My presentation today concerns the fate of the Ottoman-era waqf monuments and institutions in the Western Balkans during the wars of the 1990s. I will briefly outline what was destroyed and what was saved, illustrated with some examples taken from my post-war fieldwork documenting cultural destruction in Bosnia and Kosovo. I will also try to place these developments in a broader historical and cultural context.

At the outset, I want to emphasize two facts that are well known to specialists in Ottoman history, but are perhaps less well understood by the public and by the writers of school textbooks. One is that the Ottoman Empire was, almost from its beginnings, a European power, and not only in the geographic sense. [RESİM 1] For more than five centuries Rumeli, the European part of the empire, was a major center of Ottoman civilization and cultural production.

Another fact we should keep in mind is that, although the Ottoman Empire was ruled by a Turkish dynasty, it was not a Turkish nation-state. A large part of the population of the Balkans during the period of Ottoman rule were Muslims, but the majority of Muslims in the Balkans were not ethnic Turks. The Ottoman Empire was, from its beginnings to the end, a multi-ethnic and multi-religious civilizational project -- a joint political and cultural enterprise, in which the peoples of the Balkans played an active role. The Ottoman heritage in the Balkans is also their heritage.

* Documentation Center for Islamic Architecture, Aga Khan Program, Harvard University.
This historical fact is graphically illustrated by a map [RESİM 2] displaying the results of a study that examined the geographic and ethnic origins of the soldiers who guarded the Ottoman frontier fortresses in Hungary during the reign of Sultan Süleyman Kanunî. As we can see, only two and a half percent of those Ottoman soldiers came from Anatolia. The vast majority of the soldiers were natives of the Western Balkans. More than half of the men guarding the frontier fortresses came from Bosnia and Herzegovina; almost a third came from Serbia and Kosovo. Smaller numbers came from other regions of the Ottoman Balkans. The majority of these Ottoman soldiers from the Balkans were Muslims by birth. A much smaller number were devşirme or other converts to Islam. The Ottoman garrisons on the empire’s frontier also included many Christian troops, who served in auxiliary military formations.

The large tombstone we see at the center of this photo [RESİM 3] marks the grave of one of these Balkan Muslim soldiers of the padishah, a Bosniak named Omer Aga Başiç, who fell as a martyr (şehit) in the Ottoman-Habsburg wars. In shape, it resembles other Ottoman grave-stones of the period, except for its enormous size, which is typically Bosnian — Omer Aga’s gravestone is more than four meters tall.

In the first period of Ottoman rule in the Balkans, it was the sultan and his officials who established the first endowments for the building of mosques, school, libraries, charity soup kitchens, baths, inns for travelers, tekkes, and the bazaar shops whose rents supported these charitable and religious institutions. [RESİM 4]

But by the end of the 16th century a large part of the local population in the Western Balkans -- in some areas a majority -- had converted to Islam. Among these Balkan Muslims there were many who served the Ottoman state as soldiers, statesmen, Islamic jurists and scholars. Most of the mosques and of the other waqf buildings and institutions established in the Balkans during the Ottoman period were endowed by Muslim natives of the region.

Examples of monuments and institutions endowed by local Muslim benefactors, include the Mosque of Sofu Sinan Pasha in the Kosovo city of Prizren [RESİM 5]; the famous bridge over the Drina built by the grand vizier Mehmed Paşa Sokoloviç (Sokollu) for his hometown of Višegrad in Bosnia [RESİM 6]; and the mosque, medrese, library and other endowments established in Sarajevo by its Ottoman governor Gazi Husrev Beg, a Bosnian Muslim. [RESİM 7 & 8] These and other waqf monuments of the Ottoman period have become local landmarks, symbols of the towns in which they were built. They are an integral part of the history and cultural heritage of the Balkans and of its peoples.

The long era of Ottoman rule in the Western Balkans came to a violent end at the beginning of the 20th century. For the local Muslim communities, and for the endowments that sustained their religious, educational and charitable activities, these events marked the beginning of an existential crisis. The political struggles and economic difficulties of the inter-war period were followed by the destruction and human losses of the Second World War.

After the end of the war in 1945, a communist regime took power in what had been the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. What the change of regimes meant for the local Islamic communities has been discussed by other speakers. I will merely mention a few examples to illustrate the consequences to the built heritage.

One of the oldest waqf buildings in Sarajevo was the Mevlevi tekke, built by an endowment established in 1462 by Isa Beg Ishakoviç, the Ottoman governor who is considered the city’s
founder. In 1957, Isa Beg’s historic tekke was demolished by order of Sarajevo’s communist city government, as part of a road-widening project. On the site of the razed tekke, they built a gasoline station. In the southern city of Mostar, 33 mosques from the Ottoman era still stood at the beginning of the 20th century. Between 1945 and 1965, eleven of these mosques were ordered torn down by Mostar’s communist municipal authorities.

In Kosovo’s capital city Prishtina, there were 18 mosques at the end of Ottoman rule in 1912. When World War II ended, there were still 16 mosques left in Prishtina. The new communist Yugoslav regime that took power after the war closed all but five of the city’s mosques, turning them into warehouses and other secular uses. As part of a socialist-era urban redesign of the centre of Prishtina in the 1950s, three historic mosques were ordered razed by the authorities, among them the Lokaç Mosque, built in 1551. Some of the city’s closed mosques were allowed to reopen for worship during the era of political liberalization in the 1970s and early 1980s, but no new mosques were built in Prishtina between 1912 and the end of the 20th century.

The hopeful era of liberalization was cut short by the political and economic crises of the late 1980s and by the rise of Serbian strongman Slobodan Milošević, who used nationalist grievances, rhetoric and demands to become the most prominent political figure in Yugoslavia. As the Cold War ended and communist rule crumbled throughout Eastern Europe, the Yugoslav federal state founded by Tito also began to come apart. The break-up of the former Yugoslavia turned into a series of bloody wars that continued for most of the 1990s. [RESİM 9]

Before the 1992-1995 war, Bosnia-Herzegovina was home to four million people: Muslim Bosniaks, Orthodox Serbs, Catholic Croats, and others, living side-by-side. After four years of war, “ethnic cleansing” and genocide, more than half of Bosnia’s population had been turned into refugees, over 100 000 had been killed, and 35 000 were missing.

The war on people was accompanied by a war on culture: attacks on the cultural heritage of those ethnic and religious communities that had been singled out for genocide and “ethnic cleansing”. The heritage of the Ottoman period -- especially mosques and other waqf monuments and institutions -- was targeted for systematic destruction by Serb and Croat nationalist forces. The result was what a Council of Europe report in 1993 called “a cultural catastrophe in the heart of Europe”.

In field investigations I carried out as a court expert for the UN war crimes tribunal, I was able to document the destruction of many hundreds of mosques, of waqf libraries and archives, and other cultural heritage of the Ottoman period in Bosnia. Overall, more than 1200 mosques were heavily damaged or destroyed during the war. In the 70 percent of Bosnia’s territory that was overrun by Bosnian Serb forces in 1992-1995, almost no mosque or minaret remained intact at the end of the war.

There was only one exception. In Baljvine, a village southwest of Banja Luka, local Serb residents intervened to defend their Muslim Bosniak neighbors. They refused to allow a group of Serb nationalist paramilitaries, who had been sent to “cleanse” the village, to destroy the mosque. In the midst of war and terror, that was a small triumph of the traditional Bosnian value of “dobar komšiluk” (good neighborliness, taking care of one’s neighbors).

What happened elsewhere in Bosnia was a human and cultural tragedy. An example is the eastern Bosnian town of Foça on the Drina. Before the war, Foça had 12 Ottoman-era mosques.
The earliest mosque was built in 1501, a waqf of Sultan Bayezid II. The town’s “newest” mosque was endowed in 1751 by a local Bosniak, Mehmed Paşa Kukavica, who rose to the rank of vizier and twice served as Ottoman governor of Bosnia. Foça also had an Ottoman-era medrese, a mekteb, a large tekke of the Nakshibendi order, three türbes, and a waqf library and archive. All of these were destroyed in May-June 1992, after the Serb nationalist takeover of the town.

The most famous waqf monument in Foça was the Mosque of Hasan Nazir, known as the Aladza (Multi-colored) Mosque. It was built in 1550. A century later, the famous Ottoman traveler Evliya Çelebi visited Foça and left his autograph on the wall of the Aladza Mosque, writing: “I have traveled much and have visited many cities, but none like this place”. [RESİM 10]

In May 1992, the Aladza mosque was blown up and completely destroyed. Its ruins were bulldozed along with the adjacent Muslim cemetery and the türbe (mausoleum) of the mosque’s founder, Hasan Nazir. The rubble was then taken away and dumped in a hidden location. At the end of the war, only traces of the destroyed mosque’s foundations and the circular outline of its ablution fountain (şadırvan) could still be seen at the site where the Aladza mosque had stood for 442 years. [RESİM 11]

Bosnia’s capital Sarajevo was under siege by Serb nationalist forces for nearly four years. It was the longest siege of a capital city in the history of modern warfare. 12 000 civilians in the city were killed, among them 1500 children. Another 56 000 were wounded, including 15 000 children, hit by Serb artillery and sniper fire from the surrounding mountainsides. The Serb gunners’ targets included not only the residents of the city, but also their monuments and cultural institutions.

Among the targets was the great Mosque of Gazi Husrev Beg in the city’s historic center. The mosque was hit many times and suffered extensive damage. [RESİM 12] A map that shows the locations of projectile impacts, prepared during the siege, in 1993, by the Sarajevo Association of Architects, offers clear evidence that the damage to the mosque was deliberate. The red triangles and circles on the map mark direct hits. The mosque is the building at the center of the map, located where the projectile impacts are clustered most densely. [RESİM 13]

The historic Gazi Husrev Beg Mosque survived the war and was restored afterwards. Other cultural treasures in Sarajevo and elsewhere in Bosnia were not as fortunate. Sarajevo’s Oriental Institute (Şarkıyat Enstitüsü), a scientific institution established in 1950, was where Bosnia’s provincial archives from the Ottoman period were kept and studied. The Institute also housed one of Bosnia’s most valuable collections of Islamic manuscripts, many of them taken from waqf libraries that had been closed after 1945.

On the night of 17 May 1992, the Oriental Institute was bombarded with incendiary munitions by Serb artillery on the hills overlooking Sarajevo. The bombardment was only aimed at the Institute; none of the other buildings in the neighborhood were hit. By the following morning, the Oriental Institute was a roofless ruin, its burned-out interior covered with the ashes of 300 000 archival documents and more than 5300 Islamic manuscripts. [RESİM 14]

The Institute’s irreplaceable collection was almost entirely destroyed. Among the many unique works that were turned into ashes was this 15th-century astrological manuscript [RESİM 15].

In many places in Bosnia, the assaults on culture were accompanied by atrocities against the people associated with that culture. On 3 May 1992, Serb nationalist forces took control of the
city of Brčko in northern Bosnia. After taking over the police stations and other key points in the city, they arrested and imprisoned thousands of the city’s Bosniak Muslim residents. Some Muslim civilians were hunted down and shot in the city streets. Others were detained in inhumane conditions and tortured. An estimated 3000 died. Those who survived were held as hostages for prisoner exchanges.

Two weeks after the Serb takeover, on 14 May 1992, all three mosques in the center of Brčko were blown up and destroyed. Among them was the 253-year-old Atik Mosque. After the blast, the ruins of the mosque were bulldozed and even the foundations were dug up, leaving only a depression in the ground where the mosque once stood [RESİM 16 & 17].

The remains of the destroyed mosque were loaded on trucks and taken outside the city limits. There, the mosque rubble was dumped into a deep pit, on top of the bodies of several hundred Brčko’s murdered Muslim residents. After the war, this mass grave was excavated by investigators from the UN war crimes tribunal. Forensic archaeologists were able to identify pieces of the mosque amidst the tons of rubble and garbage that had been used to cover the human remains.

The best-known example of crimes against culture in the Bosnian war was the destruction of Mostar’s Old Bridge, a masterpiece of Ottoman architecture and engineering. Built in 1557 by Sultan Süleyman Kanuni, the Old Bridge endured for centuries, surviving floods, wars, and earthquakes. It became the symbol of the city of Mostar and a center of its communal life. [RESİM 18]

The bridge made it through the two world wars of the 20th century unscathed. But it did not survive the war of the 1990s. The Old Bridge was seriously damaged in April-May 1992, when it was shelled by the Serb-led Yugoslav army. A year and a half later, on 9 November 1993, following hours of concentrated artillery bombardment by Croat nationalist forces, the 29-meter-high stone arch of the bridge collapsed into the blue-green waters of the Neretva River. A few weeks earlier, one of the Croat militiamen had tried to explain to a British journalist why the bridge had to be destroyed: “It is not enough to clean Mostar of the Muslims,” he said, “the relics must also be removed.” [RESİM 19]

Four years of war, death and destruction in Bosnia were formally ended in December 1995, with a peace agreement signed in Paris. But as the old saying warns, “Satan does not sleep.”

Trouble was brewing not far away, in Kosovo, where the local Albanian population was getting restless after a decade of brutal repression at the hands of Milosevic’s Serbian regime. Kosovo Albanians staged protest demonstrations and small-scale attacks on Serbian police. The regime responded with disproportionate force. Before long, scenes familiar from the Bosnian war were being replayed in Kosovo, as Milosevic’s troops and paramilitaries burned Albanian villages, forcing the civilian population to flee. [RESİM 20]

The war Kosovo in lasted for only a year and a half, but its results were no less catastrophic than they had been in the Balkan wars of the early 1990s. Kosovo is a much smaller territory than Bosnia, but it is densely populated. Before the war, there were an estimated two million people living in Kosovo, some 90 percent of them Muslim Albanians. During the war more than a million people, over half of Kosovo’s population, were turned into refugees. Some of them hid in the forests and the mountains, but 800 000 Kosovo Albanians were forced to cross the borders into neighboring Macedonia, Albania, and Montenegro. By the end of the war, more than 12 000 of Kosovo’s people had been killed and thousands were missing.

Once again, the war on people was accompanied by widespread attacks on their cultural and
religious heritage. The map shows the findings of a survey that a colleague and I carried out in Kosovo after the war for the UN war crimes tribunal. The red dots indicate the destruction of Islamic heritage in Kosovo during the 1998-1999 war. The size of the dot indicates the number of waqf monuments that were destroyed in a town or village. [RESİM 21]

Before the war, Kosovo had 560 active mosques; the majority of them had been built during the Ottoman period. During the war, 218 mosques, close to 40 percent of the total, were destroyed or seriously damaged in attacks by Serb troops and paramilitaries, and in some cases by Serb civilians. In addition to mosques, the ‘ethnic cleansers’ also destroyed 11 tekkes in Kosovo and they burned Islamic libraries and waqf archives. To demonstrate the grim reality behind these numbers, I will show a few examples.

The losses included some of the oldest mosques in Kosovo, among them the mosque built by Gazi Ali Bey in 1444 in Vushtri (Vıçtırm), the first Ottoman sancak capital in Kosovo. In this photo we see the historic mosque at the end of the war in 1999, its minaret shot away by a Serbian tank cannon firing from the nearby street. [RESİM 22].

In addition to targeting Muslim houses of worship, the ‘ethnic cleansers’ also tried to destroy the written record of Kosovo’s Ottoman and Islamic history. On 13 June 1999, four days after the cease-fire that officially ended the war and just hourse before the arrival of the first NATO peacekeeping troops in Prishtina, the central waqf archive of the Islamic Community of Kosovo was set on fire by Serbian police. In this photo we see the waqf archive on fire, next to the Mosque of Sultan Mehmed the Conqueror, in the historic center of Kosovo’s capital city. [RESİM 23].

In the western Kosovo town of Gjakova (Yakova), in March 1999 Serb troops burned down the waqf library founded in 1595 by Hadım Suleyman Aga, a native of a village near Gjakova who became a palace official at the court of Sultan Murad III. The library was completely destroyed [RESİM 24 & 25].

The next photo [RESİM 26] shows the bazaar in the town of Peja (İpek) in northwestern Kosovo, after the end of the war. The bazaar, with its Albanian goldsmiths’ and silversmiths’ shops, was looted and burned down by Serb troops in the spring of 1999. In the middle of the destroyed bazaar stands another mosque endowed by Sultan Mehmed the Conqueror. The mosque was burned from the inside, as one can see by the large soot marks above the windows.

When I testified about this finding in 2002, at the war crimes trial of Slobodan Milosevic, the former Serbian president claimed that the damage to the mosque was due to NATO bombing. I pointed out to the judges that the walls, the roof, and the dome of the mosque were intact, only the inside had been burned. Inside the building, the intense heat of the fire had caused marble columns to split and had damaged the elaborately carved marble pulpit (minber). Local eyewitnesses told of a group of Serbian policemen who ran into the mosque in June 1999, carrying canisters of gasoline, and who rushed out again shortly afterwards, as the ancient mosque burst into flames.

As fate would have it, the judges never got a chance to pronounce a verdict. On 11 March 2006 Milosevic died in his prison cell, shortly before the end of his trial. His case was referred to the verdict of a higher authority, from which there is no appeal.

The next photo [RESİM 27] shows the burned interior of a mosque in a little village called Carralevë, in the mountains of central Kosovo. From the outside, the mosque looked like a modern building, with a concrete dome that had a shell hole in it and a new minaret that had its top shot away. But in addition to setting a fire in the mosque, someone had also set off an explosive
device inside. The blast had damaged the modern plaster on the walls, exposing the traditional structure of mud bricks (kerpiç) and thick oak beams (hatıl) that were hidden underneath. Despite its outward appearance, this was an old mosque.

What drew my attention, however, was a pile of empty book bindings in a corner of the mosque. Once my eyes adjusted to the darkness, I could see more. The floor was littered with partly-burned prayer rugs, piles of fallen plaster, and empty liquor bottles and discarded cans of Yugoslav army rations left behind by the Serb troops who had set up camp inside the mosque during the war. Scattered on top of this mess were dozens of loose sheets of paper. [RESİM 28]. On closer examination I could see that they were pages of books, ripped out of their bindings, some of them torn up and defiled with excrement. I started collecting the pages and putting them into a plastic bag.

As I picked up the pages [RESİM 29], I realized that several of them had been torn from an old handwritten mushaf (Qur’an), written in a surprisingly fine calligraphic script more than a century ago. There were also pages from printed religious books, in Ottoman Turkish, Arabic, Albanian and Bosnian, and the smashed remains of handwritten levhas (large, framed religious inscriptions). It suddenly became clear to me that this poor little village of 20 houses in the mountains of Kosovo had a history and a culture, an active spiritual life, and that their mosque had a library, before it was destroyed.

All the houses in Carralevë had been burned down, but some village residents had returned since the end of the war. They were living in tents, while they rushed to make their homes habitable before the onset of the cold Balkan winter. I asked the oldest man if I could take the torn-up pages with me. He told me to go ahead and take them and to tell the world what I had seen.

Before I conclude my talk, I would like to show one more slide, this one a photo taken in a village in Herzegovina. [RESİM 30] It shows a simple waqf fountain (hayrat çeşmesi), built next to the roadside by a Bosnian Muslim resident of the village. The inscription on the fountain is in Bosnian; it reads:

Sa halalom / za žedne i umorne / Avdo Kešo / 1990
With lawfully earned money / [this fountain was endowed] / for those who are thirsty and tired / Avdo (Abdullah) Kešo / 1990

Two years later, on 25 June 1992, Serb policemen and soldiers raided the village. All the Muslim men were taken away and imprisoned in a gunpowder storage bunker in the nearby town of Kalinovik. Most of them were not seen alive again. In July 2004, a mass grave was discovered beneath the ruins of a burned-down barn in the village of Miljevina, near Foca. All of the 36 bodies of victims recovered from the grave had been shot. Thirty of the remains were identified with the help of DNA testing. One of them was Avdo Kešo.

Since the end of the war, only a few Muslims have returned to live in the village. Most former residents who survived the war now live abroad or elsewhere in Bosnia. But they come back on the Bayram each year, to visit the graves of their relatives.

Meanwhile, the fountain that Avdo Kešo endowed in 1990, two years before he was killed, still provides cool drinking water for thirsty and tired travelers, whoever they might be. For me, this represents the very essence of a waqf -- a good deed that can outlive the donor. It is the gift that keeps on giving, no matter what happens.

Rahmetli Avdo Kešo Bey’in ruhu şad olsun.
RESİM 1.
Map of the Ottoman Empire at its height.
“Devr-i istilâ gayesinde Memalik-i Osmaniyye haritası”.

RESİM 2.
Districts of origin of the soldiers serving in the Ottoman fortresses of the vilâyet of Buda, 1558. 1558’de Budin vilâyetindeki Osmanlı Serhat Kalelerinin korunmasında görevli olan askerlerin coğrafi menşelerini gösteren harita,
RESİM 3.
Bosnian Muslim tombstones of the Ottoman period near Glamoč (18th c.).
Bosna-Hersek. Glamoç civarında – Osmanlı devri Boşnak mezar taşları (18 yy.).

RESİM 4.
Kosovo. Prishtina – Mosque of Sultan Mehmed the Conqueror (1461) and the clock tower.
Kosova. Priştine – Fatih Sultan Mehmed Camii (1461) ve saat kulesi.
* Source/Kaynak: Historical photo / Tarihî fotoğraf.
RESİM 5.
Kosovo. Prizren – Mosque of Sofu Sinan Pasha (1615).

RESİM 6.
Bosnia-Herzegovina. Vişegrad – Bridge of Mehmed Pasha Sokolović (1577).
RESİM 7.
Bosnia-Herzegovina. Sarajevo – Medrese of Gazi Husrev Beg (1537).

RESİM 8.
Bosnia-Herzegovina. Sarajevo – Mosque of Gazi Husrev Beg (1530).
RESİM 9.

RESİM 10.
Bosnia-Herzegovina. Foća – Aladža Mosque (1549).
Bosna-Hersek. Foça – Alaca Cami (1549).
RESİM 11.

RESİM 12.
Bosnia-Herzegovina. Sarajevo – Projectile impacts on the Gazi Husrev Beg Mosque.
Bosna-Hersek. Saraybosna – Gazi Hüsrev Bey Camii’ne isabet eden top mermilerinin izleri ve yıkıntıları.
RESİM 13.
Bosnia-Herzegovina. Sarajevo – Map showing projectile impacts in the vicinity of the Gazi Husrev Beg Mosque (1993).

RESİM 14.
RESİM 15.

RESİM 16.
Bosnia-Herzegovina. Brčko – Pre-war photo of the Atik Mosque (1739).
**RESİM 17.**

**RESİM 18.**
Bosnia-Herzegovina. Mostar – Old Ottoman Bridge (1557). Historical photograph, ca. 1900.
RESİM 19.

RESİM 20.
*Source/Kaynak: AP Photo
RESİM 21.
Map: Kosovo. Islamic endowments (mosques, dervish lodges, religious libraries and archives) destroyed or damaged in 1998 and 1999.

RESİM 22.
Kosovo. Vushtrri. The historic Gazi Ali Beg Mosque (1444), its minaret shot away by a Serbian tank in March 1999.
RESİM 23.
*Source/Kaynak: Oleg Popov (Reuters/Archive Photos)

RESİM 24.
Savaştan önceki halini gösteren fotoğraf.
*Source/Kaynak: Yüksek Mimar Dr. İ. Aydın Yüksel.
RESİM 25.
Kosovo. Gjakova. The waqf library of Hadum Sylejman Aga (1595), burned and destroyed in March 1999 by Serb forces.

RESİM 26.
Kosovo. Peja. The Mosque of Sultan Mehmed the Conqueror (1471), burned in June 1999 by Serbian policemen, along with the endowment (waqf) shops in the bazaar.
Kosova. İpek. Haziran 1999’da Sırp polisleri tarafından yakılan Fatih Sultan Mehmed Camii (1471) ve çarşidaki vakıf dükkânları.
RESİM 27.

RESİM 28.
Kosovo. Carralevë. Pages from Korans and religious books, torn up and defiled with excrement by Serb soldiers, inside the village mosque.
RESİM 29.

RESİM 30.