCEPT OF CLAN: SEED, TRIBE, GENERATION

The construction of the local identity in Prljižje is still based on traditional moral categories – on the concept of clan and on the concept of honour⁴ – which are here directly related to undesirable human characteristics. In local discourse, these are not stratified according to linguistic criteria.⁵ Negative physical and character traits are conceived of

Plomina and Sibovac. The Kovačani, therefore, also lived in places not mentioned in conversations in Prljižje: there were two houses of Kovačani in Babin Most, one in Vrnjača, 11 in Glavotina, and only the Kovačani clan lived in Janina Voda – six houses. They were all moved from Kovačica to Kopaonicka Šaština at the beginning of the nineteenth century; they were originally from Montenegro and celebrated the feast of Sts. Cosmas and Damian (Urošević 1965: 162, 171–172, 175, 216).

⁴ A particular type of clan stratification by slavery existed among the Metohija Serbs. The following example comes from the town of Peć: “Serbs are here divided into tribes according to their slave, and the most numerous are: Nikolić (celebrating St. Nicholas), Jovančići (celebrating St. John), Arbanasović (celebrating St. Michael the Archangel), Deočevići (celebrating St. George), Petrović (celebrating St. Petka), Aleksićevići (celebrating St. Alexander), Lučevići (St. Luke), Vulević (Cosmas and Damian) etc.” (The Constantinople Herald, III:29, Constantinople, 21 August 1897).

⁵ Lexicologist Stana Ristić points out that the battlefield unites the concepts of honour and disgrace (personal responsibility to ethical principles). In literary Serbian and the language of folklore, they appear in examples such as: an honourable hero, to die honourably, the field of honour, it is disgraceful to flee from battle, which gives these concepts a universal value handed down from ancient times. In this case, the parallel ideas of “honor” and “disgrace” are found in “inner shame”, which gives a positive connotation to words of this meaning. The feeling of shame as a conscious regulator of one’s behaviour is the same as the moral norm that guides a person to conduct him or herself honourably. This awareness of personal responsibility to the community appears among speakers of the Serbian language as a moral norm peculiar not only to soldiers, but to the best kind of people (Ristić 2003: 249–250).

Contemporary Serbian lexicology takes into consideration the situation-dependence of undesirable human characteristics, but separates the physical from the spiritual, cf. Dragićević 2001: 193–216. This lexicological study (Dragićević 2001: 193–216) also introduces a hierarchical structure of adjectives describing human characteristics in literary Serbian, primarily determined by urban culture, which can be used for comparison with dialectal speech, still determined today by the traditional culture.
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visit you? That’s it. But with these Srbijanske from Serbia, they did. And now they have a mixture, such Srbijanske, such beautiful women! (It’s a mixture now?) A mixture, all white women, look, we have them from Stari Obilčić too, they are here in a refugee camp, what a woman, blond, can’t take your eyes off of her, and he’s a Gypsy, a Gypsy. But there it is. (139-K-Premetina-5-18S)

[3] (Whom else couldn’t women marry?) We wouldn’t let them marry Srbijanski, for example from Župa. Some people from Župa moved to our village and our people wouldn’t let you marry a Srbijanska. Kosovars marry through friendships, like, you recommend me to someone and so on. Here and there, there was a good girl, a good family, good parents, the girl would be good, hardworking, healthy, it wasn’t good to be thin back then, but healthy, fat, strong, to work, to boe. Here and there, there was a good girl, hardworking, and so on through friendship, and you wouldn’t get to see the boy at all, your folks married you off and off you went. (127-K-Prijužje-4-18S)

[4] Both the Ashkali and the pure Roma people, they didn’t use to marry into one another before, the Ashkali and the Roma, and now they do, like we marry Montenegrins or Srbijanski. (139-K-Premetina-5-18S)

[5] Yes, for the Moravci to see them, oh, what an idea, no! Then we [women] didn’t marry Montenegrins either, it was not our faith, our folks, oh no! How could you marry one, a Montenegrin’s not of our faith. (And where are there Montenegrins in the vicinity?) Well, they used to be everywhere, everywhere. Mainly in Priličina, the town was there, people went to school and... And they would be looking at each other. And the village girls would go to the market, there were pretty village girls, you’d go to the market, but on foot. (127-K-Prijužje-4-18S)

The expected social distance between indigenous inhabitants and newcomers in Kosovo has already been the subject of scientific research (cf. Zlatanovic 2004). Relations and clashes between the native population and the colonists have been described by an anthropologist-geographer:

Between the two World Wars intermarriage (among colonists and Kosovar Serbs) were such that usually Kosovar Serbs married into the colonists, since they could take girls from them without money, while the reverse was rare because the custom among Kosovar Serbs was to ask for money in compensation for the girl. Buying a girl was abolished after the national war of liberation, but even before World War II, Kosovar Serbs had begun to depart from this custom as one having outlived its usefulness. Nevertheless, there are no strong relationships between the colonists and Kosovar Serbs even today. Differences in how households are run, differences in dress (national costume) and a certain mutual disapproach stand in the way of stronger relationships. The colonists view Kosovar Serbs as backward, while Kosovar Serbs view colonists as newcomers who have not adjusted to the rules and circumstances of their new home. Costume is an obstacle to these marriages since the bride must give up her national costume. And so almost all Montenegrin

women, women from Lika and other women from colonists’ homes who married Kosovars had to start wearing Kosovo-Serbian costume almost immediately after the wedding. (Urošević 1965: 110–111; see also Petrović 1990)19

A cultural distance also exists in relation to the latest wave of migrations, cf. the linguistic marking: “our / people!”, compared with: these ones who escaped from Croatia:

[6] Here in the village are Shiptars, up there Shiptars, and here too, we are surrounded, but nobody’s ever said anything bad to us. (Were there any other cases of marriage?) With a Shiptar girl? (Or the other way around?) No, our people here, no, but these ones who escaped from Croatia, yes, they took a Shiptar girl here. (You still have those refugees here?) Yes, here in the camp, there are, they took a Shiptar girl. (You still have the refugee camp?) Yes, over there. Kosovo B. (Kosovo B has refugees from Croatia?) Yes, it has. It has, it trust me. He has a Shiptar wife, he has. (139-K-Premetina-5-18S)

OTHERS IN KOSOVO: SERBIAN GYPSIES

The image of the inhabitants of the village of Grace also emerged as the result of co-construction by the researcher and interviewees from Prilepina and Prijužje. While researching the Prijužje enclave in Grace, the topic of identity was never explicitly imposed in conversations. The researcher discovered the existence of the problem of negative marking in this village while working with displaced persons in the Radićevac refugee centre in Smедерево. Personal contact with people from Grace who had been placed in this centre helped greatly with making contact and establishing trust in later work in the enclave. In order to receive an answer to the sensitive question of the identity of the inhabitants of Grace, the researcher asked guiding questions of interviewees from other villages in the enclave. The deixis was marked (the ones from Grace, these people from Grace), but the questions were not explicit.

[7] (What was your relationship with these people from Grace?) From Grace? Ah, well, those are these people, a bit like Gypsies. But they speak Serbian, our language, celebrate slava and we get on well. We didn’t have anything. – We didn’t marry each other. – We didn’t marry into them or give in marriage, yes, as if it was another religion, but they are really Serbs, just the colour was different, black. (132-K-Prijužje-10-18S)

[8] (Tell me, can they take women from Grace?) From Grace? They can. (Did they ever take one?) Well, some did, those are these people in Grace, they are good Serbs,

19 For immigration of Montenegrins to Kosovo cf. ethnological research by Radovanović 2004 and Radićević 2004.
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they are good people, good Serbs, honest. Workers and all, in my opinion. It's close, not far, they go around Serbia, take wives. They take them from Kragujevac, Niš, Prokuplje, Kuršumlija, the women. (I was there the day before yesterday, I saw that all the women are from different parts.) From different parts, yes, yes. They are black men and the women are white. It's a crossed race. Did you see it? (136-K-
Priluzje-14-BS)

These segments of transcript open up the comparatively unsearched question of the ethnic origin of Grace's inhabitants.14 At the turn of the twentieth century, Jovan Cvijić (1996: 432) having no information of his own on the villages around Priluzje, gave the number of Serbian houses based on the lists of the Metropolitan, or Orthodox Arch-
bishopric: Priluzje 27 Serbian houses, Nenmetna 12 Serbian houses, Grace 17 Serbian houses, in which the figure for Grace certainly refers to those of Christian Orthodox denomination.

A history of political correctness runs parallel to the history of scientific interest in the identity of Serbian Gypsies. Dorogović or Jorgovci (in Predevo – Karadžordjevići) are viewed in ethnohistorical literature as “Gypsies”, whose native language is mainly Serbian, but until the nineteenth century there were some whose native language was Roma. According to oral report, they come from a nomadic herdsman’s caza the Jorga. In the twentieth century they lived in southern Serbia, in Kosovo and Metohija, and in Macedonia, and it is assumed that they once lived in Montenegro as well. They are indigenous inhabitants and work in farming and as blacksmiths. In addition, they work in agriculture as wage laborers (Vukanović 1983: 140). In Izornik in Kosovo they are called Kiseli (“Soar”) (Vukanović 1983: 141).

Ethnologist and romanologist Tatomir Vukanović has dealt in detail with the question of “converting Gypsies into Serbs.” He mentions examples from Kosovska Mitro-
vica where Serbianisation took place in the nineteenth century through assimilation by marriage; in Metohija Podgor “there are occasional Serbianised Gypsies, mainly Dorogovići”; in Prizrenski Podgor, and especially in Sve Reka, the Dorogovići “vigorously declare themselves as Serbs, and are in fact assimilated with the Serbs.” In Orshovac in Metohija at the end of the nineteenth century, “there were about forty houses of Christian Orthodox Gypsies who became Serbs.”15 In the Voć area (the village of Ločani), near Dočani monastery, the Antić clan are “Serbianised Gypsies”, who in addition to farming engaged in carpentry and wood engraving; in Gnjilane the Đorđević clan are “Serbianised Gypsies” (Vukanović 1983: 96–97).

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Dorogovići in the south of Serbia were in the chieftain system. The village houses of the Dorogovići and Madupi stood in groups, the

14 For the full complexity of the ethnic background in the village of Grace, contained problems in an analysis of attitudes towards Circassians in the Priluzje enclave, see Sikimić 2004: 277.
15 At this point Vukanović notes information from Branislav Nolić who mentions on his journey to Or-
horos (Razaje) in 1834 “20 to 40 houses of Christian Orthodox Gypsies, who have been completely absorbed into the Serbs” (Nolić 1988: 204).

plots around them surrounded by a fence, thorns and outbuildings. Following the First Balkan War, many Dorogovići and Madupi were freed of the chieftain regime, and only sporo-
radic chieftain estates remained on the lands of the Deviči Monastery. In urban settlements of Kosovo and Metohija the housing conditions of the Dorogovići and Madupi did not differ from those of other people (Vukanović 1983: 107, 113).16

Atanasije Urošević (1965: 104) mentions intermediation between Serbs and Christian Orthodox Gypsies and states “three new cases of Serbs marrying Gypsy girls”, all three from Gračanica. Urošević also cites examples “where Christian Orthodox Gypsies took Serbian women”, interpreting this as being due either to ignorance or economic reasons.17 From the sociolinguistic standpoint, his remarks on the linguistic identity of the Dorogovići are also indicative since at one stage (until the beginning of the twentieth century) it was entirely Albanian.18

Ethnologist Tatomir Vukanović confirms that terms Arsubordovići and Borgovići mark the same ethnic group as “Serbianised Gypsies”, “Gypsies in Kosovo whose native language is Serbian” (Vukanović 1983: 95, 138). Obviously, neither of these two terms is sufficiently well known in Priluzje. In response to a direct question by the researcher we get a very unexpected description of the Muslim Slav population:

16 Available ethnological data on the Dorogovići refers to wedding customs which coincide with those of the Serbs in the surrounding area. The Dorogovići are endogamous, but the Rousa custom of buying the bride is noted, or where payment was exacted for the girl’s dowry and for the costs of the wedding at the girl’s home. This payment was made in instalments — three from the time of asking for her hand in marriage to the wedding, usually in six to twelve months. Weddings took place in churches, and the age of the spouses was the same as that in the surrounding area (Vukanović 1983: 243).
17 “The Gypsy Iva Mišić from Badovac married a Serb woman from a house in his village where he worked as a servant. In Ohlići, a girl of the Sobotić colonists (from Boka) married a Gypsy of the Đokić clan in the same village just after the colonisation, ‘while they still did not know that the Chris-
tian Orthodox villagers were Gypsies.’ A poor girl from Lika, from among the Krivolja colonies, married a Christian Orthodox Gypsy in Skalosovce. In Dobro Duh, a Gypsy, Kosta Ilić, married a poor Montenegrin girl who was a servant in Prilića (Urošević 1965: 104).
18 Urošević in fact believes that “in some mixed Arbanasi— Albanian—Gypsy villages, even Christian Orthodox Gypsies adopted the Arbanasi language, that during the Turkish rule and even long after it, it was the only language they knew well or even the only language they knew at all (...) At that time (around 1935) Christian Orthodox Gypsies in Ohlići spoke Serbian very badly, since they still used Arbanasi among themselves. Young people in Grace tried to replace the constant use of Arbanasi by constant use of Serbian, but because of the elderly and women who did not know Serbian well, very often they too switched to Arbanasi at home (...) It is probable that Christian Orthodox Gypsies in these villages switched to Arbanasi from the Serbian spoken by other Christian Orthodox Gypsies in Kosovo, such as those in Gračanica, Badovac, Príština and Kosevica Mitrovica. They probably did not know the Gypsy language when they switched to Arbanasi, just as other Christian Orthodox Gypsies in Kosovo who did not fall under the influence of the Arbanasi language do not know it, and hence their native language is Serbian. Therefore, all Christian Orthodox Gypsies in Kosovo must have abandoned the Gypsy language long before and that those speaking Arbanasi today must have first switched from Gypsy to Serbian. Christian Orthodox Gypsies in Kosovo, one and the other, in-
cluding those speaking Arbanasi, claim to be Serbs, and for all Kosovo Christian Orthodox Gypsies it is an insult to refer them as Gypsies in their presence” (Urošević 1965: 108–109).
for others too. Between the two world wars, some textile merchants from Prilep
used to order certain products from Janjevo women to be made for their customers
(Barjaktarovica 1971: 45).

Nevertheless, the literature shows that the Janjevi were much better known in the
area as craftsmen who made jewellery and the like. (Barjaktarovica 1972: 155-158,
on Janjevo as “metal casters” (livci) and “ring-men” (prstenjare), see also Barjaktarovica

It is right to say that Janjevo is in the main one big ring-factory (prstenjarska)
since about 300 Catholics make rings, there are 300 wheelwrights, 4 butchers, 10
innkeepers, 10 grocers and 2 bakers. (..) However, the main occupation of Janjevo
Catholics, for which they are well known not only in their area, but also in parts
much further away, is ring-making (prstenjarsko). Janjevo call their craft ring-
making and themselves – ring-makers. (..) Janjevo mainly make things of brass
(pririđak), as they say, and they do not know the word bronze. (..) Only since the
‘40s did they begin to make things of pakon [an alloy], especially bangles, earrings
and rings. They do not make anything out of silver, iron, copper or any other metal
or compound. When using brass, they mainly cast it into rings, holders for icon
lamps, bangles, earrings, buckles, necklaces, and girdles with metal clasps [pištol].
(Trojanovic 1906: 106-107)

Still, the Janjevi are, indeed, no artists in their work, on the contrary: their work is primit-
ive, but they produce it in vast quantities, they know the roads well, the countries
and languages, they go into towns, where the poor especially await them eagerly,
and then buy what they need for an entire year. The Janjevi specialize in only a few
items, among them the stolovat – a number of wedding rings joined together with a
thick band, adorned with 5 to 10 large silver coins. (Trojanovic 1906: 109)

It is not easy to reconstruct today the distant mirror, but, in his description of
Janjevo in 1910, Jovan Cvijic mentions that the Janjevo Catholics used to call the Christian
Orthodox Vlaci (Vlachs). Hoti promiscuity in naming the inhabitants of Janjevo is at least a

28 For the economic situation in Janjevo at the beginning of the twentieth century see Milić 1988:
307-308. For statistical data on Janjevo inhabitants in Kosovo, their emigration to Croatia and Life
in the new area see: Šijković/Glavasina 2004.
29 ‘Ta 1910 (..) there were 515 houses in Janjevo, of which 400 belonged to Catholic Serbs or “Latinos”
(as the Christian Orthodox call them), 75 houses of Araniti (Albanians) and Aranitai (albanized
Serbs still speaking Serbian). 20 of Modzhdiri from Serbia, 2 belonging to Turks from Sar (Asia
Minor), and about 38 houses of Mohammedan Gypsies. The houses are usually free-standing, sepa-
rate from the community and 2-3 of the most crowded contained 15 people. Among the “Latinos” (the
latter call the Christian Orthodox “Vlachs”) two families are indigenous, moved from Staro Janjevo
and account for 110 houses. These two families are the Gisimovci and the Politi. The others are old
settlers, more than 200 years in the area (..) The business of Janjevo is rudimentary since the last
century old: “The Serbs speak pure Serbian, and by law they are all Catholics to the last man (…) The Franciscan fathers Jukić and Siliković and many German writers call these Catholicks Croats, which in any event comes to the same thing” (Trojanović 1906: 105). In the collection of documents (issued by the Ottoman authorities), in a receipt from the Sandžak of Novi Pazar: a Latin (sic) called Mihoci, is one of the Dubrovnik unbelievers, living in Novi Pazar.

This is good example showing that during this period the people from Dubrovnik were Latin as far as the Turks were concerned, just as our people from Vlačinci and throughout Kosovo and Metohija used the term Latin for every foreigner of Christian faith and Roman-Catholic by law, and in general, any man from the Christian West who was not of their religion and law. (Elezović 1940: 814–815)

At the end of the nineteenth century, Serbs from Peć used to call Albanians of Catholic denomination Latinus. 65

FEMALE OCCUPATION OR THE ETHNONYM ĆERČIKE

The researcher prompts the topic of anticipated ethnic marking by the clothes worn by women by using the term costume, inadequate for the local vernacular (and further inadequately marked as specific). The female interviewee specifies a “foreign” item of clothing: the dimije, which does not fit the traditional marker of Orthodox: And Christian Orthodox too, were baptised, ate pork and all. This introductory question steered the conversation to the naming of a series of local women’s ethnonyms: Pećanke (women from Peć), Srpskinje (Serbian women), Ćerčike, Katolike (Catholic women).

[1] (Were there any women who wore black šalvar [Turkish trousers], who had a specific costume?) Yes, yes, a costume. Well also, for example, in Priština until

vestiges of the metal works at Novo Bato have been preserved in this town. From bronze they make icon lamps, candlesticks, headlets, rings, and in particular many crosses, and sell them throughout Kosovo, Metohija and the Prizren area, but also in Serbs, Bulgaria and Wallachia. Before, they used to travel and sell their crafts throughout Macedonia, as far as Thessaloniki. Furthermore, they go from house to house making women’s costumes and various kinds of s-capions and towels in great quantities but very bad taste, which they sell in Kosovo, crowding out the graceful but costly Kosovo costumes. Nonetheless, wealthy Janjevci are rare.” (Vijil 1996: 525–526) For dialectological and sociolinguistic descriptions of the Janjevo vernacular see: Pešković 1970; for etymological/terminological sources: Rožić 1974. For more recent ethnographic work on archive material from Janjevo cf. Petrović 2004.

recently those women from over there, from Peć and Prizren, they wore them, although they were Serbs, the older women wore the dimije. (Even though they were Serbs?) Even though they were Serbs, they wore dimije, and then that gajton. (The Christian Orthodox women too?) The Christian Orthodox too, they were baptised, ate pork and all, but they wore only dimije, we called them Ćerčike. (Those women who wore it?) Who wore the dimije, but are Serbs, for example. They’re Serbs. (139-K-Plimetinica-5-B5)

The term Ćerčika has been noted in a dictionary of the Kosovo-Metohija vernacular as an appellative: čerčika, i. “a woman who sells various home-made types of cloth, old suits etc., in public: Every Saturday the čerčike go to the bazar in Mitrovica” (confirmation from Gorica Sudjana, Turcism, Elezović 1935 s.s.).32 The example from Prištije shows the erasure of this appellative (meaning the door, practitioner of the occupation), but it is also possible that the interviewee is not sure of the real meaning of the term čerčika. In both cases the term refers only to women, whether they sell their cloth at the market or wear some elements of Muslim costume. The possible connection to the selling of goods indicates the further course of the interviewee’s associations as she continues to speak of the Janjevo (women from Janjevo): they are Catholics, that sell, Janjević. On the other hand, it is clear that in Kosovo at the turn of the twentieth century, to which period this data refers, travelling peddlers of small goods belonged to another social and ethnic class, and this would apply all the more to women who did so.33

An outsider’s view of women’s costumes in Kosovo at the beginning of the twentieth century can be observed in a description by Branislav Nušić (1902: 138–150), who neutrally notes that in contrast to women in villages, “town women wear dimije which are made a little shorter than for Turkish women and are girdled with a silken sash. Dimije are usually made of busam [type of thin cotton fabric] or jami-busam [woolen fabric]. Over a linen or silk shirt, they wear a jelek made of homespun or velvet or even of silk.” (Nušić 1902: 148). Around the same time, Petar Korić sees women’s clothing in Kosovo in the nineteenth century as an ethnic marker:

Our women had to dress and cover themselves as the Muslim women do, in a

31 An Etymological Dictionary of the Croatian or Serbian Language marks the loanword čerčika as masculine, even though the source from which it was taken (Skok 1971: 1974, xx. čerčija), with examples from Banja Luka and Sarajevo, marks it only as feminine, with the synonym: women trader, pazar-busa (market woman in Oriental costume), carrier. By comparing this with confirmation from Prištije and surroundings, apart from what is certainly a specific social status, a certain ethnic marking of women traders at town markets in the central Balkans of the twentieth century may also be suggested. The lexicographical and ethnolinguistic confirmation cited hitherto indicate that these women traders certainly existed in Bosnia and Kosovo. For traditional attitudes towards market-women (in South Slav folklore material) cf. Sikirić 1999.

32 In the period following the Second World War, the Gypsy Reda from Mitrovica used to peddle a variety of goods in the villages around Leposavić (Č. Leka, Krnjić, Tvrđen). He used to go to Leposavić twice a month by train, to more far-flung villages on foot. He carried his goods in a sack, gave goods on credit or exchanged them for food: flour, beans, meat (oral confirmation by Gredoluža Mladenović, born in 1931 in Krnjić, near Leposavić).
fezda with an odžija [habbit: a large, white kerchief that went over the fezda],
and in some places in džavor [fabric used by Muslim women to cover their heads]
too, and they also had to wear yellow slippers. On one occasion, a Mohammedan
assaaulted a Muslim girl thinking she was Serb. Then up came the order for the
ladies to wear red slippers, in contrast to Mohammedan women who wore yellow
ones. What had to be done out of fear, gradually turned into a custom which was
not easily abolished. It was only on Good Friday 1913 that the fezda was abolished
for Serbian women, and the odžija set aside. Prizren Latins (Catholic women) still
retain this costume, but gradually, especially after the second liberation, they too
are beginning to abandon it. (Kostić 1988: 366).

LOCAL – GLOBAL

How are historical changes to the ethnic image reflected in local memory? The enclave
still remembers the arrival of the colonists in Kosovo between the two world wars, the
gradual changes to folk costume, the arrival of refugees from Bosnia and Herzegovina
in the 1990s. In informal communication, no politically correct terminology in speaking of
the “other” has yet emerged. In Prizren (as in all other enclaves) the older ethnonym,
Šiptars (Shiptars) is consistently used: They fell out with the Shiptars there; Here in
the village are Shiptars, up there Shiptars; and the Shiptars make her a Muslim; cf. examples
quoted from other enclaves: for the Shiptars, for example, they sewed breaches (Sritičin),
and Shiptars always guarded the terzija (Zabin Potok). It is the same when naming the
Albanian language: No, they don’t know the Roma language, but they know the Shiptar
language, where the politically correct term “Roma language” was introduced by re-
searcher’s question. The case is the same with the use of the ethnonym “Roma” since it is
only a repetition of the researcher’s question. Nevertheless, the marking of the Roma
ethnic group whose native language is Albanian as Ashkali is very common.26

[12] (They speak only Serbian? They don’t know the Roma language?) No, they
don’t know the Roma language, but they know the Shiptar language. The Shiptar
language they know. (And you have pure Roma people too)? We have pure Roma
people too. There are pure Roma people in our village. (Who speak the Roma
language?) Only the Roma language, we don’t have Ashkali, Askaliali we don’t have.
[199-K-Pemetiri-5-188]

In Prizren today, as in other Serbian enclaves in Kosovo, only Shiptars and occupiers

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25 For an ethnographic view of Kosovo town costumes, especially female, see for example in Vukovčić
26 Cf. an example from a transcript by Miloš Luković [Luković 2001]: There were, there were, they
are different Gypsies, who spoke only the Shiptar language. They are Ashkali (the English version of the
article Luković 2007).

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POVZETEK

ENKLAVA PRILUŽJE: OBLIKOVANJE LOKALNE IDENTITETE

Biljana Sikimić


SERBS, ALBANIANS, AND THOSE IN BETWEEN: THE GRADATION OF OTHERNESS AND IDENTITY MANAGEMENT IN THE NATION-BUILDING PROCESS

Tanja Petrović

ABSTRACT

Serbs, Albanians, and Those In Between: The Gradation of Otherness and Identity Management in the Nation-Building Process

The article outlines the attitude of the Serbian nation, whose identity is to a great extent built on the belonging to Orthodox Christianity, towards Muslims - both towards Albanians, who are perceived as "undeniably other," as well as those who are perceived as "less other," such as the Gorani in Kosovo and the Bosniaks in the region of Sandžak and Kosovo. While this gradation is based on two relatively stable (at least in the synchronic level) categories - language and religion, the ethnic/national category often reveals itself as subject to negotiation, change, convergence and divergence. These processes engage both majority communities - i.e. those engaged in the nation-building process, and minority communities, i.e. those who negotiate their own status and position in this process driven by others.

KEYWORDS: Serbs, Albanians, Muslims, Other, identity, nation-building

IZVLEČEK

Srbi, Albinanci in tisti vmes: Stopnjevanje drugosti in identitetske strategije v kontekstu procesa oblikovanja nacij

Prispevek opisuje odnas Srbov, katerih nacionalna identita v veliki meri temelji na organizovani in krščanstvu, do muslimanov - takove Albinance, ki se v srbskom nacionalnem imaginariju doživijo kot neželjna druga, kot si Goranci v Boljšakov skupin, katerih drugosti je manjše stopnje. Stopnjevanje drugosti temelji na dvaj (izvajalstva, ravni) stabilnih kategorijah, jeziku, in veri, medtem ko je kategorij drugosti spredmodernega nacionalnega pogosto povzročeno procesom zagovarjanja, spremembe, konvergencii, divergentnosti. Omenjenih procesov so deležne tako velikeh skupnosti, ki so velike delo procesa oblikovanja nacij, kot manjšine skupnosti, ki so v procesu oblikovanja nacij prisotne zagovarjale lastne interesne.

KLJUČNE BESEDILE: Srbi, Albanec, muslimani, drugi, identiteta, oblikovanje nacij

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