

GENERAL OUTLINE OF HISTORY OF EVKAF INSTITUTION IN BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA IN

The Bosnian evkaf of 15 and 16 century, most prominently those situated in Sarajevo, have been researched during second half of 20th century by several notable Bosnian authors-most prominently by Ottomanists Alija Bejtić, Adem Handžić and Behija Zlatar, but also several others. These authors wrote singular research articles on particular evkaf or on their influence on development of particular Bosnian towns. In case of Handžić and, most prominently, Behija Zlatar this material became large chunk of their monographs on Tuzla and Sarajevo.

The consistent specialized historiographic and Ottomanist study of evkaf – Islamic pious foundations (Bosnian – *vakufi*) – is something that is of essential importance for history of Bosnia-Herzegovina, as other parts of Ottoman Empire, and should be a major research topic of historiography. Unfortunately, this has only partially been so. The Bosnian evkaf of 15 and 16 century, most prominently those situated in Sarajevo, have been researched during second half of 20th century by several notable Bosnian authors – most prominently by Ottomanists Alija Bejtić, Adem Handžić and Behija Zlatar, but also several others. These authors wrote singular research articles on particular evkaf or on their influence on development of particular Bosnian towns. In case of Handžić and, most prominently, Behija Zlatar this material became large chunk of their monographs on Tuzla and Sarajevo. Also, the translations of charters of evkaf for this period have been published in a special edition of Orijentalni institut („Vakufname iz Bosne i Hercegovine“). Partially and completely published translation of Tapu Tahrir Defters for 15. and 16. centuries also contributes significantly to understanding of complex web of Bosnian evkaf that emerged at that time. Sadly, research of the evkaf question for the latter Ottoman and post-Ottoman centuries has not been so consistent, but nevertheless there are some works

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written and data collected. There are no significant synthetic works for Bosnian evkaf, especially general overview of Bosnian situation through all the periods. Similarly, the history of Ottoman urbanization – closely connected to evkaf question – lacks a synthetic work. Concerning evkaf, the only exceptions are now outdated article by Alija Bejtić from 1944. on role of evkaf on Bosnian-Ottoman urbanization and a recent book on pious foundations in Sarajevo done by historian-amateur, Majo Dizdar, which, although well informed and enthusiastically written does not count as historiography. My paper should be seen as an attempt of general and preliminary outline of history of Bosnian evkaf and it's not even trying to be definitive and authoritative since much more research is needed. It should be seen as call for research and proposing the main line of inquiry. Also, since my esteemed colleagues will concentrate themselves on Ottoman era, especially classical time, I will go through Ottoman period only briefly and give emphasis in my presentation on post-Ottoman period. Also, I want to go into details on legal status and functioning of pious endowments as institutions as it will be presented by other colleagues.

Ottoman gradual conquest of territories encompassing present-day Bosnia and Herzegovina during second half of 15. century and first half of 16 century resulted in the probably most dramatic political, economic and cultural shift this country has seen in its long history rich with troubles and changes. Apart from change in ethnic, linguistic and religious change in population due to dying in warfare and famine, emigration and immigration, the most visible change in new emerging Ottoman Bosnia was rise of quality and quantity of its material culture, the most specifically development of numerous rural and, more importantly, urban communities – usually from pre-existing much smaller settlements. During late mediaeval period level of urbanisation (number and population-wise) in Bosnia, as much of the inner parts of Balkans, was in comparison to situation neighbouring Hungary, Slavonia, Croatia and Dalmatia definitely less developed. Ottoman arrival in Bosnia changed this in Bosnia and number of towns and urban population rose compared to mediaeval. It is often neglected and the main proof that Ottoman conquest actually improved standards of material living in Bosnia. Nevertheless, in some other parts of the region it wasn't quite so. In Slavonia number of towns and urban population stagnated, or even diminished. For Bosnia, in addition to building military settlements and development of trade, the evkaf played the most significant role in development of urban, but also other settlements. As it is widely known that financial sources the Islamic endowments of Ottoman classical era, founded by famous wealthy patrons as Gazi-Husrev, enabled creation and maintenance of city religious, educational and communal (e.g. water supply, traffic, feeding the poorest) infrastructure filling in for the social and cultural functions nowadays performed by state. Such a infrastructure was a backbone also of fastly developing Bosnian towns and villages during 15. and especially 16. century. The creation of evkaf continued in Bosnia without stopping until Austro-Hungarian occupation in 1878., but their impact was less dramatic than in first two centuries.

During 19. century institution of evkaf in Bosnia, as in some other parts of country, was in deep crisis, reflecting the problems of economic and political insecurity in larger Ottoman society at that time. Mismanagement and looting of evkaf property by its managers (mutevelije) became widespread. Judicial branch (kadis), theoretically independent from state administration - that was according to classical Ottoman system responsible for oversight of management of evkaf property – was affected by corruption. During the Tanzimat era Ottoman central government accepted several laws that aimed at creating system of direct state control over evkaf. According to the model used in other parts of the Empire in 1859. the Ottoman central government finally introduced her full authority over evkaf by using special Evkaf Administration Office as a part Ministry of Evkaf and kadis lost officially their influence. Also, evkaf manager suffered severe blow to their previously almost complete control and now had to be responsible to state func-

tionarees. Moreover, income surplus had to be handed over to the state which redistributed it. This new situation lasted for less than two decades when effective Ottoman power was replaced Austro-Hungarian occupation. Part of the authors point out to the fact that rights and property of Bosnian evkaf – even the institution as such - became endangered only after the 1878. occupation and modernization official Vienna and Budapest introduced. For example, implementation of urbanization in Sarajevo in late 19. and early 20. Century according to the Western standards required demolishing of many Ottoman-era cemeteries, buildings, bridges, fountains, water supply systems and other edifices which were part of evkaf property. This was usually done by arbitrary decisions of Austro-Hungarian occupational authorities. Although Austro-Hungarian authorities as a rule didn't demolish mosques and tried to protect some exemplary complexes of Ottoman architecture, e.g. Baš-Čaršija in Sarajevo, they allowed and even encouraged for building in Western style, which didn't fit in the atmosphere of Ottoman urban nuclei in almost all Bosnian cities, very often using on evkaf property.

Some measures by occupiers in field of evkaf management have not been seen as negative by Bosnian contemporaries and present-day historians. Namely, the new rulers continued Tanzimat era practice of state control over evkaf. In 1883 in order to manage evkaf in newly occupied country Provincial Evkaf Commission, as some other related bodies - was created and run by authorities, with some cooperation of Bosnian ulema. Tanzimat-era practice of surplus collection by state in a has continued and in 1890. Provincial Evkaf Foundation was created to manage the rather large collected funds. This institution among others provided large portion of money for a Bosnian Islamic education institutions during this era. Some Bosnian researchers claim that general improvement in regulation and management of evkaf in late 19 century was product of initiative by Bosnian ulema and other Bosniak people of influence rather than intervention by Austro-Hungarian bureaucracy. Question of evkaf was of tremendous symbolic and otherwise importance for Bosniaks, whose religious and communal life depended heavily on it. Actually, the question of autonomy of evkaf management became rallying call for Bosniak elite and by the end of 19 century became the main field in fight for political emancipation of Bosniaks. In 1899 and under leadership of mufti of Mostar Ali Fehmi Džabić struggle for autonomy in evkaf management and education first major Bosniak political movement under Austro-Hungarian occupation, which also resulted in creation of first Bosniak political organization Muslim popular organization. Decade long pressure was eventually paid off and selfgovernment in education and evkaf management, but also of other religious affairs, was granted by Dual Monarchy by special Statute in 1909. Evkaf Commission became autonomous body incorporated with newly established autonomous religious organization of Bosnian Muslims, Islamic Community of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Incorporation of Bosnia and Herzegovina in new South Slavic state in 1918. worsened the situation of evkaf institution. During the interwar period (1919-1941.) it was harassed by central government in Belgrade and its representatives in Bosnia on one side and mismanaged, even sometimes literally pillaged, by persons in charge of its autonomous affairs in Evkaf Directorate (previous Evkaf Commission) – usually from main Bosniak party Yugoslav Muslim Organization. Evkaf property – land estates that is - was severely affected by implementation of agrarian reform by Yugoslav state, which expropriated and distributed to peasants roughly 4 millions donum of evkaf estates or 6.7 % of territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Still the bulk of land property remained in hands of evkaf. In addition, during the dictatorship of King Alexander (1930-1935.) full state control over management of evkaf and religious affairs was reinstated. Nevertheless, after lessening of dictatorship in 1935. and entrance of Yugoslav Muslim Organization into government coalition, old autonomy in these affairs dating back to 1909. returned.

During the interwar period and WWII evkaf in Bosnia-Herzegovina were in bad shape, but the institution survived in such a circumstances. Nevertheless, emergence of socialist Yugoslav regime run by Communist party in 1945. ended the institution of evkaf almost completely. Between 1945. and 1959. nearly all property of evkaf was expropriated by state becoming the property of the state, than later according to Yugoslav ideology of Socialist Self-management, introduced in 1950s, property of society. Evkaf Directorate of Islamic Community of Bosnia-Herzegovina ceased its activity in 1959. Only in Sarajevo as much as 536 023 m² was taken over by state. Of previous evkaf Islamic Community managed to keep only sacral objects and some educational institutions. Expropriated real estates were often demolished, architecturally or functionally changed. During the first years of totalitarian regime didn't hesitated to demolish even certain number mosques, mesjids and tekkes, which was not seen previously since sacral objects were off the limits.

After the fall of socialist regime in Yugoslavia in 1990, the question of expropriated evkaf was raised in public and even new evkaf created. But dissolution of Yugoslavia and war of aggression on Bosnia-Herzegovina in first half of 1990s and subsequent political instability stalled the solution of the question. In 1996 work of Evkaf Directorate was renewed to manage remaining and newly created property of Islamic pious foundations in Bosnia and distribute it towards mainly educational purposes. Even to this day the question of the return of evkaf expropriated by socialist regime has not been solved. By the end of 2011. only 5-10% of pre-1945 evkaf is again in hands of Evkaf Directorate, according to Senaid Zajimović, director of Evkaf Directorate. This question of return of these possessions remains one of the most complicated problems burdening relations between Bosnian Islamic Community and Bosnian state.

Thank you very much for your attention.