

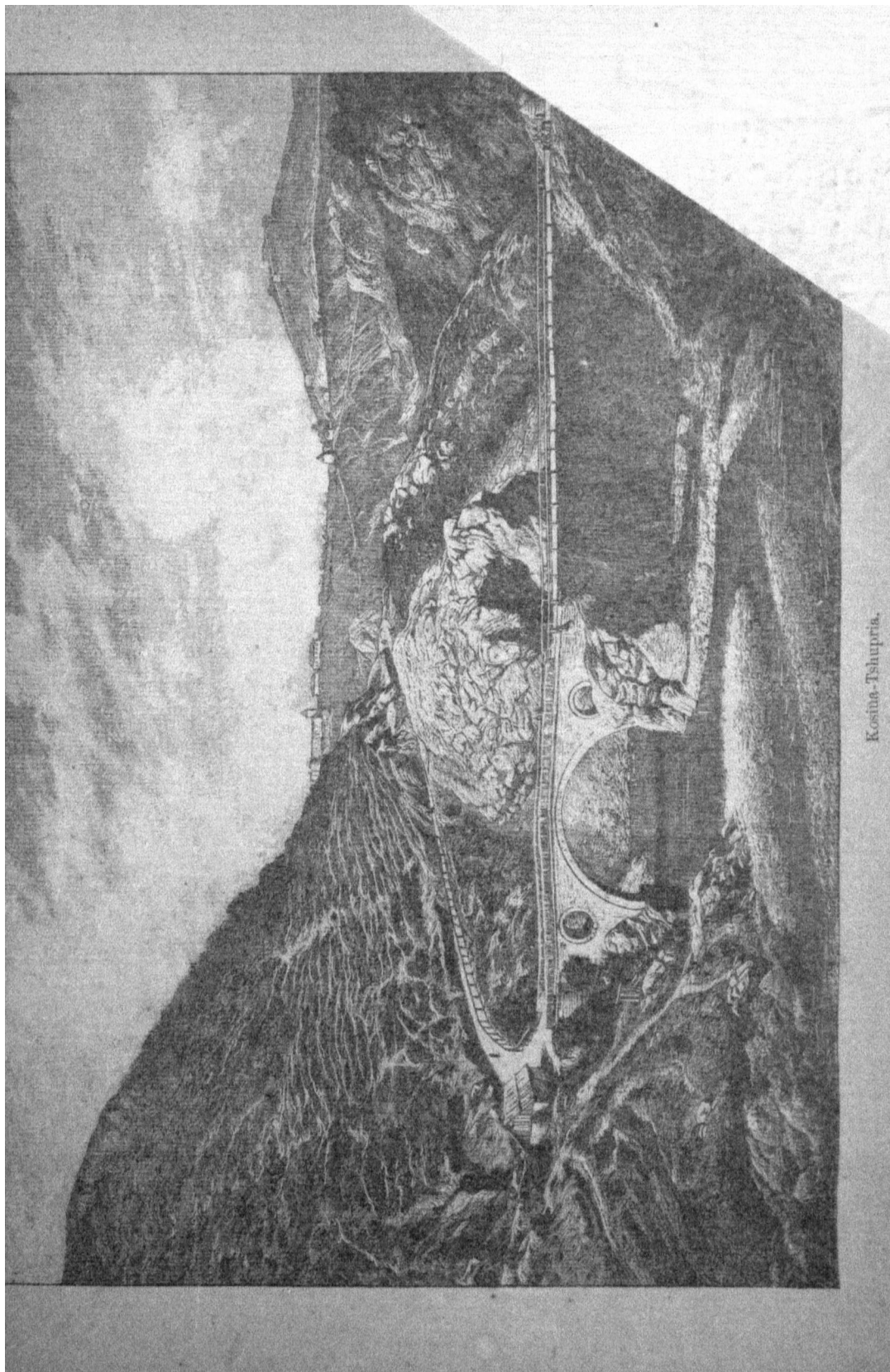
the Austrian occupation; in recent times, however, the have voluntarily allowed this custom to drop, and now only green flag of the prophet. The Czareva-Džamia is just as large, architecturally less interesting than the Begova-Džamia. Both mosques filled at least three times daily with the faithful, who flock towards them from all directions. At such times one may see the religious ablutions proceeding, not only at the mosque fountains, but also all along the banks of the Miliaska. Without doubt, both mosques date from the earliest days of the Turkish conquest, although they are not the most ancient in the country, for the first mosques were erected in Foteha, also the first seat of Turkish Sanjak-Begs.

One of the oldest Turkish monuments is the "Kosina-Tshupria," the goat bridge which spans the main road to Novi Bazar in one single, bold arch over the rocky ravine of the Miliaska, two thousand yards below the fortress. It was customary to receive the governing viziers arriving from Stamboul in state at this bridge. This bridge dates from the fifteenth century, and like the other masterpieces of bridge building in the country—at Mostar, Vishegrad, Trebinje, etc., to all of whom it displays a striking likeness—was built during the reigns of the first Sultans. All these bridges are in some way or other attributed to the Romans.

But by far the most interesting relic of Turkish Serajevo is her aristocracy, by race and speech Slavonic, by belief Mohammedan, and in its institutions purely mediæval-fendal. Throughout the Turkish epoch this aristocracy only tolerated, sometimes even declined to tolerate the Sultan's governing vizier, and governed the land like an almost independent oligarchical Republic down to our own times.

It is as though the Turkish administration had here preserved a slice of the European Middle Ages in spirits of wine, down to the nineteenth century, in a way that still preserved its life; as though Bosnia, at the moment of passing under the dominion of the Sultanate, sank into a charmed sleep, still living on, motionless, in the circumstances then existing. Only Islam stepped into the place before occupied by the Bogomilian faith; Turkish costumes and a certain etiquette peculiar to Stamboul dispersed the dresses and outward forms of the age of chivalry, without penetrating into its real life, without altering the arbitrary powers of the great barons or the constant disorder reigning amongst the small ones, the precarious condition of state authority, the insignificance of the citizens, or the harsh suppression of the people.

We see the fendal system: a chivalrous noble, always prepared for battle, living partly in the capital, where he tolerates no outside authority, no, not even



Kosina Tshupria.



vizier, beside him ; partly in his castle, always fortified where he exercises an undisputed regal authority, and divides between war, the chase, and carousing, the songs of troubadours, old memories, fanatical piety, lofty impulses, and rough brutality, susceptible to aught else ; whilst the *misera contribuens plebs* battle against life's miseries in dull subjection. But now and again a bloody war rages through the land ; a struggle between the nobles and their rulers, or a revolt of the people against the nobles. Every narrow defile echoes with the din of battle, sometimes for years together, until at length hundreds of heads empaled on spears proclaim from the bastions and towers that peace has returned and that all is as it was before.

These circumstances, for which no remedy was discovered until the advent of the Austrian occupation, are made clear as the history of the country unfolds itself.

The Osmanic nation, in which no trace of difference of birth is to be found, saving in the hereditary rights of the reigning house, has nevertheless invariably left the aristocratic institutions untouched, wherever in its conquests it has met with such, provided always that the respective aristocracies have accepted the Mohammedan faith.

Thus it came to pass that the aristocracy of the Arabian chieftains and of the Bosnian Bogomilian barons, who had gone over to Islam, were maintained intact and unharmed. Ceaseless conquests kept the Sultans too fully occupied for it to be possible for them to pay much attention to internal organization.

Accordingly they, like the Romans, accepted the institutions which they found in force in the subjugated countries, provided that, and for as long as, they agreed to their plans of a world-wide conquest, or at any rate did not interfere with them. The central government was thus relieved of all local trouble, and the struggle for the sovereignty of the world thereby made easier. In this way the rapid extension of the Osmanic power was made possible ; but, then, it also was the cause of its rapid downfall.

The Turkish power spread like a flood, but quickly as a flood did it subside ; and as it vanished, all that it had submerged rose again unchanged save by the damage done by the water.

After the fall of Jaitza, the great families who owed allegiance to the Hungarian crown—the Keglevics, Jelasics, Festetics, Gorazda, and others—left the country. With them fled a great part of the population, especially the Catholics, to Croatia, Slavonia, and Bacs (Shokazes and Dalmatians), and also, under the protection of Ragusa and Venice, to Dalmatia, and, under that of Austria, to Styria and Krain. The first, together with Hungary, were unable at a later

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date to escape from the Turkish yoke. Against the last, the Austrian authorities were soon obliged to undertake a war, so intolerable did their wild manners prove to be. The Uskoks and Zengg engaged to such an extent in piracy that Venice proceeded to naval battle with them, and their bold enterprises exercised such a universal fascination over all adventurous spirits that nine Englishmen were discovered amongst the Corsairs who were hanged on August 14th, 1618, when the Viennese Government found itself compelled to hold a court martial upon them, in spite of the splendid services they had rendered against the Turks.

That part of the population which had not fled was partly destroyed in the wars, partly dragged into slavery; the boys were led away in troops to be retained as eunuchs and janizaries; the residue, however, with those who remained true to their Christian faith, were rapidly overtaken by the fate of the rajah, and, deprived of all their goods and chattels, rapidly sank into the poverty-stricken ranks of the serfs. The Bogomiles, however, with the old Bogomilian aristocracy at their head, who had previously formed an alliance with the Turks, and had introduced the Turkish power into the country, went over to Islam in a body, and were received with open arms by the new rulers.

Both the higher and lower grades of the nobility who had passed over to Islam not only held their ground, but added somewhat to their prerogatives, their possessions, and their power in proportion to the ease with which they were able to be merged into the Turkish military organization, and the more they proved themselves helpful instruments in the subjugation of Hungary.

The Turkish military organization rested, first, upon the standing army of foot soldiers, the janizaries; secondly, upon the mustering of the spahis.\*

All conquered ground was at once portioned out according to scimitars and standards. The new holder of the land was not only himself bound to render mounted military service to the Sultan, but for every five thousand aspers which his income might yield in excess of three thousand he was also bound to take a trooper with him.

The Grand-Vizier gave his orders to the Begler-Beg of Rumilia and Anatolia, these passed them on to the lords of the standard or Sanjak-Begs, and thus did fifty thousand Asian and eighty thousand European horsemen ride into the field. A grant of this sort—a Timar—was not hereditary. The son of a Sanjak-Beg, who had the control of an income of seven hundred thousand aspers, could, for example, only lay claim to a timar of five thousand aspers.

The son of a simple spahi was obliged to inherit the new grant by merit;

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\* Part of the Turkish cavalry.—[Tr.]

## AND HERZEGOVINA.

and more the custom for only the sons of timarlis to inherit a timar. The trooper and landlord were comprehended in one spahi. Hence the nobles of Southern Hungary still call the landowners spahia. The renegade noblemen of Bosnia, accustomed as they had always been to the Hungarian system of mustering the nobility, easily adapted themselves to the kindred Turkish military organization, and now, in common with the new Turkish landlords, composed the levy of the Bosnian spahis.

But, on the strength of their old hereditary traditions and the warlike qualities picked up in camps, chiefly, however, by the valuable services which from their position they were peculiarly qualified to render towards the security of Bosnia and the subjugation of Hungary, they from the very first saw their way to winning for themselves such a position in this new organization that they very soon played the leading rôle in Bosnia, as heretofore, and shortly afterwards a very prominent one in Hungary also.

We have seen that the grandson of the first—and also last—Duke of Herzegovina, Ahmed-Beg Herzegovitsh, rose to be Grand-Vizier to the Sultan shortly after the fall of Herzegovina, and he it was who also played a prominent part in the battle at Lepanto. Following his example, a long succession of the descendants of Bosnian renegades sought their fortunes under the crescent. These gentlemen—at one time Bogomiles, who had grown up in the traditions of perpetual wars, born to command, natives of the soil, acquainted with the state of Hungary and the Hungarians, and filled with fanatical hatred against the Roman Catholic Church—were called upon to play a leading part in the campaigns against Hungary; and what could be more natural than that they should in the shortest possible time become Kapetans, Sanjak-Begs, Viziers, nay, even Grand-Viziers, the Sultan's aim being directed chiefly towards Hungary?

The possession of Bosnia had given Hungary the leading position upon the Balkan Peninsula; now, in the subjugation of Hungary, Bosnia served as the fulcrum in the Asiatic invasion.

As early as the year 1470, we see a Pasha, Bosnian by birth, Sinanbeg of Tshajnitza, at the head of the newly conquered country. To him is ascribed the building of the ancient mosque in Tshajnitza. In the year 1501, Zara was conquered by the Sanjak-Beg of Herzegovina. In 1526, he followed the great Soliman to Hungary.

In 1530, Mîrad, Sanjak-Beg of Herzegovina, laid waste the southern division of Hungary. In 1541, Chosref, the first Bosnian vizier, at this time Begler-Beg of Rumilia, took a prominent place at the head of Bosnian troops in the battle below Pesth, in which General Roggendorf—who died from the



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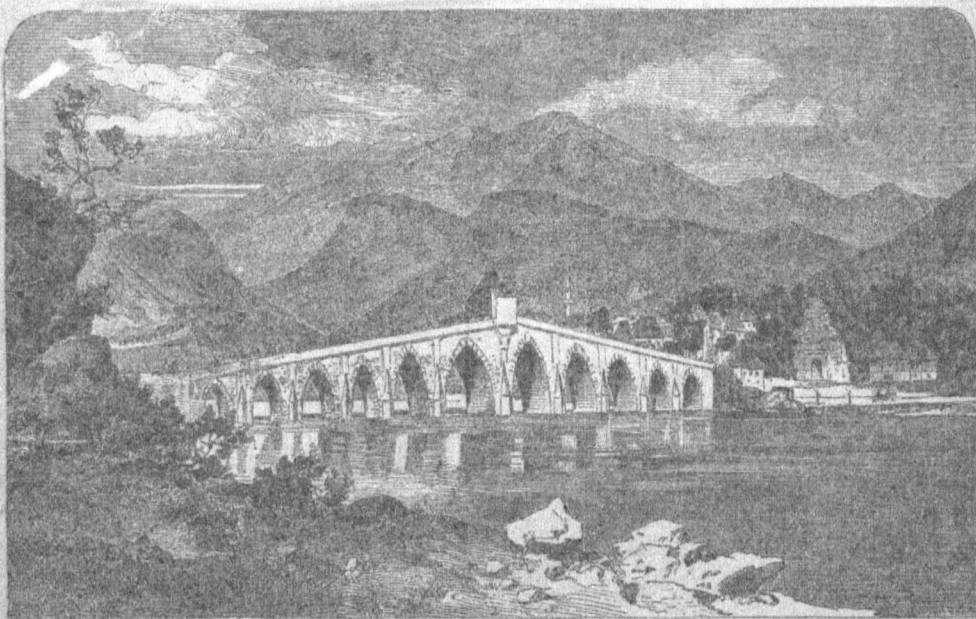
effects of a wound received there—was defeated Mohammet. In the year 1543 the same troops were engaged of Stuhlweissenburg, in 1544 in the capture of Waitzen and in 1543, Halukogly Pasha led the Herzegovinian troops towards an army, which had been raised to fight against Hungary; in 1556, before the storming of Sziget, he laid siege to Kostainitza and Krupa, which were relieved by Niklas Zrinyi. In 1570, Ali Pasha, a native Herzegovinian renegade, rose to be Grand-Vizier. His successor in this post of honour was one of the greatest statesmen and generals in the Turkish Empire, Mehemmet-Beg Sokolovitsh, who was also a Bosnian renegade, and according to tradition one of the founders of Serajevo.

In the village of Sokolovitsh, near Vishegrad, the tombstone which he erected in memory of his mother, who died in the Christian faith, is still shown. He built the great seraglio of Vishegrad, the ruins of which are yet visible, and at the same place the celebrated bridge, still proverbial in Bosnia for strength. The main building, one hundred and seventy metres in length and six metres in width, is carried by eleven pointed arches, which ascend towards the centre of the stream. In the middle of the bridge stands the town gate. The inscription on one of the piers states that the bridge was built in the year 985 of the Hedschra (1577) by the Grand-Vizier Sokolovitsh. His kinsman and contemporary Mustafa-Beg Sokolovitsh commanded in Asia Minor and Syria, and the memorial buildings erected by him at Erzerum, Damascus, and Jerusalem still exist. At this time (1576) Chosref's successor, Ferhat Pasha, laid Croatia waste, and amongst others caused the captive Vice-Banús Herbert Auersperg to be beheaded. From the time of Ferhat Pasha, who afterwards became Pasha of Buda and Governor of Hungary, the Bosnian viziers resided at Banialuka, for the residential town was pushed forward simultaneously with the advancing conquest. Nevertheless, Serajevo did not thereby cease to be the centre of the native-born Mohammedan aristocracy. Hassan Pasha, Ferhat's successor in the Bosnian Vizierate, and the Bosnian Begs, never abstained from disturbing Croatia, in spite of the conclusion of peace. When, in 1591, the Grand-Vizier Sinan Pasha was repulsed by Stefan Kapronczay and Michael Székely, after the destruction of Agram, he demanded war upon the ground that should the Porte forfeit Bosnia, she would not only lose her prestige amongst the powers, but would also lose those heroes whom she had to thank for so many brilliant victories. Hassan Pasha now, at the command of the Sultan, again led his Bosnian troops against Croatia, and took possession of Bihatz, which was defended by Christopher Lamberg, but fell before Sissek,

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...ented by the Croatian Banus Erdödy. However, his Hassan Pasha conquered Sissek, and the vizier who Apardli Pasha—in whose name may be recognized that of a renegade, Arpád—despatched the greater part of the Bosnian army defence of Buda. After the conclusion of peace at Zsitvatorok, the Bosnians advanced against Persia; but in 1629 invaded Hungary in order to support George Rákóczy. But luck was beginning to desert the Bosnian arms. Erdödy, Keglevics, and Ielasics repulsed the invaders.

A like fate befell them in several smaller enterprises. During the peace



The Bridge of Vishegrad.

concluded between the Sultan and the Emperor, in 1643, the Bosnians were fighting without cessation against Venice. It is in this war that the name of Tshengitsh, which thenceforth held an honourable position in Herzegovina, first occurs. Ali-Beg Tshengitsh led the Herzegovinians against Zara and Makarska. At the siege of Vienna the Bosnian troops again appeared, and were quartered at Döbling, and their last and equally fruitless feat of arms was the defence of Vishegrad in 1684 against the victorious imperial army. After the capture of Buda, the cast of the dice was reversed; the Bosnian troops no longer fought on Hungarian ground, but were, on the contrary,

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obliged to wield the sword within the boundaries of the Hungarian and German soldiers.

After the battle at Mohács, the new dynasty of the Hapsburgs had been called to fill the Hungarian throne, undertook the difficult task of restoring Hungary to her former size and greatness, though at that time she only reached in a narrow line along the borders of Styria, Austria, and Moravia, all else having fallen under the direct control of the Sultan, or at any rate under his overlordship. With unyielding perseverance, never swerving under misfortune, and never faltering before difficulties, firmly and victoriously did it fulfil its mission, and whilst re-conquering the ground won for itself the trust of the nation, which had indeed by misfortune been split up into parties. But when the more circumscribed territory of Hungary proper was set free, she turned her eyes towards the re-conquest of her lost provinces.

Only two years after the relief of Buda, the imperial and royal troops entered Bosnia; on September 15th, 1688, the Margrave Ludvig of Baden stormed the fortress of Zvornik, and threatened Banialuka with a like fate. The Bosnian viziers now shifted their place of abode from Banialuka, which had become so unsafe, to Travnik. But as a sign that the Sultan did not renounce Hungary, and still held part of the Hungarian possessions in Bosnia, the proud title of "Vali of Hungary" was given to the Bosnian viziers in Travnik.

In the year 1690, General Pertshinlija penetrated as far as Tuzla, the old Salt District, whence he brought back three thousand Catholics; the Croatian Ban Draskovitsh defeated fifty thousand Turks at Kostainitza, and in 1693 the Croatian Banus Adam Batthyany conquered the fortresses of Vranogratz, Novo-Todorovo, and Velika Kladusha, and re-captured the whole of the province as far as the Unna. In 1697, after the battle of Zenta, Eugene of Savoy captured the fortresses of Doboi, Maglai, Zeptshe, and Vranduk, with only four thousand cavalry and two thousand foot soldiers, and on October 22nd appeared before Serajevo; as he could not capture the fortress, he burnt down the town, and returned with forty thousand liberated Christians, all within the space of twenty days.

In 1717, General Petras pushed on as far as Zvornik, whilst Draskovitsh was laying siege to Novi. Both, however, were defeated; the first by the Bosnian Vizier Nuuman Pasha Tshuprilitsh, the second by Alaj-Beg Tsheritsh, Kapetan of Dohje-Vakuf. This notwithstanding, at the conclusion of the peace of Passarovitz, the whole of Northern Bosnia remained in the hands of the Emperor Charles.



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of 1737, General Raunach besieged the fortresses of Strovitza, and Prince Hildburghausen, Banialuka; but, being by Vizier Ali Pasha Etshimovitch, the imperial forces withdrew, and in the peace of Belgrade, Save and Unna were again named boundaries. True, in 1790, General Laudon took possession of a portion of Northern Bosnia; but with the peace of Sistovo everything was restored to its former position, until, nearly a hundred years later, the campaign of "Occupation" decided the fate of the land.

In the meantime quite peculiar conditions had unfolded themselves.

If the native nobility which had gone over to Islam at first remained at heart faithful to its Bogomilian faith, and only conformed to Islam outwardly, as, under pressure from Magyar weapons, it had already often enough cast itself into the Roman Church; if even the great Sokolovitch had raised a Christian monument to his mother, and if the descendants of Christians occasionally summoned a Christian priest in order that they might offer up prayers for their Christian forebears; even if secret Bogomilian traditions were kept up until quite recent times, and secret Bogomiles were, without question, still to be found amongst the Bosnian Mohammedans in our century; and if these still ascribed a sort of magic power to certain Christian ceremonies,—yet, taken all in all, the governing classes had, through centuries of Turkish rule, and through constant wars, fruitful in renown and booty, undertaken in behalf of the Koran, become absolutely Mohammedan, and deeply impregnated with that pride of the Islamitic worship which gazes down with contempt upon Christians, and prays to the prophet Issa, after Allah, aye, and even to a white pigeon, as second and third God.

Yet in spite of all this, the nobility remained true to its heirloom of national and family traditions, as to its speech; and in local importance not only took precedence of the Turkish strangers who had settled in their midst, were these never so equipped with absolute power and riches—for country folk universally prize the old lord, even when ruined, far above the new upstart—but with the peculiar strength of the national aristocracy it forthwith even assimilated the Turkish families who were permanently settling there.

Their religious and warlike ardour, combined with their inherited importance, at last so completely won the confidence and favour of the Porte, that those belonging to these classes were not only able to hand down their possessions and privileges from father to son, but they also attained to the highest honours in the state, from that of Sanjak-Beg to that of Grand-Vizier; and when the land ceased to be divided into Sanjaks, and was placed under the control of forty-eight kapetans under a governing vizier, these kapetanate

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became, if not *de jure* at least *de facto* hereditary in the richest families of the native nobility, whose position became such that a foreign kapetan would not have ventured to assert himself in open or secret opposition, and that even certain misadventures did not suffice to permanently shake the hereditary importance and of these families.

It follows, as a matter of course, that these warlike kapetans, dwelling in their ancestral castles in their own provinces, troubled themselves little about the vizier, who was perfectly satisfied in his turn if he received the taxes in times of peace, and the contingent of soldiers in times of war, and who was not in the least concerned if his kapetans carried on feuds amongst themselves. The Porte did best for herself if she selected the vizier also from amongst these native kapetans, for a vizier from this class was possessed of greater influence than a stranger, even though the others jealously protected their own power in opposition to his. With the exception of religion, and the habits of life affected by it, Turkish costume and certain customs of society emanating from the Sultan's palace—everything, practically, except the hereditary titles—returned to their old routine. Dukes and counts, waywodes and knezes, were no more, the two last titles being transferred to the leader of the Christian rajahs; those chieftains of the Christian clans who were still fighting for their independence in the Black Mountains called themselves Waywodes, and the petty judges in the Christian districts Knezes; but the old aristocracy assumed new titles; every descendant of a Sanjak-Beg or Pasha took the title of Beg, the others the more modest title of Aga.

Nevertheless, these circumstances gave rise to no disorder or considerable friction so long as the Porte was able to lead all these kapetans, begs, and agas by victorious campaigns to brilliant careers and rich spoil. But when these sources of fame and wealth were suddenly closed, and the kapetans were even compelled to defend their patrimonies against the conquest of strangers, the authority of the Porte and the viziers faded perceptibly, and the insolence of the kapetans grew beyond all bounds.

Yet another circumstance hastened the crisis.

The standing corps of janizaries, upon which the Sultan's military ascendancy depended, and with whom, in the Europe of that day, only Hunyady's black troop and the Swiss mercenaries could be compared for organization, was kept up by a singular method of recruiting. The best of the rajahs' sons were from time to time carried off as human tithe,—not, however, like the recruits of to-day—in manhood—but commencing at their seventh year. This was done directly possession was taken of a newly conquered province.

already picked boys were then destined for the Palace. These proceeded the greatest of the Sultan's statesmen and Christian boys who had been carried off into slavery ruled the empire and made it great. Most of the others were brought up by the peasantry in the *Ma Minor*, until they were ripe for the corps of janizaries. These children, from their earliest years, knew of no family; their lord and father was the Sultan; neither might they themselves found a family; kept under strictest discipline, their life in time of peace was perhaps harder than in time of war.

As early, however, as in the time of Soliman, the janizaries began to marry. Under Selim II. they enforced the claim that their own children should be admitted into their own ranks. On the other hand, Murad III. compelled them, in spite of their strict regulations, to admit the children of Turks, who had been brought up in the family circle; for with the constant spreading of the more humane European spirit, the cruel custom of infant-recruiting grew less and less common.

Under Ahmet, the janizaries stationed far from Stamboul, in castles and on the borders, began to turn their attention to the small trades and industries. At length it became proverbial that the janizary only had his sharp eyes that he might be quick to note the vacillation of the spahis, and his good feet that he might be first in flight. But, like every privileged class, they retained their pride, together with their pay and their privileges, when they had long since lost those characteristics which had justified them. Instead of being a protection, they came to be a danger to the empire.\*

As in Bosnia the Viziers, when at war with the Kapetans, wished to support themselves by the janizaries, they became even more presumptuous.

Isolated members of the corps began to gradually acquire small estates, and as they were small they settled in the villages and oppressed the rajahs even more unscrupulously than the more prosperous old landlords had done, who lived in their castles and in the towns which had risen around them. On the other hand, the descendants of the poorer families crowded more and more into the ranks of the janizaries on account of the pay, in proportion as the spoils of war grew less. The Bosnian janizaries, too, were Turks only in their religion, and they saw in the Turks who came from the Porte only the unwelcome, detested foreigner. Thus arose the mutual benefit society of the begs and janizaries, as opposed to the vizier, having its chief seat in Serajevo, where the most powerful families were firmly established, though the janizaries defended the fortress and already made up a sixth part of

\* See Ranke, *Die Osmanen*, 4th ed., p. 45.



## MEMORIALS OF TURKIA.

the population. After the manner of the primitive existing in Bosnia, and the family commune only just Hungarian military frontier, the aristocracy of the towns was hereditary Starešina, the corporations formed of janizaries and mere a Staroste similar to the city patricians of the Middle Ages, and jealous independent in their opposition to the central government of the vizier, who was sinking more and more into obscurity. The vizier who came from Constantinople was accorded an honourable reception, entertained for a day and night at the public expense, and then expedited on his way to Travnik, and, further than this, was not tolerated in the town. The vizier appointed the kadi, the judge the rajah, the mussalim and the aga the janizaries; through the latter, however, the begs connected with the janizaries had the power to dismiss the other two, and even the vizier, every time they did not like them.\*

Mahmud II., the reforming Sultan, was anxious, at the commencement of the present century, to introduce order into Bosnia. After he had, by concessions, quieted Servia, he sent an energetic man to Bosnia, with instructions to crush all resistance. Dshelaleddin Pasha, of the ascetic order of the Bektashi-Dervishes, could find no other means for accomplishing this, than to ally himself to one section of the dynastic families in opposition to the others. Principally through the aid of the powerful tribe of the Tshengitshs †—to whom, through the Sultan, he transferred the entire Zagorje, together with all state revenues, for life—he, in 1821, captured Mostar and Srebernitza by storm, and ordered the Kapetans of Dervent, Banialuka, and Fotsha to be beheaded, as well as the most distinguished begs of Serajevo. It was in vain that the town of Serajevo remonstrated to the Sultan through the Stamboul Janizary Aga at Constantinople; in vain that they accused the vizier, who mixed in disguise amongst the rajahs, and even visited the Christian churches; the Sultan promised, indeed, to recall him, but Dshelaleddin continued to be vizier until the war of 1821. Now the old state of things was re-established. When Mahmud gave orders for the massacre of the Constantinople janizaries, and published the firman of Silkade 11th, 1241 (June 16th, 1826), by which the janizaries were abolished and general recruiting was introduced, the Bosnians drove away the Vizier Hadshi Mustafa who proclaimed the reform. When the new uniforms, cut after the European fashion, with musket-belts crossed upon the breast, were to be introduced, they said, "If we are to accept the cross, we will not accept it from the Sultan, but from the Viennese emperor."

\* Ranke, *Serbien und die Türken*, p. 294.

† According to Ranke, Dshindshafitsh.

## AND HERZEGOVINA.

ahman, was forced to storm Serajevo, after which he and caused the beheadal of seven leaders, amongst them Aga Rustshuklia.

ahman attempted to remain in Serajevo, in accordance with the old ; but he, too, was in July 1828, after a street fight which lasted for four days, driven out by the inhabitants, who had for this purpose formed an alliance with the troops, who were just passing through the town for reasons connected with the Russian war. Not until 1830, after the conclusion of peace with Persia, could the Sultan again give serious attention to the carrying out of reforms. The new vizier, who had again taken up his residence at Tria, Ali Pasha Moralja, was, however, hardly able to take the first steps towards paving the way for them. Hussein-Aga-Berberli, Kapetan of Brebir, unfurled the flag of the prophet, and summoned the "famous, proud, and the lion-hearted sons of Bosnia" to the holy war, "for the protection of the ancestors of our faith," and, at the head of forty thousand men, marched on Constantinople and "against the Gyaour-Sultan" for "the restoration of the true Islam." It was not the arms of the Grand-Vizier, but only the want of unity and the jealousy of the Bosnian begs, which caused this bold enterprise to miscarry; the Sultan's victory resulted in his being forced to surrender the whole of Herzegovina to the Kapetan of Stoltz, Ali-Beg Rizvanbegovitsh, who, in common with the Tshengitshs, aided in the overthrow of Hussein. In 1837, the hereditary kapetanates were at length abolished. The Hatti-Sherif of Gülhane, proclaimed by Abdul Medshid on November 2nd, 1839, which granted to the Christians certain equality before the law, excited a new insurrection, which was quelled by Velidshid Pasha under the walls of Serajevo. The complaints and threats of the Bosnian begs that they would go over to Christianity were, however, successful in causing the recall of the energetic vizier, and the disabling of the entire Hatti-Sherif. When at last, in 1850, the Sultan, after long hesitation, sent Omer Pasha to Bosnia in order to carry through the reforms, and to quiet the fermentation going on amongst the rajahs, Ali Pasha Rizvanbegovitsh, who was living as an independent ruler in Herzegovina, unfurled the banner of armed revolt. Omer Pasha quelled this insurrection; but the reforms could only be upheld by his strong arm. Under his successors they soon fell into oblivion; the Effendis sent by the Sultan were mere puppets in the hands of the powerful begs, and since the year 1856, when Luka Vukalovitsh placed himself at the head of the mutinous rajahs, one Christian insurrection followed upon the heels of another, under Montenegrin protection, until the advent of the Austrian occupation.

This arrangement was the first to ensure order and peace in the land.



## CHAPTER VII.

### *RELIGION AND EDUCATION.*

The Religious Spirit in the East—The Ecclesiastical Policy of the Government—The Bosnian Minorites—Regulations of the Roman Catholic Ecclesiastical Affairs—Transactions of the Orthodox Church—The Mohammedans—The Vakuf—The Question of Confiscation—The Regulations—The Mollah—The Reis-el-Ulema—The Vakuf Commission—The Budget for Public Worship—Mohammedan Erudition—Views of the Learned Kadi upon European Learning—Mohammedan Education—The Denominational and Communal Schools.

THE whole of Bosnian history is made up of the insurrections of suppressed creeds. The persecuted Bogomiles summoned the Turks to the country. The suppressed Christians called in the intervention of Europe. Turkish dominion, naturally, only intensified the old religious spirit of the Bosnians. Those nations who fell under the dominion of the Porte at once had the religious ideal pointed out to them which they must follow if they wished to hold fast to their individuality. In those cases where the native land was, as a matter of fact, crushed, and where the new ruling element strove to obtain uniformity by means of all kinds of rewards and punishments, where the mass of opponents was quickly forced down to the depths of material and spiritual impotency, the national ideal would not have been able alone to preserve itself for centuries against all the allurements of vanity, luxury, and ambition, and the pressure of circumstances. This superhuman strength could only have been given to the masses, sunk in material and spiritual poverty, by a superhuman religious idea. To renounce all things, to endure all things, to take up arms without hope of victory, only for the sake of opposition, and to do this for centuries: strength such as this can only be lent to the masses by ideals which are not of this world. On that account do we everywhere see in the Turkish Empire religion carried



to the height of fanaticism; and the Mohammedan is still the most unaffected, the most tolerant, and the most magnanimous of men, because he feels himself to be superior to others. Under the rule of a Mohammedan the Christian subject can at least always find a *modus vivendi*; whilst the rajah who has attained to power extirpates the Mohammedan in the strictest sense of the word, or hunts him from land and possessions. Under the dominion of great Christian powers, Mohammedan populations may live in peace; but they vanished from Rumania, Servia, Greece, and Bulgaria as soon as these States became independent; nay, all these emancipated people also cherished a strong repugnance to the Christians of other creeds. Religion, however, preserved the greatest power over the minds of the people, not only amongst the oppressed, but also amongst the governing classes, in spite of their relative tolerance.

When the begs rushed to arms against the Sultan for their hereditary privileges and national autonomy, they called the people together for the protection of the "true Islam."

With such a past, and with such temperaments upon one soil where three creeds of equal importance exist side by side, it is self-evident that any Government that favoured one creed above the others, would have the majority of the people for its bitter opponents, ever ready for war.

Those leaders, therefore, of the Bosnian Roman Catholics, who anticipated from the Austrian occupation the realization of the dream that had been nurtured for centuries of a revival of the old policy of the Hungarian kings—that is to say, who expected nothing less than that the country would once again become Roman Catholic—were very speedily disenchanted.

The Government, on the contrary, made the most scrupulous impartiality its aim. And even though there were zealous Catholics in as well as outside of Bosnia, who by this policy felt that they had been painfully deceived, yet those at least who are best qualified to exercise legal control over the Catholic people have without difficulty contrived that the most trifling deviation from the policy laid down by the Government should at once re-act, not only on the pacification of the country, but also upon those interests which must lie nearest the hearts of the Roman Catholic people. Serious questions respecting the Roman Catholics arose in other directions.

Under Turkish rule, Bosnia and Herzegovina, like the Holy Land, had been entrusted by the Holy See to the Minorites of the Order of the Franciscans.

The Bosnian Minorites constantly added to their Order from the native population, and thereby preserved a distinctly national type, which gradually

manifested itself also in their outward appearance. Unlike the Catholic priests who laboured in the East, these did not wear a beard, but only allowed their moustache to grow; in other details, too, they held fast to their old traditions, and endeavoured to acquire their theological culture mainly upon Hungarian soil. Amongst their co-religionists they won unqualified respect and trust, and at the same time contrived to secure to themselves a certain authority and affection amongst the dominant Mohammedans, although it has happened more than once—especially in recent times—that one or another of these popular monks has placed himself at the head of his brothers in faith when they have risen against the Mohammedan rulers. These monks not only held in their hands all the parishes, but also all the bishoprics and the Apostolic Vicariate. They enjoyed the constant protection of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, and in return supported its interests upon all possible occasions. Their crowning service was, of course, that which they rendered when, after the dominion of the Porte had come to an end, they in part renounced their, until then, leading position, and the advantages connected therewith. Whilst the Papal Chair, now that Turkish rule had ceased, was anxious to abandon the missionary character of the Church government, the administration of the Church being under normal conditions, entrusted to secular priests, on the other hand it also had to be admitted that if these Bosnian monks had, whilst under Oriental conditions, been unable to dispense with a certain Oriental spiritual bias, in order that their difficult task might prosper, yet it had become necessary, now that the land had been won back, so to speak, to European currents of thought, to raise the Catholic priesthood too to the European level. The monks were therefore to withdraw into the life of the cloister. The problem to be solved was how to satisfy these several necessities, having due regard for the Order whose services and deserts could not be disregarded. The outcome of the transactions, begun as early as the year 1880, between the Pontifical Chair and the Viennese Government, was the Papal Bull of July 1881, according to which Bosnia and Herzegovina form an independent ecclesiastical province with an Archbishop resident in Serajevo, to whom the Bishops of Banialuka, Mostar, and Trebinje are subject, whilst a seminary is to be erected for the training up of the secular priests required for the sixty-six parishes. A secular priest, who had distinguished himself alike by his strict priestly course of life and his learning—Dr. Josef Stadler—was at that time called to the Archiepiscopal Chair, and he unselfishly exchanged his theological chair for this exceptionally distinguished position, which meanwhile demanded, in the difficulties attending

all new departures, as much self-abnegation as tact. The archbishop lives for the present in a simple hired house, and the Archiepiscopal Metropolitan Church is so small that it is scarcely able to hold the faithful, who generally, in the Oriental manner, kneel upon small carpets which they bring with them, and listen to the Mass with upraised palms turned towards the altar. But, thanks to the collections set on foot through the zeal of the new archbishop and the support of the Government, the foundations of the new Metropolitan Church are already visible. Those who, outside



A Bosnian Franciscan amongst his Parishioners.

Bosnia, are interested in the Bosnian Catholics, will doubtless seize this opportunity for sharing their interest, especially when they hear that by way of example a leading Mohammedan of Trebinje has contributed five thousand florins towards the building of the Catholic Church in that town. In consideration of old traditions, Bosnian Franciscan monks were nominated as Bishop of Mostar and as Bishop's Vicar at Banialuka. The bishopric of Trebinje remained for a time in the hands of the Bishop of Ragusa, who



has thus far administered it. According to the arrangement come to between the archbishop and the General of the Order of Franciscans, thirty-five parishes may be supplied with priests by the archbishop, whilst the remainder still belong to the Order. But for lack of secular priests nearly all the parishes remain provisionally in the hands of Bosnian monks. From the training college established in Travnik, however, five or six secular priests will issue annually.

With regard to the Orthodox Church, an arrangement had to be arrived at with the Patriarch of Constantinople. According to this arrangement the bishops are nominated by his Majesty, and their names communicated to the Patriarch in order that he may be able to complete the necessary canonical formalities. The stipend allotted by the bishops to the Phanars is fixed at the sum of six thousand florins annually, and paid to the Patriarch by the Government. The customary prayers for the Patriarch are duly continued, and furthermore the consecrated oil is supplied by him.

The Bosnian Orthodox, with whom the Greek bishops, sent from the Phanar, and unfamiliar with the language, had never been popular, joyfully welcomed this change, by which they, as early as the commencement of 1881, received a Metropolitan of Bosnian birth in the person of Sava Kosanovitch. The satisfaction which they experienced was even greater when Herr von Kállay, directly he had the opportunity during his first visit to Serajevo, introduced the reform that the "*Vladikarina*," a heavy tax frequently levied with little consideration, and which the Orthodox had to pay to the bishops, should be remitted, and that the Orthodox bishops, like the Catholic, should in future receive their income from the State. For the Orthodox, as well as for the Catholics, a seminary was erected for the training of the clergy, and both Churches also enjoyed further aid.

Similar pecuniary State assistance was not needed in the interest of the Mohammedan Church, as this was richly endowed in the *Vakuf*. Voices were raised, it is true, who, after the armed occupation, and the insurrection of 1881-82, considered that a just Government was entitled to simply confiscate their *Vakuf*, and even the private property of the begs. According to their notions such a sweeping measure would have materially lightened the sacrifice made inevitable by the occupation, and would at the same time have furnished a basis for a simple solution of the agrarian question. But the Government could not listen to such advice. For, in the first place, it is not possible, in the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, to confiscate Church property or religious institutions; in the second place, order and the protection of rights were the chief advantages which the monarchy had to offer to the provinces; it was

out of the question, therefore, that she should commence her work by the violation of property and rights. Finally, such a measure would have been tantamount to the extirpation of an entire class—the landed proprietors—and of an entire sect, a thing which did not enter into the policy of the ruling dynasty.

A nobler result than the confiscation of this property would have yielded, was seen to have been secured when to a pamphlet, written in Croatia and published in Germany, which, amongst other things, demanded the expulsion of the Bosnian Mohammedans, one of the most respected begs replied in the following words, which, in the Serajevo newspapers, met with a number of glad declarations of acquiescence and letters of thanks from members of his own class in all quarters of the land: "Would it not be a sin and a shame if the earliest inhabitants of Bosnia, who have dwelt and supported themselves in the land ever since the days of the Bosnian Kings, should now depart from it? If we did not separate from one another and leave the country when Sultan Mehmed conquered it, with what justice should we leave it now? Thanks be to God, no one has banished us, and our fate is a hundredfold better than we could have imagined or foreseen. No one has exiled us from the sanctity of our own possessions, and at the most the author himself wishes that we should depart into Asia Minor. As the Bosnian Begs faithfully served the Sultan, so will we too remain true to our august king Franz Josef I., whom may the Lord God preserve to us for years to come."

In one single case only, to my knowledge, the measure relating to confiscation of property was questioned, and even then not in relation to the Vakuf.

Upon the occasion of his first journey in 1882, his Majesty's newly appointed minister took with him, besides a draft of the radical reforms contemplated in the administration and laws, a general amnesty for all such as had in the lately suppressed insurrection presumably fled on purely political grounds, and who had not left on account of any common offence.

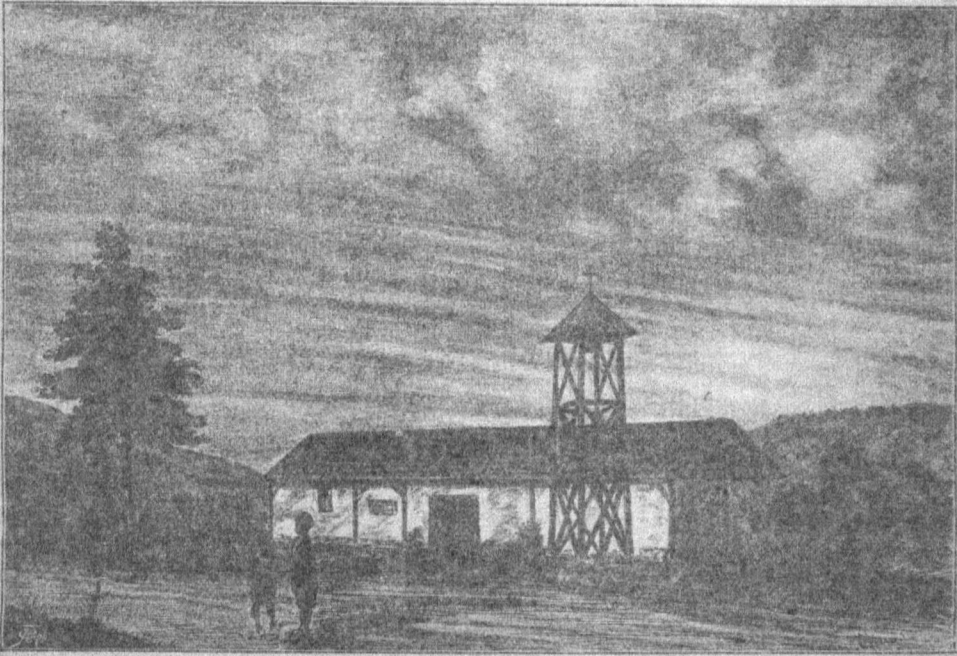
"After you have acknowledged my power, it is my desire that you should also learn to acknowledge my mercy."

Whether this manifesto of pardon from his Majesty should or should not close with the clause that the property of such as should hesitate to avail themselves of this clemency, and turn back, should be confiscated? That was the question.

At the council held in Mostar, the minister decided, after listening to the various views upon the subject, that since punishment by confiscation of

property was unknown to the institutions of the monarchy, so neither would he propose such a relentless measure to his Majesty with regard to Bosnia.

But, if the Government desired to maintain the integrity of the Vakuf, it must also have a care that neither should others be in a position to injure it. The religious affairs of the Mohammedans had, through the change of circumstances, and as a result of the insurrection, become to a certain extent disorganized. Nothing had been done for their adjustment from the time of the Austrian occupation to 1882. In the management of the Vakuf, especially, abuses had crept in, even before that time.



Catholic Church at Kiseljak.

In these endeavours the minister did not meet the smallest difficulty, but rather with the most friendly offers of loyal support on the part of the Mohammedan authorities. It was characteristic of their frame of mind that on the festival of his Majesty's birth the Imam of Czareva-Dzamia, Mehmed Zabitch Effendi, spontaneously and quite unexpectedly introduced the name of his Majesty into the *Chutbe prayer*, which is proper to the Sultan, and attaches to him, moreover, not in his capacity of ruler, but of kalif. The concerns of the Mohammedan religion could be arranged with the Bosnian



Mohammedans without any foreign influence, and with all the greater ease because the Mohammedan religion really knows nothing of a Church, a hierarchy, and a closed priesthood.

Each one of the faithful, who has a thorough legal knowledge, and is of spotless life, is entitled to conduct Divine worship, to give instruction, and to exercise the functions of a judge; there are numerous fully qualified mollahs who devote themselves exclusively to some civil calling; their nomination to public religious service is merely a question of confidence and personal inclination, and the Ruler, even though he be Christ, must on that account exercise some influence upon it, because religious and certain judicial functions are closely bound together. The Bosnian Mohammedan notabilities were required to submit their proposals, and upon the basis of these an arrangement was come to.

Mustafa Hilmy Effendi, who, in the calling of a life dedicated to God, was held in high respect far beyond the boundaries of his own country, as Mufti of Serajevo and Imam of the Begova-Džamia, was, by the end of the year 1882, raised by his Majesty to the dignity of Reis-el-Ulema, by which he entered upon the duties of the Sheib-ul-Islam for both Bosnia and Herzegovina. At Budapest he took the oath of allegiance to his Majesty. Four ulemas were appointed as his assistants, chiefly for the examination of candidates for legal appointments. In each circuit there was also appointed a kadi nominated by the Government, but a Mohammedan Senate was organized in connection with the superior court of justice in Serajevo, and these act in the first and second instance as Sheriat-judges and Court in the matters of Mohammedan marriage, heredity, and trusteeship, and in affairs connected with the Vakuf, if no Christians are involved, and if the parties themselves do not wish to have recourse to the proper State tribunals.

A special commission was appointed for the control of the Vakuf, with the Burgomaster of Serajevo, Mustafa-Beg Fadi-Pashitsh, as its president. He is not only one of the largest landowners, but also "Edirneh-Mollahssi," i.e. Mollah of Adrianople; for the mollah, whether active or no, bears his title and rank according to the precedence of the great towns of Stamboul, Mecca, Adrianople, Brussa, Damascus, Cairo, etc. Ibrahim-Beg Bashaljitsh is, as Mufetish, entrusted with the financial administration. Three hundred and sixty-eight Vakufs are summoned for the purpose of administering a yearly income of one hundred and sixty-seven thousand florins, so that, except the salaries of the functionaries appointed by the State, the Mohammedan sect can only, in exceptional cases, be in need of State support. With these funds of the Vakufs, the Bosnian Mohammedans support their mosques and schools.

They have recently restored the Begova-Džamia magnificently, and as they are the friends of all progress, they have introduced into it electric lighting. That they might be able to train kadis and ulemas, free from all foreign influence, they have quite lately built an upper school in Serajevo, in which fifty pupils have the privilege of being educated and entirely provided for at the expense of the Vakuf. Through the Vakuf, too, conveniences of a nature to benefit all, without distinction of creed, are provided, such as aqueducts, fountains, bridges, and a hospital, which was also founded by Ghasi Chosref-Beg, the first vizier, and which is by the Vakuf maintained at the height of modern science, and to which Christians and Jews, as well as Mohammedans, are admitted.

In the budget of 1886, money for the purposes of public worship was raised as follows : Stipend of the Catholic Archbishop, 8,000 fl. ; Residence, 1,500 fl. ; Secretary, 1,000 fl. ; four Prebendaries, 8,000 fl. ; Catholic Bishop of Mostar, 6,000 fl. ; Apostolic Administrator at Banialuka, 3,000 fl. ; Orthodox Metropolitan at Serajevo, 8,300 fl. ; Secretary and Chancery Clerk, 1,000 fl. ; Second Chancery Clerk, Beadle, and Chancery expenses, 1,500 fl. ; four Counsellors of the Consistory, 8,000 fl. ; Metropolitan Bishop of Tuzla, 5,800 fl. ; Metropolitan Bishop of Mostar, 4,500 fl. ; his Secretary, 1,000 fl. ; Reis-el-Ulema, 8,000 fl. ; his Secretary, 1,000 fl. ; four Members of the Medshlis-el-Ulema, 8,000 fl. ; eight Muftis, 5,500 fl. ; Catholic Training College, 23,330 fl. ; Orthodox Training College, 32,800 fl. ; objects connected with Public Worship, 6,500 fl. ; in addition to this, in the way of exceptional support, 50,000 fl. In these figures, too, the equal protection, the equally divided support, extended to all, combined with constant care, are expressive of the system whereby the Government seeks to secure that peace between the creeds which this country has perhaps never before enjoyed ; whilst the interests of the Churches, being secure from all interference from without, and from all friction, are free to develop themselves through their own vitality.

Education is even more closely connected with denominational matters in this country than in others ; and for the reason that up to the time of the Austrian occupation it was entirely handed over to the various Churches.

In the then condition of the Christian Church it may easily be imagined, that even their schools were of a most primitive type. During Omer Pasha's rule, from about 1850-60, much was attempted for the raising of the standard of Mohammedan schools. But, speaking generally, the state of Mohammedan education now stands upon the same level upon which European education stood at the time of the scholastic age. Very often amongst the lights of Mohammedan learning one meets with altogether surprising knowledge, and examples of sub-

lime or subtle ways of thought ; but the whole of this learning, with the exception of a knowledge of Arabic, which is necessary to the understanding of the Koran, confines itself exclusively to transcendental things and to the religious duties of mankind, and it really is not easy to answer a learned Mohammedan when he



Imam.

says that to him who believes in a God and in a future life all earthly things must necessarily, by the side of these weighty and sublime matters, seem mere vanity.

Hence, by the side of his knowledge, modern European knowledge only



merits contempt ; and to divert the spirit from the sublime, through such vanities, is sinful and foolish. Thus writes a very learned kadi to an English antiquarian : " Oh, renowned friend, the joy of the living ! that which thou askest is harmful and useless. Although I have passed all my days in this land, it has never occurred to me to count the houses and their inhabitants. As to what concerns the past of this town, God knows best by how many errors its inhabitants have been encompassed before the light of Islam rose for them. For us to know this would be dangerous. Oh, my lamb, seek not that which does not concern thee. Look upon that star which revolves round that other one, and upon that which drags its long tail behind : for years it will be travelling thither ; after long years it will return again. Leave it alone, my son ; He who created it, will also order it. Thou mayest reply : ' Withdraw, for I am more learned than thou, and have seen that which thou sawest not.' Farewell, then, if thou thinkest that thou hast grown better thereby. That which thou hast seen I despise. Does thy knowledge make for thee a new stomach, or does thy all-observant eye, mayhap, gaze upon Paradise ? Oh, my lamb ! if thou wouldst be happy, then speak, ' There is no God, but God,' and forsake evil, so that thou mayst fear neither men, nor death ; thy hour too will overtake thee."

But though, as a matter of fact, distinctly uncommon mental gifts and a whole life's industry are demanded for the higher grades of Islamitic learning, at the medrezeh attached to the mosques, the usual school curriculum is limited to the pupil being able to read, and repeat parts of the Koran in Arabic without his understanding it.

Since the occupation, as we have seen above, all denominations, including the Mohammedans, have begun to erect schools of a higher class, and to raise the standard of the primary schools. The wealthy Orthodox population has in this matter made considerable sacrifices, and, as regards the girls' schools especially, the nuns settled in the country have been very successful. But if the Government desired to make the raising of school life in Bosnia to a European level more practicable, and especially, also, to draw the Mohammedan youth within the circle of European ideas, then, in addition to stimulation and support, example also was necessary ; State and communal schools must also be erected. With these, as a matter of fact, the Mohammedans, too, have been associated, since each pupil receives his religious instruction in these establishments from a teacher of his own persuasion. The amount of care required in the construction of these schools may be gathered from such incidents as the following : The Orthodox took the intention of introducing the exclusive use of the Latin characters into these schools to be an attempt upon their religion and a Catholic attack, so that to retain the Cyrillic letters for the Orthodox became

a condition of their pacification. Previous to the occupation, the number of the Mohammedan schools was 499 mektebs (lower) and 18 medrezens (higher schools), in which 660 hodshas gave instruction to 15,948 boys and 9,360 girls. The Orthodox supported 56, and the Catholic 54 primary schools, with a total of about 6,000 scholars. In addition to these, the Orthodox had at that time already started upper boys' and girls' schools in Serajevo and Mostar, and in Serajevo had even established a gymnasium. The Franciscans gave their pupils destined for the priesthood instruction in the Latin tongue in the gymnasia. In 1883, 1,761 hodshas, in 631 mektebs and 42 medrezens, taught 27,557 scholars ;



Hodsha.

and, in addition to this, the Mohammedans of Tuzla had erected the first Mohammedan primary school upon European principles. The Orthodox supported 56, the Catholic 36, the Jews in Serajevo 1, denominational primary school. Besides these, however, 42 undenominational primary schools had already been opened, supported partly by the State, partly by the communities. Of this total of 136 primary schools, 21 fell within the district of Serajevo (in the capital itself there were 5 denominational, 2 undenominational), 18 in the district of Mostar, 21 in Banialuka, 9 in Bihatsh, 22 in Travnik ; in Tuzla, the most advanced district of all, 45. In the undenominational schools there were 51 male teachers (the majority of them with a salary of 600 fl. and free residence)

and 8 female teachers. In the denominational schools there were 96 male and 31 female teachers ; amongst them 17 Franciscan and 2 Trappist monks, 15 Sisters of Mercy, 4 "Daughters of Divine love" and "Sisters of the Holy Blood of Nazareth." The number of pupils in the primary schools (exclusive of the mektebs and medrezens) amounted to 6,240 boys and 1,874 girls ; according to denominations, 4,459 Orthodox pupils, 2,877 Catholics, 443 Mohammedans, 295 Jews, 10 Protestants. Since then the number of these schools and their pupils have been increasing rapidly from year to year, so that, whilst in 1883 the Government expended only 26,330 fl. upon them, the budget of 1886 amounted to the considerable sum of 47,000 fl. for the primary schools collectively. The educa-

tional budget for 1886 was as follows: Upper Gymnasium, 28,068 fl.; boys' military school, 8,000 fl.; commercial schools, 15,000 fl.; teachers' training course, 3,950 fl.; primary schools, 47,000 fl. (without the contributions of the communities); grant to the denominational schools, 8,000 fl.; teaching apparatus, 4,000 fl.; salaries, 18,000 fl.; publication of school books, 9,000 fl.; building fund grant, 6,000 fl.: total, 147,000 fl.

The public schools are now 200 in number; that is, 121 general and 79 denominational schools, the latter being divided into 55 Orthodox, 23 Catholic, and 1 Jewish. Besides the 13 State middle schools—that is, the Upper Gymnasium in Serajevo, the Catholic Seminary, with an Upper Gymnasium at Travnik, the Orthodox Seminary at Reljevo, the Kadi schools and the Teachers' Training Establishment in Serajevo, and eight commercial schools—there are also the Catholic Female Teachers' Training Institute of the "Congregation of the Daughters of Divine love," in Serajevo, and, finally, a Technical School in the same place.

In the primary schools education is free and obligatory according to circumstances. It is worth mentioning, as characteristic of the intellectual movement now apparent, that two Bosnian, one Turkish, and a German newspaper regularly appear at Serajevo, and that a Museums Association has been started, which has already begun to erect a National Museum.







## CHAPTER VIII.

### *AGRARIAN CONDITIONS AND LAND LAWS.*

The Complications of the various Legal Regulations—The Turkish System of Feudal Tenure—The Law of the Koran—Mulk and Mirieh—The Forests—The Vakuf—Christian Church Property—The Law of Lords and Vassals—The Right of Pre-emption—Humane Spirit and Unjust Administration of Institutions—The Position of the Vassals—Reform—Register of Landed Property and Revenues—Land Credit—Extension of the Streets—Production—Cattle Breeding—Forests—Imports.

THE native Slavonic Zadruga, the Bosnian mediæval laws of masters and bondsmen, which developed under the influences of Italian and Hungarian institutions, has, like the Mohammedan laws founded on the Koran, and the feudal tenure peculiar to Turkey, so permeated the conditions of property in Bosnia that many inquirers have started back in alarm and confusion from this apparently inextricable jumble, from this apparently unclassified and arbitrary haphazard accumulation of principles, contrasts, exceptions, and specialities; those, however, who wished in spite of this to obtain and reproduce a picture of the situation retained either a superficial and one-sided impression, or else gave currency to a directly false one.

All these different legal systems, originally so unlike one another, must be just studied on the spot if one is even to understand how it is that they can exist side by side, how one has broken through the other, how it has been possible for them to commingle, and how they now together form a complete and distinct whole, in which both force and neglect have in truth been the cause of considerable disorder, but in which, nevertheless, all is theoretically regulated with the greatest exactitude down to the minutest details.

These conditions of property are not unlike a geological problem, for the right understanding of the present grouping of which it is needful to explain clearly when and how the various strata of the several epochs, which were

not annihilated, but only commingled, in the mighty convulsions, have been arranged by the side of one another.

The predominant stratum is that of the last eruption, namely, the law of the Koran; and that, according to the Shiftic doctrine; into this were fitted the primary strata.

The specially Turkish national fendal law, which had come into force contemporaneously with the law of the Koran at the time of the Turkish conquest, and formed the basis of their national system of defence, and was conceived exclusively in that interest, may be at once eliminated. Firstly, because with the termination of the old military system it had itself ceased to exist, so that at the present day but few remnants of it survive; and secondly, because the actual proprietary conditions have remained the same as they were before. Here, where this system of feudal tenure interests us from the point of view of the conditions of property, should be the proper place in which to correct the error, everywhere promulgated in Europe and in literature, that this feudal system had been based upon the possession of the soil itself, and had regulated the conditions relating to the holding of property. The timar granted to the spahi conferred upon the timarli, not the land itself, but only certain sovereign rights over it, and gave him the land-tax, that is, the tithe of the products; and, furthermore, it gave him the right to confer upon the new owner for the time being, by means of the so-called *tapia*, in return for certain taxes, the so-called *Mirieh*-estates, to hold them in lieu of the State authorities, no matter whether he had come into their possession by purchase or by inheritance. Such *mirieh*, not by the statutes of this Turkish national fendal and military system, but by virtue of the principles of the shiftic Mohammedan laws, formed, contrary to the entirely free individual possession, *Mulk*-land, a kind of communal property, in so far as it could only become individual property by means of a *tapia*; they were, it is true, alienable, but could not be bequeathed by will, and if the rightful owner died without any legal descendants, they again reverted to the community, and were re-allotted by means of the *tapia*. Only in this case was the timarli entitled to allot this property to himself, just as, by bringing land hitherto fallow under cultivation, he could take possession of the property, because the *tapia* upon the same always belongs to the first cultivator.

In consequence of the abolition of the whole military system, the Porte had abolished the entire system of the timar by the Hatti-Sherif of 1839, but had undertaken to redeem the rights of the existing spahis.

When one reflects that these timars were sometimes granted over entire

districts—Dervish-Beg Tshengitsb, for instance, held a timar over the whole Bosnian Zagorje, in exchange for the undertaking to protect this district against the inroads of the Montenegrins—it is obvious that the revenues of the timarli might have been very considerable; and if he had no other or only some very limited source of income besides, then the redemption money must have been of the greatest importance to him. Now there are in Bosnia certain former spahis who have urgently claimed of the Turkish Government their redemption dues, calculated from 1839 to the time of the Austrian occupation, but in vain; either because the Porte doubted their claims, or considered the indemnification claimed too high, or simply because the amount already awarded had lapsed. These claims, insisted on to the present day, constitute the last remnants of the Osmanic national fendal system in Bosnia. As the timar cannot, at least legally, be disposed of by will, the timarli naturally gradually diminish in number of themselves.

As we can accordingly simply ignore the Turkish fendal system, we will now proceed to consider the legal principles derived from the Koran more closely; for by them all the conditions relating to property are regulated in all hanefitic Mohammedan States, and they came into use in all the conquered provinces, and into their framework all those relics of the legal system in existence before the Conquest had to be incorporated, provided they would permit of this, and were thus able to remain valid.

Upon these legal principles was based the land-law promulgated by the Porte in 1858 (Ramazan 7th, 1274), which, as regards the conditions of property in Bosnia, is still in force. We have already touched upon the meaning of the Mulk and Mirieh.

Mulk is an entirely free, real property. It is in some respects even freer than our freehold, because it is not even charged with tithes, that is, the usual Government land-tax. To this class belong, as a rule,—for we shall meet with exceptions,—the intravillan land of closed towns and villages together with the house thereon; but where, as in Bosnia, there are for the most part no closed villages, it is comprised of the house belonging to the community with its courtyard and garden, to the extent of half a dunum. A dunum equals one thousand two hundred square yards. Besides these, to this class belong such pieces of ground as have in consequence of certain legal decisions changed from mirieh-land into mulk, *i.e.*, become entirely freehold.

In the land-law mention is also made of the Uesherieh-lands, which in conquered countries were granted to the conquerors or to Mohammedan converts, as mulk, indeed, but subject to tithes; and the Haratshieh-lands, which were granted to the Christian owners found upon them, in



exchange for the Haratsh, that is, a tax for exemption from military service.

Mirieh generally means land subject to tithes, which is not really private property as it serves public ends, inasmuch as it is given up by the caliphs for cultivation, in exchange for tithes. This is, therefore, generally the cultivated soil. The land-law calls it State property, although it is not State property in the European acceptance of the term. The



Kmets.

Conquest, as a rule, left the former owner in possession; but the caliph reserved to himself the tithes, the appointment of the successor, and the traffic, as well as the disposal thereof, so that the estate should not be left uncultivated, and should always yield tithes. The mirieh-estates can be granted or transferred only by means of duty-charged "tapias," and sold only with the consent of the State; cannot be subject to any testamentary disposal, and are hereditary only in direct descent, or to the second degree in the collateral line; after this they become "Malhul," that is, they revert

to the State. The State, however, never appropriates them to its own exclusive use; but in the event of its reversion or lapse re-allots it with the tapia and liability to tithes.

State property in land; in the European sense, first arose out of the forest-laws in 1850, by which the Porte declared all forests to be by principle the immediate property of the State, and only acknowledged as local rights the privileges of wood-cutting and pasturage. In opposition to this law, however, numerous owners to this day endeavour to enforce their rights in forest property, which they think they are able to demand as *mulk* or *mirieh*. It will not always be fair to pass by claims of this nature. The *Vakuf*—that is, the estates of Mohammedan religious endowments, mosques, schools, hospitals, baths, and wells—may come within the category of the *mulk*, as well as in that of the *mirieh*. In the first case it constitutes real (*zahihe*), in the latter unreal (*tahzizat*) *vakuf*. With regard to this, however, various peculiar circumstances arise. The *vakuf* which has proceeded from the *mulk* may be of such a kind that the founder and the successors appointed by him may remain in possession of it, certain obligations only being required of them, such as the maintenance of one lamp, or the gift of a single taper. The object of these small endowments was generally only that the estate might by its sacred character be protected against deeds of violence, arbitrariness, and confiscation. Or the *vakuf* itself stepped into the property, administered it itself, or granted it upon lease for a definite period (simple rent *vakuf*), or as an hereditary lease of such a kind, that each heir had to pay a certain duty on taking possession over and above the current rent (double rent *vakuf*). Finally, there is also the *Mukata*, which consists of the founder's bestowing a *mulk*-estate upon private persons with free testatory rights and power of sale, but still in exchange for a fixed undertaking to pay rent to the *vakuf*. The most populated part of Serajevo, the *Tsharshia*, and a part of Franz Josef Street, is held in this manner, by virtue of an endowment of Chosref-Beg's "*pod mukatem*." Here, therefore, is a case in point, where the *intravillanum* is *mulk* indeed, yet not free, but liable to ground-rent.

It sometimes occurs that the *vakuf*, proceeding from the *mirieh*—*mirieh* being of the nature of public property—only comes into existence with the sanction of the caliph, *i.e.*, the State authorities. The *vakuf* may be a simple *mirieh*-owner, and in this case it has to discharge the tithes; or the State transfers to it the tithes together with the property; or, finally, like the earlier *spahis*, the *vakuf* may only possess rights with respect to the transfer and tapia-duties on leasehold principles. In both the latter cases we have to deal with the relics of the feudal system previously existing; and the *vakuf* here appears in the character of the endowed *spahis* of earlier

times. By virtue of its sanctified character, it has retained its rights in spite of the abolition of the feudal system.

Outside the mulk and mirieh-lands is the Mevat, uncultivated soil, which through cultivation becomes mirieh-land, and by grant a mirieh-estate; and the Metruke-land, which serves as the exclusive usufruct of one or more villages, our public property, streets, and squares on the one hand; on the other, our communal property, forests, and pasturage, which, however, here are not the property of the communities—for, according to the forest-laws, the forests are always purely State property—but are reserved for communal purposes; for they can neither be withdrawn by the State, nor by the community, nor by their individual inhabitants, and therefore stand *extra commercium*.

Finally, it must be observed, that a case may also occur where the land itself may be mirieh-land, whilst the houses and trees standing upon it are mulk, and that in that case the mirieh-land may be owned by one, the mulk-trees by another proprietor. The house, namely, is, as a rule, the freehold property of the man who built it; the fruit trees that of the man who planted and cultivated them. The plum tree especially in this respect plays a similar part in Bosnia to that played by the palm in North Africa. These are the chief features of the old Mohammedan laws of property which the valid land-law, as a rule, maintains, and also regulates in all its complicated details, without being able to exhaust all conceivable combinations. And as the Mohammedan law can recognize no Christian Church property, but has, however, from of old at least tolerated it, and later on, legally suffered it to exist, the land-law provides, in a special section relating to the lands belonging to the convents and churches, that if these have from of old been in the possession of the religious bodies free of *tapu* they cannot be diverted from their purpose. If Christian bodies are found to possess mirieh-lands, then these must continue as mirieh-lands. They cannot, however, acquire fresh mirieh-land. As a result of this last decree, the churches and convents long since took the precaution of acquiring new mirieh property in the name of their representatives. Since no mirieh property can be bequeathed by wills, such property under the dominion of the Porte could naturally only remain in the possession of churches or convents by the toleration of an abuse.

These arrangements are naturally no longer of practical importance.

Such evidence bearing upon the relation of master and bondsman as has come down to us from pre-Turkish times, refers in the main only to mirieh-lands, but to all descriptions of such land enumerated by us hitherto, because by far the largest portion of the pastures and arable lands are mirieh.



The land-law does not apply to these conditions, neither do they stand in any sort of connection with the past Turkish feudal and military system. Found there by the Conquest, they were preserved through the influence of the nobility, which had gone over in a body to Islam, and were only re-organized by the law of the year 1859 (Sefer 14th, 1276), in order to deal with the abuses which had crept in, without its statutes, especially the preparation of written contracts, ever having been carried out.

The house, courtyard, and garden of the Kmet (vassal) stand, as a rule, upon the land belonging to the landlord, and have to be kept in repair by



Peasant women (Orthodox).

him. After the tithes have been first deducted, a certain proportion of the products are due to the landlord. This proportion varies between one-fifth and one-half, according to the different products and districts. The harsh lord of the manor screwed it up, the good-natured, or intimidated, reduced his share; and as neither written laws nor written contracts existed, but everything rested only upon ancient usage and actual facts, every alteration in the once established *modus operandi* was difficult to bring about. Generally, however, a third was due to the landlord.

The custom, too, differs as to who has to provide the seed and to collect the landlord's share. The actual cultivation always falls upon

the kmet. He can at any time sever the relations; but can only be evicted by a legal decree if he fails to cultivate the soil, or does not hand over his share to the landlord. If the master sells the land, the kmet can claim the right of pre-emption. The new landlord, upon taking possession of the estate, steps into all the privileges of his predecessor in relation to the kmet. The right of the kmet may be hereditary, but can neither be sold nor transferred. The kmet-land (*tshiftluk*) which has become tenantless may be either re-allotted by the owner or retained for immediate cultivation. Such a "*begluk*," retained by the owner for his own use, is found upon all the larger estates.

The extension of the kmet-land finds its natural limitation in the fact that the kmet loses the land which he continues to neglect. Individual kmets are, however, in a position to continuously cultivate considerable tracts of land, if they hold the position of head of several families living in household communities, a custom having its origin in the old Slavonic Zadruga. Thus does the Zadruga, the household, and estate community, of several related families under the patriarchal control of a chosen chief, play a part in the conditions of Bosnian property. This arrangement is very common in peasant families, especially as, for want of farm labourers, they are driven to it as a substitute. The same arrangement is, however, also found amongst rich landed families, who live together in communities, or at any rate voluntarily remain under the authority of one common family head.

These arrangements which control the relations of property are materially supplemented by the right of pre-emption. The right of a neighbour (*schufa*) to acquire the land at the selling price in the event of a sale refers exclusively to mulk, a right which attaches to him, not only with respect to the time of the sale itself, but which remains valid for a certain period afterwards. Far more important from a social economical point of view is the right of pre-emption attaching to *mirieh* which was regulated by the laws of Ramazan 7th, 1274, and Muharem 7th, 1293.

The right of pre-emption is vested, according to the former law, in the living co-owners of common real estate, and is valid for five years; to the owner of mulk (freehold) buildings and trees which stand upon *mirieh* (leasehold) soil, and is valid for five years; to the inhabitant of one village as opposed to the inhabitant of another, and is valid for one year. In the event of death, the chosen heir of the mulk has a claim on the *tapia* for the *mirieh*, even before the legal *mirieh* heir, for the space of ten years; the co-owner, in default of a legal *mirieh* heir—that is to say, if the *mirieh*-land would otherwise have fallen in, had become "*malhul*"—for the space of five years; finally, the inhabitants of the village requiring land, when a piece of *mirieh*-land has become *malhul*, for the space of one year. In addition to this, the kmet has, according to the law of Muharem 7th, 1293, in the event of sale or exposure for sale, the right of pre-emption upon the land cultivated by him for the space of one year.

It remains to be stated that every tract of land, as soon as it becomes free of any claim on the part of a kmet, is also leaseable; and that beyond the cultivation of his soil, and the debt of labour due to the State (*Robot*\*),

\* *Robot*, as it exists in Bosnia and Hungary, has not the same meaning as the French *corvées*, services rendered to the feudal lord on his own estate, but only some days' labour

no other service can be imposed upon him. The kmet-lands are generally comprised of about twenty hectares; the holdings of some of the powerful begs amount to as much as twenty thousand hectares. On the other hand, there are small agas, three of whom jointly own only a single undivided piece of kmet-land.

Although these institutions may not harmonize with our ideas, standing directly in the way, as they do, with their complication of multitudinous laws

and claims, of commerce and development generally, and although they in this respect urgently demand reform, we are none the less bound to acknowledge the spirit of humanity, the protection and encouragement to labour which they imply.

If the lot of the rajah was insufferable, the cause lay not so much in the institutions themselves, but rather in the manner in which they were carried out, in the abuses and outrages which had arisen. Their abolition, the impartial and practical protection of the law, was the first and most important reform introduced by the Austrian occupation. With a just administration of these institutions, the lot of the peasant is now more happy than in many more advanced European States; and this much is certain, that in



A Catholic couple.

Bosnia, where cattle-breeding yields the chief part of the agriculturalist's income, and which, with their almost unlimited rights of pasturage, practically costs him nothing, the peasant, as a rule, enjoys more meat than in Germany, Italy, or France. It is true that he knows next to no wants beyond the actual necessities of life; in his rooms there is scarcely any furniture; and should he be in a

a year for public road-making. Landowners and tenants are all obliged to render this service, but may substitute the payment of a small tax.



position, after having provided for his daily needs, to put by money, he always dedicates it in the first place to velvet, golden-corded, holiday clothes, and to finery for the women. But under existing conditions the possibility is offered him of raising himself by labour and thrift to the position of a freeholder, and as a matter of fact the number of those kmets who either release their tracts of land or acquire freehold land by purchase is daily on the increase. The position of the kmet is assuredly hard indeed, if judged from the standpoint that manorial rights are simply usurpations, that the kmet is the rightful owner of the soil, and that the inherited or honestly purchased proprietary rights of the landlord should simply be abolished. Such reforms, meanwhile, can only be effected by a revolution. Public law can only be reformed through the observance of the law. Sensible reforms will, however, seek to protect, not only the laws, but also public interests, and their foundation—private interest. Yet each abrupt revolution in agricultural conditions, even when all due regard is paid to existing rights, throws, not only the individual, but also the entire agricultural fabric into serious crises.

Even if it were possible with a stroke of the pen to convert the Mohammedan and mediæval property laws into modern European ones, the transition would involve the country in a period of temporary ruin. Nothing seems more simple than to raise a big loan, and to hand over the soil to the kmets, and the money to the agas; but general ruin would follow the brief intoxication due to superfluity of money and needlessness of effort. For a reform of the existing property laws a secure foundation had first of all to be made.

In the year 1882, the construction of Ordnance maps by triangulation was already begun, according to lots and crops. They were to have been completed within seven years (1880-86), at an estimated cost of only 2,854,063 fl. (£285,406 6s.). The "Land Registers" introduced since then are now in full swing. Not until the proper ownership of land has been established by this means can agrarian reform be even thought of. Meantime, the improvement of agricultural conditions is not by any means neglected.

Pending the completion of the land registers, the Serajevo branch of the Union Bank at Vienna, aided by the Government, gives credit on the security of land—a matter of the first importance for purposes of investment.

Schools, colonies, and agricultural associations promote the cultivation of the soil; the breed of cattle is being constantly improved, and efforts on the part of the kmets to acquire freeholds are encouraged by the authorities.

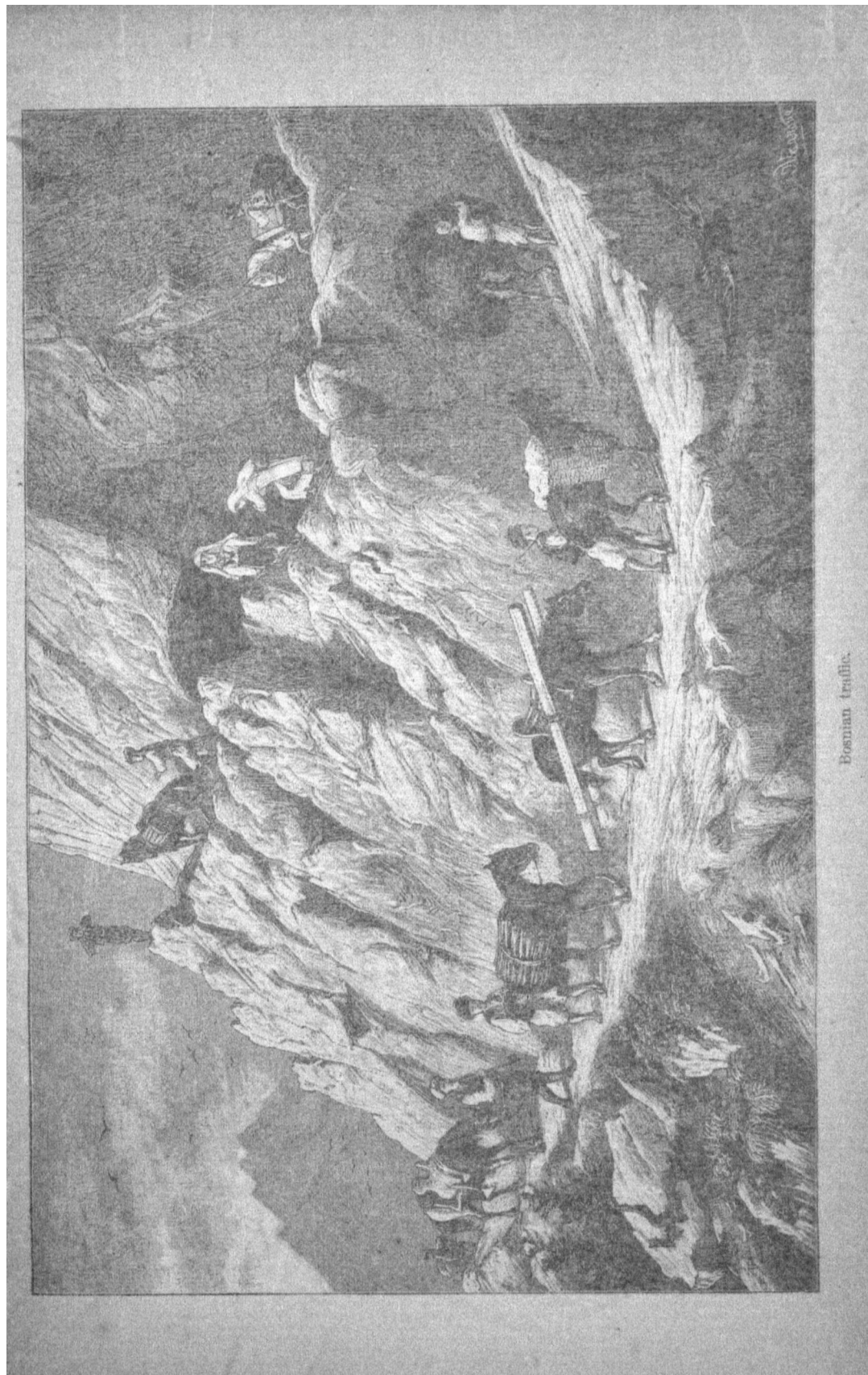
It may readily be understood how beneficially the rapid extension of road-making must act upon commerce, when we reflect that before the occupation all goods had to be carried by sumpter horses in Bosnia.

How much yet remains to be done, more particularly as regards the encouragement of industry and cultivation of the soil, may be seen at a glance from the statistics, which show what capacities for development this country possesses.

Of the Bosnian and Herzegovinan territory, which contains 5,410,200 hectares (20,880 sq. miles), 1,811,300 hectares (6,990 sq. miles) are under cultivation. The yield of the land, without being able to supply absolutely trustworthy returns upon these points, was at that time estimated at 500 million kilogrammes (1,100 million lbs.), as follows: 100 million kilogrammes (220 million lbs.) of maize, 49 m. k. ( $107\frac{4}{5}$  m. lbs.) of wheat, 38 m. k. ( $83\frac{3}{4}$  m. lbs.) of barley, 46 m. k. ( $101\frac{1}{2}$  m. lbs.) of oats, 10 m. k. (22 m. lbs.) of beans, the rest of rye, millet, buckwheat, guinea-corn, rape-seed, potatoes, turnips, onions, etc., etc.

In spite of the apparently favourable conditions for the cultivation of oats, the oats for the cavalry have to be brought from Hungary, and the large towns likewise order Hungarian meal, which is imported annually to the amount of half a million gulden. Owing to deficient cultivation but little wheat is grown, and that of a poor quality. Bosnia, however, always attains to the first rank in the cultivation of plums. Even here, however, for some time before the occupation she was almost surpassed by Servia, chiefly on account of a better drying process. Now, however, she has successfully striven to regain her former superiority in this respect, quite apart from the superior quality of its fruit. The export of this commodity, which extends even as far as America, amounts in favourable years to as much as 60,000 tons.

In Herzegovina, where successful experiments have already been made with rice, olives, and orange trees, where the pomegranate flourishes in the open air, and where in certain districts excellent red wine, similar to the Dalmatian, is grown, tobacco plays the same important agricultural part that the plum plays in Bosnia. Whilst in Bosnia 636 kilogrammes (1,400 lbs.) of a value of 150 to 200 fl. (£15 to £20) may be calculated per hectar, in Herzegovina about 3,000 kilogrammes (6,600 lbs.) of a value of 2,000 fl. (£200) are produced per hectar. Since the introduction of this monopoly, the extension and improvement of production has rapidly developed, and new sources of industry have been thrown open by the factories. In 1886, 700,000 fl. (£70,000) was estimated as the amount to be paid for tobacco to the growers. The income from the Government crops was 1,750,000 fl. (£175,000) for 160,000 kilogr. (352,000 lbs.) of raw tobacco, sold for exportation and to the Government in Austria, and in Hungary 160,000 fl. (£16,000); from the factories of the Austro-Hungary Governments (at the price) 250,000 fl. (£25,000); total expense, 1,457,870 fl. (£145,787); total income, 2,282,000 fl. (£228,200); net profit, 824,130 fl. (£82,413). The number of licenses granted for tobacco plantations for private use amounted to about 10,000.



Bosnian traffic.



For the purposes of domestic industry the cultivation of hemp, and in Herzegovina of silk, is very general.

Cattle-breeding has a great future before it in Bosnia. No reliable statistics as to its condition as yet exist. With a people not yet accustomed to State interference in everything, whose susceptibilities are easily aroused, even necessary arrangements can only follow one another in proportion to their importance and urgency. According to the approximate valuation of the year 1879 there were: 158,034 horses, 3,134 mules, 762,077 horned cattle, 839,988 sheep, 430,334 goats, 430,354 swine. Poultry and bees are found in almost every house. Though unfavourable when calculated according to the acreage, this state of things is unusually favourable in view of the number of the population. And this too, as well as the quality, improves from year to year in consequence of the new arrangements. The export of horses and cattle has constantly been on the increase. Especially does the improvement in the breed of horses and of swine, similar to wild pigs, give promise of important results.

All these animals were heretofore left to grow up almost as best they could, without care or protection, wild upon far-stretching pasture lands, and in forests where they had to seek their own food, so that their keep cost hardly anything. The forest-law, indeed, declared the forests to be the property of the State, but yet put scarcely any restrictions at all upon the people's rights of pasturage. The goats, especially, caused terrible havoc in the woods. In spite of this the forest statistics show that in the 1,667,500 hectares (6,435 sq. miles) of foliage trees, and the 1,059,700 hectares (4,090 sq. miles) of pine woods, which are placed under protection with due regard to the interests of the population, there are 24,946,000 cubic metres (32,680,000 cubic yards) of building, and 114,035,000 cubic metres (149,370,000 cubic yards) of firewood. This enormous treasure will only be valued at its proper worth with the development of intercourse. In 1880, the net profits amounted to 116,007 fl. (£11,600 14s.); 1884, to 200,000 fl. (£20,000); the net profits for 1886 were farmed out for 350,000 fl. (£35,000). A comparison of contemporary conditions with those of the abnormal epochs which preceded the insurrection shows that in the year 1865 the revenue of the country amounted to 5.5 million gulden (£550,000); whilst it was farmed out for 8.5 millions (£850,000) for 1886. In the year 1865, with one million inhabitants, an average taxation of 5.5 gulden (11s.) fell to every person; in the year 1886, with a round 13 million of inhabitants, 6.5 fl. (13s.). A comparison of the taxes gives the following result:—

	1865.	1886.
Tithes . . . . .	1,250,000 fl. (£125,000)	2,410,000 fl. (£241,000)
Income Tax . . . . .	1,584,200 fl. (£158,420)	640,000 fl. (£64,000)

	1865.	1886.
Public and Spirit Licenses . . . . .	200,000 fl. (£20,000)	40,000 fl. (£4,000)
Haratsh . . . . .	750,000 fl. (£75,000)	
Stamp Duties . . . . .	150,000 fl. (£15,000)	470,000 fl. (£47,000)
Excise . . . . .	200,000 fl. (£20,000)	54,000 fl. (£5,400)
Tax on Sheep . . . . .	220,000 fl. (£22,000)	342,300 fl. (£34,230)
Customs . . . . .	403,300 fl. (£40,390)	726,000 fl. (£72,600)
Church Rate . . . . .	120,000 fl. (£12,000)	
Trade, Marriage, Door, and Window Tax	150,000 fl. (£15,000)	
Tapia . . . . .		10,300 fl. (£1,030)
Coffee Monopoly . . . . .	45,000 fl. (£4,500)	
Duty on Tobacco (Monopoly) . . . . .	300,000 fl. (£30,000)	2,282,000 fl. (£228,200)
Salt Tax . . . . .	40,000 fl. (£4,000)	952,854 fl. (£95,285 8s.)
Bridges and Road Tolls, Gunpowder . . . . .		30,800 fl. (£3,080)
Totals . . . . .	<u>5,413,100 fl. (£541,310)</u>	<u>7,958,254 fl. (£795,825 8s.)</u>

To this must be added the net profits of the State property (forests and mines): in the year 1865 they yielded 70,000 fl. (£7,000); in the year 1886, 500,000 fl. (£50,000). The tax has risen 60 kr. (£1 2s. 4d.) per head; but owing to their more rational distribution, and to the abuses of the former tax-collectors and their organs, is relatively essentially lessened, since the profits on the crops have been everywhere doubled.

At the meeting of the delegates\* (1887) explanations were given by the minister regarding the introduction of a new arrangement, that is, Bureaux for the support of agriculture, which are also to promote agricultural development.

The formation of a fund for this purpose was in Gacko started by the people themselves, which declared itself prepared to pay a sum of 5,000 fl. (£500) within five years in instalments of 1,000 fl. (£100), a suggestion which the minister seized upon with pleasure, giving an assurance in the name of the Government that they on their part would add double the amount to that voluntarily subscribed in the district. Upon this assurance the district at once succeeded in raising the 5,000 fl. (£500), and did not allow the minister to delay in making the 10,000 fl. current (£1,000) in accordance with his promise, so that this first Support Fund was set in motion last year, and with a capital of 15,000 fl. (£1,500) commenced its operations. The management of this Support Fund is in the hands of the representatives of the district, with the assistance of two men chosen and trusted by the people themselves to represent their interests. The Inland Revenue Department undertakes the book-keeping, and distributes the moneys free of charge; in fact, the management is all done for nothing.

From these funds two classes of loans are given: the first serves to provide

the necessary stock *fundus instructus* of implements, cattle, seed, etc.—this class advances the money at 4 per cent. interest; the second class is for such land-owners as possess the necessary means for the purchase of stock, but who wish to undertake enterprises upon their estates involving investment and extension. These combined loans are charged at an interest of 6 per cent., which under the conditions now existing in the country, where the raising of a capital is hardly possible even at an interest of from 60 to 100 per cent., makes the beneficial effect of this institution self-evident. The capital of the Gacko Support Fund is nearly invested. An imitation of this society was started in the district of Nevensinje by its magistrate, but was last year rejected by the people. This year, now that they have seen the beneficial results of the fund established in Gacko, the people have themselves come forward with a petition to be supported in a similar effort, and they have not hesitated to urge the minister to meet their wishes. In an exactly similar way as in Gacko a support fund of 17,000 fl. (£1,700) was collected in September of this year, and two hundred and seventy-four applicants for loans have come forward. The hope may indeed be expressed that similar institutions, so important for the agricultural population, may be founded in other districts.

The Bosnian loves nothing so much as the land and soil upon which he has grown up. Hence there is a natural desire amongst the kmets to acquire land and soil as soon as possible. In order, therefore, to make this more easy to him, and at the same time to clear the way to the solution of the Agrarian question, the Government has hit upon the device that those kmets who wish to acquire possession of the soil tilled by them, and are in a position to contribute something, even though only a small sum, towards the necessary capital, shall receive it upon loan at 6 per cent. interest to be redeemed over a period of from five to fifteen years. The difficulty in carrying this plan into effect lay in the want of land registers. The Government, therefore, for the sake of carrying through similar arrangements, caused provisional land registers to be prepared, which should clearly set forth the condition of each individual applicant for the loan. In this manner 141,000 fl. (£14,100) in specie have been advanced, and thus far none of the capital has been lost. To the agas, too, loans are granted on similar terms, yet only upon the understanding that they shall be applied to the improvement of their landed property.





## CHAPTER IX.

### *LIFE AND CUSTOMS OF SERAJEVO.*

The European Street—The Bezestan—The Tsharshia—The Caravansary—Political Speeches—Street Beggars—The Mahdi—Guilds—Art Industries—Textile Industries—Superstitions—The Mecca Pilgrims—Commercial Life—The Beledia—Representative Institutions—Bosnian Soldiery—Popular Coffee-Taverns—The Fast of Ramazan—Dinner with the Mufti—Bosnian Troubadours—Visits—Love and Marriage—Folk Songs—Howling Dervishes—Bend Bashi—The Song of Gusinje.

**F**RANZ JOSEF STREET, which leads along the right bank of the Miliaska, right into the heart of the town, grows daily more European in character. At its very commencement stands the imposing building of the officers' club, between an abandoned old Turkish churchyard and the club garden, which slopes down to the river, and presents a most charming view. This is soon succeeded by the Orthodox Cathedral, and further along the large new hotel, which can favourably compare with the best provincial hotels of the monarchy. Between these there stands a row of substantial buildings, European in style, and answering to European requirements; whilst the large public buildings on the farther side of the "Latinski Most" (Catholic Bridge), at the end of Franz Josef Street, are grouped around the Czareva-Džamija, that is, the Konak, the large cavalry barracks, and the Government offices are still, after the native fashion, built of wood and clay. For the imposing new Government buildings which stand out at the beginning of the town, before you reach Franz Josef Street, between the tobacco factory and the military school for boys, were only roofed in in 1886.

In Franz Josef Street, too, are situated the remaining inns of a better class, and of European arrangement, the European bath, and the most European shops, in which, in good sooth, only the worst Viennese and Pesth goods, mere lumber, may be had at fancy prices. Here, amongst a few other good

businesses, is Königsberger's bookshop, with its splendid Bosnian photographs. The Mohammedan tombstones and fountains, with here and there some ancient ruin, and the lively traffic, alone remind one of the East.

At the end of this "European" street, however, to the left, within old and massive walls, there yawns the dark cavity of a low-vaulted arch; and as soon as we pass under this, it is all up with Europe. This is the Bezestan, the long, narrow bazaar building, with niches on either side, in which the salesmen squat by the side of their heaped-up, many-coloured wares. True, the merchandise is here, too, mostly of Bohemian, Moravian, and Viennese origin; but it is of that class which is expressly intended for the Eastern market and for Eastern taste: fezzes, slippers, nargilehs, tshibuks (Turkish pipes), sham jewellery, worthless silver and gold embroideries, coloured calico, and bad silk stuffs; by their side, however, lie the beautiful and superior textures of Bosnian home manufacture, and, at least occasionally, also single small specimens of home art manufacture. Purely Oriental, however, are the merchants and their ways. An overpowering majority of these shop-people are Spanish Jews, whose principal quarter this is. The number of Mohammedans is small. Although the difference in costume is insignificant, and is chiefly observable in the darker colours and European shoes worn by Jews, the difference of physiognomy, and still more of manners, strikes one at once. Whilst the Mohammedan awaits the customer with reserve, even listlessness, serves him with a certain quiet politeness, and only commences to bargain with difficulty, and most readily when he has thawed over cigarettes, coffee, and a friendly chat, the Jew is lively, humble, pressing, whilst he recommends all his goods and offers them for sale, constantly calling his customer back, until at last he tenders the wares at a third of the price he at first asked for them. It is noticeable, however, that it is only the small tradesmen amongst the Spanish Jews who carry on their business here. The colony of Spanish Jews in Serajevo already enjoys some standing on account of its wealth. Previous to the Austrian occupation they were the sole bankers of the country, and are still its principal usurers. This branch of their activity has naturally greatly diminished since Vienna and Pesth have opened branch banks in Serajevo. They speak the language of the country purely; but yet, amongst themselves, still make use of the old Castilian idioms, which their exiled forefathers brought with them from Spain. Gladly do they recall those happy days, and with Spanish pride scorn to mix with the German Jews, who have swarmed into the country since the occupation. Amongst their aged men patriarchal figures may be seen, and amongst their daughters luxuriant beauties; the dark red fez, adorned with small ducats,

tends to heighten the provoking loveliness of the latter. The matrons are, on the other hand, disfigured by a cap, which entirely conceals the hair, and which has a flat red crown and broad dark rim, beneath which also small gold coins fall down upon the forehead.

The Hahambashi, the chief rabbi of Serajevo, who likewise has an imposing presence, arranges all their concerns, in conjunction with a few fellow members of the community, so that even their matters under dispute only come before the judges upon the very rarest occasions. They take care to avoid any conflict with the laws; no charges are ever brought against them for murder, theft, or deeds of violence. They provide for their poor themselves, so that these are not tempted to beg; and even though their schools are upon a quite Oriental level, yet each one of their scholars can at least write in Hebrew characters and manipulate figures.

If we leave the Bezestan, upon the opposite side there rise the leaden cupolas of a great Turkish bath. It belongs to the Vakuf of the Begova-Džamija, and is likewise one of Chosref-Beg's foundations. It is far cleaner and more pleasant than the European bath in Franz Josef Street. The ceaseless care and tenderness with which the Mohammedan bath attendants pour cold and warm, clean and soapy water over the bather, chafe him, and finally envelop him in towels, so that he may, whilst he enjoys his coffee and cigarettes, rest himself and get perfectly cool, is in itself a distinct enjoyment. The company, it is true, is a little mixed, and their cleanliness not always beyond all question. One can, however, easily bathe alone at mid-day by giving previous notice.

We cross a narrow, steep street, which leads along the outer wall of the Bezestan, towards the hillside. Here meat, vegetables, and other provisions are sold. In all directions hang lambs, salmon, crabs, turkeys, and game, besides native vegetables quite unknown to us. The baker here bakes his bread in the streets; here he pushes out from long tin cylinders the endless thin strings of vermicelli, which, when baked upon a tin pan smeared with ham fat and soaked in honey, forms the greatest pride of a Bosnian kitchen. The bake-houses are here, and a fiendish din fills the narrow street; for each one of the vendors breaks out into a wild clamour from time to time, so as to draw attention to his goods and their price.

After crossing this street, we come out opposite to the Begova-Džamija. A holy silence reigns here, even when the crowd of the devout troops to prayer. We then reach the Tsharshija, an entire section of the town consisting of timber huts, amongst which only natives can find their way; this is the city of Serajevo. As in London, so here too, only business is attended to in



this quarter. The dwelling-houses lie between the gardens on the hillsides ; for the Mohammedan—even though only a shoemaker—is always a gentleman, and will dwell in his own house and garden far from the din of trade, and as far as possible from the clatter of vehicles in the European thoroughfares. The Tsharshija belongs exclusively to the Mohammedan business world. There are no dwelling-houses here, beyond the old Caravansary, whither the droves from the market still turn in. This consists of a gigantic courtyard surrounded by a strong but dilapidated wall, stabling on the ground floor, the rooms on the first floor, cell upon cell, all mean, and all furnished alike with only a bad piece of carpet and innumerable bugs. These cells are the quarters of the gentlemen ; the poor peasant camps in the yard. Thanks to the Caravansary, the Tsharshija is not only the centre of the city, but also of all the country gossip. It is the forum, the exchange, and also occupies the position of the press. European politics are arranged in the coffee-houses of the Tsharshija. It is here that old spectacted Hadshi-Ahmed-Aga explains—a Turkish newspaper held upside down in his hand the while—to his astonished audience what the six kings are doing : the white Czar of Moscow, the German Czar in Vienna, the King of England, the King of France, and the King of Spain, and finally that poor sixth, who shivers in the far North in eternal gloom and cold. How they went to Stamboul to beseech the Sultan to permit them to make short work of the Russian Czar, as he would no longer pay the tribute ; for of course he is not worthy that the Sultan should deal personally with him. In vain, however, did the other kings petition : the Sultan would force even the Muscovite to unite. It was thus that the Conference of Constantinople was restrained, and thus a great war arose ; only to the Viennese Czar, because he is such an excellent man, the Sultan entrusted the office of bringing order into Bosnia, where the rajah were constantly revolting, for they were really not worthy to have the Sultan negotiate with them in person. The Muscovite was foolhardy enough to march as far as Constantinople ; he was, however, at last obliged to retire ignominiously if he did not wish to be entirely crushed. He certainly relied too much upon the long-suffering of the Sultan, for perhaps he had not even yet paid over the tribute-money. But the Sultan would yet settle matters with him when his patience was exhausted. In the meantime he could wait all the more easily, because he had even now hardly room in his cellars for his piles of gold.

To the Viennese Czar, however, whom the Sultan greatly loved, he resigned Bosnia for a further period, for he understood how to maintain order better

than the former viziers had done. The audience now understood that it was a great mistake to rise against the Viennese Czar; but for that Montenegrin lies had been alone to blame. . . .

The Tsharsbija is a favourite resort of street beggars, as also of the Madhi, who has come into existence in Serajevo; he goes from time to time the round of the offices to explain how the Occupation was foretold in the Koran and arranged by Allah. Whereupon he asks for a few coppers.

The Tsharsbija is, however, before all things the place of hard work.



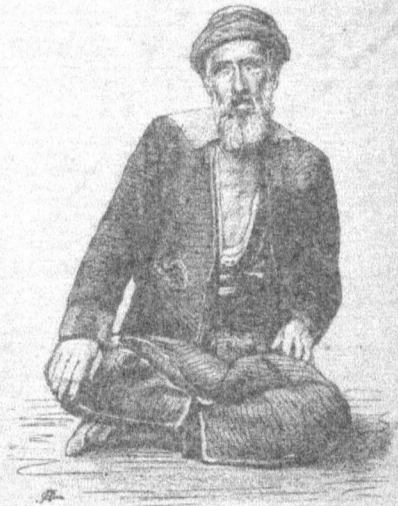
Seller of Citron Water.

The wares in the stalls are for the most part finished off before the eyes of the surging crowd; and even though the booths are closed, not only on Friday, the Mohammedan fast day, but also on Saturday, through courtesy towards the Jews, and on Sunday out of consideration for the Christians, many artisans might still take example from the persevering zeal with which the Bosnian tradespeople labour on the remaining days, from early morn until late at eve.

The life of the Guilds, from which European culture has quite broken away, although we in Austro-Hungary are beginning to revert to it again, still rules here in unbroken strength. The artisan, proud of his skill, who works upon the same lines as his forefathers, rejects every suggestion which does not emanate from a "Majstor;" he believes

everything to be good just as it is; and founded upon this spirit of conservation, which is predominant throughout Mohammedanism, the guilds continue their existence, without its ever having occurred to any one that the industries, too, might be organized upon a free basis. As the guilds, like nearly all mediæval institutions and usages, are of Arabic origin—even the German word "zunft" comes from the Arabic "sinf"—they, in a certain measure, passed over to the Turks with the religion with which, amongst the Mohammedans, they are still in many respects allied. At the head of each Bosnian guild there stands next to the senior ("pir"), also a sheik, who is,

as it were, the chaplain of the guild. He is followed by the "nakib" (overseer), the "kjajah" (sub-overseer), the master ("aga"), the old associates ("jigit bashileri"), and the associates ("tshautsh"). Each guild has its own patron saint, as was also the case in Christian Europe. Adam was the first husbandman, Enoch the first tailor and scribe, Noah the first carpenter, Abraham, the builder of the Kaaba,\* the first bricklayer, Ishmael the first hunter, Isaac the first shepherd, Jacob the first dervish, Joseph the first clockmaker, for in the gloom of the Egyptian dungeon he invented the hour-glass that he might fix the time of prayer. Daud (David) constructed shirts of mail, Suleiman (Solomon) baskets, Jeremiah was a healer of wounds, Samuel a soothsayer, Jonas a fisherman, Isza (Jesus) a traveller, and Mohammed a merchant. The patron saint of the sugar refiners is Omar Halvaj; in him the "halva" prepared from honey and almonds originated, and they are still known under the name of "halavitshka" in the towns of Southern Hungary. Omar ben Omran Berberi, a pupil of the prophet, baked the first "zemid" and "guladshian," from which the German semmeln (rolls) and the kolatschen (fancy bread) are the outcome. Hiob is the patron saint of the silk-weavers, because the first silk threads came from the worms which devoured his body. The founding of the guilds is traced back to Mohammed himself. He wore an apron of green silk, a gift of the archangel Gabriel. It served afterwards as the prophet's banner.



Street Beggar.

Some branches of trade occupy whole streets in the Tsharshija; but it also sometimes happens that three different trades are carried on in one and the same booth.

One of the most important and distinguished of the trades is that of brazier; the very shapes of the common utensils intended for domestic use give evidence of refined taste.

\* The Kaaba is a square-shaped building in Mecca, a national sanctuary of the Arabians, by Mohammed made the "Kibla," or universal place of prayer for Islam. The most important object in the Kaaba is the great black stone brought from heaven by the angel Gabriel, and presented to Abraham. It is built into the eastern wall.—[Tr.]



The pitchers, boxes, bowls, and smoking-vessels, coffee-cups, and coffee-pots are genuine masterpieces of chased work. As a rule they are only tinned; but when plated or gilded, or kept in their original deep copper colour, are worthy to serve as ornaments to the proudest State apartments. Byzantine and Venetian models obtain as much here as in the silver-filigree work, which, in all the larger Bosnian towns, is manufactured by native artists. At the head of this art industry stands the town of Fotcha. An industry peculiar to Bosnia is that of black wood inlaid with silver wire: Livno is the place of its origin, and it is also called Livnoese ware; but there are masters of this craft in Serajevo also. The manufacture of ornamental weapons and knives stands in close relationship to this art industry.

Although both the armourers and the armoury trade have suffered great loss from the discontinuance of the general habit of bearing arms, in the Tsharsbija and in the Oriental quarters in the town, ornamental weapons, scimitars, pistols, guns, and battle-axes are still always to be met with. The hilt and the scabbard are generally of chased silver or in tasteful filigree designs, the exquisite blades and the barrels bearing at least the name of their designers, but being also generally inlaid with complete sentences or decorations in silver or golden Arabic letters. The masters in the art are mostly Macedo- or Kuzo-Wallachians, so-called Tzintzares, who in the trade and industries of the European East play an important part, and who in the monarchy also are represented by wealthy families; as, for instance, by the Dumbas in Vienna, and the Mocsonyis in Hungary. They travel as journeymen architects and skilled joiners throughout the Balkan Peninsula, and the artistic wooden ceilings in the houses of some of the begs are the work of their skilful hands.

Knives and scissors are manufactured from splendid steel in numerous stalls in the Tsharsbija, damaskeened, with inlaid blades, and bone handles of different colours. The scissors are the long, narrow, mediæval scissors with the finger-holes on springs, and concave blades, such as are now only in use in the East and in Norway. To the art industries must further be added, at any rate as regards beauty of form, the potteries.

There is a rich supply of embroideries upon dresses, cloths, and leathern articles. The workshops of the tailors and shoemakers occupy from two to three streets; both work with their feet as well as with their hands; the tailors iron with them, and the shoemakers fix the thread on to the great toe. In one street nothing but horseshoes are manufactured: the round iron plates, with a hole in the centre, universal in the East. The locksmiths make elegant Arabian locks for gates, doors, and boxes, and for those pretty carved chests

which are displayed in Konitza. The furriers are represented in great numbers. During the long winter and the frequent wet weather the Bosnian loves fur and the bordered kaftan; and the number of furred animals killed during the year is estimated at from fifty to sixty thousand. All these branches of trade are organized into guilds, and are almost exclusively carried on by Mohammedans. The carpet, and especially the textile trades, exist entirely as a home industry, and constitute the winter occupation of the women. Carpets,



Art Industries.

therefore, seldom appear for sale, and only very exceptionally in the warehouses of the Tsharshija; they have to be ordered, though in Zenitza and Petrovatz very beautiful ones are made, which bear comparison with the Rumilian. The price varies from four to eight florins per kilogram, for they are sold according to weight.

The apothecary, too, belongs to the Tsharshija; ours may, in the Middle Ages, have been of like appearance. Of earnest mien, and with a long beard, the old Spanish Jew sits in the midst of his jars. For every ailment there is

a herb, which he himself prescribes. A great rôle is played by the pulverized mummy, which is, it is true, expensive, but which is of value against many illnesses. For him who has money, it is well to buy the amulet brought from India, inlaid with cornelian arrow-heads; it is a preventive against all skin diseases. Other amulets may be had against the evil eye, which, to some extent at least, clearly date from ancient classic times and old Byzantium,—birds' claws, the horns of the stag-beetle, chopped-up animals, etc. The superstition is common to all religions, and spread amongst all classes; and the Christian buys the magic signet ring with verses from the Koran and cabalistic signs just as the Mohammedan buys the little tickets printed in Agram and Zara with verses from the Scriptures, which are given and sold by the monks.

He who understands the matter will write one of these magic tickets for himself, and they play their part in the folk-songs.

The rejected lover writes four magic letters:

#### “ LOVE CHARM.

“ See! he now indicts four magic letters.  
 One he writes and casts into the flames:  
 ‘ Burn thou not, oh, letter! burn not, leaflet!  
 Burn thou Ivan's sister's understanding!’  
 Writes another, casts it in the water:  
 ‘ Water, do not kidnap note or leaflet,  
 Kidnap Ivan's sister's understanding!’  
 Writes a third, and casts it to the wild winds:  
 ‘ Winds, oh do not kidnap note or leaflet,  
 Kidnap Ivan's sister's understanding!’  
 Lays the fourth beneath his head at night-time:  
 ‘ Do not thou lie here, nor note nor leaflet!  
 Lie thou here instead, oh, Ivan's sister!’ ”

Sure enough Ivan's sister comes in the course of the night and begs for admittance; for such magic, which of course the girl can also apply, is difficult to withstand.

The copper cups, upon which leaden tablets inscribed with sayings from the Koran hang, also enjoy great popularity. Each of these tablets produces a different effect, if thrown into the water drunk out of the cup. All these treasures are sold in the Tsharshija; and here, too, one meets the Arabs from Mecca, who wander throughout the Mohammedan world, in gangs, in search of well-paid commissions to perform the pilgrimage to the shrine at Mecca for those who cannot go thither themselves. When they have collected a nice number of these commissions and a sufficiency of gold, they retrace their steps