THE GREAT WAR IN 1915

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THE GREAT WAR IN 1915

Edited by

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FROM OTTOMAN VASSALS TO SERBIAN SOLDIERS: MUSLIM POPULATION IN SERBIAN ARMY 1914-1915

ABSTRACT: This article is an attempt to analyze the process of adaptation of Muslim population from newly-acquired territories to the new country and the new army. We shall analyze social and religious differences between Serbian soldiers from the territory before the Balkans wars and those from the new territory. How their national psyche and ethos affected their combat morale in new circumstances? How Muslim population from the new parts of Serbia accepted recruitment in the Serbian Army? Also it would be interesting to understand differences between Muslims from the territory before the Balkans wars and the territory which was acquired in the Balkan Wars. The article includes findings based on documents from the Military Archive in Belgrade and corresponding bibliography.

KEYWORDS: Serbian Army, Serbian soldiers, Muslims, recruitment, national identity, combat morale, the Great War.

Serbian Army

Standing army was established in 1808, during the First Serbian Uprising against the Ottoman Empire.¹ The first army formation was created based on the Austrian army model. The first army recruitment was organized at the end of February 1825. In 1845, the first "Recruitment Rule" was published. Serbian Army officer corps was small

¹ Радосав Марковић, *Војска и наоружање Србије кнеза Милоша*, Српска академија наука, Београд, 1957. Живота Ђорђевић, *Српска народна војска 1861-1864*, Народна књига, Београд, 1984. Драга Вуксановић-Анић, *Стварање модерне српске војске.* Француски утицај на њено формирање, Српска књижевна задруга, Београд, 1993. Милић Милићевић, *Реформа војске Србије 1897-1900*, Војноиздавачки завод, Београд, 2002. Славица Ратковић-Костић, *Европеизација српске војске 1878-1903*, Војноисторијски институт, Београд, 2007.

in number but well-educated.² Since 1850 Serbian officers had been educated at the Military Academy in Belgrade, but also in Germany, Austria-Hungary, Russia, Italy and France.3 The last two decades of XIX century and the first decade of XX century were spent in an effort to implement the reform of the Serbian Army. In 1883 Serbia introduced compulsory military service and modern military formation based on the territorial principle.⁴ The main advantage of 1883 Military Law was the introduction of the system of conscription. Kingdom of Serbia had small peacetime army of about 30,000 people, but toward the new war formation garrison troops were reinforced with reserve troops and Serbia was able to achieve even ten times larger number of soldiers. The aforementioned Military Law imposed conscription for all the men aged 20-50 with mandatory military service from six months to two years long. Serbian Army had been formed of three line units, composed of men of age between 20 and 45 years. The first line units covered men aged from 21 to 31, and it was called Active Troops, the second referred to those between 31 and 37, while the third involved men between 38 and 45. For war needs, they were supposed to form five first-line active divisions, five second-line divisions, and sixty third-line battalions. The country was divided into five division areas, each area with three regimental counties and each county comprised four battalion districts. According to 1901 Military Law, so-called Last Defence troops were instituted. Last Defence was composed of veterans (45 to 50 of age) and young people aged between 17 and 20. In order to understand the recruitment process, we should mention that division areas formed in 1883 were Timočka, Moravska, Drinska, Dunavska and Šumadijska. After the Balkans wars new regions of the Kingdom of Serbia in the south were divided accordingly and five new division areas were established – Bitoliska, Bregalnička, Vardardska, Kosovska and Ibarska. Each area had four regimental counties. The regimental headquarters were placed in Bitoli. Prilep, Kičevo, and Debar (Bitoljska division area); Štip, Veles, Kočane, and Kavadar (Bregalnička); Skoplje, Tetovo, Kumanovo, and Preševo

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² Слободан Ђукић, "Школовање српских официра у Аустро-Угарској и Немачкој у XIX и првој деценији XX века", *Војноисторијски гласник*, 1, 2014, pp. 85-102. Слободан Ђукић, "Школовање српских официра у Русији у XIX и првој деценији XX века", *Војноисторијски гласник*, 1, 2015, pp. 61-76.

³ Dalibor Denda, "A Professional Army as a Successful Factor of War – Case Study: Serbia, 1876-1918", *Nations at war: Why do nations participate in wars, and why not?*, (Ed. Dr. Harold E. Raugh, Jr.), G.S. Rakovski National Defense Academy, Sofia, 2014, pp. 15-24.

⁴ Slavica Ratković-Kostić, *Evropeizacija srpske vojske 1878-1903*, Vojnoistorijski institut, Beograd, 2007, pp. 93-229.

(Vardardska); Priština, Prizren, Štimlje, and Gnjilane (Kosovska); Novi Pazar, Mitrovica, Sjenica, and Prijepolje (Ibarska division area).⁵

In Iulv of 1914. Serbia was not ready for the war with Austro-Hungarian Empire. The War started at the worst possible time, when Serbia faced internal political and economic crisis. Serbian Army was exhausted during the Balkan Wars and most of equipment and arms were useless. The financial situation in Serbia was difficult and the Army felt the lack of clothing, camp equipment and artillery ammunition. The infantry lacked about 120,000 (30%) of modern rifles with ammunition, and even some first line units were not fully equipped. Army equipment and arms had not been purchased since 1912. Mobilization of the Serbian Army was announced on 25 July 1914 in the evening, after the Austro-Hungarian envoy left Belgrade and when it was clear that there would be war.6 The first day of mobilization was 26 July and mobilization lasted until 30 July. The concentration of the army was performed from 31 July and the army was fully ready to fight by 10 August, By September 1914, Serbia had mobilized a total of 423,441 soldiers.⁷ During the Battle of Kolubara in November 1914, Serbian Army had on the frontline a total number of 253,884 soldiers and 426 artillery guns.8

The status of religious communities in the Serbian Army

Citizens of the Kingdom of Serbia, which did not belong to the state Orthodox religion, were obligated to serve in the Serbian Army and in this respect they had the same rights and obligations. According to Article 20 of the Constitution of the Kingdom of Serbia from 1888 not a single Serbian citizen could, referring to the regulations of their faith, be exempted from military service. The Serbian King was the patron of all officially recognized religions in the country. All denominations had the right to free practice of religious rites and organizing life by the

⁵ Милош Јагодић, *Нови крајеви Србије (1912-1915)*, Филозофски факултет, Београд 2013, р. 197, 198.

⁶ Andrej Mitrović, *Serbia's Great War 1914-1918*, Hurst & Company, London, 2007, p. 1. ⁷ Andrej Mitrović, *Serbia's Great War 1914-1918*, Hurst & Company, London, 2007.

⁸ Savo Skoko,"Kolubarska bitka 1914. godine", *Vojnoistorijski glasnik*, 1-3/1992, pp. 243-256.

⁹ Миљан Милкић, "Специфичности верског живота у војсци Кнежевине-Краљевине Србије", *Војно дело*, 1, 2003, pp. 168 -184. Миљан Милкић, "Државни и верски празници у војсци Кнежевине и Краљевине Србије", *Војноисторијски гласник*, 1-2, 2007, pp. 7-20. Миљан Милкић, "Религиозни традиции в сръбската армия", *Военноисторически сборник*, 2-3, 2009, pp. 57-65.

standards of their faith. The rights of religious minorities were guaranteed by all the constitutions of the Principality of Serbia and Kingdom of Serbia.

During the XIX century and the first decade of the XX century, religion was the basis of moral both in the Serbian society and in the Serbian Army. The Orthodox form of Christianity eventually became the main source of all values. 10 Despite the officer's authority, the military chaplain was also responsible for the morale in the military units. Divisional chaplains drew up the curriculum for moral education of soldiers. The tradition of organizing religious service in the Serbian Army is linked to 1839. 11 In the following years various laws and regulations were adopted based on various segments of the religious service in the military. Orthodox Chaplains were government officials appointed by the King on the Defence Minister's proposal. Chaplains played an important role in all the battles in which Serbian Army participated. During the Balkan wars in 1912 and 1913 there was one chaplain in the Serbian Army who was responsible for all army chaplains. At the beginning of the Great War, in July 1914, out of 404,020 conscripted members of the Serbian Army, 192 were chaplains, 12 During the Great War, Serbian Army chaplains of Orthodox, Islamic and Jewish confessions were involved in the Serbian Army in different tasks. 13 The duty on which the chaplains were most engaged was working in the Serbian and allied military hospitals.¹⁴ Funeral and memorial service was also one of the duties of army chaplains. Divisional chaplains drew up the curriculum for moral education of soldiers. The holidays of all religions in the Serbian Army were celebrated according to the rules of the respective religion and in a way prescribed by military regulations. The main Christian holidays, Christmas and Easter, as well as major holidays of the Islamic and Jewish religions were celebrated almost

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¹⁰ Miroljub Jevtić, "Borbeni moral i versko opredeljenje", Vojska i vera. Zbornik radova sa okruglog stola o temi "Regulisanje verskih pitanja u Vojsci Jugoslavije", (urednici: Borislav Grozdić, Slavoljub Marković), NIC, Beograd, 2001, p. 96.

¹¹ Миљан Милкић, "Специфичности верског живота у војсци Кнежевине-Краљевине Србије", *Војно дело*, 1, 2003, pp. 168-184.

¹² Миљан Милкић, "Војни свештеници у српској војсци 1914-1918", *Први светски рат и Балкан – 90 година касније*, (уредник: Милан Терзић), Институт за стратегијска истраживања, Београд, 2011, р. 119.

¹³ Миљан Милкић, *Верска служба у српској војсци у Првом светском рату*, "Одбрана", Београд, 2016.

¹⁴ Миљан Милкић, "Свештеници у војним и дипломатским мисијама српске владе 1915-1918", Историјски институт Црне Горе – Подгорица, *Историјски записи*, 3-4/2012, pp. 85-97.

without exception every war year. During the holidays, even in the war time, quality meals had to be provided.

Muslim Soldiers in the Serbian Army

The largest religious minority in the Kingdom of Serbia were members of the Islamic faith. According to the statistics from 1910 in the Kingdom of Serbia lived 14,335 (0.5%) citizens of Islamic faith. ¹⁵ In Serbian Army they had their priest (imam) and food regulated by the rules of their faith. In order to better respect the religious feelings of the members of the Islamic faith, they were sent to the recruitment in those cities where the percentage of Muslims was substantial and where there was a mosque. Thus, since the beginning of 1910, all Muslim recruits from the territory of Niš, Vranje, Pirot and Toplica district, were sent to serve their mandatory military service in the Niš district commands, and recruits from other territories in the Belgrade district commands. 16 Students of the islamic religious schools were not obliged to serve in the Serbian Amy during their regular education periods. During the Great War there were two Muslim priests serving in the Serbian Army and leading Islamic worship services. One of them, imam Mehmed Hašimić. has a very significant biography. Mehmed Hašimić had been appointed as the imam for Muslims in the city of Šabac in May 1896.¹⁷ He was a member of the Serbian national patriotic organization Narodna odbrana (National Defence) and he joined Serbian Army as a volunteer. Since the beginning of the Great War he was an imam in Sixth regiment, second line, and then in the Muslims battalion of the Drina Division. After disbanding of the Muslim battalion in October 1915, Mehmed Hašimić was transferred to the Drina Division Headquarter. During the Great War he served in the Serbian Army and even after the War he continued to serve in the new Army of Kingdom of Yugoslavia.

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¹⁵ Радош Љушић, *Историја српске државности*, књига II, Нови Сад, 2001, р. 35.

¹⁶ Миљан Милкић, "Религиозни традиции в сръбската армия 1839-1918", Военноисторически сборник, 2-3/2009, р. 62. Милић Милићевић, "Регрутни састав војске Србије 1883 -1912. Систем позива и неки његови друштвени аспекти", Војноисторијски гласник, 1, 2016, pp. 9-25.

¹⁷ Миљан Милкић, *Верска служба у српској војсци у Првом светском рату*, "Одбрана", Београд, 2016, pp. 409-410.

Recruitment process in New areas

Thus far we have observed the status of Muslim soldiers in the framework of the old Serbian boundaries. Significantly different situation occurred after the Balkan Wars with the newly-acquired territories. At the beginning of the Great War, in the summer of 1914, the Serbian state territory consisted of two clearly separate entities: the territory before the Balkans wars (around 54,000 square kilometers with more than 3 million inhabitants) and territory in the south which was acquired in the Balkan Wars (around 33,000 square kilometers and 1.5 million inhabitants). 18 For our analysis it is important to know that those two entities had not merger either economically or culturally and they differed totally in national composition. The Serbian state territory before the Balkan Wars was homogeneous with dominant Serbian nation and with Christian Orthodox majority. Newly-acquired territories were also populated by Albanians and Turks, and many of them were Muslims, 19 These areas had been recently under the Ottoman Empire. while the Serbian Army represented a hostile army. The number of national minorities hostile to Serbian administration was 700,000 inhabitants.²⁰ How the Muslim population from new parts of Serbia accepted recruitment in the Serbian Army?

The position of the Muslims from the territory acquired in the Balkan Wars was determined by the Constantinople peace treaty, signed in March 1914 between Serbia and Ottoman Empire.21 According to the treaty, the Muslims from new regions were exempted from recruitment for a period of three years.²² After three months of official neutrality, Ottoman Empire entered into war in November 1914. In those circumstances, Constantinople peace treaty was no longer valid and recruitment was made possible. Recruitment in new areas was also sensitive because of the Bulgarian national minority.²³

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¹⁸ Andrej Mitrović, *Serbia's Great War 1914-1918*, Hurst & Company, London, 2007, p. 55.

¹⁹ Милош Јагодић, *Нови крајеви Србије (1912-1915)*, Филозофски факултет, Београд, 2013.

²⁰ Dušan T. Bataković, "Serbia in the Great War 1914-1918: War Imposed, Martyrdom Ressurection," in: *Serbia in the Great War. Anglo-Saxon Testimonies and Historical Analysis*. Edited by Dušan T. Bataković, National Library of Serbia, Belgrade, 2015, p. 10.
²¹ Милош Јагодић, *Нови крајеви Србије (1912-1915)*, Филозофски факултет, Београд,

²¹ Милош Јагодић, *Нови крајеви Србије (1912-1915)*, Филозофски факултет, Београд, 2013,

²² About Serbian recruits in 1915 to see more: Данило Шаренац, *Топ, војник и сећање. Први светски рат и Србија 1914-200*9, Институт за савремену историју, Београд 2014. pp. 119-152.

²³ Данило Шаренац, *Топ, војник и сећање. Први светски рат и Србија 1914-2009,* Институт за савремену историју, Београд, 2014, р. 127.

According to Defence Minister order on 31 December 1914, the first recruitment and deployment of Muslim population was carried out.²⁴ Recruitment included only recruits for the first line units (born in 1892, 1893 and 1894). Muslim population of the second and third lines was not conscripted for military training and they were planned only for duties in the rear area.²⁵ During the recruitment process there were a lot of problems – hiding, escapes, rebellions, and a lot of violent incidents. The big problem was the fact that Sultan Mehmed V called Muslims to holy war against the Allied countries.²⁶ As a major problem, Serbian military authorities highlighted the assorted proclamations of the "Unification of Islam" society in which Muslims were called to fight against the Serbian government authorities and Serbian Army.²⁷

According to the report by the New Areas commander, General Damjan Popović, dated on 3 February 1915 the recruitment and deployment passed without major incidents.²⁸ Nonetheless, during the recruitment there were a lot of problems. In Skoplje regimental district, the recruits were expressing resentment, but they responded to recruitment. In Preševo regimental district the situation was similar, but recruitment ended peacefully. Albanians and Turks believed that in the Serbian Army they would not be able to practice their religion and have food in accordance with the rules of their religion. The situation became peaceful after the commander's explanation that nobody was going to force them to work and eat meals forbidden by their religion. Most problems occurred during the recruitment in Tetovo regimental district and "primitive measures were used and soldiers escorted to the district command with very great difficulties". General Popović noted that they were suspicious and they thought that they would not be allowed to be buried, and to pray to God in accordance with the rules of Islam. In Kosovska division area there were no major problems except in the municipally of Prizren. From total number of 1,748 conscripted recruits, 1,396 recruits escaped to Albania. Finally, those who were recruited refused to take the oath. One characteristic example is the oath of the Kumanovo battalion recruits which was carried out on 18 January 1915. When the mufti started to deliver the oath they all kept silent. When the mufti explained the importance the oath and consequences, Turks

²⁴ Military Archive Belgrade, Records 7, box 118, file 1, document 9/14.

²⁵ Јована Шаљић, "Муслимани нових области Србије у српској војсци током Првог светског рата", *Срби и Први светски рат 1914-1918*, (уредник: Д. Живојиновић), Београд, 2015, р. 351.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 351-353.

²⁷ Military Archive Belgrade, Records 9, box 32, file 1, document 1/50.

²⁸ Military Archive Belgrade, Records 7, box 118, file 1, document 9/14.

agreed but Albanians were still against the oath. After General Damjan Popović intervened, everything was settled.

Still, there were better examples. Recruitment was carried out without problems only in the Ibar division district. Muslim imams from the towns Prijepolje and Priboj were reading prayers.²⁹ Speeches held by the imams were patriotic and Muslims were called to defend their homeland and their king from the enemy. Mufti of Priboj delivered a prayer and speech in which he urged Muslims to be proud because they had been invited to defend their homeland as equal citizens of the Kingdom of Serbia.

At the end of this recruitment process, recruited Muslims were transferred to the city of Niš on 13 January 1915 with music and Serbian flags. Eventually, the recruitment response was between 20% and 40%. In January 1915, the training was organized for 7,000 Muslims. Albanians and Turks did not trust the Serbian military authorities, and the Commanding officers did not trust them as well. Military authorities were not satisfied with the state of their morale. For all recruits it was typical they were very religious. They were allowed to practice all religious needs.

In September 1915 a new conscription for the Serbian Army began and problems were similar. Conforming to Defence Minister official instruction dated 5 September 1915, Muslims from Morayska, Bitoliska, Bregalnička and Vardarska divisional areas were transported to military training in the First regiment of the Reserve troops located in Niš.³⁰ Accordingly, Muslims from Kosovska and Ibarska divisional areas were transported in the Fourth regiment of the Reserve troops located in Kralievo. In mid-October 1915 in the First Regiment of reserve troops in Niš, from total number of 4,500 recruits, there were about 300 Turks and Albanians. During the withdrawal of of the Serbian Army to Kosovo and Metohija, recruits seized the opportunity to leave their military units. During the march between Ljum Kula and Debar, from 8 to 12 November 1915, recruits Turks and Albanians from Debar county regimental command, had disappeared.³¹ During the retreat, in the formation of the First Regiment entered the Fourth regiment with about 300 recruits Albanians, Turks, and a few Serbs. The composition of the First Regiment reserve troops on 17 November 1915 amounted to 20

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²⁹ Јована Шаљић, "Муслимани нових области Србије у српској војсци током Првог светског рата", *Срби и Први светски рат 1914-1918*, (уредник: Драгољуб Живојиновић), САНУ, Београд, 2015, р. 354.

³⁰ Владимир J. Радојевић, Добросав J. Миленковић, *Пропаст српских регрута 1915*, Научно дело, Београд, 1967, р. 8.

³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 12-15.

officers, 30 non-commissioned officer and 550 soldiers. On 11 October 1915, only 135 recruits were brought from Tetovo region in the Second regiment. The majority of the several hundred Albanians escaped during the transportation. On 31 October the total number of recruits in the Second regiment amounted to 2,850. When Regiment arrived in Prizren on 6 November, recruits from the new area started to desert in larger groups. The situation in the Fourth Regiment of the Reserve troops was also significant. In April 1915, the Fourth Regiment was located in Aleksinac, and composed of a certain number of Serbs and 150 Albanians. On 3 October the Fourth Regiment was relocated to Kraljevo and 250 Albanian recruits were admitted. In Novi Pazar, where the Regiment stayed until 30 October, military personnel consisted of six officers and 980 soldiers. Until the arrival in Prizren on 7 November, 440 conscripts escaped the Regiment. In Prizren, Muslim soldiers' weapons were handed over to the Chief of the military station.

Quantity of the recruits, who applied during the October 1915, can be indicated approximately.³² We can find the reason in the enemy attack on Serbia and there is also the fact that many of the recruits did not arrive in their regiments. During October and November 1915, the recruits from Macedonia and Kosovo-Metohija area had almost all disappeared. On 1 October 1915, the prescribed number of Muslim recruits in Reserve troops located in Niš was 7,000. At the same time, there were 5,500 Christians prescribed.

Conclusion

The process of the adaptation of Muslims to the new country and the new army was very difficult, and eventually unsuccessful. Despite the fact that Muslims in the Serbian Army had all rights and privileges, Muslims from the new areas were not able to adapt to the new army. Albanians and Turks did not trust Serbian military authorities and the social and economic gap between the old and new areas was too big. Social and religious differences between Serbian soldiers from the territory before the Balkan wars and those from the new territory were huge. Regulation of religious rights and needs of the Serbian Army members was a part of the process of the Serbian Army development and modernization. During the recruitment in the New areas Serbian military authorities had in mind the importance of religious rights for local population. National psyche and ethos affected combat morale in new circumstances. Also it would be interesting to understand

³² *Ibid.*, p. 36.

differences between Muslims from the two entities. This topic is connected with the military tradition and national identity, which all affect combat morale and soldiers' behavior. The basic thesis is that military tradition is like any other tradition but specially connected with the national identity. Military tradition affects the behavior of soldiers and it has a specific influence on their morale and ethical views. Therefore, religious tradition is important and it has a specific role in the Serbian military tradition. Also, military tradition is important as a part of national identity.

THE GREAT WAR IN 1915

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