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## SURVEY OF DEVELOPMENT OF YUGOSLAV OTTOMAN STUDIES

Yugoslav Oriental studies in general, and Ottoman studies as an integral part of them in particular, are of exceptional significance for study of the history of the Yugoslav peoples under Turkish rule. However, this field of scholarship does not have a very long tradition in Yugoslavia, especially when compared with the development of European Oriental studies. Nevertheless, we can speak of almost a century of its development, and in view of the historical conditions, this fact is not insignificant.

In 1939, the distinguished Oriental scholar A. Olesnicki gave an impressive explanation of the tasks of Oriental studies, and therefore of Ottoman studies as well: "The task of Yugoslav Oriental studies is to explain and study many dark periods in the history of the Southern Slavs. Therefore interest in Oriental studies is much more important in Yugoslavia than in other countries. While learned Oriental scholars in England, France, Germany and elsewhere study the history and ethnography of foreign peoples and countries, Yugoslav Oriental scholars, by studying the Oriental disciplines, at the same time study the past of their own peoples and country".<sup>1</sup>

Yugoslav historiographers, interested in Ottoman studies, who study those unexplored periods of the past of their peoples and countries, have produced a large number of works and papers, which solve or help to solve many important questions concerning the history of our peoples under Turkish rule. Decades-long efforts have given rather good results, and those results constitute a foundation and stimulus for more serious work.

It can be said that Oriental and Ottoman studies in Yugoslavia, in general, have been founded by individual enthusiasts, and among them there have been some widely recognized scholars. In the beginning, they devoted themselves, in large measure, to the publication of original sources which is still today a prerequisite for work in this field. Then came the publication of studies of very specific problems, such as the questions of Islamization and of agrarian relations. There were some attempts at surveying the entire history under the Turks. However, the unsatisfactory

<sup>1</sup> *Zadaci orijentalistike u Jugoslaviji* (The Tasks of the Oriental Studies in Yugoslavia), Gajret, calendar fo 1940, Sarajevo 1939, p. 111.

scope of the published material, as well as the small number of analytical studies, have not made possible the writing of a genuine and scholarly history of the Yugoslav lands under Turkish rule.

The postwar period has been of considerable help to the development of Oriental studies through the founding of institutions whose scope of interest was either solely Oriental studies, or Oriental studies within a larger field of interest. Beside the existing Department of Oriental studies in Belgrade, departments in Sarajevo, and later on in Priština, have been founded. These institutions played and still play a crucial role in the forming of new professional and scholarly personnel, which is the basic prerequisite for successful and systematic work.

Beside the Department of Oriental Languages and Literature (Arabic, Turkish, Persian), the Oriental Institute was founded in Sarajevo in 1950. It is a unique institution of its kind in Yugoslavia and its task is to collect, preserve, study and publish archives and manuscript material, and to publish papers written mostly on the basis of Oriental written sources, especially those related to the history of the Yugoslav lands during Turkish rule, or those from the field of literary heritage. From the very beginning of its work, the Institute has been publishing a journal whose title reveals its objective: *Contributions to the Oriental Philology and the History of the Yugoslav Peoples Under Turkish Rule*. In it, the results of the researches of the Institute's staff as well as the work of other researchers both from Yugoslavia and abroad, are published.

The sphere of work of historiographers of the Ottoman period has been expanded since the war. Although it can be said that the selection of subjects has been individual and without an overall plan, there has been continuity in the work on certain problems. This fact, and the publication of a large number of Turkish sources, has resulted in the appearance of significant analytical and synthetic studies.

## I

The eminent pioneer in this branch of scholarship, the versatile S. Bašagić, began with the publishing of original Turkish material, being aware of its crucial importance for Ottoman studies, by preparing in 1897 *The Oldest Ferman of the Ćengić Beys*<sup>2</sup>. His contemporary, S. Kemura, a devoted archive scholar, followed in his steps with the publication of *Turkish Documents for the History of the Bosnian Catholics from Documents of the Kutubhana of the Tsar's Mosque in Sarajevo*<sup>3</sup>, an

<sup>2</sup> *Najstariji ferman begova Ćengića*, Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja u Sarajevu (ff. GZM) IX, 1897, p. 437.

<sup>3</sup> *Turski dokumenti za povijest bosanskih katolika iz sidžila Kjutubhane Careve džamije u Sarajevu*, GZM XXI, 1909, p. 559.

enlarged version of which was published separately a few years later.<sup>4</sup> Kemura, together with V. Ćorović, also published documents from the history of the Orthodox church in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the 18th and 19th century<sup>5</sup>.

In his paper *Sarajevo Mosques and Other Muslim Public Buildings in Sarajevo*<sup>6</sup>, Kemura published a large number of waqfnamas and other documents which refer to those buildings. Among the earlier publications there are the *Turkish Mining Laws*<sup>7</sup>, which were published by F. Spaħo in 1913, and an edition of the agrarian law, which was first published by Ć. Truhelka<sup>8</sup> and then by V. Skarić with certain corrections<sup>9</sup>. Some time earlier, Skarić published the *Register of Bosnian Landowners for the Year 1123 (1711)*<sup>10</sup>. All the above-mentioned works were published in the Year Book of the Sarajevo Regional Museum, a publication which first appeared in 1889, and in which a large number of very important papers from various scientific fields was published.

G. Elezović was among the first to pay attention to the documents in Turkish in the Dubrovnik archives<sup>11</sup>, and F. Bajraktarević<sup>12</sup> wrote about Turkish documents in the monastery of the Holy Trinity near Pljevlje. A. Olesnicki published and provided a critical analysis of the Turkish sources concerning the Kosovo battle<sup>13</sup>. G. Elezović also, published a large number of Turkish documents (226) of diverse character, together with numerous more or less opposite comments in the first volume of *Turkish*

<sup>4</sup> *Bilješke iz prošlosti bosanskih katolika i njihovih bogomolja po turskim dokumentima* (Notes from the Past of the Bosnian Catholics and their Places of Worship Found in Turkish Documents), Islamska dionička štamparija, Sarajevo 1916, 80 p.

<sup>5</sup> S. Kemura – V. Ćorović, *Prilozi za istoriju pravoslavne crkve u Bosni i Hercegovini u XVIII i XIX stoljeću* (Contributions to the History of the Orthodox Church in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the 18th and 19th Centuries), GZM XXIV, 1912, p. 413.

<sup>6</sup> *Sarajevske džamije i druge javne muslimanske građevine u Sarajevu*, GZM XX, 1908; XXI, 1909; XXII, 1910; XXIII, 1911.

<sup>7</sup> *Turski rudarski zakoni*, GZM XXV, 1913, p. 133.

<sup>8</sup> Ć. Truhelka, *Stari turski agrarni zakonik za Bosnu* (Old Turkish Agrarian Law), GZM XXVIII, 1916, p. 427.

<sup>9</sup> V. Skarić, *Turski agrarni zakonici za sandžake Bosnu i Hercegovinu od godine 1047* (Turkish Agrarian Laws for the Sanjaks of Bosnia and Herzegovina from the Year 1047), GZM XLVI, 1934, p. 107.

<sup>10</sup> *Popis bosanskih spahija iz 1123 (1711) godine*, GZM XLII (2), 1930, p. 1.

<sup>11</sup> G. Elezović, *Tursko-srpski spomenici Dubrovačkog arhiva* (Turkish-Serbian Documents from the Archives of Dubrovnik), Beograd 1932, 84 p.

<sup>12</sup> F. Bajraktarević, *Turski dokumenti manastira Sv. Trojice kod Pljevalja* (Turkish Documents of the Monastery of the Holy Trinity near Pljevlja), Spomenik SKA LXXIX, filozofsko-filološke, društvene i istoriske nauke, 62, 2, Sarajevo 1935.

<sup>13</sup> A. Olesnicki, *Turski izvori o Kosovskom boju. Pokušaj kritičke analize njihova sadržaja i uzajamne konsekvativne veze* (Turkish Sources Concerning the Kosovo Battle. An attempt of the Critical Analysis of their Contents and their Mutual Consecutive Connection), Glasnik Srpskog naučnog društva Bk. XIV, društvene nauke 8/1934, Skopje 1934, pp. 59–98.

*Monuments*<sup>14</sup>. In the same year, N. Filipović published *Three Buyuruldi of Numan-pasha Köprüli in Connection with His Campaign Against Montenegro in 1714*<sup>15</sup>.

The postwar period brought systematically published material and the publication of a series of important individual sources. B. Đurđev published detailed excerpts from the defters which relate to Montenegro at the beginning of the 16th century in three issues of the journal of the Oriental Institute (POF)<sup>16</sup> and later on these were published in an integral version<sup>17</sup>. In 1951 G. Elezović published regesta of several volumes of Muhimme Defters, very important documents of the imperial offices<sup>18</sup>. A year later, G. Elezović published his second volume of *Turkish Monuments*, which was slightly smaller in scope, than the first one, and comprised 178 documents with fascimiles<sup>19</sup>. Since numerous Turkish documents are scattered in different places, the works that introduce them to the scholarly circles are very important. One of those is the work of S. Bajraktarević on Turkish documents in the Archeological Museum in Split and in the Franciscan Monastery on the island of Visovac<sup>20</sup>. Dušanka Bojanić-Šopova<sup>21</sup> published original material relating to the history of Macedonia in the 16th and 17th centuries, and H. Šabanović published

<sup>14</sup> G. Elezović, *Turski spomenici, b. I, Vol. I* (1348–1520), SKA, Beograd 1940, Zbornik za istočnjačku istoriku i književnu građu, First Series, Bk. 1.

<sup>15</sup> *Tri bujuruldije Numan-paše Čuprilića u vezi sa njegovim pohodom protiv Crne Gore 1714. godine*. Published in: Gajret, calendar for 1941, Sarajevo 1940, p. 203.

<sup>16</sup> *Defteri za crnogorski sandžak iz vremena Skender-bega Crnojevića* (Defters for the Sanjak of Montenegro from the Time of Skender-Bey Crnojević). POF 1/1950, 1950; POF II / 1951, 1952; POF III–IV/1952–3, 1953.

<sup>17</sup> *Dva deftera Crne Gore iz vremena Skender-bega Crnojevića*, First Volume, Posebna izdanja ANU BiH Bk. IX/1, Odjeljenje društvenih nauka Bk. 2/1, Sarajevo 1968.

Second Volume in collaboration with L. Hadžiosmanović under the same title.

Second Volume, Posebna izdanja ANU BiH, Bk. IX/2, ODN Bk. 2/2, Sarajevo 1973.

First Volume contains the paper and the fascimiles, Second Volume contains the translation of the defters from the years 1521 and 1523.

<sup>18</sup> *Iz carigradskih turskih arhiva – Muhimme defteri* (From Istanbul Turkish Archives – Muhimme Defters). Zbornik za istočnjačku istoriku i književnu građu, Bk. I, Beograd 1951. See: Critical review of this edition by B. Đurđev published in POF II/1951, 1952, pp. 321–326.

<sup>19</sup> G. Elezović, *Turski spomenici, b. I, Vol. 2*, Zbornik IKG Srpske akademije nauka, First Series, book I, Beograd 1952.

<sup>20</sup> S. Bajraktarević, *Turski dokumenti u splitskom arheološkom muzeju i u franjevačkom samostanu na Visovcu* (Turkish Documents in the Archeological Museum in Split and in the Franciscan Monastery at Visovac). *Starine* 44, Odjel za filozofiju i društvene nauke, Zagreb 1952.

<sup>21</sup> D. Šopova, *Makedonija vo XVI i XVII vek*. (Dokumenti od carigradskite arhivi 1557 – 1645) (Macedonia in the 16th and 17th Centuries. Documents from Istanbul Archives 1557–1645). Institut za nacionalna istorija (INI), Skopje 1955, 142 p.

documents of the imperial offices referring to the first Serbian uprising<sup>22</sup>. Exceptionally valuable material for the history of Macedonia is a voluminous collection of sidjils of the Bitolj Kadi (Moslem judge), which is unique because of the fact that the sidjils were preserved for a continuous period of almost three hundred years (1620–1912). Macedonian Oriental scholars prepared these sidjils in stages, under a common title *Turkish Sources for the History of Macedonia*. First P. Džambazovski and A. Starova prepared the documents from the sidjils No. 78 and 79, for the period 1800–1803<sup>23</sup> in the first volume. After that, Džambazovski prepared the documents from sidjils No. 78–105, for the period 1803 – 1839 in four volumes<sup>24</sup>.

The launching of the series *Monumenta Turcica Historiam Slavorum Meridionalium Illustrantia* of the Oriental Institute in Sarajevo, is of great importance for the systematic publication of sources. It is planned that in it all categories of material will be published: law codes, defters, sidjils, waqf namas, etc. The first to be published in this series were *Qanuns and Qanun-namas*<sup>25</sup>, a selection of laws of the Turkish authorities, which contains a qanun concerning the Vlachs of the Herzegovina Sanjak of 1477, a qanun concerning the Vlachs of the Pavlović region of 1485, a qanun concerning the Vlachs of the King's Land of 1489, a qanun concerning the Kreševo mine and a qanun concerning the Fojnica mine and its dependent mines of Deževica and Dusina, both of 1489. Then there are qanun-namas of the Bosnian Sanjak of 1516, 1530, 1542 and 1565, qanun-namas of the Sanjaks of Bosnia, Herzegovina and Zvornik of 1539, qanun-namas of the Zvornik Sanjak of 1548, a qanun-nama of the Klis Sanjak of 1574 and the Herzegovina Sanjak of 1637–38, and the Customs Laws of Srebrenica. The laws for Montenegro were published in the second part: decrees on some mountain and Albanian tribes of 1497, then Montenegro qanun-namas of 1523, 1529–1536 and qanun-namas for the Skadar Sanjak of 1529–36 and 1570.

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<sup>22</sup> H. Šabanović, *Turski izvori o srpskoj revoluciji 1804. godine*. Knjiga I. Spisi carske kancelarije 1789–1804. godine. (Turkish Sources Concerning the Serbian Uprising of 1804. Book I. Documents of the Imperial Offices 1789–1804). Istorisko društvo, Beograd 1956.

<sup>23</sup> P. Džambazovski i A. Starova, *Turski dokumenti za makedonskata istorija, Vol. I 1800 – 1803*. INI Skopje 1951.

<sup>24</sup> P. Džambazovski, *Turski dokumenti za makedonskata istorija, Vol. II 1803–1808*, Skopje 1953; *Vol. III 1808–1817*, Skopje 1955, *Vol. IV 1818–1827*, Skopje 1957; *Vol. V 1827–1839*, Skopje 1958.

<sup>25</sup> *Kanuni i Kanun-name za bosanski, hercegovački, zvornički, kliški, crnogorski i skadarski sandžak*. Saopštavaju: B. Đurđev, N. Filipović, H. Hadžibegić, M. Mujić i H. Šabanović. (Qanuns and Qanun-namas for the Sanjaks of Bosnia, Herzegovina, Zvornik, Klis, Montenegro and Skadar. Reporeted by: B. Đurđev, N. Filipović, H. Hadžibegić, M. Mujić and H. Šabanović). Orijentalni institut, Monumenta Turcica I, 1, Sarajevo 1957

Using the already mentioned sidjils of the Bitolj Kadi, A. Matkovski published documents which related to highway robbery and banditry in Macedonia<sup>26</sup>. These series consisted of five volumes and covered the period 1620–1810.

In 1963, the publishing of documents from the sidjils of the Bitolj Kadi was continued under the title *Turkish Documents for the History of the Macedonian People*. Four volumes, containing the first eight sidjils referring to the first half of the 17th century, have been prepared and published up to now<sup>27</sup>.

One of the most important categories of these documents are the Turkish land registers, the tahrir defters, which provide outstanding data for the history of the region they refer to. Because of this, the publishing of the defters is, at present, one of the primary tasks of Ottoman studies. The pioneer role in this research belongs to H. Šabanović, who first prepared *Isa-bey Ishaković's land*<sup>28</sup>, a collective land register defter of 1455, for the Jeleč, Zvečan, Hodidjed, Sjenica, Ras, Skoplje and Tetovo Vilayets. In this defter, the parts of Bosnian territory which were under Turkish rule before the final fall of the Bosnian kingdom in 1463, are listed. In the same year Šabanović published *Turkish Sources for the History of Belgrade*, land registers for Belgrade and its vicinity in the period 1476–1566<sup>29</sup>. In this edition, besides the text of the defter, there is an excellently written *Introduction*, which is in fact a virtual study of the significance and types of defters, their origin and content. The *Glossary* provided together with this book has become an indispensable manual for work on this type of source. A short while later, M. Sokoloski and A. Stojanovski published a detailed register-defter for some Macedonian regions for 1467/8, the first volume of defters in the above mentioned series *Turkish Documents for the History of the*

<sup>26</sup> A. Matkovski, *Turski izvori za ajduštvo i aramistvo vo Makedonija* (Turkish Sources Concerning Highway Robbery and Banditry in Macedonia), I 1620–1650, Skopje 1961; II 1650–1700, Skopje 1961; III 1700–1725, Skopje 1973; IV 1725–1775, Skopje 1979; V 1777–1810, Skopje 1980.

<sup>27</sup> M. Sokoloski, A. Starova, V. Boškov, F. Ishak, *Turski dokumenti za istorijata na makedonskiot narod*, Series I 1607–1699, Vol. I 1607–1623, Skopje 1963, Sidjils No. 1 and 2. V. Boškov, o.c., Vol. II 1627–1635, Državna arhiva na Makedonija, Skopje 1966, Sidjils No. 3 and 4.  
M. Sokoloski, A. Starova, K. Iljazi, V. Boškov, o.c., Vol. III 1636–1639, Arhiv na Makedonija, Skopje 1969, Sidjils No. 4, 5, 6, 8.  
V. Boškov, o.c., Vol. IV 1640–1642, Arhiv na Makedonija, Skopje 1972, Sidjils No. 5, 6, 7, 8.

<sup>28</sup> *Krajište Isa-bega Ishakovića*, Orijentalni institut, Monumenta Turcica II, Defters Bk. 1, Sarajevo 1964.

<sup>29</sup> *Turski izvori za istoriju Beograda*, Bk. I, Vol. 1, Beograd 1964.

*Macedonian People*<sup>30</sup>. A year later a detailed land register of the Branković Region of 1455<sup>31</sup> was published, and accompanying the translation of the text it gives a facsimile of the defters. After this, the Macedonian scholars in Ottoman studies published a series of detailed register-defters which refer to the 15th century. The 2nd volume of the series includes the registers of the Veles, Kostur and Kolonja districts of 1440, and the registers of Skoplje, Tetovo, Kičevo, Veles, Prilep and Mariovo districts of 1467/8 and the Levin district of 1481<sup>32</sup>. In the 3rd volume, the material for the Skoplje and Tetovo Vilayets of 1452/3 is given<sup>33</sup>. The fourth volume comprises a complete defter<sup>34</sup>, while the fifth volume gives material from the detailed register-defters of the Čustendil Sanjak in the 16th century<sup>35</sup>.

In the meantime, D. Bojanić-Lukač published fragments of two defters from the 15th century for the Vidin Sanjak<sup>36</sup>, and then the *Turkish Laws and Legal Regulations from the 15th and 16th Century for the Smederevo, Kruševac and Vidin Regions*<sup>37</sup>.

Turkish documents also give data valuable for the history of the church in the Yugoslav lands. V. Boškov published a paper on such documents found in the Dubrovnik archives<sup>38</sup>.

<sup>30</sup> M. Sokoloski — A. Stojanovski, *Turski dokumenti za istorijata na makedonskiot narod, Opširen popisni defter No. 4 (1467/68 god.)*. (Turkish Documents for the History of the Macedonian People. Detailed Register-Defter No. 4 (1467/68), Arhiv na Makedonija, Skopje 1971.

<sup>31</sup> *Oblast Brankovića* (Branković's Region), Orijentalni institut, Monumenta Turcica II, 2/1–2, Sarajevo 1972. Prepared by: H. Hadžibegić, A. Handžić and E. Kovačević.

<sup>32</sup> M. Sokoloski, *Turski dokumenti za istorijata na makedonskiot narod, Opširni popisni defteri od XV vek* (Turkish Documents for the History of the Macedonian People. Detailed Register-Defters from the 15th-Century), Vol. II, Arhiv na Makedonija, Skopje 1973.

<sup>33</sup> M. Sokoloski, *Isto, Opširni popisni defteri od XV vek*. Tom III. (o.c., Detailed Register-Defters From 15th Century. Vol. III), Arhiv na Makedonija, Skopje 1976.

<sup>34</sup> A. Stojanovski, *Isto, Opširen popisni defter od XV vek*. (o.c., Detailed Register-Defter From 15th Century), Arhiv na Makedonija, Skopje 1978.

<sup>35</sup> A. Stojanovski, *Isto, Opširni popisni defteri od XVI vek za kustendilski ot sandžak*, Tom V, knjiga IV. (o.c., Detailed Register-Defters From 16th Century for the Sanjak of Čustendil, Vol. V; Bk. IV), Arhiv na Makedonija, Skopje 1982.

<sup>36</sup> D. Bojanić-Lukač, *Fragmentsi jednog zbirnog i jednog opširnog popisa Vidinskog sandžaka iz druge polovine XV veka* (Fragments of a General Defter and a Detailed Defter of Vidin Sanjak From the Second Half of 15th Century), Istorijiski institut, Beograd 1973.

<sup>37</sup> *Turski zakoni i zakonski propisi iz XV i XVI veka za smederevsku, kruševačku i vidinsku oblast*, Istorijiski institut, Beograd 1974.

<sup>38</sup> *Turski dokumenti u Dubrovačkom arhivu iz druge polovine 16. veka o odnosu pravoslavne i katoličke crkve* (Turkish Documents From 16th Century Found in Dubrovnik Archives Concerning the Relation Between Orthodox and Catholic Church), Zbornik radova o Matiji Divkoviću, Sarajevo 1982.

The data of nine defters which refer to certain regions of Western Serbia were published in three volumes by A.S. Aličić in 1985.<sup>39</sup> The defters are from the period 1476–1572, and all of them are very detailed, except for a summary one from 1523. This is the largest published corpus of Turkish archives material to date. Although such publications initiate discussions on whether it is justifiable to publish separately certain parts of the defters only, or to publish them in integral versions, we must bear in mind that work on the sources is not affected only by subjective, but also by objective considerations, which most often can not be overcome.

The same year, A.S. Aličić published *A Detailed List of the Herzegovina Vilayet Sanjaks*<sup>40</sup>. The defter was completed in 1477, and thus it represents the oldest register of Herzegovina as a separate Sanjak. The fruitful publishing activity of the Oriental Institute was continued by the publication of the *Muhimme Defters*<sup>41</sup>, extremely important material which contains orders of the central authorities concerning the Yugoslav lands in the period 1554–1566. Documents in the form of detailed registars, were taken from the first six volumes of the *Muhimme Defters*. Unfortunately, the document facsimiles were not published for financial reasons.

The Oriental Institute also published a collection of very important documents, *Waqf-namas from Bosnia and Herzegovina – 15th and 16th Centuries*<sup>42</sup>, the first volume of a series of *Waqf-namas*. All the already known *Waqf-namas* from that period were included in this book, whether already published or published for the first time.

The Bosnian and Herzegovinian, and the Serbian, Academies of Arts and Sciences together published two summary registers of the Zvornik Sanjak, one from 1519, and the other from 1533<sup>43</sup>. This publication is proof of the thesis that the most correct way of publishing a defter is to publish both a translation and the facsimile of the document.

In the Oriental Institute in Sarajevo, in the project *Sources for the History of Bosnia and Herzegovina of the 16th Century*, five register-defters of the Bosnian Eyalets (Bosnia–1570 and 1604, Herzegovina –

<sup>39</sup> A. Aličić, *Turski katastarski popisi nekih područja zapadne Srbije XV i XVI vek* (Turkish Defters of Certain Regions of Western Serbia From 15th and 16th Century), I, II, III, Čačak 1985.

<sup>40</sup> *Poimenični popis sandžaka vilajeta Hercegovina*, Orijentalni institut, Monumenta Turcica II/3, Sarajevo 1985.

<sup>41</sup> *Muhimme defteri, dokumenti o našim krajevima*. Priredio E. Kovačević. (Muhimme Defters, Documents on Our Regions. Prepared by: E. Kovačević), Orijentalni institut, Monumenta Turcica III, Bk. 1, Vol. 1, Sarajevo 1985.

<sup>42</sup> *Vakufname iz Bosne i Hercegovine – XV i XVI vijek*, Orijentalni institut, Monumenta Turcica IV/1, Sarajevo 1985. Prepared by the group of authors.

<sup>43</sup> ANU BiH and SANU, Građa, Bk. XXVI, Odjeljenje društvenih nauka (ODN), Bk. 22, Sarajevo 1986. Prepared by A. Handžić.



1585, Klis – 1550, Požega – 1579) are, at present, in preparation and should be published in a few years time.

Another interesting and important category of sources are Turkish inscriptions. M. Mujezinović completed work on almost all the relevant sources of this kind in Bosnia and Herzegovina in three volumes in the series *Islamic Epigraphics in Bosnia and Herzegovina*<sup>44</sup>, so this is one of the few fields which is relatively complete.

A large number of individual documents (fermans, berats, muaf-namas, sidjils, etc.) has been published in this period, and H. Šabanović, H. Hadžibegić, N. Filipović, B. Đurđev, D. Bojanić, A. Handžić, M. Sokoloski, A. Stojanovski, V. Boškov, O. Zirojević, M. Vasić, F. Dž. Spaho, etc., have played very important roles in the publishing of these sources.

## II

Regarding the question of Ottoman authorities, the administrative and territorial organization, we shall start with the work of S. Bašagić. His work, *A Concise History of Bosnia and Herzegovina*, has played an important role in the development of the historiography of the Ottoman period. However, from the standpoint of modern scholarship the work is regarded as obsolete and burdened with romantic attitudes resulting from his class-orientation. The author's use of unpublished sources is what gave significance to this work, or as he himself said: "When the material is studied completely and in detail, and all Eastern and Western sources examined – and that will take a lot of people, a lot of time and effort – it is only then that a skilled historian will succeed in writing a complete history of proud Bosnia and heroic Herzegovina..."<sup>46</sup>

Work on the project, *The History of the Peoples of Yugoslavia*, was started after the World War II. Historians specialising in the Ottoman period worked on the periods of Ottoman power in all the Yugoslav lands, using both published and unpublished sources<sup>47</sup>. B. Đurđev and M.

<sup>44</sup> I Book: *Sarajevo* (Sarajevo), Sarajevo 1974; II Book: *Istočna i centralna Bosna* (Eastern and Central Bosnia), Sarajevo 1977; III Book: *Zapadna Bosna i Hercegovina* (Western Bosnia and Herzegovina), Sarajevo 1982.

<sup>45</sup> See: B. Nurudinović, *Bibliografija jugoslovenske orijentalistike 1945–1960* (Bibliography of Yugoslav Oriental Studies 1945–1960), Sarajevo 1968, chapter: History; id., *Bibliografija jugoslovenske orijentalistike 1961–1965* (Bibliography of Yugoslav Oriental Studies 1961–1965), Sarajevo 1981, chapter: History; id., *Bibliografija jugoslovenske orijentalistike 1918–1945* (Bibliography of Yugoslav Oriental Studies 1918–1945), Sarajevo 1986, chapter: History; J. Šamić, *Bibliographie des travaux turcologiques Yugoslaves, I* (Bibliography of Yugoslav Turkish Studies, I), Turcica, tome XVI, Paris 1984.

<sup>46</sup> *Kratka uputa u prošlost Bosne i Hercegovine*, Sarajevo 1900; Preface p. 1.

<sup>47</sup> *Historija naroda Jugoslavije, II* (History of the Peoples of Yugoslavia, II), Zagreb 1959.

Vasić<sup>48</sup>, worked separately on the period of Ottoman power in Yugoslavia till the end of the 18th century.

Beside Bašagić<sup>49</sup>, H. Šabanović worked devotedly on the problem of the Ottoman authorities and the administrative divisions. A whole series of his studies gave excellent results, which helped in the solving of problems regarding the administrative organization<sup>50</sup>, the question of the Bosnian border lands<sup>51</sup> and the establishing of Turkish rule in Bosnia<sup>52</sup>. Šabanović established a very important fact – according to him Turkish rule began in 1448, but he emphasizes the fact that the first certain information on Turkish rule in Bosnia dates from 1451. That year an administrative unit of Bosnian land, or the Hodidjed Vilayet was formed. Šabanović completed his research on this problem in the monograph *The Bosnian Pashalik*<sup>53</sup>, a work which is still of very great value. Šabanović also wrote about the military organization of Bosnia, although rather briefly<sup>54</sup>, as well as on the organization of the administration in this province of the Empire<sup>55</sup>. T. Popović worked on the question of the organization of the Herzegovina Sanjak, during a shorter period<sup>56</sup>.

The question of the character of the Turkish rule in Montenegro was, for a long time, a subject of disagreement amongst historians. The thesis of the centuries-long independence of Montenegro from the Ottoman Empire was widely accepted. B. Đurđev proved that there was no

<sup>48</sup> *Jugoslovenske zemlje pod turskom vlašću do kraja XVIII stoljeća* (Yugoslav Lands Under the Turkish Rule till the End of 18th Century), Zagreb 1962.

<sup>49</sup> S. Bašagić, *Kako se za turske uprave Jugoslavija dijelila na kadiluke* (The Way Yugoslavia was divided into „cadilucs” (administrative units) During the Turkish Rule), Novi Behar IV–12, 1930–31, Sarajevo.

<sup>50</sup> H. Šabanović, *Upravna podjela jugoslovenskih zemalja pod turskom vladavinom do Karlovačkog mira 1699. godine* (Administrative Division of the Yugoslav Lands under the Ottoman Rule until Karlovac Peace Treaty of 1699), Godišnjak istorijskog društva Bosne i Hercegovine (GID BiH) IV, 1952, pp. 171–204.

<sup>51</sup> id., *Bosansko krajište 1448–1463* (Bosnian Border Lands 1448–1463), GID BiH IX, 1958, pp. 177–220.

<sup>52</sup> id., *Pitanje turske vlasti u Bosni do phoda Mehmeda II 1453. godine* (The Question of Turkish Rule in Bosnia up to the Mehmed II Expedition of 1463), GID BiH VII/1955, 1956, pp. 37–51.

<sup>53</sup> id., *Bosanski pašaluk*, Sarajevo 1959.

<sup>54</sup> id., *Vojno uređenje Bosne od 1463. godine do kraja XVI stoljeća* (Military Organization of Bosnia from 1463 to the End of 16th Century), Godišnjak društva istoričara Bosne i Hercegovine (GDI BiH) XI/1960, 1961, pp. 173–224.

<sup>55</sup> id., *Bosanski divan. Organizacija i uređenje centralne zemaljske uprave u Bosni do kraja XVII stoljeća* (The Bosnian Divan. The Organization of the Central Administration in Bosnia up to the End of 17th Century), Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju (POF) XVIII – XIX/1968–9, Sarajevo 1973.

<sup>56</sup> T. Popović, *Upravna organizacija hercegovačkog sandžaka u XVI veku* (Administrative Organization of the Herzegovinian Sanjak in 16th Century), POF XII–XIII/1962–3, 1965, pp. 75–120.

independence, only a certain autonomy, which started in the 16th century due to the filuridji status of its inhabitants<sup>57</sup>.

H. Šabanović<sup>58</sup> wrote about the organization of Turkish administration in Serbia in the 15th and 16th centuries, the period of the rise and development of Ottoman power. S. Rizaj<sup>59</sup> worked on some aspects of the administration in Kosovo during a period of two centuries, more precisely on aspects of the political and administrative system. O. Zirojević<sup>60</sup> wrote about the administrative divisions of Vojvodina and Slavonija in the Turkish period, a subject to which little attention was paid. The same author wrote a monograph on the Turkish military organization in Serbia in the period from the Turkish conquest till the Viennese war, concerning himself with military ranks and fortifications<sup>61</sup>.

A. Stojanovski<sup>62</sup> presented the administrative and territorial division of Macedonia till the end of the 17th century.

It will be noted that certain regions and certain periods of Turkish power, especially the so-called classical period till the end of the 16th century, were studied more than the later period, which is regarded as a period of crisis in the Empire. This occurred due to the fact that a smaller number of documents was studied for the latter period and that they are mostly inaccessible. This indicates the task of future scholars in the field of Ottoman studies.

The monograph of A.S. Aličić *Organization of the Bosnian Eyalet in the Period 1789–1878*<sup>63</sup>, deals with the problem of the administrative structure and the organization of provincial and local governments in the 19th century. This very tumultuous period of reforms, the liquidation of the janissary and landowner system, the disintegration of the guilds — in

<sup>57</sup> B. Đurđev, *Turska vlast u Crnoj Gori u XVI i XVII veku. Prilog jednom nerešenom pitanju iz naše prošlosti* (Turkish Rule in Montenegro in the 16th and 17th Centuries. Contribution to an Unsolved Question from Our Past), Sjetlost, Sarajevo 1953.

<sup>58</sup> H. Šabanović, *Organizacija turske uprave u Srbiji u XV i XVI veku* (Organization of Turkish Administration in Serbia in the 15th and 16th Century), Istoriski glasnik 3–4, Beograd 1955.

<sup>59</sup> S. Rizaj, *Političko-upravni sistem na Kosovu i Metohiji od XV do XVII veka* (Political-Administrative System in Kosovo and Metohia from the 15th to 17th Century), Gjurmime albanologjike 2, Priština 1965, pp. 293–308.

<sup>60</sup> O. Zirojević, *Upravna podela današnje Vojvodine i Slavonije u vreme Turaka* (Administrative Division of Today's Vojvodina and Slavonija in Turkish Period), Zbornik za istoriju I Matice srpske, Novi Sad 1970.

<sup>61</sup> O. Zirojević, *Tursko vojno uredenje u Srbiji (1459 – 1683)*, (Turkish Military Organization in Serbia (1459–1683)), Istorijski institut, Monographies 18, Beograd 1974.

<sup>62</sup> A. Stojanovski, *Administrativno-teritorijalnata podelba na Makedonija pod osmanliskata vlast do krajot na XVII vek*, (Administrative-Territorial Division of Macedonia Under the Osmanish Rule Till the End of the 17th Century), Glasnik instituta za nacionalnu istoriju, Skopje (GINI), XVII, 2, 1973.

<sup>63</sup> *Uredjenje Bosanskog ejaleta od 1789. do 1878. godine*, Orijentalni institut, Posebna izdanja XI, Sarajevo 1983.

brief, a period of vigorous and radical changes, requires detailed research. This monograph is an important contribution to this research.

Studies on Sanjakbeys and other eminent personalities of the Empire are very important contributions to the study of government of this kind in Bosnia. Such studies are Bašagić's study of Gazi Husrev-bey written in 1907<sup>64</sup>, then Elezović's study of Yahya-pasha, the Bosnian Sanjakbey and the Beylerbey of Rumelia at the end of the 15th and beginning of the 16th century<sup>65</sup>, the study of A. Handžić of Hekimoglu Ali-pasha<sup>66</sup>; and A. Bejtić's study of Mehmed-pasha Kukavica<sup>67</sup>; as well as a whole series of works on the role of Gazi Husrev-bey in relation to the development of Sarajevo.

B. Đurđev<sup>68</sup> and E. Kovačević<sup>69</sup> have written about the problems of the borders of this territory within the Ottoman Empire and about the borders of the Empire with neighbouring countries. Especially useful is the study of E. Kovačević on the borders of the Bosnian Pashalik after the Karlovac Peace Treaty, when the Ottoman Empire and the Bosnian Eyalet suffered severe territorial losses<sup>70</sup>.

The organization of the local administration is one of the problems that has been more thoroughly worked on up to now. A whole series of important studies have been done on this subject. One of the first works is the monograph on Captancies by H. Kreševljaković<sup>71</sup>, in which the author gives a survey of the origin and development of this institution in Bosnia, the history of each individual Captancy, emphasizing the role of the Captains, as the representatives of the local government. Each of these questions requires further research.

<sup>64</sup> Mirza Safvet, *Gazi Husrev-beg (u spomen 400-godišnjice dolaska u Bosnu)*. (Gazi Husrev-Bey. In Memory of 400th Anniversary of his Arrival in Bosnia), Sarajevo 1907.

<sup>65</sup> in: *Turkish Monuments* I, 1, p. 209

<sup>66</sup> A. Handžić, *Bosanski namjesnik Hekim-oglu Ali-paša* (Bosnian Regent Hekim-oglu Ali-pasha), POF V/1954–5, 1955, pp. 135–180.

<sup>67</sup> A. Bejtić, *Bosanski namjesnik Mehmed-paša Kukavica i njegove zadužbine u Bosni* (Bosnian Regent Mehmed-pasha Kukavica and his Endowments in Bosnia, 1752–1756 and 1757–1760), POF VI–VII/1956–7, 1958, pp. 77–114.

<sup>68</sup> B. Đurđev, *O granicama između Hercegovine i Crne Gore 1477. i 1481. godine* (About the Borders Between Herzegovina and Montenegro in 1477, and 1481.), Radovi Filozofskog fakulteta u Sarajevu (Radovi FFS) VI, 1970–71.

<sup>69</sup> E. Kovačević, *Hududnama bosanskog vilajeta prema Austriji poslije Karlovačkog mira* (The Hududnama Concerning the Borders of the Bosnian Vilayet with Austria after the Karlovac Peace Treaty), POF XX–XXI/1970–71, 1974, pp. 365–436.

<sup>70</sup> id., *Granice bosanskog pašaluka prema Austriji i Mletačkoj Republici prema odredbama Karlovačkog mira* (The Borders of the Bosnian Pashalik with Austria and the Republic of Venice According to the Regulations of Karlovac Peace Treaty), Sarajevo, 1973.

<sup>71</sup> *Kapetanije u Bosni i Hercegovini* (Captaincies in Bosnia and Herzegovina), Djela Naučnog društva BiH V, Sarajevo 1954.

A. Sućeska has written several studies on this problem. Some of them are studies of general character<sup>72</sup>, while some are about Bosnia<sup>73</sup>. The most important monograph is certainly that on ayans<sup>74</sup>. The first part of the study deals with the importance of ayans as the representatives of local government and in the Ottoman Empire, while the second part indicates the place and the role of ayans in the Yugoslav lands.

The works of H. Kreševljaković<sup>75</sup> and A. Sućeska<sup>76</sup> on the importance and role of the *mutessellims* as officials of the local government also belong in this group.

The work of D. Bojanić-Lukač and S. Đorđević on the development of local government in the Balkans from the 15th to the 19th centuries is also of importance. The problem of administration in the cities, which had been avoided, is dealt with in this work. It has been written on the basis of sources and published studies<sup>77</sup>.

It must be mentioned that the legal system has also been discussed, but mostly in general terms. M. Begović<sup>78</sup> and A. Sućeska<sup>79</sup> have written about the influence of Yugoslav Medieval law on Turkish law, also about the question of the influence of sharia law on the Ottoman legal system<sup>80</sup>

<sup>72</sup> A. Sućeska, *Organizacija lokalne vlasti u Osmanskom Carstvu do kraja XVII vijeka* (Organization of the Local Government in Ottoman Empire till the End of 17th Century), *Godišnjak Pravnog fakulteta u Sarajevu (Godišnjak PFS)* XI, 1963, pp. 231–256.

<sup>73</sup> id., *Neke osobenosti turske lokalne uprave u Bosni u XVIII stoljeću* (Certain Characteristics of the Turkish Local Government in Bosnia in 18th Century), *Zbornik Pravnog fakulteta u Zagrebu* XII, 3–4, 1962, pp. 383–390.

<sup>74</sup> id., Ajani. *Prilog proučavanju lokalne vlasti u našim zemljama za vrijeme Turaka* (Ayans. Contribution to the Study of Local Governments in our Lands During the Turkish Period), Sarajevo 1965, *Djela ND BiH XXII, odjeljenje istorisko-filoloških nauka (OIFN)*, Bk. 14.

<sup>75</sup> H. Kreševljaković, *Muteselimi i njihov djelokrug* (Mutesellims and their Competences), *Radovi ND BiH VII, OIFN Bk. 3*, Sarajevo 1957.

<sup>76</sup> A. Sućeska, *Mjesto muteselima u lokalnoj upravi do Tanzimata* (A Place of Mutesellims in the Local Government till Tanzimat), *Godišnjak PFS VII*, 1959, pp. 295–313.

<sup>77</sup> D. Bojanić-Lukač – S. Đorđević, *Razvoj lokalne gradske uprave na Balkanu od XV do XIX veka* (Development of the Local City Government in Balkans from 15th to 19th Centuries), *Zbornik „Gradska kultura na Balkanu (XV–XIX vek)”*, SANU Balkanološki institut, Posebna izdanja Bk. 20, Beograd 1984.

<sup>78</sup> M. Begović, *Tragovi našeg srednjovekovnog prava u turskim pravnim spomenicima* (The Traces of our Medieval Law in Turkish Law Monuments), *Istoriski časopis III*, Beograd 1951–2, pp. 67–84.

<sup>79</sup> A. Sućeska, *Elementi našeg srednjovekovnog prava u turskim pravnim spomenicima* (Elements of our Medieval Law in Turkish Law Monuments), *Zbornik Pravnog fakulteta Rijeka* 3/1982, pp. 181–190.

<sup>80</sup> M. Begović, *Uticaj šerijatskog prava na pravne običaje u Jugoslaviji* (The Influence of the Sheri'at Law on Legal Traditions in Yugoslavia), *Godišnjak PFS* 22, 1974, pp. 375–381.

and the question of particularities in some branches of law in the Turkish period<sup>81</sup>.

### III

The problem of population is the central issue in the historiography of the Ottoman period. Many works dealing with this subject have been published, but a systematic review has never been given, because of the fact that none of the categories of the population, especially the peasants, had been sufficiently studied. One of the earliest works is V. Skarić's *Origin of the Serbian Orthodox People in Northwestern Bosnia*<sup>82</sup>, and a brief theoretical treatise by Ć. Truhelka on the legal status of Christians in the Turkish Empire<sup>83</sup>. After the war, B. Đurđev wrote several important theoretical treatises regarding the issue. These include *The Influence of Turkish Rule on the Development of the Yugoslav Peoples*<sup>84</sup>, a study of the basic historical and ethnic questions regarding the development of the Yugoslav peoples till the formation of the nations<sup>85</sup>, and a study of the role of patriarchal culture in the history of the peoples of Bosnia and Herzegovina in the Ottoman period<sup>86</sup>. One of the earlier studies of B. Đurđev, written on the basis of Turkish sources, is his study of Christian landowners in Northeastern Serbia at the very beginning of Ottoman rule. Only in the later period did there arise new discussions regarding the population, due to the availabilities of a large number of authentic sources, primarily Turkish registers.

The work of N. Filipović on the Bosnian peasantry at the beginning of Ottoman rule, which was written on the basis of the data in the first Turkish land registers, should be mentioned<sup>88</sup>.

<sup>81</sup> A. Sućeska, *Neke osobenosti krivičnog prava u jugoslovenskim zemljama za vrijeme Turaka* (Some Particularities of the Criminal Law in Yugoslav Lands in the Turkish Period), *Zbornik Balkanološkog instituta SANU* 1, 1974, 255–268.

<sup>82</sup> *Porijeklo pravoslavnog naroda u sjeverozapadnoj Bosni*, GZM XXX, 1918, p. 219.

<sup>83</sup> Ć. Truhelka, *Pravni položaj kršćana u Turskoj carevini* (The Legal Status of Christians in the Turkish Empire), *Obzor* LXXII, 1931.

<sup>84</sup> *O uticaju turske vladavine na razvitak naših naroda*, GID BiH II, 1950.

<sup>85</sup> B. Đurđev, *Osnovna istorisko-etnička pitanja o razvitku jugoslovenskih naroda do obrazovanja nacije* (The Basic Historical and Ethnic Questions Regarding the Development of the Yugoslav Peoples till the Formation of the Nations), *Pregled* XII, Bk. 2, No. 7, 8, 1960.

<sup>86</sup> Isti, *Uloga patrijarhalne kulture u istoriji naroda Bosne i Hercegovine pod turskom vlašću* (The Role of Patriarchal Culture in the History of the Peoples of Bosnia and Herzegovina in the Ottoman Period), *Godišnjak ANU BiH* XIII, Centar za balkanološka istraživanja, Bk. 11, Sarajevo 1976.

<sup>87</sup> B. Đurđev, *Hrišćani – spahije u severnoj Srbiji u XV veku* (Christian Landowners in North Serbia at the 15th Century), GID BiH IV, 1952.

<sup>88</sup> N. Filipović, *Osvrt na pitanje položaja bosanskog seljaštva u prvoj deceniji uspostavljanja osmanske vlasti u Bosni* (A Study in Some Questions Regarding the Position of Bosnian Peasantry in the First Decade of Ottoman Rule in Bosnia), *Radovi FFS* III, 1965.

The work of N. Filipović *On Problems of Social and Ethnic Development During the Period of Ottoman Rule*, then M. Hadžijahić's *Certain Results of Research into Ethnic Nobility in Bosnia in the 18th Century and the First Half of the 19th Century*, as well as a short informative discussion of B. Đurđev *On Some Historical and Ethnic Problems in the Treatment of the Turkish Period*, are significant contributions to the study of the ethnic development of Bosnia and Herzegovina<sup>89</sup>.

A lot has also been written about ethnic nobility and changes in the structure of the population. These changes occurred very often in these parts, due to various reasons, such as planned activities of the central authorities, economic migrations, both spontaneous and those which happened because of war in some other regions. This problem is very complex and it can be solved only complementarily. M. Vasić<sup>90</sup> has written about ethnic changes in the Bosnian border area, A. Handžić<sup>91</sup> has written about Northeastern Bosnia and Š. Hodžić about migrations in the same region<sup>92</sup>. M. Sokolowski<sup>93</sup> has discussed the population of Western Macedonia, while I. Voje<sup>94</sup> has written about the situation in the Slovenian lands. A. Handžić has also written about the urban population in Bosnia<sup>95</sup> and about the social structure of the population in Bosnia at the beginning of the 17th century.<sup>96</sup>

<sup>89</sup> N. Filipović, *O problemima društvenog i etničkog razvitka u doba osmanske vlasti*; M. Hadžijahić, *Neki rezultati ispitivanja etničkih kretanja u Bosni u 18. i prvoj polovici 19. stoljeća*; B. Đurđev, *O nekim istorijsko-etničkim problemima u obradi turskog perioda*. Studies and discussions published in: Prilozi Instituta za istoriju Sarajevo (PIIS) XI–XII, 11–12, 1975–76.

<sup>90</sup> M. Vasić, *Etnička kretanja u bosanskoj krajini u XVI vijeku* (Ethnic Changes in Bosnian Border Area in 16th Century), GDI BiH XIII, 1962, pp. 233–250.

<sup>91</sup> A. Handžić, *Etničke promjene u sjeveroistočnoj Bosni i Posavini u XV i XVI vijeku* (Ethnic Changes in Northeastern Bosnia and Posavina in 15th and 16th Centuries), JIČ 4, 1969, pp. 31–37.

<sup>92</sup> S. Hodžić, *Migracije muslimanskog stanovništva iz Srbije u sjeveroistočnu Bosnu između 1788–1862. godine* (Migrations of Muslim Peoples from Serbia to Northeastern Bosnia between 1788 and 1862), Članci i građa II, Tuzla 1958, pp. 65–143.

<sup>93</sup> M. Sokolowski, *Osvrt na sastav stanovništva zapadne Makedonije u XV i XVI veku* (A Study in the Structure of the Population in Western Macedonia in 15th and 16th Centuries), JIČ 1–2, 1970, pp. 9–31.

<sup>94</sup> I. Voje, *Vplivi osmanskega imperija na slovenske dežele v 15. in 16. stoletju* (Influences of the Ottoman Empire on Slovenian Lands in 15th and 16th Centuries), Zgodovinski časopis XXX, 1–2, Ljubljana 1976.

<sup>95</sup> A. Handžić, *O gradskom stanovništvu u Bosni u XVI vijeku* (About the Urban Population in Bosnia in the 16th Century), POF XXVIII–XXIX/1978–79, 1980.

<sup>96</sup> A. Handžić, *O društvenoj strukturi stanovništva u Bosni početkom XVII stoljeća* (About the Social Structure of the Population in Bosnia at the Beginning of the 17th Century), POF 32–33/1982–3, 1984, pp. 129–146.

M. Mujić<sup>97</sup>, A. Stojanovski<sup>98</sup>, A. Sućeska<sup>99</sup> and M. Hadžijahić<sup>100</sup> have written about certain ethnic groups and the position of different categories of the population. The works of A. Sućeska, on the position of the Bosnian Muslims in the Ottoman state<sup>101</sup>, on the legal position of the urban population<sup>102</sup>, on the position of non-Muslim subjects under Turkish rule in Bosnia in the 18th century<sup>103</sup>, on the social and political movements of Bosnian Muslims in the 18th century<sup>104</sup>, indicate a continuity of interest and work on the solving of all aspects of this important question. A special point of interest for this author was the peasantry, that is the question of the position of Muslim and Christian subjects under Turkish rule<sup>105</sup> and their relations with the central government<sup>106</sup>. F. Spaho<sup>107</sup> also wrote about rebellions in the region of Tuzla in the 18th century.

A. Matkovski wrote a lot about the peasant uprisings in Macedonia. One of these works is about the question of peasant opposition to being tied to the land in Macedonia<sup>108</sup>, another concerns the question of

<sup>97</sup> M. Mujić, *Položaj Cigana u jugoslovenskim zemljama pod osmanskom vlašću* (The Position of Gipsies in Yugoslav Lands Under the Ottoman Rule), POF III–IV/1952–3, 1954.

<sup>98</sup> A. Stojanovski, *Romite na Balkanskiot Poluostrv* (Gipsies in the Balkans), Prilozi Makedonske akademije nauka i umjetnosti VII, 1, 1976, pp. 33–75.

<sup>99</sup> A. Sućeska, *Položaj Jevreja Bosne i Hercegovine za vrijeme Turaka* (The Position of Jews in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the Turkish Period), Spomenica 400 godina od dolaska Jevreja u BiH, Sarajevo 1966.

<sup>100</sup> M. Hadžijahić, *O manjinskim skupinama u Bosni i Hercegovini u 18. i 19. vijeku do okupacije 1878. godine* (About the Small Ethnic Groups in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 18th and 19th Centuries till the Occupation of 1878), PIIS XVII, 18, 1981,

<sup>101</sup> *Položaj bosanskih muslimana u osmanskoj državi* (Position of the Bosnian Muslims in the Ottoman State), Pregled 5, 1974.

<sup>102</sup> A. Sućeska, *Die Rechtsstellung der Bevölkerung in den Städten Bosnien und Herzegowina unter den Osmanen, (1463–1878)*, Südosteuropa Jahrbuch 8, München 1968.

<sup>103</sup> *Položaj raje u Bosni u XVIII stoljeću* (The Position of Non-Muslim Subjects in Bosnia in the 18th Century), Dijalog 6, Sarajevo 1978.

<sup>104</sup> *O socijalnim i političkim pokretima kod bosanskih muslimana u 18. stoljeću* (About the Social and Political Movements of Bosnian Muslims in the 18th Century), Pregled 5, Sarajevo 1984.

<sup>105</sup> A. Sućeska, *Pokušaji muslimanske raje u Bosni da se oslobode rajinskog statusa u XVIII stoljeću* (Attempts of Muslim Subjects to Free themselves of the Subjugated Position in the 18th Century), Godišnjak PFS XXXIII, 85, 1986.

<sup>106</sup> Isti, *Seljačke bune u Bosni u XVII i XVIII stoljeću*, (id., The Peasants Rebellions in Bosnia in 17th and 18th Centuries), GDI BiH XVII/1966–67, 1969.

<sup>107</sup> F. Spaho, *Pobune u Tuzlanskom srezu polovinom XVIII vijeka* (The Rebellions in the Region of Tuzla in the 18th Century), GZM XLV, 1933.

<sup>108</sup> A. Matkovski, *Otporot seljaka u Makedoniji protiv vezivanja za zemlju u vreme turske vladavine* (Macedonian Peasants's Opposition to Being Tied to the Land in the Turkish Period), JIC 1–2, 1968, pp. 101–106.



migrations from country to town<sup>109</sup>, and several works refer to uprisings in different parts of Macedonia. The problem of highway robberies and outlaws in Macedonia, caused a lot of trouble to the central government. A. Matkovski has written about the uprisings in Macedonia<sup>110</sup>, and the basis of his four-volume study were numerous data taken from the sidjils of the Bitolj kadi and data from the Muhimme Defters about how the authorities treated these uprisings. In this way a rather clear picture of one segment of the history of this region is given.

#### IV

In connection with the problem of population, the question of agrarian relations has been an object of interest for Yugoslav historiography, which is understandable. This is obvious not only in the number of works devoted to this subject, but also in their serious attitude towards the subject. One of the first studies is that by Ć. Truhelka, which was published in 1917, but which projects a rather simplified picture of the problem<sup>111</sup>. V. Čubrilović touched on the question of agrarian relations as the basis of the development of the Bosnian Muslim nobility in his study on the origin of the Bosnian nobility<sup>112</sup>. N. Filipović has written a wider theoretical treatise with illustrations from the defters of the Yugoslav lands, as a contribution to the study of the position of the peasantry under Turkish rule in the 16th and 17th centuries<sup>113</sup>. The author emphasizes the main problems in the agrarian question: town and country during Turkish feudalism, the problem of the peasants being tied to the land during Turkish feudalism, the collection of rents and taxes, class struggle in the countryside, the problem of the ciflik. Besides this study, there is B. Đurđev's theoretical study on the question of the landowning organization which prevailed in Rumelia and in the Yugoslav

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<sup>109</sup> Isti, *Migracije od selo v grad vo Makedonija od XVI do XIX vek.* (id., *Migrations from Country to Town in Macedonia from 16th to 19th Century*), *Istorija* IX,1, 1973, pp. 101–107.

<sup>110</sup> Isti, *Otporot vo Makedonija* (id., *The Uprising in Macedonia*) 1–4, Skopje 1983.

<sup>111</sup> Ć. Truhelka, *Historička podloga agrarnog pitanja u Bosni* (Historical Background of the Agrarian Question in Bosnia), GZM XXVII, 1917.

<sup>112</sup> V. Čubrilović, *Poreklo muslimanskog plemstva u BiH* (The Origin of Muslim Nobility in Bosnia and Herzegovina), JIČ 3–4, 1935.

<sup>113</sup> N. Filipović, *Pogled na osmanski feudalizam (sa naročitim obzirom na agrarne odnose)* (A Survey of the Ottoman Feudalism, with special attention paid to the agrarian relations), GID BiH IV, 1952.

lands<sup>114</sup>. M. Sokoloski<sup>115</sup> wrote about the Ottoman feudal system, with an emphasis on its features in Macedonia in the 15th and the 16th centuries. In a brief work, N. Filipović has, after years of research, proved that Ottoman feudalism developed on a basis largely differing from that of the European form of feudalism. The bases of Ottoman feudalism were the Asian way of production, the Islamic world and civilization, so therefore it had a character different from that of European feudalism<sup>116</sup>.

N. Filipović, in connection with this subject, has also written about the specific characteristics of the development of the timar system in Bosnia and Herzegovina<sup>117</sup>.

Odjaklik-timars, a type of inheritance estates, established at the end of the 16th century were, for the Ottoman authorities, a means of strengthening the landowners' organization in this region of importance for the Empire. They were also a chance for the Bosnian landowners to consolidate themselves after the great defeat at Sisak in 1593. N. Filipović<sup>118</sup> has worked on the problem of the odjaklik-timars as well as A. Sućeska<sup>119</sup>, doing research on inheritance, and the evolution of the phenomenon<sup>120</sup>.

B. Hrabak has made an analysis of concrete lena in the lands of Isa-bey Ishaković. His results give a lot of information on the types of lena, the duties of the landowners, etc.<sup>120a</sup>

<sup>114</sup> B. Đurđev, *Prilog pitanju razvika i karaktera tursko-osmanskog feudalizma – timarsko-spahijskog uređenja* (The Problem of Development and Character of Turkish Feudalism – “Timar” – “Spahi” Social Order), GID BiH I, 1949.

<sup>115</sup> M. Sokoloski, *Prilog kon proučavanjeto na tursko-osmanskiot feudalni sistem so poseben osvrt na Makedonija vo XV i XVI vek* (Contribution to the Study of Turkish-Ottoman Feudal System with the Special View of Macedonia from 15th and 16th Centuries, GINI II, 1, 1958, pp. 157–227.

<sup>116</sup> N. Filipović, *Osmanski feudalizam* (Ottoman Feudalism), Radio Sarajevo III program, 46/1984.

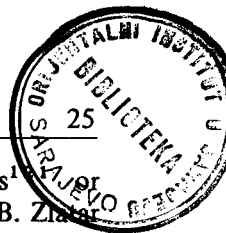
<sup>117</sup> id., *Bosna-Hersek'te Timar Sisteminin Inkisafında Bazi Hususiyetler*, İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası XV, İstanbul 1955.

<sup>118</sup> Isti, *Odžakluk-timari u BiH* (id., Odjaklik-Timars in Bosnia and Herzegovina), POF V, 1955.

<sup>119</sup> A. Sućeska, *O nasljeđivanju odžakluk-timara* (About the Inheritance of Odjaklik-Timars), Godišnjak PFS XV, 1967.

<sup>120</sup> Isti, *Evolucija u nasljeđivanju odžakluk-timara u bosanskom pašaluku* (id., Evolution of the Inheritance of Odjaklik-Timars in Bosnian Pashalik), GDI BiH XIX/1970–71, 1973.

<sup>120a</sup> B. Hrabak, *Feudalna lena u krajištu Isa-bega Ishakovića 50-tih i 60-tih godina XV veka* (Feudal lena in the Lands of Isa-Bey Ishaković in 5th and 6th Decades of 15th Century), Istorijski glasnik 2–3, Beograd 1965.



Studies of certain families, such as the Dženetić's<sup>121</sup> Čengiće<sup>122</sup>, are also a contribution to the study of feudalism. B. Zlatar has published several works on the subject. Her work *On Some Muslim Feudal Families in Bosnia in the 15th and 16th Centuries*<sup>123</sup> is worth noting.

The creation of cifliks, as a result of the disintegration of the Ottoman feudal system, is a process which started in a milder form at the end of the 16th century, later on it expanded and at the end of the 18th century and in the first half of the 19th century, it became a dependant of the timar system. Later still it became the only valid landowning system. It seems that this question has not been treated with the interest it requires. A. Sućeska<sup>124</sup> has written about *The Origin of Cifliks in the Yugoslav Lands*, while R. Tričković<sup>125</sup> has written about this problem and its phase of full development in Serbia. N. Filipović<sup>126</sup> has discussed the question of the relations between the process of Islamization and the establishment of ciflik. A. Sućeska has also written about the beginnings of the government's regulation of agrarian relations in Bosnia in the 19th century<sup>127</sup>.

Researches concerned with the system and way of imposing taxes on the population are also related to the question of agrarian relations. The tax system, as well as some other institutions, has not been sufficiently studied, but in this field there are several studies on certain types of taxes. One of these is that of H. Hadžibegić about the djizya which treats the historical origin of this tax, the amount and way in which it was collected, the difference between the djizya and the kharach. In this study many of documents referring to the djizya are given<sup>128</sup>. The author

<sup>121</sup> H. Kreševljaković, *Dženetići. Prilog proučavanju feudalizma u Bosni i Hercegovini* (Dženetića. Contribution to the Study of Feudalism in Bosnia and Herzegovina), Radovi ND BiH II, OIFN I, Sarajevo 1954.

<sup>122</sup> Isti, *Čengići. Prilog proučavanju feudalizma u Bosni i Hercegovini* (id., Čengiće. Contribution to the Study of Feudalism in Bosnia and Herzegovina), Sarajevo 1959.

<sup>123</sup> B. Zlatar, *O nekim muslimanskim feudalnim porodicama u Bosni u XV i XVI stoljeću*, PIIS XIV, 14–15, 1978, pp. 81–138.

<sup>124</sup> *O nastanku čifluka u našim zemljama*, GDI BiH XVI, 1965.

<sup>125</sup> R. Tričković, *Čitlučenje u beogradskom pašaluku u XVIII veku* (Small Feudal Holdings in the 18th Century Belgrade Pashalik), Zbornik Filozofskog fakulteta, Beograd XI–1, 1970, pp. 525–549.

<sup>126</sup> N. Filipović, *O jednom aspektu korelacije između islamizacije i čiflučenja* (About the Relation Between Islamization and the Establishment of Ciflik), PIIS XVII, 18, 1981.

<sup>127</sup> A. Sućeska, *Prvi pokušaji regulisanja agrarnih odnosa u BiH u XIX stoljeću* (First Attempts of the Regulation of Agrarian Relations in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 19th Century), Godišnjak PFS XIV, 1966.

<sup>128</sup> H. Hadžibegić, *Džizja ili harač* (Djizya or Kharach), POF III–IV/1952–53, 1953; POF V/1954–55, 1955.

treats this subject in detail in a separate book<sup>129</sup>. S. Rizaj<sup>130</sup> has written about the collecting of the djizya in the vilayets of Vranje and Preševo at the end of the 15th century.

M. Sokoloski published several laws on market taxes and tithes in the 16th century<sup>131</sup>. H. Hadžibegić paid full attention to another tax which was inflicted upon the raya — the tax on sheep and goats and the usage of pastures. The amount of tax for each sanjak was determined by a qanun-nama, which was noted in the land register of that sanjak.<sup>132</sup>

A. Matkovski published a study of church taxes in the Ohrid Archbishopric, treating both the collecting of taxes from the people for the church, and the taxes the church paid to the Ottoman authorities<sup>133</sup>.

D. Bojanić<sup>134</sup> published a study about the ispendja, a personal tax that the Christian subjects paid to their landowner.

The work of A.S. Aličić is devoted to the important question of tithes, the basic agrarian tax, and the work refers to Bosnia in a period of a complex political and economic situation<sup>135</sup>.

A special question within the tax system are the taxes which the population had to pay, but in the beginning the *avariz-i divaniye* and *tekalif-i örfiye* taxes were not regular. A. Sućeska worked on one aspect of this problem in his studies of the taksit, a tax which the population paid to the Sanjakbeys<sup>136</sup>, and of changes which occurred in the tax system<sup>137</sup>. These changes occurred because of the changed situation in the Empire.

<sup>129</sup> Isti, *Glavarina u Osmanskoj državi* (Head Tax in Ottoman State), OIS, Posebna izdanja IV, Sarajevo 1966.

<sup>130</sup> S. Rizaj, *Ubiranje džizje od hrišćanskog stanovništva u vilajetima Vranje i Preševo krajem XV stoleća* (The Collecting of Djizya from Christian People in the Vilayets of Vranje and Preševo at the End of the 15th Century), Vranjski glasnik II, Vranje 1966.

<sup>131</sup> M. Sokoloski, *Pet zakonite za pazarnite taksi i ušurot od vremeto na Sulejman Velićanstveni* (Five Laws on Market Taxes and Tithes in the Time of Suleyman the Magnificent), GINI II, 1, 1958.

<sup>132</sup> H. Hadžibegić, *Porez na sitnu stoku i korišćenje ispaša* (The Tax on Sheep and Goats and the Usage of Pastures), POF VIII–IX/1958–59, 1960.

<sup>133</sup> A. Matkovski, *Crkovni davacki (kilise resimleri) vo ohridskata episkopija (1371–1767)* (Church Taxes in the Ohrid Archbishopric (1371–1767), Prilozi II, 2, MAN, 1971, pp. 39–72.

<sup>134</sup> D. Bojanić, *De la nature et de l'origine d'ispendje*, Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes 68, 1976.

<sup>135</sup> A. Aličić, *Desetina u Bosni polovinom XIX vijeka* (The Tithes in Bosnia in the 19th Century), PIIS XVI, 17, 1980.

<sup>136</sup> A. Sućeska, *Taksit. Prilog izučavanju dažbinskog sistema u našim zemljama pod turskom vlašću* (The Taksit. Contribution to the Study of the Tax System in Yugoslav Lands under the Turkish Rule), Godišnjak PFS VIII, 1960.

<sup>137</sup> Isti, *Promjene u sistemu izvanrednog oporezivanja u Turskoj i pojava nameta takalif-i sakka* (id., The Changes in the Extra Tax System in Turkey and the Appearance of the Tax Tekalif-i sakka), POF X–XI/1960–61, 1961.

In the 17th century the power of the Empire was already declining, due to defeats on the battlefield and a bad economic situation, which was caused by the inability to adapt to new economic conditions. The subjugated population was the first to feel the difficulties of the new situation in the form of extra taxes<sup>138</sup> which were caused by military conflicts<sup>139</sup>.

Therefore, exemption from paying a certain amount of tax was regarded as a privilege, so the population tried to gain and preserve such a status. Population participating in the military projects of the Ottoman government in any way, or in any other project, had a privileged status, whether they were derbenjis, voynuks, martolos or Vlachs. The question of the Vlach population, their role in Islamization, their migrations and settling down in new regions is a question to which Yugoslav historiography has paid a lot of attention in certain works. To start with, two symposia have been organized – one about the medieval pasture lands<sup>140</sup> and the other about the Vlachs in the 15th and 16th centuries<sup>141</sup>. However, many questions in connection with the Vlachs have not been solved completely and some of them have not even been partially solved. Among the works from the second symposium, that of N. Filipović on the important question of the Islamization of this category of population can be singled out<sup>142</sup>. The same author wrote about the establishing of the timar system in Herzegovina and about the position of the Vlachs within that system<sup>143</sup>. B. Đurđev devoted his attention to the question of the Vlach chiefs, in both the prewar<sup>144</sup> and the postwar<sup>145</sup> period. M. Vasić<sup>146</sup> has also shown interest in this subject.

<sup>138</sup> Isti, *Ekonomске i društveno-političke posljedice pojačanog oporezivanja u Osmanskom Carstvu u XVII i XVIII stoljeću* (id., *Economical, Social and Political Consequences of the Extra Taxes in Ottoman Empire in the 17th and 18th Centuries*), Godišnjak PFS XIII, 1965.

<sup>139</sup> Isti, *Uticao tursko-austrijskih ratova na opterećivanje stanovništva u Bosni u XVIII stoljeću* (id., *The Influence of Turkish-Austrian Wars on the Tax System in Bosnia in the 18th Century*), Godišnjak PFS XXVIII/1980.

<sup>140</sup> Simpozijum o srednjovjekovnom katunu, (Symposium about the Medieval Pasture Lands), held in November 1961. Published in: Naučno društvo BiH, Posebna izdanja Bk. II, OIFN Bk. I, Sarajevo 1963.

<sup>141</sup> Simpozijum: Vlasi u XV i XVI vijeku (Symposium: Vlachs in the 15th and 16th Centuries), held in November 1973. Published in: Radovi ANU BiH, Bk. LXXII, ODN Bk. 22, Sarajevo 1983.

<sup>142</sup> N. Filipović, *Islamizacija Vlaha u Bosni i Hercegovini u 15. i 16. vijeku* (The Islamization of Vlachs in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the 15th and 16th Centuries), Radovi ANU BiH, Bk. LXXII, ODN Bk. 22, Sarajevo 1983.

<sup>143</sup> Isti, *Vlasi i uspostava timarskog sistema u Hercegovini* (id., *The Vlachs and the Establishing of the Timar System in Herzegovina*), Godišnjak ANU BiH XII, 1974.

<sup>144</sup> B. Đurđev, *Nešto o vlaškim starješinama pod turskom upravom* (About the Vlach Chiefs under the Turkish Rule), GZM NDH u BiH LII/1940, Sarajevo 1941.

<sup>145</sup> Isti, *O knezovima pod turskom upravom* (About the Chiefs under the Turkish Rule), Istoriski časopis I, 1–2, 1948.

<sup>146</sup> M. Vasić, *Knežine i knezovi timarlije u zvojničkom sandžaku u XVI vijeku* (The Districts and Timar Rulers in the Sanjak of Zvornik in the 16th Century), GID BiH X, 1960.

B. Đurđev<sup>147</sup> wrote a detailed study about the privileged semi-military formation of voynuks from a general aspect, while A. Stojanovski wrote about the origin and establishment of this service<sup>148</sup>.

M. Sokoloski<sup>149</sup> wrote about the yuruks, peasants of Turkish origin settled in the European parts of the Empire, who formed a special military order. He wrote about their organization in Macedonia, since the yuruks could only be found there.

The martolos were another category of auxiliary military forces, which were at first formed of the Christian population exclusively. M. Vasić wrote about the role and importance of the martolos, and the later evolution of this order, in a monograph devoted to this question<sup>150</sup>. G. Elezović published a work about derbendji<sup>151</sup> at the beginning of the century, and he wrote a detailed well-documented study about falconers and faconry<sup>152</sup>.

A. Stojanovski wrote in the Journal of the Institute for National History of Skoplje about the derbenji in Macedonia, in several instalments, and later published it as a monograph, with data from sources not previously used<sup>153</sup>.

## V

The question of the acceptance of Islam by the local population in the territories under Ottoman rule, and especially in Bosnia and Herzegovina, is a complex and still unsolved question in Yugoslav historiography. The historiographers are trying to determine the reasons for the acceptance of Islam in the broadest sense, as well as the scope and intensity of this phenomenon and its consequences. Prewar historiography, especially, gave a prevalent role to the factor of Bogomils in the

<sup>147</sup> B. Đurđev, *O vojnucima. S osvrtom na razvoj turskog feudalizma i pitanje bosanskog agaluka* (About the Voynuks. With a view on the development of the Turkish feudalism and the question of the "agaluk" in Bosnia), GZM, Društvene nauke, nova serija II, 1947.

<sup>148</sup> A. Stojanovski, *Poteklo i vaspоставuvanje na vojničkata služba* (The Origin and the Establishing of the Voynuks Military Service), Prilozi MANU X, 2, Skopje 1979.

<sup>149</sup> M. Sokoloski, *Za jurucite i juručkata organizacija vo Makedonija od XV-XVII vek* (About the Yuruks and Yuruk's Organization in Macedonia from 15th to 19th Century), Istorija IX, 1, 1973, pp. 85-99.

<sup>150</sup> M. Vasić, *Martolosi u jugoslovenskim zemljama pod turskom vladavinom* (The Mortoloses in the Yugoslav Lands uner the Turkish Rule), ANU BiH, OIFN XXIX, 1967

<sup>151</sup> G. Elezović, *Dervendžije. Jedan prilog za istoriju našeg naroda pod Turcima* (Derbendjis. A contribution to the history of our people under the Turkish rule), Južna Srbija, Bk. III, No. 28, Skoplje 1923, pp. 321-329.

<sup>152</sup> Isti, *Sokolari i sokolarstvo* (id., Falconers and Falconry), Skopje 1923, 85+1 p.p.

<sup>153</sup> A. Stojanovski, *Dervendžistvoto vo Makedonija* (Derbenjis in Macedonia), Skopje 1974.

Islamization of Bosnia, so that the theory about the collective acceptance of Islam by the Bogomil population is very popular. S. Bašagić wrote about that side of the problem in a short work, discussing the Bogomils and Islam<sup>154</sup>. Ć. Truhelka<sup>155</sup>, V. Skarić<sup>156</sup> and M. Handžić<sup>157</sup> were interested in the origins of the Bosnian Muslims. The works with opposing opinions were published in the *Gajret* calendar for 1941. Š. Kurtović, the author of an article with an ironical title<sup>158</sup>, insisted on the Bogomil factor, giving at the end of his work the factors which are common to both the Bogomils and Islam in order to show their "... striking..." similarity, "... for the sake of the fact that that thesis is interesting and in justification of the thesis...". The work is interesting more as an expression of the opinion of the time. The other work is that of F. Efendić about the Islamization, written on a scholarly basis, and on the basis of data from original materials, especially on documents from the Dubrovnik Archives<sup>159</sup>.

The work of A. Solovjev, although it was published after the war, about the spread of Islam in Bosnia, belongs to the above mentioned category of works, which insist on the Bogomil component of this phenomenon<sup>160</sup>.

In postwar historiography, N. Filipović has studied this problem, trying to refute the thesis of the prevalence of the Bogomil factor. His works, on the specific characteristics of Islamization in Bosnia<sup>161</sup>, the Islamization in Bosnia during the 15th century<sup>162</sup>, the influence of Islam on Bosnia and Herzegovina<sup>163</sup>, Islamization in the Balkans<sup>164</sup>, and the

<sup>154</sup> S. Bašagić, *Patarni i Islam* (The Bogomils and Islam), *Gajret* XI, 12, 1927.

<sup>155</sup> Ć. Truhelka, *O porijeklu bosanskih muslimana* (About the Origin of Bosnian Muslims), *Hrvatska smotra* II, 7, Zagreb 1934.

<sup>156</sup> V. Skarić, *Širenje islama u Bosni i Hercegovini* (The Expansion of Islam in Bosnia and Herzegovina), *Gajret*, calendar for 1940, Sarajevo 1939.

<sup>157</sup> M. Handžić, *Islamizacija Bosne i Hercegovine i porijeklo bosansko-hercegovačkih muslimana* (The Islamization of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Origin of the Muslims in Bosnia and Herzegovina), Sarajevo 1940.

<sup>158</sup> S. Kurtović, "Poturči se plahi i lakomi" ("Convert, violent and greedy"), *Gajret*, calendar for 1941, Sarajevo 1940.

<sup>159</sup> F. Efendić, *O islamizaciji* (About the Islamization), *Gajret*, calendar for 1941, Sarajevo 1940.

<sup>160</sup> A. Solovjev, *Nestanak Bogumilstva i islamizacija Bosne* (Disappearance of the Bogomils and the Islamization of Bosnia), *GID BiH* I, 1949.

<sup>161</sup> N. Filipović, *Specifičnosti islamizacije u Bosni* (Specific Characteristics of the Islamization in Bosnia), *Pregled* LVIII/1968, Sarajevo 1968.

<sup>162</sup> Isti, *Napomene o islamizaciji u Bosni u XV vijeku* (id., Observations about the Islamization in Bosnia in the 15th Century), *Godišnjak ANU BiH* VII, 5, Sarajevo, 1970.

<sup>163</sup> Isti, *Uticaj islama na bosanskohercegovačko tlo* (id., The Influence of Islam on Bosnia and Herzegovina), *Radio Sarajevo III program* IV, 9, 1975.

<sup>164</sup> Isti, *Osvrt na pitanje islamizacije na Balkanu pod Turcima* (id., Review of the Question of the Islamization on the Balkans), *Glasnik ANU BiH* XIII, 11, 1976.

earlier mentioned work on the Islamization of the Vlach and cattle-breeders, are a contribution towards the solution of this problem. A. Handžić, as well as N. Filipović, have written about the expansion of Islam using data from Ottoman sources<sup>165</sup>. And this is, in fact, the safest way for the achievement of the final solution, in which the forcing or neglecting of the Bogomil, Vlach or some other factor is not necessary.

M. Sokoloski<sup>166</sup> has written about Islamization in Macedonia in the 15th and 16th century.

## VI

Towns, as important levers of Islamic proselytism, have been a subject very much present in Yugoslav Otoman studies from the very beginnings of this discipline. H. Kreševljaković was the most devoted chronicler in this field, whether he wrote about settlements or fortifications. He wrote a whole series of exceptional works about the development of the towns and town economy. His works of general character about the town economy and guilds in Bosnia and Herzegovina<sup>167</sup>, guilds and crafts in the Turkish period<sup>168</sup>, guilds and crafts in old Sarajevo<sup>169</sup> and papers concerning the history of the towns and fortifications of Bosnia<sup>170</sup> and Herzegovina<sup>171</sup>, are essential, even in modern research, although there are certain ambiguities. Kreševljaković also wrote about other institutions, mostly in connection with towns, such as spas<sup>172</sup>, castles of regents<sup>173</sup>, clock-towers<sup>174</sup>, inns and caravan-

<sup>165</sup> A. Handžić, *O islamizaciji u sjeveroistočnoj Bosni* (About the Process of Islamization in Northeastern Bosnia), POF XVI–XVII/1966–67, 1970.

<sup>166</sup> M. Sokoloski, *Islamizacija u Makedoniji u XV i XVI veku* (The Islamization in Macedonia in the 15th and 16th Century), Istorijски časopis XXII, Beograd 1975.

<sup>167</sup> H. Kreševljaković, *Gradska privreda i esnafi u BiH (1463–1851)* (Town Economy and Guilds in Bosnia and Herzegovina (1463–1851), GID BiH I, 1949.

<sup>168</sup> Isti, *Esnafi i obrti u Bosni i Hercegovini (1463–1878)* (id., Guilds and Crafts in Bosnia and Herzegovina (1463–1878), I, Sarajevo, Zbornik na narodni život i običaje Južnih Slovena, Vol. 30 a, Zagreb 1935, pp. 54–178; II Mostar, Zbornik..., Bk. 35, Zagreb 1951, pp. 61–138.

<sup>169</sup> Isti, *Esnafi i obrti u starom Sarajevu* (id., Guilds and Crafts in Old Sarajevo), Sarajevo 1958.

<sup>170</sup> Isti, *Prilozi povijesti bosanskih gradova pod turskom upravom* (id., Contributions to the History of the Towns of Bosnia under the Turkish Rule), POF II/1951, and: *Stari bosanski gradovi* (The Old Towns of Bosnia), Naše starine I, 1953.

<sup>171</sup> H. Kreševljaković – H. Kapidžić, *Stari hercegovački gradovi* (The Old Towns of Herzegovina), Naše starine II, 1954.

<sup>172</sup> H. Kreševljaković, *Banje u Bosni i Hercegovini (1462–1916)* (The Spas in Bosnia and Herzegovina (1462–1916), Sarajevo 1952.

<sup>173</sup> Isti, *Saraji ili dvori bosanskih namjesnika (1463–1878)* (id., Sarays or the Castles of the Bosnian Regents (1463–1878), Naše starine III, 1956.

<sup>174</sup> Isti, *Sahat-kule u Bosni i Hercegovini* (id., Clock-Towers in Bosnia and Herzegovina), Naše starine IV, 1957.



-sarays<sup>175</sup>. He published minor works about the history of Yugoslav towns, which could serve as a basis for future studies about individual towns<sup>176</sup>.

However, the theoretical discussions about the origin and development of towns as a general concept in the period of Ottoman rule, were written by A. Bejtić and A. Handžić. A. Bejtić noticed the importance of waqfs in the construction and development of towns<sup>177</sup>, and A. Handžić wrote about the importance of the muafiyet for the development of towns in general<sup>178</sup>, the importance of roads<sup>179</sup> and the role of dervishes in the founding of towns<sup>180</sup>. Both of them made a significant contribution to knowledge of the essence of the town in the Ottoman period. The work of A.S. Aličić about the studying of the countryside and towns based on Ottoman sources<sup>181</sup>, belongs to this category. M. Hadžijahić<sup>182</sup> wrote about privileged towns in Ottoman feudalism.

Sarajevo has been one of the most frequent subjects of historiographers in this field. V. Skarić<sup>183</sup> and H. Šabanović<sup>184</sup> wrote about the origin and development of Sarajevo. Beside Kreševljaković, A. Bejtić also wrote a lot about Sarajevo, beginning with his works in 1943 and

<sup>175</sup> Isti, *Hanovi i karavan-saraji u Bosni i Hercegovini* (id., Inns and Caravan-Sarays in Bosnia and Herzegovina), Sarajevo 1957.

<sup>176</sup> See: *Bibliografija štampanih radova Hamdije Kreševljakovića* (Bibliography of the Printed Works of H. Kreševljaković), *Naše starine* VI, 1959.

<sup>177</sup> A. Bejtić, *Uloga vakufa u izgradnji i razvitku naših gradova* (The Role of Waqfs in the Construction and Development of Our Towns), *Calendar Narodna uzdanica* for 1944, Sarajevo 1943.

<sup>178</sup> A. Handžić, *Značaj muafijeta u razvoju gradskih naselja u Bosni u XVI vijeku* (The Importance of the Muafiyet for the Development of the Town Settlements in Bosnia in the 16th Century), *JiČ* 1-2, 1974.

<sup>179</sup> Isti, *O značaju putova za razvitak gradskih naselja u Bosni u XV i XVII vijeku* (id., About the Importance of Roads for the Development of the Town Settlements in Bosnia in the 15th and 17th Centuries), *PIIS* XIII, 1977.

<sup>180</sup> Isti, *O ulozi derviša u formiranju gradskih naselja u Bosni u XV stoljeću* (id., About the Role of Dervishes in the Founding of Town Settlements in Bosnia in the 15th Century), *POF* 31/1981.

<sup>181</sup> A.S. Aličić, *Prilog proučavanju sela i grada u Bosni na osnovu osmanskih izvora* (Contribution to the Studying of the Countryside and Towns in Bosnia on the Bases of the Ottoman Sources), *JiČ* 1-2, 1974.

<sup>182</sup> M. Hadžijahić, *Die privilegierten Städte zur Zeit des osmanischen Feudalismus, Südostforschungen Bd. XX, München* 1961.

<sup>183</sup> V. Skarić, *Postanak Sarajeva i njegov teritorijalni razvitak u XV i XVI vijeku* (The Origin of Sarajevo and its Territorial Development in the 15th and 16th Centuries), *GZM* XLI, 1929.

<sup>184</sup> H. Šabanović, *Postanak i razvitak Sarajeva* (The Origin and the Development of Sarajevo), *Radovi ND BiH* XIII, OIFN 5, Sarajevo 1960.

continuing until his death<sup>185</sup>. The work *Streets and Squares of Sarajevo*<sup>186</sup> is a sort of summary of these efforts. Bejtić has also written a series of works which are a significant contribution to the history of the following towns: Priboj<sup>187</sup>, Banja Luka<sup>188</sup>, Travnik<sup>189</sup>, Foča<sup>190</sup>, Rudo<sup>191</sup> and old towns and fortifications on lower parts of the Lim river<sup>192</sup>.

D. Bojanić<sup>193</sup> wrote about Skoplje at the middle of the 16th century, and M. Sokoloski wrote about Veles<sup>194</sup> and Bitolj<sup>195</sup> in the 15th and the 16th centuries. M. Vasić<sup>196</sup> and O. Zirojević<sup>197</sup> wrote about Leskovac, and the latter wrote about Šabac<sup>198</sup>, Užice<sup>199</sup> and Kruševac<sup>200</sup>. A. Handžić wrote about Bijeljina<sup>201</sup>, Šabac<sup>202</sup>, Zvornik<sup>203</sup>,

<sup>185</sup> A. Bejtić, *Jedno viđenje sarajevskih evlija i njihovih grobova kao kulturnih mjesta* (A View on Sarajevo Walis and their Graves as Cult Places), POF 31, 1981.

<sup>186</sup> id., *Ulice i trgovi Sarajeva*, Sarajevo 1973.

<sup>187</sup> Isti, *Priboj na Limu pod osmanlijskom vlašću 1418–1912* (Priboj at the River Lim Under the Ottoman Rule 1418–1912) Sarajevo 1945.

<sup>188</sup> Isti, *Banjaluka pod turskom vladavinom XVI i XVII vijek* (id., Banjaluka under the Turkish Rule in the 16th and 17th Centuries), Naše starine I, 1953.

<sup>189</sup> Isti, *Podaci za kulturnu povijest vezirskog grada Travnika* (id., Data for the Cultural History of Travnik, Veziers Town), Naše starine II, 1954.

<sup>190</sup> Isti, *Povijest i umjetnost Foče na Drini* (id., History and Art of Foča at the River Drina), Naše starine III–IV, 1957.

<sup>191</sup> Isti, *Rudo i rudski kraj kroz vijekove* (id., Rudo and its Surrounding Through Ages), Spomenica Rudo 1971.

<sup>192</sup> Isti, *Stari gradovi u donjem Polimlju* (id., The Old Towns on Lower Parts of the Lim River), Arheološki institut, Starinar Bk. XXVI, Sarajevo 1975.

<sup>193</sup> D. Bojanić, *Podaci o Skoplju iz 951/1544. godine* (Data About Skoplje from 951 / 1544), POF III–IV, 1952–53, 1953.

<sup>194</sup> M. Sokoloski, *Gradot Veles vo periodot od okolu 1460–1544. godina* (The Town of Veles from 1460 to 1544), GINI VII, 1, 1963.

<sup>195</sup> Isti, *Turski izvorni podatoci od XV i XVI vek za gradot Bitola* (Data from the 15th and 16th Centuries Turkish Sources Concerning the Town of Bitola), GINI VII, 1, 1963.

<sup>196</sup> M. Vasić, *Leskovac u XVI vijeku* (Leskovac in the 16th Century), GDI BiH XVII/1966–67, 1969.

<sup>197</sup> O. Zirojević, *Leskovac i njegova nahija od 1455. do 1683. godine* (Leskovac and its Nahya from 1453 to 1683), Leskovački zbornik XXIII, Leskovac 1983.

<sup>198</sup> Ista, *Šabac i njegova nahija od 1600. do 1683. godine* (id., Šabac and its Nahya from 1600 to 1683), Šabac u prošlosti, 1, Šabac 1970.

<sup>199</sup> Ista, *Užice do 1683. godine* (id., Užice until 1683), Uzički zbornik 2, Užice 1973.

<sup>200</sup> Ista, *Kruševac u XVI i XVII vijeku* (id., Kruševac in the 16th and 17th Centuries), Zbornik Istorijskog muzeja Srbije, 11–12, Beograd 1975.

<sup>201</sup> A. Handžić, *Postanak i razvitak Bijeljine u XVI vijeku* (The Origin and Development of Bijeljina in the 16th Century), POF XII–XIII/1962–63, 1965.

<sup>202</sup> Isti, *Grad Šabac i njegova nahija u prvoj polovini XVI v.* (id., The Town of Šabac and its Nahya in the First Half of the 16th Century), Članci i građa IV, Tuzla 1960, and in the monography: *Šabac u prošlosti* (Šabac in the Past), Šabac 1970.

<sup>203</sup> Isti, *Zvornik u drugoj polovini XV i u XVI vijeku* (id., Zvornik in the Second Half of the 15th Century and in the 16th Century), GDI BiH XVIII, 1970.

Derventa<sup>204</sup> and a monograph about Tuzla, one of the best works about the origin and development of towns in general<sup>205</sup>, basing his works on data from written sources. M. Sokoloski<sup>206</sup> wrote about the development of certain towns in Macedonia, while A. Stojanovski gave a survey of the towns of Macedonia from the end of the 14th century till the 17th century<sup>207</sup>. There are some recent works by F. Dž. Spaho about Livno<sup>208</sup> and the towns of the Sanjak of Klis<sup>209</sup>, and D. Bojanić wrote about Požarevac<sup>210</sup> and earlier about Zaječar<sup>211</sup>.

O. Zirojević was specially interested in roads, and in communications between towns and other types of settlements. She published significant studies about the famous Istanbul road, first about its section from Belgrade to Sofia<sup>212</sup>, and then from Belgrade to Budim<sup>213</sup>, for the period till the Viennese war. A. Bejtić<sup>214</sup> wrote about the old trade routes along the lower parts of the river Lim, among which was a road that was partly a section of the *Imperial Road*. O. Zirojević<sup>215</sup> wrote about a network of Turkish land-and-water-ways in the area of

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- <sup>204</sup> Isti, *Postanak i razvitak Dervente u XVI stoljeću* (id., The Origin and Development of Dervetna in the 16th Century), PIIS 10/2, 1970.
- <sup>205</sup> Isti, *Tuzla i njena okolina u XVI vijeku* (id., Tuzla and its Surrounding in the 16th Century), Sarajevo 1975.
- <sup>206</sup> M. Sokoloski, *Razvojniot pat na neкои gradovi vo Makedonija vo XV i XVI vek* (The Development of Certain Towns in Macedonia in the 15th and 16th Century), Istorija VII, 1, Skopje 1971.
- <sup>207</sup> A. Stojanovski, *Gradovite vo Makedonija od krajot na XIV do XVII vek* (The Towns in Macedonia from the End of the 14th Century till the 17th Century), INI Skopje 1981.
- <sup>208</sup> F. Dž. Spaho, *Livno u ranim turskim izvorima* (Livno in the Early Turkish Sources, contribution for the monography), POF XXXII–XXXIII/1983.
- <sup>209</sup> Isti, *Džamije i njihovi vakufi u gradovima kliškog sandžaka početkom XVII vijeka* (id., The Mosques and their Waqfs in the Towns of the Sanjak of Klis at the Beginning of the 17th Century), Anali Gazi Husrevbegove biblioteke V–VI, 1978.
- <sup>210</sup> D. Bojanić, *Požarevac u XVI veku i Bali-beg Jahjapašić* (Požarevac in the 16th Century and Bali-Bey Jahjapašić), Istorijski časopis, Bk. XXXII, 1985, Beograd 1986.
- <sup>211</sup> Ista, *Zaječar i Crna Reka u vreme turske vladavine (XV–XVII vek)* (id., Zaječar and Crna Reka During the Period of Turkish Rule, 15th to 17th Centuries), Glasnik Etnografskog muzeja u Beogradu 42, 1971.
- <sup>212</sup> O. Zirojević, *Carigradski drum od Beograda do Sofije (1459–1683)* (Istanbul Road from Belgrade to Sofia, 1459–1683), Zbornik Istorijškog muzeja Srbije 7, Beograd 1970.
- <sup>213</sup> Ista, *Carigradski drum od Beograda do Budima u XVI i XVII veku* (id., Istanbul Road from Belgrade to Budim in the 16th and 17th Centuries), Institut za izučavanje istorije Vojvodine, Monographies 14, Novi Sad 1976.
- <sup>214</sup> A. Bejtić, *Stari trgovački putevi u donjem Polimlju* (The Old Trade Routes along the Lower Part of the River Lim), POF XXII–XXIII/1972–73, 1976.
- <sup>215</sup> O. Zirojević, *Mreža turskih puteva (kopnenih i vodenih) na području današnje Slavonije* (The Network of Turkish Land-and-Water-Ways in the Area of Today's Slavonija), Acta Historico-Oeconomica Jugoslaviae V, Zagreb 1978.

Slavonija, and A. Stojanovski<sup>216</sup> wrote about roads and the organization of traffic in Macedonia in the 15th and 16th centuries.

Very little has been written about the economy of the Yugoslav lands in the Ottoman period. M. Vasić<sup>217</sup> wrote about the influence of wars on the development of the economy in the border regions. With regard to the individual branches of the economy, the guilds and agriculture excluded, mining and commerce were most frequently written about. V. Skarić wrote about mining, studying its traces in the vicinity of Kreševo<sup>218</sup> and A. Handžić, studying the earliest Turkish sources, wrote about mines and market-towns<sup>219</sup>, and about mines in Bosnia in the 16th century<sup>220</sup>. S. Rizaj<sup>221</sup> wrote about mining in Kosovo and the neighbouring regions, while B. Hrabak wrote about crafts<sup>222</sup> and agriculture<sup>223</sup> in Kosovo, using data from a published defter of 1455. A. Sućeska<sup>224</sup> wrote about the legal status of the miners and forms of management.

A. Handžić wrote about the Bosnian saltworks<sup>225</sup> and the import of salt in Bosnia.<sup>226</sup>

A lot has been done in the field of the cultural history of the towns and, most of all, on the structures of the material culture of religious,

<sup>216</sup> A. Stojanovski, *Patištata i organizacijata na prometot vo XV i XVI vek* (Roads and the Organization of Traffic in the 15th and 16th Centuries), Acta..., V, Zagreb 1978.

<sup>217</sup> M. Vasić, *Uticao ratova na naselja i privredu osmanskog graničnog područja u Srbiji i Bosni (1480–1536)* (The Influence of Wars to the Settlements and Economy in the Ottoman Border Regions in Serbia and Bosnia, 1480–1536), Radovi FFS VI, 1970–71, 1971.

<sup>218</sup> V. Skarić, *Tragovi starog rudarstva u okolini Kreševa* (The Traces of the Old Mining Work in the Vicinity of Kreševo), GZM XLII, 1930.

<sup>219</sup> A. Handžić, *Najraniji turski izvori o rudnicima i trgovima u Bosni* (The Earliest Turkish Sources Concerning Mines and Market-Towns in Bosnia), PIIS 10/2, 1974.

<sup>220</sup> Isti, *Rudnici u Bosni u drugoj polovini XVI stoljeća* (id., The Mines in Bosnia in the Second Half of the 16th Century), POF XXXVI/1976, 1978.

<sup>221</sup> S. Rizaj, *Rudarstvo Kosova i susjednih krajeva od XV do XVII veka* (The Mining in Kosovo and the Neighbouring Regions from 15th to 17th Centuries), Priština 1968.

<sup>222</sup> B. Hrabak, *Seoske zanatlije na Kosovu i susjednim oblastima sredinom XV stoleća* (Village Craftsmen in Kosovo and the Neighbouring Regions at the Middle of the 15th Century), Glasnik Muzeja Kosova i Metohije XI, 1972.

<sup>223</sup> Isti, *Poljoprivredna proizvodnja Kosova i susjednih krajeva sredinom XV veka* (id., Agriculture in Kosovo and the Neighbouring Regions at the Middle of the 15th Century) Glas SANU CLXI, ODN Bk. 1, 1974.

<sup>224</sup> A. Sućeska, *Pravni položaj rudara i oblici upravljanja rudnicima za vrijeme turske vladavine* (The Legal Status of the Miners and Forms of Management During the Period of Turkish Rule), Anali Pravnog fakulteta u Beogradu XXII, 5–6, 1974.

<sup>225</sup> A. Handžić, *Bosanske solane u XVI i XVII vijeku* (Saltworks in Bosnia in the 16th and 17th Centuries), Članci i građa II, Tuzla 1959.

<sup>226</sup> Isti, *Uvoz soli u Bosnu u XV vijeku* (id., The Import of Salt in Bosnia in the 15th Century), POF X–XI/1960–61, 1961.

educational or utilitarian character. A. Bejtić<sup>227</sup> gave an excellent review of monuments of Ottoman architecture of various types, F. Bajraktarević<sup>228</sup> wrote about Prizren as a centre of culture in the Turkish period. M. Bećirbegović was especially interested in education and in buildings in Bosnia and Herzegovina<sup>230</sup> which served for educational purposes. R. Tričković<sup>231</sup> wrote about Islamic schools in the Yugoslav lands as a contribution to cultural history. Dž. Čelić and M. Mujezinović<sup>232</sup> wrote about bridges of Turkish provenance which were numerous on this territory. K. Gujić<sup>233</sup> wrote about the most beautiful bridges in "Gajret", before the war.

A. Andrejević wrote a monograph about one of the most beautiful examples of Turkish religious architecture, the Alaja Mosque in Foča<sup>234</sup>, and he also wrote about the domed mosques of Yugoslavia<sup>235</sup>. In this context, D. Đurić-Zamolo should be mentioned among the architects, and her monograph about Belgrade as an Oriental town. In that monograph she studied the architecture and urban development of this city in the period 1521–1867<sup>236</sup>.

H. Hasandedić has devoted his whole life to studies of the monuments of religious, cultural and educational character in the region of Herzegovina and Mostar itself<sup>237</sup>. From 1939 until the present, he has

<sup>227</sup> A. Bejtić, *Spomenici osmanlijske arhitekture u Bosni i Hercegovini* (The Monuments of Ottoman Architecture in Bosnia and Herzegovina), POF III–IV/1952–53, 1953.

<sup>228</sup> F. Bajraktarević, *Turski spomenici u Ohridu* (Turkish Monuments in Ohrid), POF V, 1954–55, 1955.

<sup>229</sup> H. Kalešić, *Prizren kao kulturni centar za vreme turskog perioda* (Prizren as a Centre of Culture in the Turkish Period), Albanološka istraživanja I, Filozofski fakultet Priština 1962.

<sup>230</sup> M. Bećirbegović, *Prosvjetni objekti islamske arhitekture u Bosni i Hercegovini* (Islamic Architecture Educational Buildings in Bosnia and Herzegovina), POF XX–XXI/1970–71, 1974.

<sup>231</sup> R. Tričković, *Islamske škole u našim zemljama* (Islamic Schools in the Yugoslav Lands), Prilozi iz istorije kulture kod Srba, Serija Posebna izdanja, Istorijski muzej Srbije, Beograd 1974.

<sup>232</sup> Dž. Čelić – M. Mujezinović, *Stari mostovi u Bosni i Hercegovini* (The Old Bridges in Bosnia and Herzegovina), Sarajevo 1969.

<sup>233</sup> K. Gujić, *Najljepši turski mostovi u Bosni i Hercegovini* (The Most Beautiful Turkish Bridges in Bosnia and Herzegovina), Gajret XV, 1934, 1, 11 i XVI, 1935, 11.

<sup>234</sup> A. Andrejević, *Aladža džamija u Foči* (Alaja Mosque in Foča), Institut za istoriju umetnosti Filozofskog fakulteta u Beogradu, Monographies 2, Beograd 1972.

<sup>235</sup> Isti, *Islamska monumentalna umetnost XVI veka u Jugoslaviji. Kupolne džamije* (id., Islamic Monumental Art of the 16th Century in Yugoslavia. Domed Mosques), Filozofski fakultet, Institut za istoriju umetnosti, Studije 6 and SANU, Balkanološki institut Posebna izdanja, Bk. 24, Beograd 1984.

<sup>236</sup> D. Đurić-Zamolo, *Beograd kao orijentalna varoš pod Turcima* (Belgrade as Turkish Oriental Town), Muzej grada Beograda, Beograd 1977.

<sup>237</sup> H. Hasandedić, *Spomenici kulture turskog doba u Mostaru* (Cultural Monuments from the Turkish Period in Mostar), Sarajevo 1980.

published a large number of papers based on Ottoman sources.

H. Redžić<sup>238</sup> gathered a series of studies, the result of his years-long work on the Islamic and Ottoman architectural heritage, and published them in a monograph.

Several works were published about the church and its influence during Ottoman rule. The works of B. Đurđev on the role of the church in the early history of the Serbian people<sup>239</sup>, and the monograph of O. Zirojević about churches and monasteries in the region of the Archdiocese of Peć till the year of 1683<sup>240</sup>, should be mentioned.



Therefore, all aspects of the history of Yugoslav peoples under Ottoman rule have been the object of interest of Yugoslav historiographers and Ottoman scholars. The objective of this review of works in the field of Ottoman studies was not to evaluate the quality of the published studies, but to present, in general, what has been done in connection with certain issues concerning the life of Yugoslav people under the Ottoman rule.

Despite the fact that there exists a rather extensive bibliography of works in the field of Ottoman studies, present and future Ottoman scholars still have a lot of unexplored and insufficiently studied problems from the history of the Yugoslav peoples under Ottoman rule. Therefore, there is need for a further, more intensive development of Ottoman studies.

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<sup>238</sup> H. Redžić, *Studije o islamskoj arhitektonskoj baštini* (Studies on the Islamic Architectural Heritage), Sarajevo 1983.

<sup>239</sup> B. Đurđev, *Uloga crkve u starijoj istoriji srpskog naroda* (The Role of the Church in the Early History of the Serbian People), Sarajevo 1964.

<sup>240</sup> O. Zirojević, *Crkve i manastiri na području Pečke patrijaršije do 1683. godine* (Churches and Monasteries in the Region of the Patriarchate of Peć till the Year of 1683), Beograd 1984.