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Islamisation of Bosnia:
Early Islamic Influence on Bosnian Society

by Dzavid Haveric

ADV. DIP. MGT.

Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the
degree of
Master of Arts
Deakin University
August 2004
I certify that the thesis entitled: Islamisation of Bosnia

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CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

Bosnia forms a central part of the Balkan Peninsula in Eastern Europe, and historically, has been exposed to a variety of Mediterranean cultural, religious, and ethno-linguistic influences. The Mediterranean region to which Bosnia belongs includes European, North African, and Middle Eastern countries (Bringa, 1995: 6) where many different civilisations, including Muslim-Arab, have flourished. Bosnia in particular has been exposed to these early Islamic influences.

The perception of a strong cultural divide between Asia and Europe; Islam and the West, forms an important part of the European world view. However, an alternative view emphasizes the existence of a historically common heritage and civilisation around the Mediterranean region, linking Southern Europe, North Africa, and the Levant (Fuller & Lesser, 1995: 15). These regions surround the Balkan Peninsula bounded by the Black Sea, Sea of Marmara, Aegean Sea, Mediterranean Sea, Ionian Sea, and Adriatic Sea. Within this geographic environment Bosnia has had a long and rich history of cross-cultural encounters and socio-religious dialogue (Karic, 1999: 47).

1.1 Historical facts

Bosnia, as a central part of the Balkans, derives its name from the Indo-European word *Bos*, which means 'flowing water'. The name comes from the old Roman *Bathinus flumen*, which also means 'flowing water'. Furthermore, the Latin word *Bosina* (*limes* or *termines*) means frontier guard. Franks who were frontier guards towards the Byzantine used this word until the eighth century. Bosnians were, as this word suggests, frontier guards or frontiersmen (Imamovic, 1996: 24).

Bosnia is the historical name of present-day Bosnia and Herzegovina, the South Slavic country, which has existed in various constitutional forms for over one
thousand years. Most historical sources and documents mention one name for the country – Bosnia, and refer to its inhabitants invariably as - Bosnjacin, Bosniak, Bosnian (Bosnian). The Bosniaks have mostly inhabited the Western portion of the Balkan Peninsula. In this sense, their historical background, as well as spiritual and demographic centre, is the territory of today's Bosnia and Herzegovina, including the region of Sandzak. In addition to these areas, Bosniaks may also be found in smaller numbers, in Kosovo and Montenegro (Imamovic, 2000: 24).

When the Slavs came to the Balkans, they settled in Illyria (L. Iliricum), between the two Churches’ spheres of influence, and were converted by both the Christians of the Eastern Church of Constantinople and the Western Church of Rome (Aytu, 1965: 14). However, a third force emerged and was the acceptance of Islam by Southern Slavs, including the Bosnians. A small settlement site excavated at Musici near Sarajevo was considered to be evidence of the “first Slav settlement in ex-Yugoslavia” (Barford, 2001: 74).

Because of its geographical position, Bosnia was exposed to different external influences, during the Islamisation period, which played an important role in subsequent Balkan and Mediterranean socio-political developments. In fact, as early as the seventh century, all Byzantine provinces were attacked by Slavs, Persians and Arabs (Imamovic, 2003: 31). More significantly, Bosnian Slavic Bogumilis and other Patareens had contacts with Islam in South Europe. However, Islamisation of Bosnian Bogumils was the most successful as these were exposed to the Islamic-Arabic, Turkish and Persian influences from the south, east and north.

Early Bosnia covered the central territories around the Bosna River, yet up to the reign of Bosnian King Tvrtko I (1353 as a Ban, 1377-1391 as a King), the Bosnian state gained power and territorial magnitudes that made it one of the greatest south European Slavic countries. Like other South Slav provinces, its history was greatly influenced by its geographical position and the inaccessible character of its forest mountains. Lying between Serbia to the east and south,
Croatia to the north and west, and connected along its south eastern border of the hinterland to the Adriatic coast, Bosnia and Herzegovina were subjected to many different influences most notably the new Islamic culture (Auty, 1965: 49).

1.2 Rationale

The Islamisation of the Balkans, particularly Bosnia, has not been extensively researched until recently (c.f., Bringa, 1995), with early research on this topic being little more than scant fragmentary and disconnected observations. Hence, there is a significant gap in the literature on the hybrid nature of the Bosniak cultural identity. Bringa (1995: 15) argues that research on early conversions to Islam in Bosnia and Herzegovina has been conceptually problematic for many Balkan historians. Researching the early Islamic history of Bosnia is often closely related to exploring the Islamisation process of the entire South European Slavs. No explicit investigation of the social and cultural implications of such process has been systematically undertaken for the Bosnian region in its own right. In fact, Stoyanov (2000: 258) contends that the swift disappearance of the Bogumils in the early Ottoman period in the Balkans still remains largely unexplained, and that the 'Bosnian' argument could be expanded to the entire Balkan region. Bringa (1995: 7) views Islam in Bosnia as a practiced and lived religion, which should be understood in terms of its specific contribution to shaping Bosnian society.

Although, a number of Bosnian historians (Hadzijahic, 1977; Balic, 1995) argue that Islam in Bosnia and Herzegovina appeared well before the date of the region's conquest by the Ottoman Empire in 1463, this part of Bosnia's history remains largely inaccessible and under-explored (Stoyanov, 2000: 258).
1.3 Thesis structure

This thesis aims to explore early Islamic spread in Bosnia and its impact on Bosnian society and national identity.

The thesis consists of two main parts. The first includes a historical analysis through secondary data sources of the process of Islamisation, which began in the eighth century, when many Slavs migrated to different parts of the Mediterranean including Spain, North Africa, the Middle East, Asia Minor and later Persia. This was a period of mass conversion to Islam in the new territories. At the same time, it was a period of depopulation of the Balkans, which occurred as a result of the resettlement of the Slavs by slavery. This is important because many Slavs during their resettlement accepted Islam, and were subsequently able to obtain a variety of opportunities and privileges. Many historians wrote about the practice of slavery including, Hiti (1970), Hugh (1997), Barford (2001), Solovjev (1946), Krckic (1956), Mazuranic (1928), Singleton (1985), Lewis (1882, 1984), Sunjic (1996), Busatlic (2003) and others. In addition, the archival documents from Ragusa\(^1\) and Venice consist of many records related to this early Bosnian resettlement. In his observations on the Islamisation of the Balkans, Lopasic (1994: 166) argues that a key factor contributing to Islamisation was the depopulation of areas such as Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The second part examines the settlements of a variety of eastern Muslim groups in the Balkans, including dervish orders and missionaries, adventurers, merchants, horsemen, agriculturists, migrants of Turkish, Arab and Persian origin, and an influx of already Islamised Slavs from outside of Bosnia. This period is characterised by the spread of Sufi missions and their introduction of Islamic teaching. After the conquering of Bosnia by the Ottomans in 1463, the process of gradual Islamisation lasted a further 150 years. As many Bosnian historians such as Zlatar (1991), Buzov (1991), Handzic (2000), Pelidija (2000), Alicic (2000), Imamovic (2000) and Kupusovic (2000) argue, the Turkish defters (official Ottoman books) provide the most important evidence on the

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\(^1\) Ragusa medieval name for the city of Dubrovnik.
gradual conversion to Islam after the fifteenth century. In addition, the influx of Slav Muslims from neighbouring Slavic regions in Bosnia contributed to the process of Islamisation and played a significant role in the development of Bosnian towns (Malcolm, 1996: 67).

This thesis takes an historical approach, and focuses in particular on the spiritual and social changes that accompanied Muslim migration over the Middle Ages. It attempts to provide an analysis of social and cultural circumstances that contributed to the forming of an authentic Bosniak identity in Bosnia. To this end, this thesis attempts to explore whether contemporary Bosnian culture is in fact, a reflection of early Islamic expressions of learning and aesthetic.

In general, Balkan scholars (Todorov, 1983; Bringa, 1995) agree that the Bosnian Muslims are descendants of Southern Slavs who converted during the four-hundred-year reign of the Ottoman rulers (Bringa, 1995: 14). Yet the arrival of the Turks in the fifteenth century was not the first contact between Bosnia and Islam. It is important however, to differentiate between mere contact and mass conversion (Malcolm, 1996:51).

1.4 Scope of thesis

This thesis will focus on the early contact between the Slavs and Arabs in the pre-Ottoman period. These events have great significance not only for Bosnia, but for other parts of South Europe as well. This thesis investigates the presence of early Muslim explorers and missionaries who visited or led Muslim settlements. This includes the process of early Bosnian Slavic migrations from the Balkan Peninsula and Bosnian Muslim settlements. It will also explore the evidence for an Islamic historical continuity in the Balkans, from pre-Ottoman individual efforts until the time of the more established Ottoman Empire.

The focus of the historical analysis is on the following themes: Early Muslim settlements before the establishment of the Ottoman Empire and their cultural dimension; the roles of Bosniaks and other Muslim ethnic groups and their contribution towards Islamic cultural, traditional and scientific achievements;
the contribution of Balkan Muslims into European cultural development as well as through other parts of the early Oriental world, such as the Iberian Peninsula, North Africa, the Middle East, Central and Minor Asia and Persia; and the early Muslim support of multiculturalism and promotion of multi-ethnic and multicultural values.

In exploring these inter-related themes, this thesis will assess aspects of early Islam in Bosnia including its adaptability, tolerance, preservation and other social and cultural roles.

1.5 Bosnia's early encounter with Islam

Bosnian Muslims are descendants of Balkan Slavs who first came into contact with the Arab Muslims who were the bearers of Islam in the eighth century. This thesis presents historical findings that indicate the precedence of Balkan Slavs in conversion to Islam, even before the formation of the Bosnian state, when Bosnians were already settled in the Balkans among other Slavic groups. Historians such as Imamovic (1996) and Vego (1980), also consider that Bosnian settlements existed in different parts of the Balkans including those facing the Adriatic coast. From the earliest medieval time many Bosnians lived in Dalmatia, which became an integral part of the Bosnian medieval state. Many Balkan Slavs came from Bosnian origins, or lived in Bosnian regions or on their borders. Medieval Mediterranean society was characterised by socio-ethnic, culturo-religious, linguistic, political and economic peculiarities, so for many Bosnians and their cosmopolitan view, Bosnia was a member of a multicultural 'Mediterranean family'.

Besides their Balkan homeland, medieval Bosnian Muslims lived between or in eastern and western regions of the Mediterranean. They settled in Anatolia, ('land of the rising sun') (Spencer, 1990: 15), which the Arabs called Diyari-Rum ('land of the Romans'). The name Rumeli means 'land of the Rhomaeeans', and was given by the Ottomans to provinces which comprised the Balkans (Donzel, 1994: 374; Unsal, 1973: 3). The word Rum was the name used in Arabic, Persian, and Turkish for the Byzantine Empire, including the region of
Bosnia (Donzel, 1994: 377). Bosnian Muslims also settled in the *Maghreb* ('land of the setting sun') (Bevan, 1938:26) and in *Mesopotamia* ('sunset'), the southern part of Turkey which extends to Europe (Ficigl, 1999:9).

The appearance of early Islam in Bosnia and southeastern Europe occurred primarily as a result of migration and settlement from Arab and Turkish countries. This early settlement of Muslims was followed by contact with explorers, merchants, Sufi missions, and the rise of the military janissary corps, as well as other services in the Arab and Ottoman Empires.

The Islamisation of Bosnia occurred from three directions: south, east, and north of the Bosnian borders. However, the earliest Islamisation of the Balkan Slavs, including those from Bosnia, occurred mainly in the western regions of the Mediterranean (Spain, North Africa, Sicily), in the eastern Mediterranean region and in the Middle East. Bosnian Slavs had migrated to these Mediterranean regions and it was there that they first came into contact with Islam. After this initial contact of the Balkan Slavs with the Arab Muslim explorers, and during the expansion of the Arab empire, the sporadic migration of Bosnian Slavs became mass migration and subsequently, their mass Islamisation. This was followed by large Bosnian migrations or resettlements toward Anatolia and other parts of the Turkish Empire, including Persia.

The spread of Islam in the Bosnian region occurred gradually through different sea, land and river routes, and in a variety of ways. Some of these routes were used by the previous Persian, Roman, and Byzantine Empires, and were called the 'old Roman route', 'route of Ragusa', and 'Byzantine route'. These 'Roman' or 'Byzantine routes', later renamed the 'Istanbul's road', were an important and more frequently used road, which had three branches put the mouth of the Neretva valley in communication with the town in the vicinity of present-day Sarajevo, and from there branched out in various directions. This ancient road connected directly with the Sava and Danube rivers, with Macedonia toward Salonika, Sofia, Constantinople (Istanbul), and with the East generally (Newbigin, 1915: 93-94) (see appendix no 1). In the early Ottoman
period, there was a route called the 'Bosnian road'. As well as these routes, Bosnian river valleys played a significant role in both the migration of Bosnian Slavs and in the establishment of Muslim settlements.

From the south, Islamic influence occurred in Herzegovina\(^2\) from the Neretva delta between the island of Hvar in the north, and the Peljesac Peninsula and Korcula islands in the south. Nerenta is the southern region around the Neretva River, located on the border of Herzegovina and Dalmatia (Muvekkit, 1998: 8). Because of its geographical position, Dalmatia, and most notably Dubrovnik, were natural exits to the Adriatic Sea for medieval Bosnia (Imamovic, 2003: 48). The earliest Islamic influences in the Bosnian region from Dalmatia (Mediterranean-Herzegovinian sphere) occurred between the eighth and tenth centuries, and continued to the end of the twelfth century.

Northern Islamic influence in Bosnia came from Hungary (Danubian-Bosnian area). In the beginning of the twelfth century, Bosnia was exposed to the Hungarian culturo-religious and political realms. Hungary, as a northern neighbour of Bosnia, had significant influence in both Bosnia and other Balkan regions. Muslim settlements established in Hungary and Bosnia or on their borders, played an important role in spreading Islamic influence in Bosnia, especially between the tenth and thirteenth centuries. This Islamic influence was continued by the Ottoman expansion from Bosnia towards Hungary.

Islamic influence from the eastern regions of the Balkans towards Bosnia, occurred mainly from Bulgaria and Macedonia. Eastern Islamic influences were initiated by a variety of Turkish tribes, Arab missionaries, by expansion of Seljuk frontiersmen (Jalimam, 1999: 167) and with the Ottoman's conquering of Bosnia. In the eastern parts of the Balkans, different Muslim settlements were established which expanded over the Bosnian borders. The earliest indication of the Arab expansion in the Balkan inland from Bulgaria occurred in the last

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\(^2\) Region in medieval time known as Zahumje or Hum, both of which derive from the name of the two mountains, Zalum and Zalom, located near the town of Nevesinje.
decades of the seventh century. It is the first evidence of Islam’s appearance in Bosnia, and the subsequent contact between Balkan inhabitants and Islam.

There are two significant factors that contributed to the Islamisation of Bosnia: (1) the influx of already Islamised Slavs from outside Bosnia’s borders (Malcolm, 1996: 68) and; (2) the slavery practice and growth of Muslim towns around Bosnia (Malcolm, 1996: 66). The practise of slavery was an important element in the conversion process. Ships took many Bosnians to the Iberian Peninsula, North Africa, the Middle East, Central Asia and Persia, and consequently many Bosnian Slavs converted to Islam after contact with Arabs and other Muslims. A large migration of Balkan slaves occurred in the eighth century when many of them settled, either permanently or temporarily, in different parts of the Mediterranean. Bosnians established Muslim settlements in new territories such as Tunisia (Balic 1995; Halilovic 1991), Spain (Mazuranic 1928; Hadzijahic 1977; Ceman 1996), Egypt (Handzic 1930; Kreckic 1956; Balic 1995; Ramic 1997), Syria (Halilovic 1991, Bojic 2001), Southern Italy (Omerbasic 1997), Sicily (Omerbasic 1997), Hungary (Hadzijahic n.d.; Jalimam 1999), Anatolia (Sabanovic 1982; Basagic 1994; Sunjic 1996), India (Mazuranic 1982, Busatlic 2003) and other regions of multinational Arab or Turkish Empires. Those who were temporarily settled due to imperial expansion were resettled in other regions or returned to the Balkans, including the Bosnian region.

The arrival of the Bosnians in different regions, including the Arab and Turkish Empires, had multiple consequences. It meant contributions to the social, cultural, artistic and governmental spheres for these Empires, and also contacts with Europe, most notably the Slavic states. Many Balkan Slavs, including those from the wider medieval Bosnian region, becamce important figures in Arab Caliphates or Turkish Principalities, whose borders stretched deep into Europe.

The earliest process of Islamisation included the adventures of Muslim explorers toward Bosnia, which were followed by migrations of Bosnian Slavs, mainly
through the slavery trade, which was operated by skilled seafarers. In order to extend their empire, firstly Arab Caliphs and later Turkish Sultans peopled unpopulated lands with Bosnian Slavs, appointing them initially as a work force, and engaging them in the protection of towns. Here they also contributed to the urbanisation of cities. Muslim rulers with Islamised Bosnians established dynastic unions including marriage alliances with Bosnians, and also improved combinations of diplomacy and military services especially along the frontiers. These were followed by trade agreements with merchants in Bosnia, Ragusa and Venice. In the new territories, Bosnian Muslim settlements led to the blossoming of a cultural exchange, which was dominated by Islamic influences.

The slavery trade continued through the Middle Ages, resulting in significant depopulation of the Bosnian region. Bosnian natural resources attracted Muslim merchants because of the high quality of timber, mines and other products from the Balkan inland (Singleton, 1985:70). The cities of Venice and Ragusa had very significant roles in this trade. Both of these modern cities were the mediators and contributors in mutual contacts between eastern and western explorers and merchants, most notably Muslims.

The process by which Bosnia gained a majority population of Muslims took the best part of 150 years (first half of the seventeenth century). The process of conversion was slow at the outset and took many generations (Malcolm, 1996: 54). The development of a Muslim cultural identity was closely linked to the process of urbanisation and the emergence of new towns during the settlement of early Muslim migrants, who brought with them considerable knowledge and skills in different fields.

The complex nature of medieval Islamic culture was developed on the basis of an integration of pre-Islamic traditions in the various countries conquered, and a closely incorporated blend of Arab, Turkish, and Persian traditions brought together in all parts of the new Muslim empire. Over time, the Arabic influence has emerged as one of the most important (Grube, 1996: 8). The Turkish impact was also important because of the geographical spread of the empire which had
more contact with Christian Europe than any other Islamic empire. However, it maintained and preserved the core traditional Islamic values, especially its roots in Turkish, Arab, Persian, Byzantine, and European soil (Bloom & Blair, 2000: 191).

Spiritual influence was equally significant, particularly with regard to the spread of Sufism (mystical Islam), which explains Islamic tolerance in Bosnia towards other Muslims, and towards members of other faiths such as Christianity and Judaism (Karic, 1999: 92). In the same period of authentic Islamic cultural development in Bosnia, Bosniak culture contributed to development outside the region. This cultural contribution was especially important in the Balkan region, other parts of Europe, as well as Asia, Africa, and later in Persia. Throughout the Middle Ages, Bosniaks have exhibited features of cultural hybridity, which facilitated their flexibility in adapting to and identifying with early non-Muslim and subsequent Muslim environments.

Islam in Bosnia and its contribution to the hybrid nature of Bosniak identity is also reflected through Bosnian contact with Muslim adventurers and explorers, as well as with different Sufi orders (most notably Bektashies, Melevies, Halveties and Nakshibendies) who preached and spread Islam. Visiting scholars from the east and west, as well as imperial expeditions by Caliphs or Sultans, also contributed to the merging of a significant number of Bosnian inhabitants called Bogumils with Islam. Different Sufi orders contributed to the Islamisation of Bosnians and the promotion of ideas such as tolerance and harmony. The Islamisation of Bosnia carried out by Sufi missionaries contributed to the enlarging of a base for the spread of Islam and its culture (Kiel, 1990: 205), and served as a bridge between different faiths. Sufism was an influential religious and intellectual movement, particularly in the early Ottoman centuries (Shaw, 1976: 23).

The contribution of Sufi missions, especially during the establishment of Muslim settlements, in introducing Islam to Europe was a significant aspect of new Muslim settlements in the Balkans including Bosnia. This followed
economic feudal privileges given by Ottoman rulers, including trade agreements. The cultural exchange and later population of depopulated land by different Muslim groups, including Islamised Slavs from surrounding countries, contributed to the multi-ethnic Bosnian mosaic (Hadzijahic, 1990:115; Malcolm, 1996:66-67).

As a result of this rich social history, most of the literary works of the Bosnian Muslims has been written in a number of languages including Turkish, Arabic and Persian (Malcolm, 1996: 102). Some of the most significant contributions of Islamic culture to Bosnian society were in the field of aesthetics, most notably music, folk dance and art performance.
CHAPTER TWO

Literature Review

The literature review section addresses the following five key themes:

1. Early contact with Arabs;
2. Migrations and settlements;
3. Early Ottoman period;
4. Growth of Bosnian towns;
5. Culture and Arts.

This section is based on written sources, demographic data, as well as archaeological research related to the Bosniak identity.

2.1 Early Slavic contacts with Arabs

The deepest cultural impact of the Arabs and Muslims on medieval Europe was undoubtedly in Spain, the vehicle through which the rest of Europe received its most accurate impressions of the Arabs (Daniel, 1975: 80). Daniel’s comments clearly refer to the initial basis of the cross-cultural encounters in the Mediterranean regions as well as the early Islamic influence, which carried Arabic culture beyond the Middle East. The early Arab expansion in the Mediterranean brought Muslim merchants and raiders to the coast of the Balkan Peninsula. The slave trade from the coast spread Bosnian slaves around the Mediterranean region throughout the Middle Ages.

Linguistically, this early contribution was reflected in the Arabic coined word, *Saqalib* which is the old term used to refer to various Slavonic races, including those from the Balkans and Bosnia. Saqalibs were widespread over southeastern Europe, and spoke different forms of the Slavic language. The term *Saqaliba* became synonymous with ‘slave’ practices in the Umayyad caliphs of Cordoba (Spain), thus corresponding to the Turkish *Mamluks* (A. “owned”, two dynasties of freed slaves in Egypt and Syria, r. 1250-1382 and 1382-1517) in the eastern Caliphate (Lewis, 1982: 188).
Between 643 and 680, Constantinople was almost annually attacked by Syria via Anatolia (Kacgi, 1992: 247). Arab invasions were led initially by the governor of Syria, and later by Caliph Mu'awiya (b. ca. 605, r. 661-680). Early Arab contacts with the Balkans occurred in 717-718, when Masleme's expedition came in Galata (on the European side of present day Istanbul) (Hadzijahic, 1977: 24). During the besieging of Constantinople by the Arabs in the seventh century, the Sultan Eyup El-Ansari, who was the friend and standard-bearer of the Prophet Mohammed, died, and his shrine and tomb is located at the European part of the city named after him (Ayyildiz, 1988: 80-81) (see appendix no 2). The Byzantine Emperor, Constantine Porphyrogenitus (905-959), in his work, De Administrando Imperio (1949: 93) wrote:

Maslamas made an expedition toward Constantinople, and at whose request was built mosque of the Saracens in the imperial praetorium; Suleiman was chief of the Saracens, and Masalmas held the rank of general... Masalmas came overland, and crossed over Lampsacus into the region of Thrace with him 80 thousand troops...

Within one year in Galata, Arabs erected the 'Arab's mosque'. In his work Ilamse, the Bosniak poet, Muhammed ef. Nerkesi (seventeenth century) wrote about this Arab expansion led by Gazavati Maslama (Hadzijahic, 1977: 24). The entry of the Arab fleets toward the Balkan coast occurred after many successes in the Mediterranean regions as well as in the Adriatic Sea. Their greatest expansions were during the ninth century and included Crete, Sicily, Bari in South Italy, Malta, and Syracuse (World History, 1995: 80-96).

Bosnian scholars provide authentic examples of early Islam in South Europe, the Mediterranean, and especially in the Bosnian region. One of the earliest examples is the early Arab expansion into the Balkan Adriatic seaside. This occurred during 840 – 841, and has been described in the first Southern Slavs Chronicle of Priest of Duklja:
...At that time many Saracens vessels came from Sicily. This large number of vessels Greeks called "Miria Armeni" or Latins "Decem Milia Vella" (Ten thousands of sails)... (Cited in Hadzijahic, 1977: 20-21).

Constantine Porphyrogenitus (1949: 127) wrote:

...The Saracens from Africa, Soldan and Saba and Kalphus, came with 36 ships and reached Damatia and took the city of Butova and the city of Rossa and the lower city of Decatera. And they came also to the city of Ragusa and blockaded it fifteen months...

The prominent Tunisian historian Ibn Khaldun (1967: 208) noted:

The rank (of admiral) is restricted to the realm of Idrisiyah and the Maghrib, because both Idrisiyah and the Maghrib on the southern shore of the Mediterranean. Along its southern shore the lands of the Berbers extend from Ceuta to Alexandria and on to Syria. Along its northern shore are the countries of Spain and of the European Christian (Franks), the Slavs, and the Byzantines, also extending to Syria. It is called the Byzantine Sea or the Syrian Sea, according to the people who inhabit its shores. Those who live along the coast on the shores of both sides of the Mediterranean are more concerned with (maritime) conditions than any other maritime nation.

Ibn Khurrahadhbeh, a Persian, wrote in Arabic towards the middle of the ninth century that "the inhabited world is divided into four parts, Europe, Libya, Ethiopia, and Scythia". Ibn Khurrahadhbeh's Urum (Europe), consists of "Andalus (Muslim Spain), the lands of the Slavs, Romans, and Franks, and the country from Tangier to the border of Egypt". In addition, Ibn Khurrahadhbeh wrote (Lewis, 1982: 138):
To the north of Andalus lie Rome, Burjan (Burgundy), and the lands of the Slavs and Avars... From the bottom of that sea, near the shores of the land of the Franks, they bring up bussadh, which the common people call coral (marjan). On the sea, which is beyond the land of the Slavs, lies the city of Tuliya (Thule). No ship or boat goes there and nothing comes from there...

The Saracen rulers of Andalusia were known to have had a Slav army of 13,750 men in the tenth century (Malcolm, 1996: 51). Malcolm’s formulation has opened a nearly forgotten chapter of the early Islamic cultural history in the pre-Ottoman period in Bosnia. Malcolm (1996:51) draws our attention to the significance of the Bosnian Slavs presence among thousands of other slaves who had accepted Islam in early medieval time. This early cultural contact of Bosnians with Arabs in the Balkan regions followed the already significant cultural contribution of Bosniaks and other Slavs to the Islamic regions of the Mediterranean, including Spain (see appendix no 3).

The Slavs who were in the service of the Caliph were both numerous and influential (O’Callaghan, 1975: 153). Some, as eunuchs, guarded the harem; others served in administrative offices or in the royal guard. They usually became Muslims and were freed by the Caliph. Under Abd al-Rahman III, they formed new military and bureaucratic nobility. It is important to note that the popularity of the Saqaliba in al-Andalusia and elsewhere in the Muslim world has been based on the fact that their distant origins tended to promote their sense of loyalty in a variety of governmental services (Constable, 1994: 206). As Ibn Idhari noted, Slavs “served in the palaces, but they ruled in it like lords”. The Saqaliba became a very important element in the Spanish-Arab society (Lewis, 1982: 189). We find them serving as generals and as ministers, possessing great wealth, and sometimes owning estates and slaves of their own.

Between the ninth and eleventh centuries, the Balkan Slavs had many cultural contacts with Arabs, from their birthplaces to new homelands in different parts of the Mediterranean. In that period there were significant occasions such as
interfaith dialogue and multicultural festivals in western and eastern Mediterranean regions. One of the earliest examples of interfaith dialogue occurred in 856. The Balkan Slavic Christian missioner from Salonika, St. Cyril\(^3\), as delegate in emissary visited the palace of the Abasid Caliph Al Mutawakkil 'alal. There he talked with Islamic scholars and showed his interest and knowledge of Islam, while Islamic scholars also showed good knowledge about Christianity (Hadjizjahic, 1977: 23).

The Islamic Spanish society had a flourishing cultural life, including multicultural festivals. The educational institutions were of the highest level. For example, in Cordoba, citizens enjoyed public plumbing and illuminated streets. The city's half-million inhabitants worshipped in 3,000 mosques, bathed in 300 hammams (public baths), and enjoyed all the feast days of Christianity and Islam combined. Cordoba, and also Granada and Seville, boasted institutions of higher learning where philosophy, law, literature, mathematics, medicine, astronomy, history and geography were taught, and the status symbol for a wealthy man was a well-stocked library (Stewart, 1967: 142-3). In that way, the Slavic cultural achievement included the establishment of libraries and contributions in different scientific fields (Dozy, 1972: 430).

The great multiethnic cultural festival in Cairo provides an example of the participation of different ethnic origins, including Southern Slavs. A Persian traveller, Nasir-i-Khusrau wrote about this festival where tens of thousands of people gathered. He described the royal city of Cairo, and other places in Egypt. About the caliph's suite and "the high festival of cutting the canal", he wrote:

\[\text{Beside of large number of people of different origin, including attendants and chamberlains (ustad), palace servants (seruyi) an so on, the Caliph's suite included various princes visiting the court, from Maghrib, Yemen, Rum, Slavonia, Georgia, Nubia, Abyssinia and even Tatars from Turkestan and the sons of the king of Delhi. Poets and men of letters, in the caliph's pay, attended; and all Cairo and Misk,}\]

\(^3\)The Slavic scholar who created with his brother, St. Metodious, the eastern Cyrillic alphabet.
Christian included, turned out to see the cutting of the dam by the caliph, beside the pavilion es-Sukkara, built by his ancestor: 'Aziz near the mouth, and then to go sailing on the Nile to the festivities ...
(Lanc-Poole, 1901: 142).

The Slavic inhabitants of the Neretva River valley have had dynamic communication with the Arabs. Their routes went beyond North Africa, Sicily and Syria where the Fatimids ruled (Balic, 1995: 38). Obolensky (1971: 37) suggests that the Arab expansion from the Adriatic Sea toward the city of Dubrovnik in 876 may have taken place on the lower Danube. Obolensky (1971: 77) points to the presence of the Slav tribes between Neretva River and Lake Scutari, and Slav tribes on the Balkan coast in the ninth century. In the early eighth century the western part of the Turkish Empire was conquered by the Arabs (Obolensky, 1971: 170). With the temporary conquering of some parts of the Balkan shore during this period, the Saracens decided to enter the Balkan interior toward the Bosnian region through the valley of Neretva River in Herzegovina. Balic (1995: 38) and Hadzijahic (1977: 24) consider that from the second half of the ninth century, the contacts between Balkan Slavs and Arabs intensified.

A further example of an early Muslim presence in Southern Europe is evidenced by Lewis (1982) who states that Muslim corsairs (sea invaders) from Spain, Sicily, and North Africa raided the Christian coasts of the Mediterranean, especially during the tenth, eleventh and twelfth centuries, and carried off great numbers of people. The Slav Sabir, mariner of the governor of Sicily, frequently came to the Balkan coast (Lewis, 1982: 190). For instance, in 928, in a single expedition from the Adriatic Sea to the Tunisian port of al-Mahdiyya, Sabir transported 12,000 people.

In the early medieval time in Tunis, there was a village called Bosna (Bosnia) which had about 800 residents (Balic, 1965: 91). A similar Bosnian settlement also existed in Syria (Halilovic, 1991: 29), and from the early period in Turkey, there was a Bosnian village also called Bosna (Bosnia). Around the city of Bursa (Turkey), the Bosniaks spoke "only Bosniak (Bosnian) language" (I. "Bosnakca")
(Balic, 1962: 91). There were also many Bosniak settlements in the European parts of Turkey and Asia Minor (Halilovic, 1991: 33).

When the Fatamids established their Caliphate in Tunisia in the early tenth century and advanced eastward to the conquest of Egypt some fifty years later, Slavonic slaves played a role of some importance in their successes (Lewis, 1982: 189). The peculiar structure of Muslim society, which allowed slaves to occupy positions of great influence and power, enabled the Saqaliba in Muslim Spain to become an important element in Spanish-Arab society. Adopting the Arabic language, they even produced scholars, poets, and scientists in such numbers, and of such significance, that one of them during the reign of Hisham II (976-1013) composed a whole book on the merits and achievements of the Slavs of Andalusia (Lewis, 1982: 189).

In the twelfth century, the Knez (ruler) Melck-Dok Damald, ruled in the Neretva River valley (Herzegovina). Both his father and grandfather were of Arabic origin. Damald's grandfather, Dhu'l-ayn was also known to residents in the local area of the southern Balkans (Balic, 1995: 38). Arab presence in this region is clearly documented through the three generations of Damald, and Melek-Dok Damald may be one of the first known Arab rulers there. The son of Abu Hamid-al Garnati (1080-1169) was the Mufti (religious leader) in the Hungarian Kingdom, particularly in the valley of the lower Danube River, where the Balkan Muslims lived (Balic, 1995: 39).

In the city of Aleppo (Syria), Yakut al Hamawi (-1229), author of the great geographical dictionary Mu'gam al-buldan, met Muslim students from Hungary. This shows that in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries there was contact by Muslim Slavs with Islamic culture. Hamawi wrote that in Srijem (northeastern border of Bosnia), there were 30 large Muslim villages in the valley of the lower Danube River (Balic, 1995: 39). In addition, old European chronicles refer to some Muslim residents from these regions as Saracens or Bezermeni (Balic, 1962: 78).
3.2 Migrations and settlements

After Slav settlements in the Balkans, new migrants of Turkish, Arabic, and Persian origin followed. The necessity and trend of these people was primarily to migrate west to find rich pasturable and fertile agricultural environments, and to form new settlements. Another reason for the establishment of new settlements was the general migration of Turkmen toward the Balkans, over Anatolia, as a result of the growing expansion of the Arab tribal confederations from places such as the Syrian Desert (Inalcik, 1993: 107). Ibn Khaldun (1969: 92) wrote:

*Those who make their living from animals requiring pasturage, such as sheep and cattle, usually travel around in order to find pasture and water for their animals, since it is better for them to move around in the land. They are called “sheepmen, that is, men who live on sheep and cattle. They do not deep into desert, because they would not find good pastures there. Such people include the Berbers, the Turks, the Turkomans and the Slavs, for instance.*

In Bulgaria, *Turo-Tatar* groups had settled in Dobruja since the mid-seventh century. They had considerably extended their territory and merged with the Slav population (Lassus, 1967: 154). Around the year 680, the *Khan* by the name Asperuch appeared on the lower Danube at the head of an Oriental-looking, mounted army. They were Hunnish people, originally from the Caspian Sea, and were called *Bulgars*. In combat with Arab Muslims, Asperuch crossed the Danube River into present-day Bulgaria (Pribichevich, 1982: 79). This occasion, from the Asian border into the Balkans, at the end of the seventh century is the first contact of Arab Muslims with Balkan Slavs. Historically, it was the earliest contact of Islam with the Balkan interior.

*Turkestan* (or Turkistan) is Persian for “land of Turks”, and is widely spread in Central Asia. Their inhabitants were Turkish-speaking people (with different dialects) who belonged to different Muslim groups. Turkish people had the earliest contact with Islam through the famous Silk Road, which covered Central
Asia and linked China, the Middle East and Europe. The Arabs invited Turkish tribes in the seventh century and annexed ancient Sogodina (Columbia encyclopaedia vol. 23, 1975: 6922-6923). This followed Arab expansion in the eighth century with Umayyad and Abbasid caliphates, and sporadic migration toward the Balkans intensified.

Porhirogenitus (tenth century) wrote about Pecheneges and other Muslim tribes in the Balkans. He noted (1949: 183), that “the Turks live beyond the Danube River, in the land of nomadic life” and there “comprehend the whole settlements” (1949: 177). Constantin Pophirogenitus (1949: 53-7) noted:

Pecheneges are neighbours to the Bulgarians... Bulgarians strive to maintain peace and harmony with Pecheneges...in the region of Bulgaria also is settled a folk of the Pecheneges...their country is great and their people numerous...

Between the eighth and thirteenth centuries, the earliest Muslims were located toward and in Bosnia, in the Tisa, lower Danube, lower Sava, Morava and Drina river valleys, as well as in Macedonia, Bulgaria, Athens and Salonica (Balic, 1995: 38-9). The earliest Bosnian Muslim settlements were established in the eighth century in the eastern part of Bosnia (ibid). The population included Turkish-speaking settlers, Muslim settlers from other parts of the Islamic world, and indigenous people, most notably Bogumils, who converted to Islam. Although Islam had spread in Bulgaria, Macedonia, the northern part of Rumanian Dobrudja, Albania, and western parts of Thrace and Crete, the process of gradual conversion was the most common in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Abu Hamid-al Garnati wrote that in the lower Danube River valley, there were two different Muslim tribes who lived side by side: They are Mahgrabis (Western) or Ismaelites (Ismaeliti) and Hvarezmiye (Saraceni, Bezermenli, H. Boszormenyck). The origins of Ismaelites belong to Pecheneges, although its name refers to Mahgreb. They were mainly horsemen and warriors. Hvarezmiye were at the Royal court as advisers, traders, and makers of coins, treasurers and
customs officers. The name Bezermeni was mentioned in old European chronicles, and was commonly in usage in Eastern Europe and Bosnia (Balic, 1995: 12). Saracens named the Bosnian villages Saraci near the city of Zvornik and Saracica, near Mali Zvornik. The village of Agarenci (Agarenoi, Byzantine), or Agarovici, near the small Bosnian city of Rogatica, derives its name from Agarenians, that is, 'descendants of Hagar', (Balic, cited in Eterovich and Spalatin, vol II 1970: 302-3). In addition, the Greek writer Kinamos (twelfth century) wrote that “Bezermeni belonged to the same faith as Arabs, Persians, and Turkish people” (Balic, 1995: 12).

The Seljuk Turks under Sultan Alp Arslan in Armenia in 1071, expanded over Asia Minor, toward the Balkans, which became the main economic resource as well as the main economic supplier for the Asia Minor inhabitants (Pribicchevich, 1982: 86). The Ottomans were responsible for leading, and most of the time for funnelling the Turkmen gazis⁴ and Turkish population into the Balkans. It appears that the Ottoman conquests followed this spontaneous invasion and settlement process of the Turkmen into the land on the other side of the Dardanelles (Inalcik, 1993: 100).

In the Balkans, Bogumilism was wide spread, and from 1222, Bosnia was one of the most important centres of Bogumilism. A significant number of Bosnian Slav Muslims today are the descendants of the Bosnian Bogumils. In Macedonia and Bulgaria, the remaining Bogumils adopted the Islamic or Christian faiths (Pribicchevich, 1982: 78). Syncretism is an important aspect of the background to the issue of conversion to Islam (Malcolm, 1996: 131) because in Bosnia, Bogumil syncretism merged with an Islamic component and formed an authentic Bosniak Muslim ethnicity.

Behind the western part of the Balkan shore, there were two Muslim settlements called 'Latin Islam' and 'Greek Islam', which date around the twelfth century. There was probably a mosque before the Turkish presence (Omerbasic, cited in Vilajet, 2000: 51).

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⁴ Frontier warrior for the faith.
For the early spread of Islam in Bosnia, migrations and settlements of different Turkish tribes were very important. Inalcik (1993: 100) argues further that since 1348, a powerful Turkmen migration began from the Aydin and Saruhan territories, first towards Keresi (Mysia) and then, under the Ottomans, to the Balkans. The Ottoman gaziis led Turkish population into the Balkans. The Balkan Turkmen were all referred to by the name of Yuruk (Yoruk).

The early contact of the Oguz tribes and their Islamisation occurred with Muslim merchants. The Turkish Oguz tribe from Central Asia were largely nomadic, their wealth consisting of camels, horses, and sheep. Some settled groups raised crops in the oases and bartered in market towns, exchanging animals, forest products and so on, for goods from the urban areas to the south and west along the Muslim border. Those economic contacts with Muslims facilitated the conversion of the Oguz Turks to the Muslim faith (Iitkowitz, 1972: 4). The Oguz Muslim tribe migrated from Central Asia over Asia Minor in the Balkans. Amongst the Oguz were other Turkish tribes through migration routes beyond the Balkan regions, including the lower Danube and northern and eastern regions of Bosnia. One of the largest Muslim tribes was the Yuruks. The Yuruks of western Anatolia were not only a powerful settlement movement in the Anatolian region, but also a source of mass immigration into the Balkans (Inalcik, 1993: 105).

Of the many different tribes, the Oguz were the most prominent in the Balkan regions. Balic (1995: 11) states that between the tenth and thirteenth centuries, Muslim settlements were established peacefully and spontaneously in the valleys of the Tisa, Danube, Sava, and Morava and Drina rivers. Their founders were Euro-Asian Turkish horsemen. They belonged to the extended tribes and communities of the Kuman (Cuman), Pecenez, Oguz, Kobar, Staro-Bugar and Hazari (Hvarezmi). During their migrations and settlements throughout Europe, these groups of Muslim adventurers and warriors joined merchants, travellers and mystics of Arabic, Turkish and Persian origins. This variety of tribes and people engineered the first forms of Christian-Islamic coexistence on European soil.
Bosman scholars (such as Balic, 1995) agree that Islam in Bosnia has been spread peacefully, but a clear distinction needs to be drawn between Islamisation and Turkification. The military conquest of Bosnia by Turks is one thing; the spread of Islam as explored in this thesis, is another.

The first individual conversions accompanied the Turkish invasion and affected mostly the ruling class (Todorov, 1983: 51). Slaves who were brought to Bosnia, mainly from the surrounding Slav lands have made a significant contribution to the growth of the Muslim population (Malcolm, 1996: 66-7). In early medieval time, the migrations occurred in both directions - from Anatolia to Europe and from Europe to different lands of the Ottoman Empire (İnalcik, 1973: 10).

Todorov (1983: 59) points out that the establishment of Turkish domination in the Balkans led to many changes in the ethnic and religious composition of the urban population in various areas of the Balkan Peninsula. The centre of the state reflected the empire as a whole, a society of many ethnic groups thoroughly intermixed. Indeed, Bosnia was a multireligious, rather than an exclusively Muslim society during the period of Turkish rule (Donia, 1981: 3).

**Sufism and different dervish orders**

Sufism is a term used for Muslim mysticism (called *tasawwuf*) after it was organised into a movement. The term comes from the Arabic word *suf*, which means wool. Dervishes and immigrants often came from Anatolia to a newly conquered zone in the Balkan interior, selected a plot of land and organised a *zaviye*⁵, securing from the Sultan a document which confirmed that this land was a *vakif*⁶ for the *zaviye*. Since members of the *zaviye* received tax exemptions, new immigrants flocked to its lands, which became the nucleus of a new village. This was the origin of most of the Turkish villages established in the fourteenth century in western Anatolia and the Balkans. In the early fourteenth century, the descendants of Osman (Osman Gazi - the founder of the Ottoman dynasty from

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⁵ A building that functions as a Sufi residence and/or school.

⁶ An endowment.
1299 to 1326), had established an empire stretching from the Danube to the Euphrates (Inalcik, 1973: 5).

Different mystic teachings, from West and East, were promoted toward the Balkans and had some impact on Bosnia. For instance, the western mystic Ibn "Arabi (1164-1240) expresses himself in the following words, which could be applied to the multireligious Balkan regions as well:

*My heart can take on any form: it is a pasture for gazelles and monastery for Christian monks. A temple for idols, and for the Kaaba of the pilgrims, and for the tables of the Torah, and for the book of the Qur'an. I follow the religion of love: whatever the direction of the camels of my love, my religion and my faith are there* (cited in Castro, 1971: 500).

From the East, during the Seljuk period, educated circles in the cities of central Anatolia adopted high Persian culture, while on the frontiers, the Turkish popular culture of the gazi and dervishes, with its currents of mysticism and chivalry, was predominant. The dervishes on the frontier, in close relationship with the first Ottoman beys (chieftans), had been coming to Anatolia since the eleventh century with waves of migrating different Turkish groups. The dervish tekkes were the social and spiritual centres of the Turcomen, like the old Turco-Mongol shaman tribes. Arabic sources describe with amazement the hundred or so dervishes who came to Syria with Barak Baba in 1307. The Heretical dervishes visited the Balkan frontiers (Inacik, 1973:186), including those on the Bosnian frontier:

*They hung bells and knucklebones around their necks, shaved their beards and let their moustaches grow. In their hands they carried wooden swords, or cudgels crooked at the end. Drums and pipes accompanied them, and when these sounded they danced with vigorous movements. The objects round their necks made such a noise that the spectators went out of their mind. They attached no*  

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*Sufi residence.*
The migrating peoples were organised into small groups under the leadership of beys or babas (Sufis). The Sufis assisted the migration of the Turks, and helped bring new territories into cultivation. They built hospices and mills, planted orchards, provided endowments, developed schools, protected travellers, and mediated disputes among tribes. Rural Sufis had a tolerant attitude toward Christians, and facilitated voluntary conversion of people to Islam. In urban environments, akhis (youth fraternities) who were recruited from the artisan and merchant social class, mainly worked in charity (Lapidus, 2002: 248-9). The variety of Sufi orders, most notably Bektashis, Mevlevis, Hamzevis, Naksibendis and Kalandcris, contributed in creating a hybridity of the Bosnian identity. Each order brought specific characteristic in terms of style, unity and plurality.

The Sufi or dervish orders contributed to both the intellectual life of Islam and to popular 'folk-religion'. They operated outside ‘official’ structures, until the communities erected medreses and mosques (Malcolm, 1998: 134). The Halveti, the Bektashi and the Mevlevi became the largest and most active orders in the Balkans (Malcolm, 1998: 135). For instance, Mevlevi-ism established itself among Ottoman intellectuals, and particularly among the bureaucratic class, who were imbued with Persian literary and cultural traditions (Inalcik, 1973: 202).

The tekke Blagaj (Herzegovina) is located under a high rock where the Buna River (L. Bona) suddenly appears, after a 19.5 kilometre underground flow, as the most powerful spring in Europe. The tekke Blagaj is a baroque monument (a missionary and military object) of the early Ottoman period. A document written in 1454, describes the Bogomiul’s monastery as built here, so it can be considered as the symbiosis of the Bogomil’s church and Islam. This tekke belonged to various dervish orders such as the Bektashi, Helveti, Kadariti and the Nakshibendi order.

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8 Islamic college.
Sari Saltuk, a Turkish dervish and Bektashi saint from Babadag (Dobrudja) came from Bukhara (city in a large oasis in present day Uzbekistan). He was a popular saint who was identified as the early Islamic patron and missionary of the Bektashi way, and functioned as a bridge between Christianity and Islam. In 1261, he entered the Byzantine territory with approximately forty Turcoman clans. The Dobrudja was the cultural centre for his activity in the Balkans (Inalcik, 1973: 187). Sari Saltuk became the hero of an epic, as a dervish and gazi spreading Islam in Europe. Babadag itself owes its name to this event; the Islamisation of large parts of the Balkans, carried out by dervish missionaries of various kinds, a process which contributed to the enlargement of the base for the spread of Islam and its culture (Kiel, 1990: 205). Sari Saltuk was also an intimate companion of well-known Sufi, Hajji Bektash (d.c.1297), who preached a version of Islam that synthesized differences amongst Muslim beliefs, as well as Muslim and Christian religious practices (Lapidus, 2002: 249). Hajji Bektash also had a prominent role in assisting the Taturs in their acceptance of Islam.

Many myths and legends across the Balkans portray the popularity of Saltuk, such as at Blagaj in Bosnia and Hercegovina. In Bosnia the most well known Sufi was Ajvaz Dedo. The small town Prusac became a place of veneration by Ajvaz Dedo, who according to legends "brought water in the town of Prusac" (Hadzijahic, 1977: 87). A dervish, Veli Baba, was based in a tekke in Prisren (Kosovo) and spent all his time travelling round the towns and villages, teaching Islam to the people. His turbe (tomb) later became a special place of veneration (Malcolm, 1996: 135).

The Mevlevi order also contributed to the spread of Islam in Bosnia. Mevlevi teaching was in accordance with an educational approach. Inalcik (1973: 202) explains that the patron of the Mevlevi order of dervishes was Maulana Jalal al-Din Rumi (1207-73), one of the world’s greatest mystical writers. He grew up in Konya, the Seljuk capital, where Ibn al-'Arabi’s thought prevailed. Mevlevism established itself among Ottoman intellectuals in the Balkans, and particularly among the bureaucratic class, who were imbued with Persian literary and cultural
traditions. It was a major factor in creating the classical Ottoman literature, which
drew its main inspiration from Persia.

Although Hadzijahic (1990: 111) considered dervish contributions important in
Bosnia, he also emphasises the role of sejjar-vaizi. The sejjar-vaizi, who held
their activities during Ramadan, significantly contributed to the process of
Islamisation and the establishment of Islam in Bosnia. Sufism, however,
continued to be an influential intellectual and religious movement, particularly in
the early centuries (Shaw, 1976: 23).

Significance of frontiers
Multicultural mosaic and unique diversities are traditional values of the Balkans.
Bosnia has often been called a microcosm of the Balkans. Different impacts
including religious, cultural, and trading, played a crucial role in creating the
variety of interaction over borders. In terms of frontiers, Bosnia is a very specific
example because of its geographical position on European soil. It is a meeting
place of the East, West and Orient.

Velikonja (2001: 219) views Bosnia and Herzegovina as a country with an
exceptionally rich religious history. Religion has played an important role over
the course of centuries. Pre-modern Bosnian religious history could be
characterised as a history of religious diversity as well as a history of mutual
religious tolerance and respect. Bosnian frontiers characterised different
movements as well as religious, cultural and political influences because of the
existence of a variety of ethnic groups. For instance, Bosnia is composed of over
40 small ethnic groups, with different customs, traditions, skills, knowledge and
so on.

Bosnian frontiers, because of their substantial diversity, present a cosmopolitan
environment in which different religions and ethnic groups have lived peacefully
and harmoniously for more than a thousand years. It is also important to note that

9 Travel-thinkers.

10 The ninth month of the Muslim calendar, the month of annual fasting.
through its early medieval history there existed early beliefs including the Bogumilism (the Chateris, the Patarens). At the end of the twelfth century, the first signs of the religious movement, which was to develop into a separate, Ecclesia Bosnensis ('Bosnian church') emerged. Bosnia was the religious frontier between the Catholic and the Orthodox churches (Hussey, 1966: 546).

Goffman also explores the issue of the Ottoman frontier. Paradoxically this cultural convergence, in which the Ottomans integrated non-Muslims into the economic life of the community, is best articulated along the political and commercial frontiers, where Ottomans simultaneously engaged in antagonism with Byzantine, Hungarian, Venetian, and Habsburg forces and fraternized with fellow Christian inhabitants. Particularly upon the military marches that for centuries demarcated first Byzantine and Ottoman Anatolia and then the Catholic and Ottoman Balkans, each side accommodated and even assimilated the other's techniques and cultures (Goffman, 2002: 9-10).

Goffman (2003: 31) considers the frontiers of the Byzantine and Islamic empires. He views such borders, although tending to be fixed and unbending, as creating a sense of "middle ground" to a world whose propensities toward compromise, adaptation, and heterodoxy might give rise to innovative institutions and worldviews. Cyprien Robert (cited in Todorova, 1997: 81) authored numerous works on the Slavs or "the Slavs of Turkey" and in his opinion, Slavdom, most notably Bosnia, had a chief role in history as the perpetual mediators between "Asia and Europe, between the Greeks and Latins, between East and West", or in another words, between Occident and Orient.

Many adherents of the Bogomil faith accepted Islam, and their descendants form the nucleus of the Islamic community in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Singleton, 1985: 32). Also, Danopoulos and Messas (1997: 95) point out that the Bosnian Muslims are descendants of the South Slavs who entered the Balkans in the fifth and sixth centuries. There is a variety of Muslim communities in Bosnia, including a number of Muslim immigrants from elsewhere in the Ottoman Empire (Weekes, 1978: 112).
Barford (2001: 62-3) points out that the Balkan zones of Southern Slav territory had mixed cultures in which western and eastern Christianity, Islam and Judaism are evident. These cultures have had an important effect on the shaping of the cultures of different Slav groups. This helps to demonstrate a premise of this thesis about the multireligious composition of the Balkan and more specifically, of Bosnia.

In terms of the Balkan frontiers and the Bosnian multireligious mosaic, an important example is related to early Jewish migration. Like other young faiths, Karaism (from the Hebrew root meaning ‘to read’, specifically ‘the scriptures’, Jewish movement) in its early period developed an intense missionary effort, and travelling Karaitc (‘readers of scripture’) preachers from Baghdad went from town to town and province to province in the mid-tenth century. It is at this time that new Karaite colonies were established in the Balkans (Nemoy, 1980: xvii). In addition, the birthplace of Karaism was the northeastern frontier region of the Arab empire whose culture was essentially Persian (Nemoy, 1980: xviii). Medieval travellers such as Benjamin of Tudela (twelfth century) mentioned Jewish communities in the Balkans (Kolonomos, 1976: 15).

An important example of the multiethnic Balkans relates to the Gipsy settlements. In Bosnia, Gipsy communities existed in the fifteenth century. They are believed to have entered Persia in the ninth century where they spread across the Middle East, arriving in the Balkans in the early fourteenth century. The largest Gipsy settlement in the world is thought to be Suto Orizarc, a suburb of Skopje in Macedonia (Wockes, 1978: 147-9). This information contributes to the unique cultural and religious diversity of the Balkan region.

The city of Ulcinj, located on the southern part of the Balkan shore, had Muslim residents, including African descendants of people brought by Turks from North Africa in the Middle Ages (Cuddon, 1974: 158-9). The city of Ulcinj was founded by Muslims including these African migrants. Ulcinj spent two hundred years as a frontier stronghold after the Sarcens took it over in the eighth century.
After possession by Slav rulers, the town was taken in 1571 by the Bey of Algiers, Uluz-Ali, an ally of Sultan Selim II. Until 1878, the town was the headquarters of Moroccans, Albanians, Turks and other Muslim and non-Muslim ethnicities. African settlements existed in the old town of Bar (near Ulcinj) (Cuddon, 1974: 158-9, Celebija, 1994: 339). Africans are a further example of the multiracial diversity and unique Muslim ethnicity in the Balkans (Cuddon, 1974: 158).

3.3 Early Ottoman period

As the Arabs pushed into Central Asia in the eighth and ninth centuries under the Abbasid dynasty (749-1258), they traded with, fought, and converted Turkish-speaking nomads. The Arab leaders also began both to hire these steppe people as mercenaries, and to choose for training as soldiers and scribes the most fit and talented of them. By the tenth century, this tendency had evolved into a system, the ghulam ('foreign youths') by which non-Muslim Turks were enslaved, converted, and trained to become Muslim warriors and statesmen. A ghulam was a slave highly trained for service in the ruler’s palaces and state structure. Ghulams in the service of Muslims rulers came into importance in Islamic history as early as the reign of Caliph al-Mutasim (833-842). Murat I (1362-1389) took over the Seljuk system of training slaves as gulams and instituted the new practice of devshirme ('gathering' of youths) (Shaw, 1976: 27). Many late-medieval Middle Eastern dynasties adopted this procedure, most notoriously in Egypt where the servants toppled the rulers and established the Mamluk Empire, a “regime of former slaves”. The Ottomans also took up this practice that Seljukid and other Turkic dynasties had introduced into Asia Minor (Goffman, 2002: 67).

From the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in Asia Minor, there were many Seljuk elite corps and toward the end of the thirteenth century, there was a Seljuk Order called the “Swift Young Men” (Pribicheck, 1982: 94-5). This institution is characteristic of the Ottomans. The Ottomans hit upon the idea of taking into service and converting to Islam, young male children. This periodic levy, known as the devshirme ('to collect') was an Ottoman innovation of the already existing ghulam system. It would appear, however, that the Ottomans were already training devshirme boys as early as 1395 (Itzkowitz, 1972: 49). In the time of
Bayezid I (1389-1402) devshirme was developed as an institution (Shaw, 1976: 113). Ottomans conscripted boys of six to ten years old, took them to Istanbul, put them into special schools (Pribichevich, 1982: 95), where they learned Arabic, Persian and Turkish languages, as well as various sciences and calligraphy (Shaw, 1976: 114). These boys were destined for the finest education available in the Islamic world and were prepared for the highest positions in the empire (Itzkowitz, 1972: 51). Initially boys were taken only from the Balkans, but later, in the sixteenth century, they were levied from Anatolia as well (Itzkowitz, 1972: 50). Inalcik (1973: 78) argues that only in Bosnia, did families convert to Islam to provide children to the Janissary corps. These elite corps arc another example of early contact between Balkan individuals and groups on the one hand, and Islam and Muslim societies on the other.

Inalcik (1973: 222) describes the janissary corps as the sultan's standing infantry, recruited mostly from Balkan villages and cities. The janissaries were the elite, well trained, well clothed and well paid Ottoman corps. Their attractive looking army outfits were often enhanced with decorative features. The Arab cartographer Al Quazwini (in his work of Cosmography in 1265) mentioned an Arab seafarer who visited New Guinea\(^{11}\) and collected *Bird of Paradise* (peacock) feathers for the felt hats of Turkish janissaries (Whitehouse, 1994: 14).

Spontaneous migrations of different Turkish tribes, Sufi missions and forming zaviyes followed well-planned patterns of the spread and establishment of the Ottoman Empire. Itzkowitz (1972) suggests that the Ottomans’ expansion in the Balkans was facilitated by both the internal situation they encountered and their methods of conquest. Geography and politics are closely linked in the Balkans. The mountains were not a significant obstacle to the passage of armies. Control of several rivers gives access to the valley of the Danube (Itzkowitz, 1972: 13). The Sava and Drava gave easy access to Bosnia, and from it the Ottoman army could pass through the mountain valleys into Montenegro, Herzegovina, and Dalmatia along the Adriatic coast (Shaw, 1976: 129).

\(^{11}\)Large island in the Pacific Ocean between Equator and northern Australia.
Itzkowitz (1972: 14-5) argues for two distinct phases in the Ottoman conquest of Bosnia. In the first stage, the Ottomans sought to establish some form of control, usually suzerainty, over adjacent territories in the path of their expansion, and in the second stage, the Ottomans eliminated the local ruling vassals and formally annexed the territories. The establishment of direct control involved the introduction of the timar\textsuperscript{12} into newly conquered domains. The Ottoman expansion in the Balkans coincided with a period of deep social unrest (Itzkowitz, 1972: 17). Yet even at this early stage, dividing lines within society existed. One major line of division separated nascent Ottoman society into two segments, the rulers and the ruled. In Turkish language they are called the askeris and reaya, which can be translated as 'the military' and 'the subjects'. As the productive elements in society, the reaya produced the wealth that supported the military class. The reaya consisted of three categories: peasants, town and city dwellers, and nomads. The term encompassed both Muslims and non-Muslims. Thus the askeri-reaya division was a fundamental characteristic of Ottoman society (Itzkowitz, 1972: 40). The following story is related to the Islamisation of Bosnians:

In that time, Tvrtko I, the King of Bosnia wrote: “the Turks in my kingdom show smiling faces to the peasants and promise freedom to all who go over them...” On 15th of February, Tadej, a missioner from Florence (Italy) received one thousand ducats from the Bosnian Royalty to search, until March of the following year, for Bosniaks in Asia resettled by Ottomans. During his mission, Tadej did not find Bosniaks. The Bosnian nobility 1403 searched again, but they did not find their members of nobility (Pelesic, 1996: 22).

The Turkish historian Oruc noted that “Istanbul was taken on Tuesday the 21st of Rebi ul-evilvel of the year 857” (corresponding to 29th May 1453) (Lewis, 1982: 30). A young Venetian called Giacomo de’ Languschi met Sultan Mehmed only days after the conquest of Constantinople and he depicted the Sultan who spoke several languages, including Slavic:

\textsuperscript{12} Income generated through taxation was distributed among the sultan’s loyal supporters.
...noble in arms, of an aspect inspiring fear rather than reverence, sparing of laughter, a pursuer of knowledge, gifted with princely liberality, stubborn of purpose, bold in all thinks, as avid for fame as Alexander of Macedon. Every day he has Roman and other histories read to him ... chronicles of the popes, the emperors, the kings of France, the Lombards; he speaks three languages, Turkish, Greek and Slavonic. Diligently he seeks information ... on the Pope, of the Emperor, and how many kingdoms there are in Europe, of which he has seeing the states and provinces. Nothing gives him greater pleasure than to study the state of the world and the science of war ...
(Wheatcroft, 1993: 25-6).

In the heart of Constantinople, Mehemd built a palace. The work proceeded with astonishing speed, and regardless of cost, for the Sultan determined to confound those who said it would take 25 years to build the palace he had in mind. By 1465, the chronicler could write of its completion:

The sultan, passing the winter at Byzantium, among other interests, occupied himself with repopulating and rebuilding the city. Also he finished the palace, the most beautiful of all the buildings, equally for the view, for usefulness, for pleasure, for ornamentation; it left nothing to be desired even by comparison with the most ancient and most marvellous edifices of the world... There was also a very great wall which surrounded the palace. The whole was built as I have already said, combining variety, beauty, grandeur and magnificence; on every side, inside and out, shone and glittered gold and silver, ornaments of precious stones and pearls in abundance... On every side extended very vast and very beautiful gardens, in which grew every imaginable kind of plants and fruits; water, fresh, clear, and drinkable, flowed in abundance on every side; flocks of birds, both of the edible and of the singing variety, chattered and warbled; herds of both domestic and wild animals browsed there...
Mehmed was a passionate gardener, and many accounts talk of him at work planning, digging and planting his garden. He took special pleasure in the sound and smell of running water under the trees, mixed with the scent of flowers and fruit. Rare plants were sent at his command to the palace gardens from distant parts of his domains, to create a garden which a later visitor described as "a most wonderful confusion of exquisite trees, fruit trees and others, and with all sorts of flowers and herbs" (Wheatcroft, 1993: 27). Ten years after the conquest of Constantinople and by establishment of public and governmental rules, the Sultan Mehmed entered Bosnia in 1463, where he took many young Bosnians for the janissary corps.

Gia Maria Angiolello was a young Venetian who served as a translator in the palace from 1473 to 1481, and described the system as it operated at the time of Mehmed the Conqueror. He wrote of the ve oglan (janissaries) as:

...sons of Christians, in part taken in expeditions with foreign countries and in part drawn from his own subjects...in accordance as they conduct themselves the pages are assigned to the offices of the royal household to attend upon the Grand Turk and after they have been in service a certain time, when in the opinion of the lord he can trust them, he sends them out of palace with salaries which are increased as he thinks fitting...thus the greater part of the lords, captains and great men in the service of the Grand Turk, receive their education in the Royal Palace... (Wheatcroft, 1993: 33).

Bosnians, Albanians and Wallachians were recruited as auxiliaries in the Turkish armies from the first days of the Ottoman occupation of the Balkans. Many of the border Slavs converted to Islam, but those who did not were equally accepted (Wheatcroft, 1993: 74).
During the forming of the Empire, the Ottoman Sultans proclaimed a number of adhnames\(^3\) as part of establishing their imperial legislation. It is important to note the following examples of the Adhnames (Charters), which Goffman (2002) provides.

Mehmed II codified the relationship with non-Muslim people when he conquered the Constantinople. In reorganizing the hierarchy of the Greek Orthodox Church, Mehmed II appointed Gennadius Scholarus as the first Greek Orthodox Patriarch under Ottoman dominion. Scholarus had welcomed the Ottoman incorporation as the preferable alternative to Orthodox union with Rome. On the 5\(^{th}\) of January 1454 the Sultan inaugurated Scholarus as Patriarch and presented to him a adhname to be renewed or abrogated by each succeeding monarch, which delineated the organization, entitlements, and responsibilities of the Greek Orthodox community. With the full weight of Ottoman authority behind him, it also granted Scholarus Gennadius far more intra-communal power than his predecessors had ever carried in imperial Byzantium (Goffman, 2002: 170-1).

From one perspective, this adhname exemplified a link between the Byzantine and the Ottoman periods. The Latins had replicated in Byzantine Galata an Italian city, complete with a Gothic tower, Italianate churches and markets. Its character as an outpost for Italian culture continued under the Ottomans. Mehmed II invited Florentine merchants to settle there and granted them indulgent liberties. Other Europeans soon followed, including more Italians (Venetians among them), and later the French, the English and the Dutch. Galata thrived under Ottoman rule. It became the commercial heart of the city and drew to its Italianate ambience ambassadors from Europe and their retinues (Goffman, 2002: 172-3).

Although the adhname that Mehmed presented to the Genoese in 1453 and those that followed cased commercial and social relations, they also signified one thing to the Ottoman mind and quite another to 'alien' Europeans. This different interpretation may have been due to cultural differences. Furthermore, even within a specific context, the impact of the explanation of these culturally specific

\(^{3}\) The Ottoman administrative documents in form of carters, declarations and agreements.
meanings changed over time. For example, because of altered circumstances, the terms that Mehmed II granted to the Genoese differed markedly from the more indulgent ones that the Sublime Porte granted the French in 1569 (Goffman, 2002: 175-6).

After the Ottoman conquest of Istanbul, both Genoa and Venice had negotiated political and commercial agreements with the Ottoman Mediterranean world in return for tariffs against commodities traded. Then, in the last decades of the century, the Ottoman state granted the principal Atlantic seaboard nations of France England and the Netherlands their own treaties in 1569, 1581 and 1600 respectively (Goffman, 2002: 193).

3.4 Growth of Bosnian towns

The caravanserais, which were “the medieval equivalent of the modern motel”, were located at important road junctions, and around them often grew new towns and cities that became centres of commerce, trade and industry (Shaw, 1976: 161; Unsal, 1970: 47). These guesthouses were available to every class of person. The buildings erected to afford a night’s lodging to travellers, merchants and postal convoys were called khan and were situated in the cities and at intervals of a day’s journey on the road. On the caravan routes a more luxurious type was in use, called caravanserai or Sultan khan.

Trade and economic development led to the creation of large numbers of towns. Handzic argued that during the process of Islamisation, the role of cities was significant (Handzic cited in Hadzijahic, 1990:109). Firstly, the development of kasaba14 was dependent on the presence of Muslims. Secondly, the process of Islamisation in the cities was facilitated due to the influx of new residents from rural areas, especially craftsmen who migrated to the cities in search of tax privileges (Hadzijahic, 1990: 108-9).

Apart from local craftsmen, craftsmen from other European countries as well as Asia and Africa were employed in various Bosnian cities. Skilled crafts were

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14 Small town.
developed, towns built, trading colonies and market centres established (Benac and Lovrenovic, 1980: 41). One of the most dynamic and open trade centres in the Mediterranean was the medieval market of Drijева on the lower Neretva region. Among the Ragusan colonies and open settlements were Fojnica, Olovo, Podvisoki, Srebrenica, Foca, Praca, Podborac and many others. In addition, merchants' caravans with up to 300 horses were an everyday sight, and for their needs, inns and hostels of considerable capacity were built (ibid).

Todorov (1983, 20-1) classified the process of Balkan urbanisation as having three main stages: very small town, small urban town, and city. He argues that more so in the western parts of the Balkan Peninsula than the eastern, one encounters the names trg and pazar\(^{15}\) for settlements differing considerably from the village with the presence of a regular market but still without the status of a kasaba. The term kasaba was typically used in documents to denote a settlement of an urban type that had exceeded a village in size and importance, but which had not yet reached the dimensions and appearance of a city called sehir\(^{16}\). The kasaba was an unfortified settlement whose population engaged in trade and handicrafts. Also, following the basic plan of an Oriental town in Bosnia, there were the hasar (the commercial quarter), and the mahalas (the residential quarters).

The most visible cultural monuments of the Middle Ages are represented in architecture and buildings, both sacred and secular such as mosques, gravestones, fountains, hostels, schools, administrative and residential buildings, covered markets, Turkish baths, clock-towers, fountains, bridges and so on (Benac and Lovrenovic, 1980: 116).

During the urbanisation process in Bosnia, it is important to note the role played by the Islamic institution of the vakuf. Benac and Lovrenovic (1980: 89) state that the building of towns and the construction of communications between them were the most indicative economic features of Bosnia in that period. They pointed out that the vakuf institution played a significant role, especially in making available

\(^{15}\) Slavic and Ottoman names for small towns of the kasaba type

\(^{16}\) In Ottoman documents, this term denoted a fully developed city.
funds for public and sacred buildings, and in promoting humanity into society (Balic, 1995: 39-40). As a result, new towns emerged and existing ones prospered, as mosques and also churches and synagogues were erected and/or preserved in the centre of these towns (Karic, 1999: 91).

Bosnian towns witnessed a period of significant development in the areas of architecture, calligraphy and artistic handicrafts resulting in a distinctive Bosnian-Oriental aesthetic form (Benac and Lovrenovic, 1980: 114). European travellers documented their impressions of Bosnia and Sarajevo at the time as illustrated in the following excerpt from French traveller Quiclet during his visit to Sarajevo:

"...there are very beautiful streets, fine and well-made bridges of stone and wood, and 169 beautiful fountains. The town is full of gardens, fruit-trees, particularly apple trees, all kinds of goods and large weekly horse-fair - a Bosnian speciality" (Malcolm, 1996:96).

Turkish traveller, Evliya Celebi, also wrote: "...large numbers of houses, mosques, market with 1080 shops, selling goods from India, Arabia, Persia, Poland and Bohemia..." (Malcolm, 1996: 96). In addition, oriental architects in Bosnia were appointed to build masterpieces, such as well known Mimar Sinan. In his own observation Sinan said: "I saw the monuments - the great ancient remains; from every ruin I learn, from every building I absorbed something" (Yayinlari, 1997: 2). Bosnian Muslim folk milicu and architecture provided inspiration to many writers, including Nobel Prize winner Ivo Andric, from Bosnia.

Significance of the city of Ragusa

_Dobrebenedik_ and _Dubrebenedik_ were the Arabic words for Venice and Dubrovnik (Bajraktarevic, 1962: 11). While Ragusa means 'cliff', Dubrovnik means 'forest town' (Evans, 1973: 277-8). Some historical sources called Ragusa 'Ilric's Athens' or 'Slavic Athens' or 'Palmira between great empires' or 'Small Venice' (Evans, 1973: 270-283). Ragusa had a customhouse in Gothic-Arab style, which represents both western and eastern influences (Evans, 1973: 292).
During the Saracen expansion on the Balkan coast in 866-7 (Singleton, 1985: 68), many Slavic migrants from the Balkan inland populated the Adriatic regions and significantly contributed in the further development and expansion of Ragusa (Evans, 1973: 278) and Venice, especially in trade activities.

Ragusa developed its overland trade with the Balkans hinterland, as this activity did not bring it into direct competition with the seaborne trade of Venice. An important trade item was timber for the construction of ships, which was supplied primarily from Bosnia. The export of wood by merchants from Ragusa and other Dalmatian cities was to the Arabs in Egypt, North Africa, Spain and Sicily in the seventh and eighth centuries (Singleton, 1985: 68).

Between the eleventh and fourteenth centuries, the republic of Ragusa was able, through treaties with its neighbours and by purchase, to extend its territorial base. This growth was achieved mainly through diplomacy and by playing off, at the appropriate times, contending powers of the Slav kingdoms, the Byzantine, the Venetians and the Turks. In 1050, Stephen, who claimed the title of the ruler of Bosnia and Dalmatia made a grant of land along the coast which extended the boundaries of Ragusa to Zaton, 16 kilometres north of the original city, giving the republic control of the abundant supply of fresh water. Stephen’s grant also included the harbour Gruz, which was commercial port of Ragusa. In 1419, Stephen Ostojic, King of Bosnia, made a grant of land to the south, which took in the fertile Konavli valley, which runs parallel to the coast from Cavtat to the Gulf of Kotor (Singletone, 1985: 69). It was also period of large extension for Ragusa’s shipping industry and contacts with other nations.

Ragusan ships from the earliest medieval period provided transport for pilgrimages for both Europeans and non-Europeans, from Ragusa to the Holy Places. Ragusa also assisted different priests and non-religious representatives during their travel on the Mediterranean Sea. For instance, Ragusa welcomed the Tzar of the Holy Roman Emperor Albert II, and the Austrian Tzar Fridrich II. In 1425, the Danish King Erix IX accomplished his pilgrimage travelling on a galley from Ragusa to the Dalmatian town of Omis (Krcic, 1956: 149).
welcomed Richard I, King of England (1157-99) who came there from the Middle East (Evans, 1973: 280).

Ragusan poets expressed respect to Turkish Sultans (Evans, 1973: 284). For instance, the satirical poem Dervish by Stjepan Dordic or the epic poem Osman by Gundulic, where he described the power of the Sultan Osman during his battle in Poland, represent an Oriental influence in Ragusa. According to Evans (1973: 289) this poem symbolises both Ragusa’s respect for the Turkish Empire and Ragusa’s multiethnic society. While Bosnians contributed to Ragusa’s expansion to the Mediterranean Sea, citizens of Ragusa contributed to Bosnian development.

Maintaining a good relationship with Bosnians gave Ragusa expansion in the 'heart of Iliricum', where in 1169, two Ragusan merchants established their shops in the early medieval capital town of Bosnia called Visoko (Evans, 1973: 280). During the Middle Ages, many merchants of Ragusa lived in Bosnia but also in Arab and Ottoman provinces. For instance, the earliest specification of documents of the town of Visoko shows a significant cultural and economic relationship, which existed between the city of Bosnia (Civitas) and the city of Ragusa. These documents include charters, friendship and trade agreements between Visoko and Ragusa. Apart from chapters written by Bosnian rulers in the Bosnian castle (in Bossina in curia nostra) including the earliest charter by Kulin Ban, this specification provides many details about engagement and employment of Ragusan traders and craftsmen in Visoko and Bosnia. This information is clear evidence of the mutual dynamic medieval relationship between these two sides (Andelovic, Bojanovski, Covic, Marijanovic, 1984: 131-156).

Due to the dynamic economic prosperity of the Southern Balkans, many residents from Ragusa came to the old town of Drijева in the region of lower Neretva River valley, called Narenta, or from Bosnia to the city of Ragusa. On the one hand, these residents from Ragusa in Nerenta were mentioned in Bosnian official books as de Ragosio habitor Narentii or habitatores in Drijева. On the other hand, Bosnians came to Ragusa to work and were called habitatores Ragusy. Trade was a main part of the economy of the medieval town of Drijева (later called Gabela)
(Tosic, 1982: 77-84). Apart from Drijeva, two other markets in the eleventh century were known in the towns of Vrhbosna (Civitas Bosnia) and Visoko (Imamovic, 2003: 90).

Residents of Bosnian towns were mainly craftsmen, merchants and miners. As well as Bosnians, there were many Ragusans and Saxons (Sasi). For instance, Ragusans had autonomous trading colonies in Bosnia which consisted of between 10 and 200 members. A similar privilege was enjoyed by Sasi miners in Bosnia (Imamovic, 2003: 91). Apart from foreign colonists, especially during the reign of King Tvrtko I, domestic trade and mine centres hastened economic development and in Bosnia customs houses were established (Imamovic, 2003: 91).

As well as trade with Slavic countries, Ragusa had a sea trade agreement with Levant, and from the beginning of the fourteenth century, had trade agreements with the Sultans of Egypt, Syria and other Oriental countries. In 1450, Ragusa had 300 ships which transported goods to France, Spain, Italy and England. For instance, in the sixteenth century, merchants of Ragusa had accommodation in England and even Oliver Cromwell gave them some trade privileges in British harbours (Evans, 1973: 287). The Ragusan ships nave ragusea, built from the abundant Bosnian timbers, gave the word argosy to the English language (Smith, 1967: 420). The word argosy (argosi, agosi) means "richly laden merchant ship", from the Dalmatian port of Ragusa (Webster Universal Dictionary, 1968: 80). The shipping transport and communication appointed work forces from Bosnia and Europe, but also ameliorate written correspondence with Afro-Asian and other European states.

Islamic countries of the Near East imported timber and iron from the Balkans because of the need for the Arab ship industry. Ragusan ships brought these items to Egypt and Syria, and returned with spices from the Middle East (Krekic, 1956: 101). Ragusan ships also transported to Europe, including Bosnia, high quality textiles mainly called Alexandrius and Damasco. The names for these textiles do not always refer to the origin of production such as Alexandria or Damascus, but the 'pattern of products' as well. However, such trading activities were
opportunities for contacts with Muslim merchants from Arab countries. The earliest record of the Ragusan ship trade with the Middle East dates from 1280, where the most important traded article was salt from the Adriatic (Krekic, 1956: 100-101). Bosnian mining products were an important export from Ragusa to Alexandria, and oil from Southern Italy and Dalmatia to the Middle East (Krekic, 1956: 110-111).

One of the most expensive items was Adriatic coral, which was extracted from the sea between Ragusa and the island of Kolocep. Merchants from different countries came to Ragusa and established trading companies, including those from the Orient. Ragusan ships exported this luxury in different directions including Italy, the Balkan Peninsula, Egypt, Syria and so on (Krekic, 1956: 121). In addition, Venetian ships called muduae transported coral from the Adriatic island of Mljet to Syria and other countries (Krekic, 1956: 111).

Bosnians came to Dalmatia either as skilled workers or they learned a variety of crafts there. Historical records from Ragusa and Venice refer to Bosnian workers in Ragusa, who were from Bosnia or Hum, but also Biskovici near Jajce, Bistrice near Livno, Blagaj, Bobovac, Duvno, Glamoc, Goranac near Mostar, Graca, Grahova, Neretve-"Drijeva", Prusca, Radobilje, Usoire, Vrbanje and other towns (Sunjic, 1996: 304-5). Migration of Bosnians to Dalmatia and other coastal parts was intensified in the fifteenth century. The work agreements lasted between 2 and 3 years and some agreements between 4-12 years (Sunjic, 1996: 305). Many young Bosnians came to Dalmatia where they worked different jobs in shipyards or as ship staff (servire et famulare super navigio) on Dalmatian galleys, or ships including those owned by aromaiarius (medical therapists), patronus navigii (ship owners), mercator (traders), as armarolus (guards at harbour), cerdonus (leatherdressers), caligarius, sutor (carpenters), intagliator ligini (wood-carvers), lapicida (stone-cutters), faber (blacksmiths) (Sunjic, 1996: 305).

Apart from the Bosnian workers on Ragusan ships, and according to testaments by Bosnian women, many Bosnians lived in Venice and worked on Venetian military galleys (cum galets subtilibus) sailing to Apulia, Catalonia and other
Mediterranean harbours (Sunjic, 1996: 305-308). Sailing on Venetian galleys on Adriatic, Aegean, Ionian, Marmora, Mediterranean and Black seas, Bosnians had many contacts with Arabs, Seljuk and Ottoman Turks.

3.5 Legacy of Islamic culture and arts

The migrants moving towards the Bosnian region were extraordinarily diverse in cultural, linguistic, social and historical background. Thus, Bosnia started out as a multicultural society. Thanks to these cultural diversities, Bosnia became a fertile area for cultural exploration. In this environment, Islamic culture had significant influence and inspiration for Bosniak artistic work and creativities.

Balic (1995: 16) states that in the Ottoman defters and literature, ‘Bosniak’ is a term used for all Muslims of the northern and middle Balkans who speak the Slavic language. In early medieval times Slavic was the language of Slavs, and among Balkan migrants there were also large groups of Slavic-speaking Bosnians and Herzegovinians (Karpat, 1990: 134). The Arabic influence came from the languages of the Southern Slavs. In the Balkans, from the earliest time, there were many words of Arabic origin as well as Persian and Turkish origin. Bosnia has absorbed new material and spiritual benefits from Islamic culture, as well as its words (Halilovic, 1991: 35). However, amongst Muslims, the Bosnian language has widely spread and has had the longest tradition (Jahic, 1991: 26). The Bosnian language comprises over eight thousand words of Turkish, Arabic and Persian origin in the authentic Bosnian version. In Bosnia, as well as the use of Bosnian and other European languages, many Bosnian men and women spoke Arabic as the language of the Holy Qur’an, Turkish in administration and government, and Persian in arts and philosophy.

Through Bosnian cultural development, the Bosnian language became the diplomatic language from 1430 (Ceman, 1996: 36). Many Bosnian scholars agree that the Bosnian language was used in Europe, Turkey and in the Middle East in places such as Cairo. Sultan charters, certificates, documents and other texts were written in Bosnian. In addition, one Western commentator noted in 1595 that
Slavonic was the third language of the Turkish Empire (after Turkish and Arabic), because it was language of the janissaries (Malcolm, 1996: 43).

In Bosnia there are over 15,000 manuscripts in Arabic, Turkish and Persian languages and hundreds of manuscripts of Bosnian dervishes (Malcolm, 1996: 103). Many works by Bosniak writers exist in collections in places such as Istanbul, Vienna, and Cairo (Malcolm, 1996: 101). Bosniak Aljamijado writer, Mehtmed Havaji Uskufi in 1631, compiled the Turkish-Bosnian Dictionary *Makbuli ’urif* (Isakovic, 1995: 4) which is one of the oldest dictionaries of any south-Slav language (Malcolm, 1996: 101). The Skaljic 'dictionary' consists of 8,742 notions of Turkish (Oriental) origin (Halilovic, 1991: 135). Amongst Bosniaks, special attention was gained by the Aljamiado\(^\text{17}\) literature. Some historians contend that the name was borrowed by modern scholars from similar non-Arab materials written in Arabic script in Moorish Spain (Malcolm, 1996: 101).

The motifs of two Saracen faces with two keys were engraved in the coat-armour of the medieval state of Bosnia (Hadzijahic, 1977: 21-7). The motif of Saracen can be seen on a medallion of the Gothic biform of the palace in the city of Travnik. Also, two reliefs of tombstones from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries show the noun *Sracin*, which is related to the Saracen. Hadzijahic (1977: 28) points out that these examples show that pictures of Saracens were in Bosnia, related not only to the coat-armour, but also, out of sphere of Heraldry. In addition, he notes (1977: 21) that in the village Potoci, Bijelo Polje near the city of Mostar, a finding of silver coins from the time of Caliph Mervan II el Himara (r. 744-750) is indication of the early Islamic influence.

Donia and Fine (1994: 23-4) agree that tombstones are the most distinctive surviving cultural feature of medieval Bosnia and Herzegovina, and members of all three local denominations erected them. Amongst thousands of medieval tombstones in Bosnia and Herzegovina, there are many engraved ornament motifs in Islamic style, and Imamovic (1998: 41) mentions motifs such as the crescent

\(^{17}\) Bosnian language (or other Euro-Asian languages) called Aljamijado that used Arabic script.
and star from the pre-Turkish time (see appendix no 4). The early Bosnian cultural heritage includes religious architecture such as takkes, medreses, and mosques. Balic (1955: 24) notes that in the eastern part of Bosnia as well as in the city of Sarajevo, there are mosques which date back long before the fall of the Bosnian Kingdom under Turkish rule in 1463.

Early Bosnian Islamic cultural development can be found in a variety of aspects particularly buildings and arts. This includes architectural masterpieces such as palaces, takkes, bridges, caravanserais, fountains, bezistans, as well as marketplaces. In the Bosnian region, urban life developed mostly under the impact of factors that emerged later under the Ottoman feudal system. Because it was one of the principal cultural cities in the western part of the Balkan Peninsula, Sarajevo continued to attract the attention of many scholars (Todorov, 1983: 14).

A distinctive Bosnian-Oriental form was explored in creative collective spirit in fine arts, music, dance, and poetry. An example is the distinctive and diverse artistic phenomenon of oral folk poetry. This took many different forms, such as fairytales, fables, legends, dirges, puzzles, and proverbs, but its highest creative potential was expressed in two poetic forms: the epic and the sevdalinka - the latter a special kind of Muslim lyric poem, equally popular among Christians (Malcolm, 1996: 101). However, in the cultural history of Bosnia and Herzegovina there were continuous fertile areas and achievements of irrefutable value that belonged to that period (Benac and Lovrenovic, 1980: 114).

The legacy of Islamic culture and arts can be found in many other examples from the Balkans. The following examples document the interaction between eastern and western styles and their influences in different cultural occasions.

The Ottoman Emperors invited a bevy of European artists to Istanbul, most notably Gentile Bellini, who had come to Istanbul in 1479 at Mehmed's invitation and painted several portraits of the Sultan. Almost a century later, Suleyman’s advisors charted a similar course. In the late 1520s and early 1530s, the Grand Vizier Ibrahim Pasha, and his expatriate Venetian comrade Alvise Gritti,
orchestrated a series of processions and celebratory displays during the Sultan’s campaigns through Bosnia, and deep into Hungary and Austria. (Goffman, 2002: 107). In addition, two portraits of Mehmed the Conqueror, still preserved in the palace at Istanbul, seem to be the work of Turkish artists inspired by Italian prototypes. Their style is still Islamic but with clear Western influences, notably in the use of shadow. One has been attributed to the first notable Ottoman painter, Sinan, said to have been the pupil of the Venetian master Paoli (Lewis, 1982: 243).

The famous Bellini also portrayed the last Bosnian Queen, Katarina, who left Bosnia before the Ottoman conquest was completed. Queen Katarina spent the rest of her life in Venice as a symbol of the past Bosnian Kingdom. In addition, her brother Stjepan Hercogovic (Ahmed Pasha) and her children converted to Islam (Jahic, 1979: 229-230). Bellini also painted different motifs of janissaries. (Vacalopoulos, 1973: 69) (see appendix no 5).

A palace payroll from 1526 gives an interesting view of fine arts in the early years of Suleyman the Magnificent. It lists 41 painters, some specialised in decorative work and some in representational. Several were acquired from Tabriz in 1514, while others came from different parts of the Ottoman Empire, including the Balkans. The variety of styles, which might be expected from these origins, is evident in contemporary manuscripts, in elegant princely hunts of Persian origin on the one hand and laconic European topographical style on the other (Brend, 1991: 189).

One of the outstanding figures in Islamic art is Persian fine artist Behzad, who flourished in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. He had many pupils who followed his style and together constitute what is known as the School of Heart. There are many paintings from this School, including some portraits of royal persons attributed, on uncertain authority, to Behzad himself (Lewis, 1982). For instance, during the Easter celebration in Dalmatia, where many Bosnians were in attendance, Behzad painted a coulisse for the Dubrovnik theatre (Celebi, 1994: 428).
CHAPTER THREE

Methodology

The methodology includes a compilation of relevant textual data, art works as well as written pieces by previous scholars and contemporary academics. The main sources of data were accessed in two languages - English and Bosnian. However, there are significant textual materials written in other Slavic languages. An important part of data-collection procedures included the translation of the written fragmentary works and other documents from Bosnian, Arabic, Turkish and German to English.

The data analysis consisted of a textual analysis of the secondary data and a systematic content analysis and a comparative appraisal of the different types and levels of data. The primary data gathered through the empirical stage (field trip) was categorised, analysed and used in conjunction with the secondary (textual) data in the final analysis.

In order to access to important archives and first hand observations of the early Islamic cultural history of Bosnia, especially its early medieval era, far away from South Europe, a field trip to Bosnia was undertaken from June 27 to July 24, 2003. This included visiting academic and cultural institutions in order to locate rare sources of information such as archives and unpublished sources related to the topic. It also included visiting sites of Bosnian cultural heritage and interviews with Bosnian academic staff specializing in the fields of Bosnian Islamic cultural history and Bosniak hybrid identity.

Field trip research

The field trip uncovered a number of important archaeological items on the Islamisation of Bosnia including findings of Islamic coins dated between the eighth and fourteenth centuries, and archaeological remains of Bosnian cultural heritage.
Silver coins from the time of the Umayyad Caliph Mervan II b. Mohammad el Himara (eighth century) were found in 1938 in the village Potoci near the city of Mostar (Dizdar, 1938, “Muslims before Turks”, Jugoslovenska Posta, Sarajevo). Other discoveries were made of coins dating back to the expansion of the Arab and early Turkish empires toward the Balkan Peninsula. These examples contained engraved Islamic calligraphy with verses of different Surah, motif of the “standing Caliph” or both. The coins were minted in gold or silver (Spink & son Numismatic Ltd, 1986:15, 16, 30, 31, 42, 46). The archival evidence of Islamic coinages includes photographs of Islamic coins which are extremely rare.

The archaeological evidence includes the remains of the first capital of the medieval Bosnian state called Mile (or Mili) in the town of Visoko. This place is very significance as it was the site of the first Bosnian Assembly, the site of the crowning of the Bosnian King, the seat of religious institutions, and the site of the first Franciscan Monastery in Bosnia. From the town of Visoko, Kulin Ban (ruler) wrote the first Bosnian document to Dubrovnik. From that time Bosnia and Dubrovnik had many agreements on trade and friendship. A copy of this first agreement was obtained during research for primary textual data.

The archaeological evidence also included the remains of the first Mevlevi tekke in the old quarter of Sarajevo called Bascarsija, near the Miljacka River which was built by Ishak-Bey Isakovic in 1462. In the garden of the Ali-Pasha mosque in central Sarajevo are two of the oldest Muslim shrines (tombs) in Sarajevo - Ajni Dede and Shemsi Dede. They were the first Bosnian Sufis of the Naqshibendi order in the fifteenth century. Pictures of these Muslim shrines with Islamic inscriptions can be seen Mehmed Mujezinovic’s book Islamic Inscriptions. The photographs depict evidence of medieval remains and Islamic shrines with inscriptions.

Visits were made to the tekke Blagaj (fifteenth century) in the town of Blagaj; the National Museum of Bosnia - examples of medieval tombstones (twelfth century.) in the city of Sarajevo; the Franciscan Monasteries in the towns of Fojnica and
Visoko; and Islamic cultural heritage in Sarajevo, Travnik, Mostar, Fojnica, Visoko and Blagaj.

The tekke Blagaj was founded in 1466 by Bektashi dervishes (Muslim missionaries). According to early documents it was a meeting place of Bogumils. Bektashis were well known for their promotion of tolerance and harmony. There is a legend that somewhere in Blagaj is a tomb of their Sufi Sari Saltuk. This is important evidence that the tekke Blagaj represents the symbiosis of the Bosnian church and Islam. This place has a long Islamic tradition as a spiritual, scientific, philosophical and cultural centre. Reference of this significant example is a bilingual (English/Bosnian) booklet (see appendix no 6).

In the garden of the National Museum of Bosnia are Bosnian medieval tombstones which belong to different religious denominations including Islamic. They have different shapes and some of them contain the Oriental botanical ornaments. The evidence of Oriental cultural heritage includes booklets, catalogues and photographs. Evidence (photographs) supporting cultural diversity was also obtained at the Franciscan Monastery where I met Fra Ignacije Gavran in Visoko.

Textual data was researched at the GaziHusrev-Bey Library, Sarajevo; Library of the Bosniak Institute, Sarajevo Sarajevo Library, Sarajevo. At these libraries copies of relevant administrative documents and fragmentary observations written by earlier medievalists were obtained. Relevant data from these libraries include the following structured sources:

- References of the written fragmentary observations made by earlier medievalists are primarily related to the early Islamic influences: migrations/settlements in the pre-Ottoman period and early Ottoman period. This includes fragmentary observations by Solovjev (1946), Krekic (1956), Mazuranic (1928), Cehajic (n.d.), Jahic (1991), Sunjic (1996) and others. They provided important data obtained from the Archives of Dubrovnik and Venice.
• Trade and friendship agreements with wax seals of Bosnian Royalty, with the city of Ragusa were found in old Bosnian manuscripts dated between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries. Copies of these agreements are evidence of the dynamic medieval relationship between Ragusa and Bosnia. Selected administrative documents include a Declaration (fifteenth century), a Charter (fifteenth century) written in Bosnian and the Janissary Law (fifteenth century) described by Solovyov.

• Manuscripts written in Arabic from the fifteenth century include wakif-nama (Charity declaration) of GaziHusrev-Bey, with some information about early written works in Arabic (from twelfth century). These factografical examples were found in a booklet from the GaziHusrev-Bey library. This booklet provides a specification and photographs of the early Islamic works written in Arabic, Turkish and Persian. Part of these details covers the same period as this thesis.

Other archival items include Dubrovnik's statements written in Arabic from the seventeenth century. In the work of Bajraktarevic (1962) on Aljamijado of Dubrovnik, are indications of the early Oriental linguistic influences in Dubrovnik. For instance he indicated the records of the several thousand documents written mainly in Turkish, but also some documents in Arabic. In this case, the Arabic documents written from the seventeenth century are evidence of the Ottoman legacy. This factography includes textual materials (statement) and manuscripts in Arabic with inscriptions, verses and seals.

Medieval Bosnian maps in the books and booklets (tenth - fifteenth century) are also a significant part of the factography data. Three maps are especially indicative. The first is a maritime map of Bosnia in 1339 by Angelino Dulcett from Majorca, the second is of a Bosnian province with an early Ottoman route in 1455 by Bosnian historian Hazom Sabanovic, and the third map represents a local region around the town of Fojnica in a village called Milodraz where the Sultan Mehmed II proclaimed his Charter in 1463.
Additional textual data include booklets and catalogues of the Bosnian Islamic cultural heritage and books related to the cultural history of Islam, written mainly in Bosnian. Books related to the religious/cultural diversity in Bosnia include The Sarajevo Haggadah (translated in English), which is the Jewish illuminated manuscript from the Middle Ages (between the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries) and a book Faithful to God, Faithful to Bosnia written by Franciscan academic Fra Petar Andelovic.

The evidence of artwork includes the Bosnian medieval coat of arms which consists of a crescent and a star with two faces of Saracens. This is indicative of the early Islamic influence in Bosnia. According to Arthur J. Evans (1973) this motif comes from the period of early Bosnia, which was a 'central part of Iliricum', and was taken by the Saracens as their symbol. Another opinion is that the Turks succeeded and modified this symbol from the Saracens during their expansion in Bosnia (Evans, 1973).
CHAPTER FOUR

Theoretical Concepts

This chapter will explore the Islamic dimensions of Bosnian Muslim identity through an analysis that links this complex array of historical facts to contemporary concepts of cultural identity.

4.1 Social space and cultural representation

The literary and cultural constructions of the Islamic other (as with the more general Oriental other) had engendered a European/Western notion of identity that is essentially different from and contrasted to Eastern one. Said (1991: 12) argues that Orientalism is not a mere political subject, matter or field that is reflected passively by culture or institution; nor is it a large and diffuse collection of texts about the Orient; neither is it representative of some nefarious “Western” imperialist plot to hold down the “Oriental” world. Rather, it is a distribution of geopolitical awareness into aesthetic, religious, economic, sociological, historical and philosophical text. It is an elaboration not only of a basic geographical distinction, but also of a whole series of intentions to understand culturo-religious aspects.

Bosnia’s encounter with and influence by Islam challenges the notion that there is a clear cut spatial divide between the European and the Islamic worlds. This is why a major aspect of Said’s (1994: 93) concept of Orientalism rests on the assumption that social spaces had to be conquered by the Imperial West which managed “to think about distant places, to colonize them, to depopulate or populate them; all of this occurs on, about, or because of land. The actual geographical possession of land is what empire in the final analysis is all about” (Said, 1994: 93). This concept is clearly relevant to the early process of Islamisation in the Middle Ages which also occurred through the depopulation and colonisation of Bosnia. The interesting thing, however, is that in the context of Bosnia this process seems to have been reversed: a European country being influenced and shaped by an Eastern culture namely Islam. Added to that, the fact
that Europeans (Bosniats) have subsequently migrated and settled in various parts of the Islamic world not so much as imperial representatives but as assimilated Muslim subjects.

Imperialism, in general, means the practice, theory, and attitudes of a dominating metropolitan centre ruling a distant territory (Said, 1994:8). ‘Colonialism’, which is almost always a consequence of imperialism, is the “implanting of settlements on a distant territory”. Parallels can be drawn between this theoretical context and Bosnian migrations and settlements in different territories of the Arab/Ottoman Empires and their subsequent Islamisation.

The problem of representation in such multicultural societies is, therefore, to a better understanding of the emerging ‘hybrid’ identity where local cultural traditions are infused in universal Islamic values resulting in a new cosmopolitan social and cultural reality. In applying his theoretical context to the case of Bosnia, Bringa (1995: 12) claims that Bosnia straddles cultural and geographical boundaries between Byzantine and Rome, those between eastern and western Christendom and those of the Austro-Hungarian and the Ottoman empires. This explanation reflects the point that Bosnia was greatly influenced by Western and Eastern ideologies because of its geographical position.

Imamovic (2000: 28) argues that Bosnia has always presented a territorial and political framework inside which the Bosniak ethnicity and nationality developed. Two significant historical and cultural factors had considerable influence on this development: Bosniak Bogumilism and Islam. Islam, together with the Bosnian Heresy of the Middle Ages that preceded it, created a spiritual backbone and essential historical determinant which characterised Bosnia, and particularly the Bosniaks. However, in the Balkan region, including Bosnia and Herzegovina, Islamic culture is one of the central facts of life.

Said (1991: 96) draws our attention to the links between politics and Orientalism, where ideas about Orientalism can be exploited politically as manifested spectacularly through the emergence and expansion of European empires. Yet,
the historical evidence of the early Bosnian presence in different regions of the Mediterranean shows that Bosnians were successfully integrating in the Islamic empire as members of the multinational Arab and/or Ottoman societies. To this end, Bringa (1995: 12) considers that the Balkans generally, and Bosnia and Herzegovina specifically, are the historical outcome of various civilizations including eastern and western, which have met on its soil. Bringa (1995: 12) points out that all influenced and left their 'imprint' on the social, demographic, cultural and political 'makeup' of the region, kingdom, province and later the republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Orientalism is both a cultural energy and a political fact exhibiting a dynamic relationship between individual Western scholars and large political concerns emanating from within the great empires (Said, 1991). An example of this is the way the Bosnian State gained power and territorial magnitudes, making it, in it's time, one of the greatest South European Slavic countries. Its medieval era was characterised by mutual contacts with Arab and Ottoman Empires. This is a significant factor that shaped early observations of the political and religious influences within the new Bosnian state. Applying Said's argument of "cultural energy and political fact" to the Bosnian medieval State helps make the important distinction between Arabisation or Turkification, and Islamisation.

Said's observation is equally relevant with regard to the hybrid nature of contemporary Bosniak identity, and more importantly, to shaping the wider Bosnian social sphere as a permeating amalgam with a long cultural tradition. Focusing on the concept of social space and cultural representation, Said (1994: 93) emphasises that the appropriation of history, the historisation of the past, the observation of multiethnic societies, all of which give to work its force, include the accumulation and differentiation of social space which can be used for sociocultural purposes. Karic (1999: 84-89) argues that, based on their language, Slavic origins and the soil of their inhabitancy, Bosniaks are Europeans, but according to the destiny to which they have been exposed in Europe, their faith and sense of cultural belonging, Bosniaks are Muslims.
The Orient is not only adjacent to Europe; it is also the place of Europe's greatest, richest and oldest colonies, the source of its civilisations and languages, its cultural contestant, and one of its deepest and most recurring images of Other (Said, 1991). This statement is important in terms of Bosnian language, its sources, image, spread and usage over centuries. Descendants of ancient Bosnians are still using the Bosnian language, which has left a lasting imprint, an almost perfect continuity, and both spoken and written works of undeniable literary and scholarly value, worthy of respect and modern linguistic elaboration (Isakovic, 1995: 13). The name Bosnian (Bosnjacki) language was, widely used and has the longest tradition among the Muslims in Bosnia (Isakovic, 1995: 19). Bosnian oriental words had impacts in other Slavic languages of the Balkan lands. These oriental words are, even today, in unchangeable usage.

European awareness of the Orient transformed from textual and contemplative into administrative, economic and scientific (Said, 1991:210) The fundamental change is then spatial and geographical. This includes the significance of Islam. Said (1991: 281) argues:

*Islam is living and vital religion, appealing to the hearts, minds, and consciences of tens and hundreds of millions, setting them a standard by which to live honest, sober, and god-fearing lives...*

Islam is a way of life, an attitude of mind and a unique representation of culturo-religious identity for most believers, including Bosnian Muslims. Therefore, in the case of Islam in Bosnia and Bosnian Muslims, there is a continuation of this adaptable component into a variety of social forms, as the "European-Oriental articulation".

Whilst Said emphasises the significance of the Islamic component in societies such as Bosnia's, Bringa (1995: 197) points out that in Bosnia, Islam creates attachment to two symbolic communities, each different in content, function, and scale. Bringa (ibid) considers on the one hand, that Islam (as cultural heritage, historical legacy, a set of practices and moral values) binds people together in a community of Bosnian Muslims (with emphasis on Bosnian, as opposed to
Serbian, Croatian, and the like, and on Muslim as different to Catholic or Orthodox Bosnian). On the other hand, it unites them with a worldwide Muslim community (*umma*), as different to non-Muslims. In addition, in the surrounding Slavic states of Bosnia, there are large numbers of Muslim populations who are a part of *umma*, and which have had significant contributions in the development of other multicultural societies.

Bringa's research proves that one of the deepest divisions within Bosnian society occurs within the differences between the urban and rural environments, or rather, the contrast between the modern and traditional styles of life. Although these characteristics could be derived from the early Ottoman period, there are also traditional values such as mutual respect and sharing prosperity among different ethno-religious groups. These elements among contrasting identities including Muslim and non-Muslim communities, deeply contain oriental elements, such as wider usage of oriental words, which lasted for centuries. Bringa (1995: 13) asserts that the "Ottoman Muslims, left contrasting legacies and a lasting imprint on South Slav culture". However, as an "unwritten rule", the town's residents have a predisposition to obtaining a better quality of living standard and subsequently emancipation, while people in the Bosnian villages have different predispositions to achieve local opportunities and absorb "cultural manners" of the urban population.

In his focus on social aspects and cultural exchange, Lefebvre's (1991: 26) principle of space is that "social space is a social product" and identities are essentially social objects, gaining their intelligibility and force only within a social realm. Any social existence aspiring or claiming to be "real" is unable to escape from the ideological or even the "cultural" realm (Lefebvre, 1991: 53). Lefebvre's standpoint in our case, is important not only in understandings of Bosnian space and its position, but the Bosnian contribution to development of 'social products' in its 'own space'. Such attributes determine that Bosnian 'space' consists of an Islamic component in its general multicultural genius. Bringa's (1995: 6) retrospective on the Bosnian geographical region, as a part of the Mediterranean, has significance for observations of the Bosnian medieval state and intermingled
influences including the Islamic. The natural characteristic gives Bosnia a historical role for both as the bridge between different impacts outside of its territory, as well as the area of mutual Western, Eastern and Oriental contacts. This multilateral quality of Bosnian society, including the flexible Oriental-Islamic component, gave an unchangeable character for this part of southeastern Europe.

Furthermore, through the variety of customs, traditions and level of education as well, Bringa (1995: 58) discusses a distinction between urban and rural cultures. She indicates for instance, that being 'cultured' was associated with having a formal education, but she also argues for a level of the “concept of culturelessness” that includes a person’s literacy, dress (in this case, modern), sets of ideas and so on. However, there are cultural differences between “urban-modern or liberal style of life”, and “conservative-rural or more traditional concept”. In addition, important details which the author uses in her explanation of the “cultural context” are common Bosnian phrases, proverbs, verses, customs which derive from Islamic traditional values that play both; preservation and cultivation of the Bosnian Muslim identity in villages (Bringa, 1995: 81).

Social space contains a great diversity of 'objects', both natural and social – material things and information (Lefebvre, 1974: 77), or in other words, space is social morphology which bind up function and structure (Lefebvre, 1974: 94). Lefebvre (1974: 110) considers that every social space is the outcome of a process with many aspects, both practical and theoretical and has a history with specific characteristic. Furthermore, he argues that space is at once result and cause, product and producer (1974: 142). Lefebvre’s (1974) focal point considers only a space from inside, and he doesn’t emphasise influences over the borders of space. In contrast Cusack, (1999) in The Rise of Christianity in Northern Europe, 300-1000, presents a significant contribution in understanding influences in both inside of space and over frontiers. Cusack’s book provides important information about the religious process “from the other side of the frontier” (for example, Valley of Danube River in the Middle Ages), and the significance of the general Christian
component in the multiethnic European mosaic. Her book is useful in comparing Balkan culturo-religious processes.

In the first part of the book, Cusack (1999: 20) observes two main models of the early medieval Christianization, which are a 'top-down' and a 'bottom-up' model. According to her, the top-down model means that Christianity was embraced by rulers, and their power made conversion to Christianity more attractive. The 'bottom-up' model is related to Christian lands conquered by heretics who subsequently brought and accepted Christianity into their heretic households. Cusack (1999:20) points out that to this model contributed Christian traders who introduced Christian faith and Christian items to pagan slaves and servants. In the case of Bosnia during the process of Islamisation, both these models functioned in its medieval region because all social classes accepted Islam, including the Bosnian aristocracy. Muslim merchants also played an important role in introduction of Islam.

Cusack (1999, 20-21) emphasises that medievalists have stressed the prevalence of syncretism, the intermingling of different beliefs due to long lasting coexistence. Such a standpoint we can apply in case of the Bosnian Bogumilism and their Islamisation. Merging the Bosnian Bogumilism of the Middle Ages and Islam was an essential historical fact in creating the Bosniak identity (Imamovic, 2000: 28).

For the process of religious transformation from the pre-Christian population into Christianisation, Cusack (1999: 21) considers that missionaries were protected by the church and a Christian ruler or as in Germany, supported by the clergy, the aristocracy and Frankish laws (1999: 51). In contrast to these examples, early Muslim missionaries in Bosnia had only sporadic protection by their rulers until the period of deeper expansion of the Ottoman Empire towards the Balkans.

It is important to note that before the Christianisation, in many parts of Europe there were different kinds of Heretical spiritualities, customs or cults. Cusack (1999: 80) clearly stresses that an important part of Christianisation belonged to
the multitude of missionarics who established their monasteries and promoted values of Christianity. According to her, the final part of Christianization occurred when Christianity became an integral part of the ethnic and national culture. Also, Islam in Bosnia from the later Middle Ages became an integral part of the ethnic and national culture.

The conversion of the Anglo-Saxons had an important influence for the spread of Christianity in northern Europe (Cusack, 1999: 119). Cusack (1999:135) emphasises that the missionary complex at Habsburg-Bremen, which developed as a result of the expansionist policies of the Charlemagne, was essentially on the frontier with Denmark. In addition, in 995, Christianity became the official religion of Norway (1999: 146). Cusack (1999: 158) indicates that in Iceland, Christian settlers were lead by priest Thangbrand who introduced Christianity and baptized all who embraced the Christian faith. Similarly with the early spread of Christianity and its influence in Germany and Europe, the later spread of Islam in Bosnia had significance for the Islamic influence in neighbouring countries. This also includes different dervish orders and their promotion of Islam in different regions of the Balkans.

Through a variety of brief elaborations, the co-authors of the book Religious Quest and National Identity in the Balkans, trace the mutual relationships, contacts, migrations, cults, traditions and early settlements, which witnessed the existence of different faiths. Their explanations give an initial picture about the significance of all religions in the Balkan states, and their intermingled influences. This volume consists of brief observations of the western Roman Christianisation, eastern Orthodox Christianisation, and Islamisation of the Balkans. This book is helpful from a structural point of view as it considers regions as “social spaces” formed through the “cultural/religious representations”.

The editor of this book, Hawkesworth (2001: X) highlights that “the variations of interaction between the great monotheistic religions, explored in the book’s context are underlain by survivals of earlier beliefs, which permeate the particular forms of religious life as they have evolved in the Balkans”. In this context, these
authors provide both, a sense of those survivals and its common or specific features; and the historical overviews on religions in creating national identities in the Balkan regions. Our attention is drawn, particularly to the works of Norris (2001:5-14) and Lopasic (2001, 141-155), where the first author observes Balkan Islam, and the second author extends the observation to the case of Bosnia. The observations about Bektashism are related to an early process of Islamisation in the Bosnian region included in the work of Norton (2001, 168-196).

Norris (2001: 5) points out that the Balkans represents a distinct multireligious space within the Muslim communities. Balkan Islam possesses a unique identity and has given birth to distinguished personalities within its three chief centres: Bosnia and Herzegovina, Albania and Kosovo, Western Macedonia and Bulgaria (together with Hungary). Norris (2001:6) argues that all of these regions represent an important geographical background to the of spread of Islam in the Balkans, especially the Bosnian region.

In his discussion on early Balkan beliefs, Norris points out (2000: 9) that among the Albanians, many pre-Islamic Balkan customs and beliefs survive, including pre-Christian or pre-Islamic Illirian names which were in wide usage. In this respect, the historical unavailability of Islamic culture has had special features. From generation to generation Islam has played a crucial role in forming a variety of Balkan national identities, including Bosnian, and at the same time, contributed to creating traditional Balkan multireligious/multicultural societies. Norris (2000: 7) argues that Bosniak scholars such as Karic, (1999:78) claim that a European Islam is a natural growth from past religious beliefs and not an “imported religion”. Karic (1999:83-84) concludes that “Europe like, for instance Asia, is the continent of Islam, as well as other monotheistic religions”. Norris (2001: 5) adds that the case of Islam in Bosnia is one of the most impressive in the Balkans.

In his consideration of the conversion to Islam in Bosnia, Lopasic (2001:149) points out the medieval similarities between the Balkan and Iberian peninsulas. It is important to note the following aspect in his observation:
The early Bosnian frontiers had many similarities with the situations in Spain, where a similar frontier society between Muslim and Christians developed between twelfth and fourteenth centuries. Facing each other Islam and Christianity brought people closer, not only for the exchange of goods, but also in spiritual attributes and new ideas, and more importantly led to human relations and a new tolerance.

His (2001:149) view in the case of Bosnia, assists in a robust analysis of the phenomenon of Islamic appearance in the Balkans and initiates further observation on the role of frontiers, Sufi missions, Muslim quarters (settlements), and importance of extensive early trade links in Bosnia. Lopasic (2001:149) states that Sufi missions and extensive trade activities, especially from Asia Minor (and Persia), played important roles in creating frontiers and forming independent provinces in the Balkans.

Lopasic (2001:148) points out that frontiers in Basnia were called Serhats. According to his analysis, one can argue that the Bosnian Serhats corresponded to the Spanish Taifa states, which could be regarded as a parallel between the Iberian and the Balkan frontiers from the eleventh century (also, between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries). A third parallel, which corresponded to the Bosnia Serhats were the small Turkish principalities in Asia, which at the end of the thirteenth century and during the first half of the fourteenth century, were the most powerful frontiers of the western Anatolian states, some of whose rulers were under its overlordship (Hussey, 1966:755).

More importantly for the Islamisation in Bosnia, Lopasic (2001:148) considers that Serhats also corresponded to the early Ottoman Kapetanije (Bosnia's frontiers or regions) in Bosnia, which were established by local dynasties or frontier aristocracy (The first Kapetanije in Bosnia were recorded as early as 1558; for example Gradiska, Krupa, Bihac and Gabela) (Lopasic, 2001:148). In relation to the development of multireligious/multicultural Bosnian society, Lopasic argues (2001:146) that the urbanisation, including its accumulation of wealth, and

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13 A Persian-Arabic term meaning “frontier region” or “frontier” used in Ottoman documents.
Islamisation of Bosnia as well as rest of the Balkans was certainly closely connected. He emphasises also, that “part of the urban population always remained non-Muslims (Christian, Jewish and Gypsy)” (2001:146).

Norton (2001: 188) focuses on the Sufi order, particularly Bektashism, which played a significant role in both the spread of Islam in the Bosnian region and the promotion of harmony and tolerance especially towards the western Ottoman frontiers. Norton (2001:188) also states, according to a report of Hafiz at a conference in city of Hacibektaš in 1976 that “Bektashi tekkes existed in the Bosnian towns such as in Sarajevo, Mostar, Tuzla Zvornik Gradiska, Konjic and so on”. He also highlights that some takke were proposing building in attractive locations across the Balkans where Bektashis had contacts with the local non-Muslim population. (2001:188) In this way, Norton (2001:188) emphasises that some cross-fertilisation of faith occurred, including Bektashi syncretism, which is one of its characteristics. Norton (2001:187) also argues that the Turkish conquerors did not force Islam upon their new Balkan subjects, because forced conversion is contrary to Islamic teaching.

Norton (2001:168) outlines detailed features of Bektashis in the Balkans, but there are not enough facts provided relating specifically to the case of Bosnia. Important aspects of Bektashism include their founders and promoters such as Sufi, Sari Saltuk, their flexibility and humanity where “love of humanity is the highest ethic”, they played important roles in frontiers among janissaries and in support of the education of women. Bektashis proudly claim to treat women as equals and they stress a saying attributed to Haji Bektash: “educate women! A people that does not educate women cannot progress” (Norton, 2001:168). Through this prism of characteristics, the author provides a mere conception of Bektashi’s influences in Bosnia, although in this case it is primarily an general understanding of this kind of Sufi order.

In his research on religious diversity, Malcolm (2001:91) points out many examples of peaceful coexistence between Christianity and Islam. Although his focus is the Kosovo region, this widespread phenomenon existed in Bosnia as
well, especially in the period of Islamic expansion. He explores interactions between Islam and Christianity. On one side, Malcolm (2001:92-93) provides many examples of Islamic customs accepted by Christians, and on other side he highlights Christian customs among Muslims. In some aspects this Balkan component of medieval representation is in one way surprising, but in another way represents a traditional symbiosis, which includes not only coexistence in social intimacy, but in many ways seeking and sharing a variety of rituals. In addition, Malcolm (2001: 96) argues on the “theological equivalentism” that both “Islam and Christianity were equally valid ways to salvation”.

In his discussion, Religious and Mythological Factors in pre-modern Bosnian history Velikonja (2001:219) points out that “when the Ottomans conquered Bosnia and Herzegovina in the second half of fifteenth century, the religious structure of Bosnia was dramatically altered. The Bosnian Church ceased to exist”. He (2001:219) continues, “undoubtedly the most far-reaching religious process was mass conversion of large parts of Bosnian population to Islam”. In contrast to Velikonja’s opinion, and according to many contemporary historians such as Malcolm (1996), Donia (1994), Todorov (1983), Hadzijahic (1977), Imamovic (2000) and others, this process was gradual, and lasted about 150 years after the Ottoman conquest of Bosnia in 1463. Also, Bogumilism existed in Bosnia even in the latter eighteenth century. In addition, the early Ottoman defters contained statistics about the gradual conversion of the Bosnian population to Islam. Islam in Bosnia and Muslim communities in the Balkans existed long before the Ottoman conquest. However, Velikonja’s point is correct that Islam in Bosnia was peacefully embraced (2001:219).
CHAPTER FIVE

Data Analysis

The focus of this chapter is the analysis of data obtained during the field trip to Bosnia in 2003. In addition to previous analyses of historical data, this analysis highlights the significance of authentic archival data and historical documents in understanding the early process of Islamisation. A variety of analysed sources also includes: archival documents, charters, statements, maps, genealogy, evidence of settlements and resettlements, names of toponyms, inscriptions, coins, administrative documents and heraldry. Analysis of secondary data includes fragmentary observations by early medievalists and modern historians written in Bosnian and other Slavic languages, English, Arabic, German and Turkish and their compilation. This chapter consists of two sections; primary data and secondary data.

5.1 Primary data analysis

Genealogy

The line of Islamised descents of persons and families from old Balkan ancestors, including Bosnians, traces the early presence of Islam. Investigation of evidence of Islamised Bosnian descents prove that Bosnian Muslims were found amongst all social classes including nobility. Firstly, Bosnians were influenced by Arabs and then by the Turks and Persians. The family history of early Muslim rulers or their kinship shows that Islamised Bosnian members existed.

Family relationships between the Balkan Slavs and the Saracens can be seen in the genealogy of the Slavic family Snacic (or Svacic). The grandfather of this family was called Slovinja (or Zoloyna) and his son Saracen was a ruler of Klis in 1171 and part of Herzegovina. His grandson, Saracen Melek Domald (Domaldus) was born in 1160 in the Bosnian town of Livno, and became an important figure in northern Dalmatia where he ruled until the beginning of the thirteenth century (r.-1223), until the Hungarian King Andrew II occupied this territory (Omerbasic,
However, Mazuranic's (1928) account is that the Knez (ruler) Domald (twelfth century) was a son of Saracen and nephew of Zoloyna and Domald's ancestors belonged to the family Kacic (Mazuranic, 1928: 19). This early example of Islamic genealogy is important because Melck-Dok Damald was the first known Muslim ruler (Balic, 1995: 38) in Bosnia and in the Balkans.

Through both traditional Bosnian aristocracy and their genealogy in the early Ottoman period, Islamised members of the Bosnian nobility can be seen. There is also a significant aspect of Islamisation, found in the Bosnian-Ottoman family relationship. Over one hundred years before the Ottoman conquest of Bosnia, Mihajlo, later named Hidajet Pasha, one of the descendants of the Bosnian Ban Nikola (who was a son of the Ban Kulin) was amongst the first members of the Bosnian nobility to convert to Islam (Muvekkit, 1998: 13). Hidajet embraced Islam in 1447 during the reign of the Sultan Murat II (1421-44, 1446-51) who gave him this Muslim name and a present: a "nicely designed Holy Qur'an written on parchment in size of six cm width, and length of six elbows" (Horman, 1976: 603). Hidajet Pasha (previously called Mihajlo) belongs to one of the oldest Bosnian noble families whose surname Kulinovic derives from an early medieval ancestor, Bosnian ruler Kulin Ban (Horman, 1976: 603-607) (see appendix no 7). According to the family genealogy of Hidajet Pasha and his Islamised descendants (names by genealogy: Halil, Ibrahim, Tahvil, Ahmed, Salih, Mahmud and so on), Horman (1976: 603-607) mentions that Hidajet had a son called Halil Pasha (-1503) whose son (grandson of Hidajet) Ibrahim-Pasha married the daughter of the Sultan Sulejman (1520-66). Luccari claims that the mother, Hafisa, of Sultan Suleyman the Great (1520-66) was a Bosnian from the town of Zvornik (eastern part of present Bosnia) (Mazuranic, 1928: 27). "The second founder of Sarajevo". Gazi Husrev-bey was born in 1480 in the city of Serez (Greece), where his father Ferhad-bey was appointed and who was originally from the town of Trebinje (Herzegovina). Also, Gazi Husrev-bey's mother was a sister of the Sultan Bajezit II (1481-1512) (Mujczinovic, Traljic, 1982: 7).

Mahmud Pasha, who came to the Ottoman Empire as a child, was a friend of the Sultan Mehmed II, in their youth, before the conquest of Constantinople in 1453.
Because of his Balkan origin, Mahmud Pasha had friendships with Bogumils (Basagic, 1900: 12:16). The members of Bosnian aristocracy, brother and sister, Sigismund and Katarina were children of the Bosnian Queen Katarina. Stjepan Hercegovic was the uncle of Sigismund and Katarina and in 1460 he came to Istanbul with 40 Bosnian Bogumils. There, around 1474 Stjepan embraced Islam and got the name Ahmed. He was married to Sultan Bajazit II’s (1481-1512) daughter who was a sister of the Sultan Selim (1512-20). This Bosnian was amongst the first Southern Slavs to obtain a high position in the Ottoman Empire as the Grand Vezir. He was Grand Vezir for seven years. Because of his desire and in his honour, the Turkish city of Dilamber was renamed the city of 'Hercegovina'. This group of 40 Bogumils converted to Islam as well and were assistants in his castle in Istanbul. This example of Ahmed (previously Stjepan) Hercegovic was followed by many Bogumils in Bosnia who converted to Islam. In addition, Ahmed-Pasha Hercegovic had a significant role amongst janissaries and during the settlement of Muslim migrants from Africa and other regions of the Mediterranean in the Balkan coast (Jahic, 1979: 230, Memic, 2002: 59). He had friendships with the people of Dubrovnik (Memic, 1991: 163) After the Ottoman expedition in 1463, Sigismund and Katarina were Islamised and Sigismund became known as Ishak-bey Kraljevic (Jahic, 1979: 223).

While historical information indicates that there were Islamised Bosnian rulers and noblemen, the following evidence from early Turkish administrative records confirms the conversion of Bosnian Bogumils to Islam. In his observation of Turkish defters dated 1468-69, Okic claims a list of Muslim-ı nev (new Muslims) such as Muhamed, Ishak, Kasim, Iskender, Muhammed, Ismail, Hamza, Ajas, Karadoz, Hizar, Ahmed, Sulejman, Isa and so on. These defters also refer to the non-Muslim names of fathers or brothers, such as Musa son of Nikola, Sulejman son of Radica, Jusuf and his brother Vladislav and so on. Okic noted Bosnian surnames of new Muslims such as Ismail Duric, Mahmud Garocevic, and Jusuf Radosavic. Hadzijahic (1990: 66-67) points out that a large number of Muslim conversions before the Ottoman conquest show that Islamisation lasted from an earlier period.
Toponyms, local pilgrimages, tombstones and Islamic shrines

Specific toponyms remind us of Muslim settlements in Bosnia with names for sites such as Kalesija by Muslim Khazars, Pecenegovici near the town of Prnjavor by Pechenegez, Gornja and Donja Bisina (in Latin version Pechenegez are Bysseni) and a creek Bisina in the town of Derventa (Jalimam, 1999: 166). These and other locality names derive from early Muslim settlements.

In the western region of the Balkans, before the Turkish expansion, there were shrines with inscriptions about the Muslims from Sicily (Omerbasic, 1997: 11-12). This indicates the early presence of Muslims. In addition, their origin, or the origin of their ancestors, are from the Balkans, which were resettled in Sicily during Islamisation before the tenth century.

The most well known ‘Bosnian Muslim local pilgrimages’ are to Ajvatovica (or Prusac), Blagaj near the Buna River, a tomb Musalla in the city of Zenica. All across Bosnia there were small Muslim places of prayers called Dovista, found mainly in natural environments. They have mainly Oriental names, such as the top of Trebevic Mountain called Safe, Cebenske cliff on the Mountain called Treskavica, the top of the Mountain Visocica called dzamija (means mosque), and doviste on the Konjuh Mountain (Hadzijahic, 1977: 88-89). It is important to note that these examples represent a long tradition of symbiosis between Bogumilism and Islam, and amongst the most well known dervishes of these places are, for instance, Sari Saltuk, Ajvaz-Dedo (Jalimam, 1999: 247), Ajni Dedo, Semsi Dedo and others. According to Cehajic, Bektashism came in the earliest period toward Bosnia, where there were few Bektashi tekkes, but later it wasn’t as widely spread in Bosnia as the dervish orders of Mevlevies, Halvetics, Kaderies and Nakshibendies. Bektashi dervishes came to Bosnia mainly to lead janissary troupes and had temporary positions due to military operations by the Ottomans in the Balkans. Cehajic (n.d: 96) points out that all these orders contributed in shaping the Islamic culture in Bosnia and gave it a cosmopolitan character, as a part of cultural diversity. Also, Imamovic (2000: 30) points out that the Bosniak Islamic religious experience is based on the doctrine and practice of the Hanafian
School of law. Bloom and Blair (2000:56) point out that Hananian School of law traced its concepts and doctrines back to Abu Hanifa (699-767) and became the most widespread school during the Abbasid dynasty and the Ottoman Empire which ruled over the Balkans, including Bosnia.

Before the Ottoman conquest, Ishak-bey Isakovic built Mevlevi tekke in 1462. A poet Resid Efendija from Sarajevo wrote 40 verses about the Mevlevi tekke in Sarajevo. In his first verse he described the building of this tekke, its garden and fountain, comparing it with the Persian castle, Havernek. He wrote that this tekke of Melevvis is a “nest of angels”, and the Sufi of this tekke was well educated “who dives in the sea of “Mesnevi” 19 and spread to audiences “pearls of wisdoms” (Cehajic, n.d.:29). Celeby (1994: 110) describes this tekke, built on the riverside of Miljacka, as “located on the place beautiful as the paradise”.

Amongst the earliest Bosnian Nakshibendi Sufis were Ajni Dede and Sems Dede (Cehajic, n.d:35). Their tombs, called Gaziler Turbesi (Mausoleum of warriors), were built in Sarajevo in the second half of the fifteenth century on the road called Gaziler Yolu, (Way of warriors). On their tombs are the following inscriptions written in Arabic in 1461/2: “...he (Ajni Dede) was a friend of his Majesty the Sultan Mehmed II...” and “...his donkey (of Sems Dede) was ahead of the Sultan’s army...” (Mujcezinovic, 1998: 405). Islamic shrines of Alifakovac in Sarajevo contain a large number of shrines from the early Ottoman period. These shrines were made in different shapes and in a variety of Islamic designs. For instance, there is an engraved ornament, which consists of a forcarma with six fingers and crescent, or a sword with ball, or botanical motifs and different kinds of Arabic chronograms or epitaphs written in the fifteenth century (Mujcezinovic, 1998: 91-92). However, early medieval tombstones in Bosnia with Islamic motifs existed in all regions of Bosnia.

In 1436-37, Haseki-Hatum built mesdžid (Muslim place of prayers, “small mosque”) near eifte-hamam of GaziHusrev-Bey. Her shrine is located in a garden of this mesdžid. Behind her shrine and mesdžid, Sarajevo developed (Muvekkit,

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19 Six books of 25,000 verses written by Rumi.
In the city of Sarajevo there was a mosque called Dzamija-Atik (Old mosque) built long before 1463. Also, in Sarajevo, Nesuh-bey built a mosque in 1452. Ishak-bey Isakovic built a mosque, caravanserai, watermill and Mevlevi tekke. The mosque, which he built, he gifted to the Sultan Mehmed II. In the wakif-nama of Ishak-bey in 1462, the landowner Balaban, son of Bogcin is mentioned. He was a member of the Bosnian nobility who embraced Islam in the early Ottoman period (Jalimam, 1999: 245-246). The same wakif-nama mentioned Muslim shrines (el-meka-bir) in a small village called Kasatic (near the village of Blagaj in the field of Sarajevo). This example contributes to evidence that the process of Islamisation had began prior to the Ottoman conquest (Hadjzijahic, 1990: 66).

Archival documents

This analysis includes significant documents related to Islamic influences and the Islamisation of Bosnians such as Law, Charter, Declaration and Statement, in the early Ottoman period.

Description of janissary law (T. “Birugurden”) in Bosnia (4 May 1464)

This law established that all young janissaries who were collected in Bosnia had to be Muslim sons of Muslims. Majority of them were accepted in the Sultan’s castle and garden. The reason for this concern toward Bosnians was given in following description:

*When Sultan Mehmed II conquered Bosnia, in that time all Bosnian both middlemen and nobility, being aware of his power embraced Islam, and after that respectfully bowed to him. At that moment the Sultan was impressed with the Bosnians peaceful conversion to Islam. Then the Sultan asked the Bosnians: what would you like from me? The Bosnians responded: take our youth into janissaries! ...and by mutual satisfaction, the Sultan accepted this desire of the many Bosnians.*
Basagic (Cited in Solovjov, 1946: 51) considers that this law was very significant as part of the process of the Islamisation of Bosnia. Only in Bosnia, were Bosnian Muslims allowed to form recruits (Bosworth, 1976: 114). The Albanians and Abaz tribe from Kavkaz were recruited into the Janissary (Hadzijahic, 1977: 197). In addition to this example of the peaceful spread of Islam in Bosnia, the data analysis found that the following examples are related to both issues: Islamic influence and the religious and cultural diversity in the early Ottoman period, which in the case of Bosnia, are particularly important.

Declaration of Mehmed II (1451-81) the conqueror of Constantinople, Serbia and Bosnia (Kostovic, Dozic, Salkic, 1997:86):

Immediately after the conquest of Constantinople (Istanbul) the Sultan Mehmed II has pledged to all Christians and Jews that all their rights in his state are recognised.

In this occasion, Mehmed II has told to the Jewish people: entry to Istanbul is allowed to everyone who wishes and also they can tell their compatriots that they are welcome to reside in Istanbul.

Charter of Mehmed II in Bosnia, 1463:

By conquering of the Bosnian province, his Majesty Sultan Mehmed the Conqueror, in this province has given the following honourable charter to residential Catholic priests (Kostovic, Dozic, Salkic, 1997:85; Ceman, 1993:24):

To be known to all residents from middle men to nobility, on behalf of the imperial, great, high spiritual, sign and coat of arms of respected world empire, with this chapter I am giving to Bosnian priests great respect. I (Mehmed the Conqueror) order that no one shall suppress mentioned priests and their churches and they shall be allowed to accommodate themself freely.
No one can attack or insult them as well their property including churches. Also, the bringing of foreign people to my empire is allowed. Therefore to mentioned priests I am issuing my great command providing my care and attention by firm swearing:

With Creator and Master of earth and heavens, with seven Musafs (Qur’ans), with great God’s Prophet (Muhammed), with 124,000 messengers and with girded sword that to these written words no one can oppose while these Franciscans are submitted to me and under my order (see appendix no 8).

Fra Dominik Mandic and Fra Petar Andelovic state that this Ahdnama issued by the Sultan Mehmmed II Conqueror, is a real and solemn charter written by the international standard as a result of the constructive discussions between the Franciscan and Ottoman representatives (Andelovic, 2002: 151). The Sultan Mehmmed II Conqueror in his Ottoman camp in Milodraz, which was located half way between the towns of Fojnica and Visoko (near present time village of Bilalovic), gave this significant document to Fra Andelo Zvizdic (Andelovic, 2002: 150).

In the city of Ragusa, over 10,000 documents written mainly in Turkish but some in Arabic script exist from the earliest Ottoman period (Bajraktarevic, 1962: 7). It is important to note that Bosnians worked as Ragusan ship staff and were exposed to Islamic influence (Sunjic, 1996: 171). Travel to the Pilgrimage on Ragusan ships under the Sultan’s flag operated from the early Middle Ages. The following archival document written in Arebeica (Aljamijado), although dated from 1780, clearly reflects such a long tradition (Bajraktarevic, 1962: 60-65).

Statement of the group of pilgrims (description):

This group of fourteen Algerian pilgrims who travelled on a Ragusan ship to France, Tunis, Alexandria and the other sides of Mediterranean to the pilgrimage, declare that:
The ship staff, if there was a need, provided assistance in food or finance for all travellers. They cared for travellers nicely, having correct approaches and supported them generously. During the time of Muslim religious rituals, this ship's staff, if pilgrims needed, provided more spaces for them. At the same time the staff worked on their normal duties. The staff respected poor and rich, young and old, eastern and western (Maghrib) Muslims. On the ship there was also mutual respect and tolerance amongst Muslims and non-Muslims. Everyone who journeyed on this ship had equal respect for both Muslims and non-Muslims. The Sultan is respected by all travellers, but in turn he acknowledges their mutual respect for each other (see appendix no 9).

In addition, many documents of Dubrovnik’s (Ragusan) Arabica written in calligraphy consisted of stamps, Islamic proverbs, and verses by Arab poet’s such as Al-Biruni (thirteenth century), which were included in five southern Balkan stamps and became part of a famous design for those documents. Other stamps on the Arabic Aljamiado also consisted of Turkish and Persian phrases (Bajraktarevic, 1962: 15).

**Islamic coins**

Various Islamic coins circulated across the Balkans mainly from three direction; firstly from the Adriatic Sea, secondly from Hungary and thirdly from the early Ottoman Empire. The earliest examples in the Balkans were silver coins during the rule of the Umayyad Caliph of Syria Mervan II el Himara (744-750) found in the village Potoci near the city of Mostar (Dizdar, 1938). Other Arab Islamic coins circulated toward the Balkan coast including those of Suleyman b. ‘Abd al-Malik (715-717), the Caliph al-Mutawakkil (861-862) and during the period of other Arab rulers (Spink & Son Numismatic, 1986: 15-16) (see appendix no 10).

During the Hungarian expansion and occupation of Bosnia in the twelfth century, the Muslims in Hungary minted Islamic coins. On the northern border with Bosnia, Ismailies minted these coins and in the western part of the Balkans there
is evidence of three Islamic coins (Omerbasic, 1997: 6-7). Turkish coins circulated toward Bosnia over the eastern regions of the Balkans. This includes Ottoman liras "Muhammad V" from 1327 in Edirne, liras "Muhammad V" from 1327 in Qustantiniyya, a set of three liras struck for the Sultan's visits to the Rumelian provinces of Selanik, Kosovo and Monastir (present day the city of Bitola in Macedonia) in 1327 (Spink & Son Numismatic, 1986: 15-16). All these coins were characterised by a combination of Islamic motifs and inscriptions (see appendix no 11).

The earliest Turkish Islamic coins were minted during the reign of the Sultan Orhan (1326-1362) (Muvekket, 1998: 36). In addition, during the rule of the Sultan Mehmed II, coins with engraved text on both sides were minted (Muvekket, 1998: 47). On one side was an inscription: "Blacksmith of victory, majestic and victorious at the soil and sea", and on the other was: "Sultan Mehmed-han, son of Murat-han, minted in Constantinople" (with the year of minting).

The following information of coin findings is related to the Balkans and Bosnian regions. Dynamic trade extending to Bosnia is indicated by various Islamic coins among which the earliest and most used Arab golden coins (a quarter of dinar) were known as the tari (A. freshly minted). The spread of these Muslim coins, which were lightweight and easy to use, went hand-in-hand with further Arab commercial expansions in the Adriatic (Fossier, 1997: 175). The Bosnian Slav Jawhar, who conquered Egypt for the Fatamids, migrated from Bosnia to Sicily where he became a Muslim convert. Under his rule, the spread of the tari from Sicily in Campainia (region around Naples, southernwest Italy) initiated a surge in the plantation of vines (Fossier, vol II, 1997: 175).

While the tari were mainly circulated on the seas, the Seljuk coins were spread through land, including the Balkans. The large numbers of Seljukid coins, which have appeared in hoards, were widely used, especially during the migrations of Turks toward Bosnia. The earliest coins were struck by Seljuk's grandsons at Nishapur and Merv, the designs of which were derived from Abbasid prototypes (Ricc. 1961: 110). The earliest Seljuk coins were the silver coin of Kilicarsan II
minted in 1186; the silver coin of Mesud II minted 1287-89; the silver coin of Keykavus I minted in 1212; the silver coin of Keyhusrev I minted in 1205; the silver coin of Suleyman II in 1201; the copper coin of Suleyman II (no date or mint mark); the copper coin of Mugisuddin Tugrul Shah minted 1215; and the silver coin of Keykavus I in 1212 (Ricc, 1961:271).

Maps

The world map drawn by El-Idrisi (twelfth century) who visited the Balkan regions is more exact than for instance, Ibn-Haukal’s world map (tenth century) because it shows more details of the Mediterranean regions including the Adriatic Sea and the Balkans. However, these Arab medieval maps preceded the following medieval maps. Each of the following maps are significant and distinctively represent the Bosnian region through different perspectives, periods in a variety of styles, made in different materials and more importantly emphasise main features.

The maritime map drawn by Angelino Dulcert from Majorca in 1339 shows a Bosnian medieval castle and a church near the Drina (Drinago) River. Dulcert drew this map in colour on two parts of parchment. This map was made in the Mediterranean as the result of developed maritime navigation, using equipment such as the astrolabe and compass in clarifying meridians and orientation. Dulcert’s map is especially significant because it is the first known map, which has the written name 'Bosnia' (Schic, Tepic, 2000: 26). Bosnia is on the map of German, Niclaus Cusanus (Nicolaus von Cusa) who drew a map of central Europe during his visit to Italy. His map represents a compilation of the first Latin manuscript of Ptolomej in 1410 and his notes written in 1439. This map became a pattern for Nicolaus Donus’ map, which was made into a copper engraving (Schic, Tepic 2000: 27-29).

In 1501, Erhard Etzlauba made a wood carving of a map, which depicts the Mediterranean Sea and some European regions, including a western part of Bosnia. This map is significant because it shows Jajce, which was known by many Europeans as the ruling place of Bosnia (Schic, Tepic, 2000: 28-29). A map drawn by Marco Beneventanusa in 1507, called Tabula Moderna Polonia,
Ungarie. Boemie, Germanie, Russie, Lithvanie shows in the southern part, Slavic states including Bosina (Bosnia), and more importantly exact geographic positions of the Bosnian towns including Plivski or Soko Grad (Pluno), Jezero (Lessero), Jajce (Yaige Regal), Zvornik (Svonich), Srebrnik (Rebanich), Srebrenica (Srebnich), Blagaj, Mostar (Pont) and Bosnian rivers including Vrbas (Berbas fl.), Pliva (Pluno fl.) and Neretva (St. Narenta fl.) (Sehic, Tepic, 2000: 29).

In 1513, the German cartographer Martin Waldseemuller drew 20 maps including the schemed map called Tabula moderna Bosiniae, Serviae, Greciae et Scclavoniae where Bosnia is represented as a part of southeastern Europe (Sehic, Tepic, 2000: 29-30). The Hungarian cartographer Lazarus showed Bosnia on the topographic map of Hungary in 1528. This map shows more clearly the following old Bosnian medieval towns: Banjici (Gay), Dubica (Dobitza), Slabinja (Selin Somb), Dobra Njiva (Dobraniwa), Blagay, Japra, Kamengrad, Sokolovo Gnjiezdo (Zokolowo Iliniezdo), Kljuc (Klutztz), Jajce (Yaytza), Prusac (Prutzatz), Sokolgrad (Sokol), Travnik (Travnik) and others. Apart from these Bosnian towns, located mainly around rivers, it is important to note the Cumanorum Campus (Camp of Cumans) in Hungary, by the border with Bosnia (Sehic, Tepic, 2000: 30-31).

A regional map of Milodraz, which was a medieval site of Bosnian kings and was located on the northeastern side of the town of Fojnica, shows exactly where Ahdnama was proclaimed in 1463, by Sultan Mehmed Conqueror II (Fojnica booklet). The main features of both Bosnian Medieval maps during the reigns of Stjepan II Kotromanic (1322-1353) and Tvrtko I Kotromanic (1353-1391) consisted of extended Bosnian borders including the Adriatic Coast. These maps clearly show areas, which were under the rule of the Bosnian Kingdom. At this time, Bosnia was one of the largest south Slavic countries in the Mediterranean (Sehic, Tepic, 2000: 18-21). The map Bosansko Krajestje (Bosnian province) in 1455, drawn by Hazem Sabanovic, represents an area of the early Islamic influence by the Ottomans. According to the features of this map, it is obvious
that the process of Islamisation in the early Ottoman period occurred through the Balkan river valleys (Sehic, Tepic, 2000: 18-21) (see appendix no 12).

In addition to previous data, the following maps by McEvedy (1961) periodically show the process of Islamic influences toward the Bosnian region. This includes toponyms of migrations and settlements of different Muslim groups by chronology, which covers the medieval period between the last decades of the eighth century, up until the beginning of the fifteenth century. In this chapter, these maps are selected by numbers (from 1 to 14) according to chronology of years.

(1) The first map shows Slav, Avar and Danube Bulgars migrations and their settlements in 771 in the Balkans. In the East there are Mayars, Khazar Khanate, Volga Bulgars, and Turks. In this period, the Byzantine Empire covers the southeastern Balkan region, southern Italy and Sicily and in the southwestern and southeastern Mediterranean are the Umayyad emirate and Abbasid caliphate (McEvedy, 1961: 44-45).

(2) From 830, this map shows the Balkans surrounded by the Bulgar and Khazar khanates. There is also the Mayar settlement between these two khanates around the Black Sea, and the settlement of the Volga Bulgars and Turks in the East. From the west, over the southern and eastern Mediterranean is the Islamic empire including the Umayyad emirate, the Idrisid caliphate, the Aghlabid emirate, the Abbasid caliphate and the Tahirid emirate (McEvedy, 1961: 46-47).

(3) From 888, this map clearly shows the Balkans: Slavs (western Balkans), great Bulgar Khanate (northeast Balkans), Mayars (over Black Sea), and migration of Patzinaks, Khazars, Volga Bulgars and Ghuzz. The map also shows the Umayyad emirate, the Idrisit caliphate, the Aghlabid emirate, the Abbasid caliphate, the Tahirid emirate, the Saffarid caliphate and the Samanid emirate. According to McEvedy (1961: 48-49), the Aghlabidis completed their conquest of Sicily in the Mediterranean, and from 840 to 880 held the heel of Italy. In this period the Bulgars rapidly expanded into the Balkans as well. The Patzinak Turks (c. 860)
invasion drove a wedge between the Khazars and their partners the Mayars and Volga Bulgars, and ended the Khazar control of the Russian steppe (McEvedy, 1961: 48-49).

(4) From 923, this map shows the Balkans Slavs located in western regions, Bulgar khanate, Mayars, Patzinaks, Volga Bulgars, Khazar khanate, and Ghuzz groups. The Viking and Muslim explorers had already been active for a century when the Mayars arrived in Europe. Forced out by the Patzinaks (839), the Mayars occupied Hungary (only lightly held by the Bulgars, whose power lay south of the Danube). Their horsemen then turned to ride rapidly and widespread. In that period, the Umayyad explorers, using Fraxinetum in Provence as a permanent base, penetrated the mainland of Europe further than ever before; the Fatamids, a Shiite dynasty who replaced the Aghlabids in Tunisia (909), maintained the maritime interests of their predecessors (McEvedy, 1961: 50-51).

(5) From 998, this map shows the western Bulgarian empire and Patzinaks, Volga Bulgars, Ghuzz, Karakhands settlements.

(6) This map from 1028 shows different ethnic groups including the Patzinaks, Volga Bulgars, Ghuzz, and the regions of the Khazar khanate, Karkhanids, Ghaznavid emirate (McEvedy, 1961: 51-52).

(7) From 1071, this map shows Cuman settlement and expansion of the Seljuk sultanate from the East (McEvedy, 1961: 60-61).

(8) From 1092, this map shows the Cumans and Seljuk sultanate (McEvedy, 1961: 62-63).

(9) This map from 1093 shows that after the battle of Manzikert (1071) Patzinaks and Cumans raided toward the Balkans as well as Seljuks expansion near the Balkan borders of Thrace (McEvedy, 1961:64-65).
(10) This map from 1193 shows Cumans, Volga Bulgars, Ghuzz, and Karakhitai khanate had connected settlements around the Black Sea and Sea of Azov (McEvedy, 1961: 66-67).

(11) From 1212, this map shows an established Cumans settlement (McEvedy, 1961: 68-69).

While previous maps show the pre-Ottoman era, the following maps show the early Ottoman periods:

(12) From 1230, this map includes Cumans, and the appearance of the Mongol khanate from the East (McEvedy, 1961: 73-74).

(13) From 1278, this map emphasises the spread of the khanate of the Golden Horde including the Mongol expansion (McEvedy, 1961: 76-77).

(14) This last map from 1401 shows that in the second half of the fourteenth century, the Ottoman sultanate achieved advances toward Europe (McEvedy, 1961:79-80).

Inscriptions
The old Bosnian town called Blagaj20 (B. Buna or L. Bona) was included in the early maps. The emperor Porphyrogenitus (tenth century) mentioned Bona (Blagaj) on the riverside of the Buna River (Bijavica and Njavro, 2001: 25). In the town of Blagaj the tekke near the Buna River was built in 1466. Because of its geographical position (near Neretva River and Adriatic Sea), residents, mainly Bogumila, from the Blagaj region of Hum (Herzegovina) were resettled to Tunisia in the town of Bona. The tekke Blagaj is very significant. It is a merging place between the Bosnian Bogumil church and Islam, it is part of Islamic cultural heritage founded by Bektashi dervishes, succeeded by other Sufis including the Helveties, the Kadarities and Nakshbendies, it is also a place for Bosniak local pilgrimage, and a traditional culturo-religious and spiritual meeting place. Close

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20 Name for both, Buna River and for the town of Blagaj near the city of Mostar.
to this tekke, several water mills in a typical Oriental style were built. This is also a natural reservoir with a variety of flora and fauna. The inscription on this tekke, written in Turkish, represents the importance of this place where Bosnians have cherished such tradition for over 500 years (Mujezinovic, vol 3, 1998: 338):

**Inscription on the tekke Blagaj (a short version)**

"Look over Misir or Damascus,
you wouldn't find such place,
there the Creator showed his power
and with only the word "kun" (he) built the tekke Blagaj"

"There under the sky all kinds of birds have their own nests
all of them as one family live in closeness and respect
in such accommodation they live airily
although these birds sing differently they are not hypocrites
all of them are on a fair way
in modesty they live days and nights"

"The Creator has promised prosperity for all beings
there people of all directions try their happiness"

"There are swallows and nightingales.
also, owls and wild pigeons,
all of them glorify God,
swallows sing about Him in a thousand names.
The owl sings His name "Hu" (He)
all birds sing with pleasure"

"The Buna River has many fish.
but there fishing is prohibited,
This is a place of bounty and generosity
and a source of humanity..."
“This is a place of good people,
there is the Emir (Vezir) with goodness and kindness,
who took this place.
and he revived this area (Blagaj) and ‘made’ on it desire.
The speaker says the chronogram:
“all who visit this place let them have fulfilled desires”
(see appendix no 13)

Heraldry
Amongst the most important coats of arms of the Bosnian medieval heraldry are those with motifs that consist of commonly Islamic patterns of a crescent and a star. Both the crescent and star used to be considered as symbols of the Southern Slavic countries. The star was the motif in the emblem of the Bosnian ban Stjepan II and on the coin during the rule of Stjepan Tomasevic. The crescent and star was the motif on the coat of arms of the Bosnian Queen Katarina. Besides their medieval motif of the lily, Bosnian nobility often also had the crescent and star in its heraldry, although this in itself does not mean that their kings were Muslims. Both heraldic examples symbolised the early Islamic influences in Bosnia in its multireligious society. Also, distinct Bosnian medieval tombstones all across its territory had engraved ornaments with the crescent and star, which again show the appearance of Islamic designs.

The Bosnian family, Ohmucovic, was one of the creators of the Bosnian coat of arms in order to prove their nobility and family relationship with the Bosnian dynasty of Kotromanici. This Ohmucovic motif was not authentic, and was copied from a previous Bosnian coat of arms (Andelic, 1966: 527). The Benedictine priest Orbini also designed a Bosnian coat of arms and added the motif of two Saracens, a crescent and a star of seven points. Different designers have modified this motif throughout history, but the most important point is that the Bosnian coat of arms continuously consisted of a crescent and a star. The Bosnian coat of arms was registered in Munster Kozmografiji (Munster Cosmography) in 1544, but Ulrich von Reichenthal noted it in 1483 (Hadzijahic,
1977: 27). The motif of the coat of arms of the Bosnian medieval state consists of a crescent, a star with eight points and two faces of Saracens (Hadzijahic, 1977: 27) (see appendix no 14).

The Bosnian coat of arms also belonged to the Bosnian kingdom during the early Ottoman expansion in Bosnia. A heraldic manuscript from 1506 in the Bodleian Library gave a more detailed description of this Bosnian heraldry (Evans, 1973: 184-185). Evans (1973:185) considers that the motif of a 'sabre on sea' in the Balkans remained on the early Arab expansion on the Adriatic Sea, and that the crescent derives from the even earlier Byzantine period, with later Arab influences in the Balkans succeeded the Turkish influences.

5.2 Secondary data analysis

Islamisation of Bosnian Slavs

Observation by medievalists such as Solovjov (1946), Krekic (1956), Mazuranic (1928), and Sunjic (1996), based on archival documents from Dubrovnik and Venice, together with analysis by Lane-Poole (1901), Dozy (1913), Hitti (1970), Fosser (1989), Lewis (1982, 1994), emphasise the earliest Islamisation of Balkan Slavs including Bosnians. Secondary data analysis observes the migrations from the Balkans to new territories, which contributed to the Islamisation of Bosnians in the pre-Ottoman era. Analysis of secondary data confirms the dynamic culturo-religious exchange between Arabs and Bosnians, and later the Turkish expansion, as important aspects of Islamic influences in Bosnia. Secondary data analysis consists of the following two key aspects: Bosnian Muslim settlements outside of Bosnia, and Islamic influence over the southeastern and northeastern borders of Bosnia.

Solovjov (1946: 141) and Krekic (1956: 141) claim that in the seventh and eighth centuries, the slavery trade had a new renaissance because of the spread of Islamic empires. From the eighth century, Slavic slaves became the most known 'item' on the Mediterranean markets. Slavic slaves were sold in Africa, Spain and Mesopotamia. In these markets, traders were Arabs, Jews, Byzantines, Italians.
Frenchmen, Greeks, Germans and Balkan Slavs. In this period the ethnic name for the Slavs (Byz. Slavus, A. Sakalab) became synonymous with the “slave social-class” (Solovjev, 1946: 141, Sunjic 1996: 170) although medieval history witnesses great achievements of the Slavs.

European slaves, also known as Saqaliba (Slavs), were imported via three main routes: over land via France and Spain; from Eastern Europe via the Crimea; and across the Mediterranean Sea. They were mostly, but not exclusively, Slavs. Muslim naval raids on the Balkans, particularly on the Dalmatian coast, captured some. Most were supplied by European, especially Venetian, slave merchants, who delivered cargoes of them to the Muslim markets in Spain and North Africa. The Saqaliba were prominent in Muslim Spain and North Africa (Lewis, 1994: 21).

The following information confirms extensive early trade activities through which many Bosnians migrated to the Muslim realm. From the eighth century, Venetia’s main trade was the slave trade, mainly Slavs (“A time line of the Italians” – www.scaruffi.com/politics/italians.html) and from the middle of the eighth century until the tenth century, Slavs from Bosnia became the major source of slaves for the Islamic society (“European history 650-749”- www.telusplanet.net/public/dgarneau/euro43.thin). However, the main obstacle for Venetian ships were local residents called Narrantani amongst whom there were many Bosnians. They lived in the region of the Neretva delta-Neretva channel between Cotina and Neretva rivers and on the islands of Brac, Hvar and Vis. Their neighbours regarded them as skilled seafarers (Bachich cited in Etherovich, Spalatin, Vol 2, 1970: 123). A major obstacle to the Venetian trade expansion was the Slav pirates of the Neretva delta and Dalmatian coast who, from 887 until the second half of the tenth century, regularly attacked Venetian ships. Venice payed an annual tribute of protection to ensure the free passage of her ships through the narrow Adriatic waters. However, the island of Vis (L. Lissa) one of the principal pirate strongholds, fell to the Venetians, who returned to the lagoon, their vessels crammed to capacity with Balkan slaves (Norwich, 1982: 51). By defeating these Balkan Slavs, Venice continued its trade activities
with the Orient. Furthermore, this lead Venice to sign in 991, a commercial treaty with the Arabs and to continue during the tenth century, its invasions of Dalmatia and their residents, including Bosnians. — (“A time line of the Italians” - www.scaruffi.com/politics/italians.html). In addition, the Neretva River offered a better line of communication from its delta on the shores of the Neretvanski channel, a sheltered stretch of water lying between the coast, and the Peljesac peninsula. The route inland leads Mostar toward Sarajevo (Singleton, 1985: 5). This is also a very significant route toward Sicily, the Middle East and other Mediterranean regions.

The earliest examples of the large migration and settlement from the Balkans in other Mediterranean regions go back to the eighth century when the Caliph Melek Ibn Merwan with an army consisting of 20,000 Saqalibs entered Byzantine territory and settled present day Aleppo (Syria). Halilovic (1991: 29) claims that there was already Bosnian Muslim settlement in Syria at the time.

The following information on early Islamised southern Slavs significantly confirms that early contact with Arabs as the earliest bearers of Islam, started in the earliest medieval time when Bosnian Slavs were already settled in these southern Balkan regions. In his work about southern Slavs (G. Sudslaven), Mazuranic (1928: 22) identifies cultural-religious contacts between Arabs and Adriatic Slavs from the tenth to thirteenth centuries. He points out that these Muslim Slavs, during the reign of Abd el-Rahman III, had their settlements in Egypt, Spain and Sicily and built mosques in Cairo, Cordoba and Palermo. Further evidence on the early Islamisation of Balkan Slavs is related to the ninth century. At this time, in the Royal court of Hakem I (791-822), there were 2,000 western Balkan Slavs. Such a large number of Balkan Slavs also indicates an early and extensive relationship between the Iberian and Balkan Peninsulas (Hadzijahic, 1977: 27).

Arabs and Southern Slavs had contacts when they joined in attacks on Constantinople. Also, in the ninth and tenth centuries, residents of the Adriatic islands had contacts with Arab traders from Spain, Sicily and southern Italy
(Bojic, 2001: 13). These contacts were intensified by the Arab conquest of Crete in 823, Sicily in 827 and southern Italy in 837 (Hadzijahic, 1977: 24). Hadzijahic (1977:21) claims that in Sicily there were Bosnian Muslim settlements and in Palermo they had a Slav Muslim suburb, which included a mosque. In addition, Sicily, Crete, Cyprus, and other Mediterranean islands held by Muslims were called *ath-thughur al-jazariyy* (island frontier fortresses). (Udovitch cited in Miskimin, Herlihy, 1977: 145).

In the case of Bari, between 841-71 Muslims established a permanent base, even taking the form of a “miniature emirate State” (Fossier, 1989: 275) from which they often attacked the Balkans. From Bari, Saracen raids were primarily initiated to capture slaves for sale in the markets of the Muslim world (Fossier, 1989: 275). The merchants of southern Italy had been in the habit of exporting slaves to North Africa since the late eighth century (Fossier, 1989: 275). All ships and caravans in transit between the eastern and western base of the Mediterranean had to pass through the central hub of Sicily and Tunisia (Constable, 1994: 34). Through this central Mediterranean channel, Andalusi ports maintained commercial contact with Egypt, the rest of the eastern Muslim world, and beyond (Constable, 1994: 35).

In early medieval time there was an enormous slave-trafficking trade; one of the most valuable commodities. For instance, Bulgars and Khazars sent the Slavs and Turks to Mediterranean regions. Around 870, Bernard the Monk departed from Bari, ‘capital of a slaving emirate’, at the same time as six ships loaded with slaves from southern Italy carrying 9,000 people; 3,000 of which were destined for Tunisia, 3,000 to Tripoli and 3,000 to Alexandria (Fossier, 1989: 272). Lewis (1982: 190) claims that Muslims from Spain, Sicily, and North Africa, such as the Slav Sabir, a seafarer of the governor of Sicily, regularly brought slaves from the Balkans. In fact, in 928, and in a single expedition from Adriatic Sea to the Tunisian port of al-Mahdiyya Sabir transported 12,000 Balkan slaves. This migration contributed to the establishment and development of Tunisian towns.
In Tunisia there was a village called Basnia (L. Bona, Bone), which had about 800 residents. These residents were Bosnians who had previously migrated to this part of North Africa (Balic, 1965: 91; Halilovic, 1991: 29). In this case of Bosnian migrants in Tunisia, who were known to be excellent frontier guards or protectors of towns, explanations for their migration could relate to requirements for town planning, as Ibn Khaldun wrote in *Muqaddimah*:

*In connection with coastal towns situated on the sea, one must see to it that they are situated on a mountain or amidst a people sufficiently numerous to come to support of the town when an enemy attacks it. The reason for this is that a town which is near the sea but does not have within its area tribes who share its group feeling, or is not situated in rugged mountain territory, is in danger of being attacked at night by surprise. Its enemies can easy attack it with a fleet and do harm to it. They can be sure that the city has no one to call to its support and that the urban population, accustomed to tranquillity, has become dependent on others for its protection and does not know how to fight. Among cities of this type, for instance, are Alexandria in the East, and Tripoli, Bone and Sale in the West...* (Udovich cited in Miksimin, Herlihy, 1977: 147).

This document shows the presence of the Balkan Slavs including Bosnian Saqalibs who migrated to North Africa, the Iberian Peninsula, the Middle East, Asia Minor and Persia, governed by Arab, Turkish or Persian rulers. There they readily adopted the Islamic religion, Arabic language, (including Turkish or Persian), and the Muslim customs of their masters. Many Bosnian Slavs contributed to the cultural, scientific and administrative prosperity of the Arab/Turkish/Persian Empires. They played an important role in central government, state issues and in the development of cultural life of the society and promotion of Islamic values. While the previous data is related to the Balkan Slavs, including Islamised Bosnians, in Syria, Tunisia, Italy and Sicily, the following information is related to other regions. For instance, this information confirms the existence of the Bosnian Muslim settlements in Spain, Egypt and
India. According to Goitein (1967: 31), in Egypt, particularly during the rule of the Fatimid Caliphs, there were a great variety of races and religions, including Europeans, mostly former slaves from Bosnia and other Slavic provenances.

The following data analysis uncovers and emphasises the presence and early contribution of the Islamised Balkan Slavs. For instance, Bosnian historians wrote about the Balkan Slav, Jawhar (or al-Gawhar, B. Dzevahir), including Handzic (1930) in his book *Al Gawhar al-esna* or Ceman's article “Bosniak founded Cairo and well known university Al Azhar” (Lily, 1996: 35). Busatlic, Karcic, Omerbasic and Hadzijahic mentioned Jawhar, as do Nametak, Hadziosmanovic and Trako in the book of Muekkit (1997: 10) (History of Bosnia). Ramic (1997:4) wrote about Bosnian Muslims in Cairo in his book *Bosniaks at Al-Azhär* and also made note of Jawhar. All these authors point out that the Slav Jawhar is from the Bosnian region. Balic (1995: 38) in *Bosnia in Exile* also claims that the birthplace of Jawhar is the Dalmatian town, Cavtat that is located on the border of Herzegovinia. Mazuranic (1928: 17) points out that Slav Sabir was the first patron of the Slav cunuch Jawhar who was a ‘Sicilian secretary’, during his temporary stay in Sicily.

A number of Bosnian scholars (Balic, 1995; Ceman, 1996) argue that Jawhar was a general and administrator of the fourth Fatimid caliph al-Mu'izz li-Din Allah (-992). He entered al-Fustat in 969, built a new town, Cairo, to house his troops and laid the first stone of the al-Azhär mosque and university in 970 (Donzel, 1994: 186). Al-Jawhar who was 'the Roman', a slave from the 'eastern empire', was also called “al-Rumi, originally a Christian born in Byzantine territory” (Hitti, 1970: 619), on the Bosnian border (Balic, 1995: 38), who was brought as a slave from Sicily to al-Qayrawan. He was at the head of the caliph's ministers, and had risen to the post of secretary to the late Caliph, and then was promoted by his son 'Aziz, to the rank of Vezir (A. sadr a'zam; T. sadr-i a'zam, title which means “the greatest of the high dignitaries”) and commander of forces.

The year 945 saw the Fatamids securely established in Tunisia and in control of some of the surrounding regions including Sicily. The next important advances
came in the reign of al-Mu’izz (953-75), who had the services of a brilliant general, Jawhar. He was sent in 958 to bring the ever-refractory Maghrib (Morocco) to allegiance. The expedition was successful, Sigilmasa and Fez were taken, and Jawhar reached the shore of the Atlantic (Lane-Poole, 1901: 99) where Fatamid suzerainty was asserted over the whole of North Africa. After careful preparations, Jawhar penetrated Old Cairo (al-Fustat) without difficulty and assumed control over the country. Jawhar immediately began to build a new city for his troops, calling it al-Qahira (Cairo or A. “the triumphant one”). In 973, Cairo became the residence of the Fatamid imam or caliph and centre of his government (Watt, 1974: 208). Under the leadership of Jawhar, whose multiethnic army consisted of Arabs, Saqalibs, Rumelians and Berbers, he conquered old Fustat and directed his forces towards Alexandria, conquering it with little opposition. Ibn Khallikan estimated that Jawhar led over a hundred thousand men, and Nuwayri (d. 1332) wrote in Nihayat al-Arab (Jahir, al-Hini, 1984: 44) that it was later augmented by two hundred thousand men (“Conquest of Egypt”- ismailli.net/historie/history05/history533.html).

A splendid ceremony occurred when his devoted servant Jawhar, reverently welcomed the Caliph on his entry to Cairo. This was a solemn spectacle. The Caliph Mo’izz crossed from Roda by Jawhar’s new bridge, and proceeded directly to the palace city of Cairo. Among the presents offered to him, Jawhar’s was especially splendid, and its costliness is an indication of the colossal wealth of the Fatamids. It included 500 horses with saddles and bridles encrusted with gold, amber, and precious stones; tents of silk and cloth of gold, borne on Bactrian camels; dromedaries, mules, and camels of burden; filigree coffers full of gold and silver vessels; gold mounted swords; caskets of chased silver containing precious stones; a turban set with jewels, and 900 boxes filled with samples of all the goods that Egypt produced (Lane-Poole, 1901: 108-109). The following details relate to the Caliph’s palace. The buildings of the Fatamid palace of Mo’izz were planned to the smallest detail, and Jawhar had laboured for more than three years to realise his sovereign’s designs. The palace was profused with wealth and costly magnificence and included in its decoration, five sacks of emeralds, a prodigious
amount of precious stones of all sorts, silver vessels, pure crystal, and 30,000 pieces of Sicilian embroidery (Lanc-Poole, 1901: 108).

The following information is significant because it displays Jawhar’s contribution to Islamic flexibility and toleration. During his rule, Jawhar undertook to respect the rites and law of the Egyptians. He took a pragmatic and tolerant stance, characterised by openness towards the Christian and Jewish minorities, and sought to convert people only by means of preaching and education (Fossier, 1997: 170). Jawhar preferred to follow very closely the policy designed by al-Muizz. It is important to note that Jawhar in his proclamation (or charter in Arabic, ahd al-aman) to the Egyptian populace in 969, outlined a “sagacious policy of religious toleration, reform, justice, tranquillity, security and peace” (“Conquest of Egypt” ismaili.net/historic/history05/history533.html).

Another example of Slavic cultural contribution is the Slav eunuch, Bargawan appointed by ‘Aziz, as the governor (or ussad). He lived quietly in the palace, protecting his ward and later became regent. Bargawan devoted much of his life to culture and pleasure. He passed his time agreeably in the society of singers, listening to the music he loved, in the Pearl Palace which ‘Aziz had built near the bridge-gate, overlooking the beautiful gardens of Kafur on the one hand, and on the other commanding a view over the canal to Nile and the pyramids (Lanc-Poole, 1901: 125). Bargawan’s name is still commemorated in one of the streets of Cairo (Lanc-Poole, 1901: 124).

Significant information is related to Hermman Sagaliba who was the first Islamised Balkan Slav translator during Arab rule. Silajdzhic (2003: 81-82) in The Christian European Discovery of Islam, points out the significance of the first integral translation of the Qur’an into Latin, by Robert of Ketton in 1143 (Karic, 1999: 84-85), and the scientific contribution of the Slav Hermman during this translation. In this way, he emphasises works by Sanjek (1982) Bringing together Arabic and European Western science in 12th c. by Herman Dalamat and by Hadzijahic (1984) About our compatriot who worked on the translation of the Qur’an. Hermann the Dalmatian (fl. 1138-43) was a Slav who worked in city of
Toledo in Spain, which was the most important multilingualistic centre in the twelfth century. Hermman, the Dalmatian translated two works from Arabic, working in the same school with translators of different backgrounds including an Arab Saracen Mohammed, a Mozarab John of Seville, Hugh of Santalla and Mark of Toledo (Silajdzic, 2003:81-82). Others also came from abroad including Robert of Chester from Wales, Plato of Tivoli and Gerard of Cremona who came from Italy (Lindberg, 1992: 204, Silajdzic, 2003: 81-82). These men, including the Slavic migrant Hermman Dalmat, migrated to Spain along with many other Bosnians, often without prior knowledge of the Arabic language. Once there, they found a teacher, learned Arabic, and began to translate. Occasionally they joined forces with bilingual natives (perhaps a Mozarab or Jew who knew Arabic and the vernacular language) and proceeded to translate cooperatively (Lindberg, 1992: 204).

In his observation on Bosnian Saqalibs, the Bosnian historiographer Ceman (Lily, 1996: 36) mentioned Bosnian Slavs Khairan (B. Hajran), the poet Hubib, and “one Slav ruler of the Balearic islands”. He claims that in different parts of medieval Mediterranean there were many Bosnians, and emphasises a significant need to uncover the contributions of Bosnian Saqalibs. Also, during his visit to the city of Palermo, Omerbasic (n.d.) points out that Bosnian Slavs lived in different regions of Arab caliphates in the Mediterranean, including southern Italy and Sicily. In this way, analytical approaches to the works by Dozy, Hitti, Fossier and Lewis confirm significant information about Islamised Balkan Slavs. This analysis found many medieval Slavic representatives all across the Mediterranean. Mazuranic (1928: 20) mentions that Badr and Khairan had a south Slavic origin and the Slav Mujahid also came from Dalmatia. Amongst the most prominent Slavs were Khairan, prince of Almeria; Zuhair, who succeeded him in 1028; and Mujahid (or Mojehid), prince of the Balearic Isles and Denia. Mujahid was one of the greatest Mediterranean rulers of this medieval period (Dozy, 1913: 595; Brett, 1980: 25). The presence of these Bosnian settlers in Islamic caliphates or Turkish sultanates belongs to the period when many Bosnian Slavs were regarded as 'important items'. This analysis is particularly interested in more information
about these Islamised Balkan Slavs, those according to mentioned Bosnian scholars, had significant contribution during the early Arab rule.

The Slav Mujahid al-Amiri, originally from the southern Balkans (Mazuranic, 1928: 20), who was the master of Denia, conquered the island of Sardinia and raided the coast of Italy with his fleet in the year 1014/5. He was also mentioned in the thirteenth century by Ibn Khaldun (1967: 210). Mujahid was an enlightened patron, founding in his capital a school for studying the Qur’an that enjoyed a great reputation in the contemporary Muslim world, and attracted learned men of various kinds to his court (Fossier, 1997: 189). The documents from the Cairo Genizah show that Denia was at that time, one of the main ports of the peninsula, along with Almeria and Seville, with direct sea connections to Egypt where there were Bosnian Muslim settlements.

It is important to note that Mujahid was a supporter of well-educated scholars. An adventurer named Abd al-Futuh, who was born far from Spain of an Arab family, had studied literature, philosophy and astronomy under the most famous professors at Baghdad. Abu l-Futuh was an excellent scholar who came to Spain in 1015, apparently to seek his fortune, and spent some time at the court of the Slav Mujahid of Denia (Dozy, 1913: 617-618).

The Slav Zuhair (Zuhayr) of Almeria was lord of Muricia, and prince of Almeria between 1028-1038 (Dozy, 1913:769). He was honoured that he had a Vizier called Ibn Abbas, who was very remarkable man. His fortune was estimated at five hundred thousand ducats. His palace was furnished with princely magnificence and crowded with servants; in it were five hundred singing girls of rare beauty; and still more to be admired - an immense library, which contained four hundred thousand volumes, without counting innumerable pamphlets (Dozy, 1913: 610). This information confirms the strong cultural contact between Slav Muslims and the Arab Muslims.

Importantly, data analysis found the presence of a large numbers of Slavs in Moorish Spain. Bosnian Slavs prevailed amongst the Saqalibs in Spain.
(Balic, 1995: 37). Slavs became so numerous in Moorish Spain that one of them, the Slav Habib, devoted an entire work to an account of their verses and their adventures (Dozy, 1913: 430). Mazuranic (1928: 25) points out that Slavic poet Habib (tenth – eleventh century) wrote poems, anecdotes, stories, commentaries, reports and letters. Habib also wrote an anthology in praise of the Slavs as a "clear proofs and victorious arguments (in favour) of the excellences of the Slavs" (A. "Kitab al istizhar wa‘l mugalebe ala men ankar fada il es-sakalibe"). His work appeared in a period when the Slavs in Spain were exposed to the Arab literary influence. It was also a period of cultural and trade interaction between the Arab and Byzantine empires (Mazuranic, 1928: 23). Reports about Habib were written by Arab historian, ibn-Haiyan (987/8-1076) who also recorded the names of a number of Slavic palace eunuchs (Mazuranic, 1928: 25). On the other hand, Mazuranic’s observation, which is based on Habib’s (tenth century) work and the work of Ottoman historian, Ali (sixteenth century), emphasises that the western Balkan Slavs migrated and settled in the Balkan inland on the riverside of the Bosnia (Bosna) River, named themselves Bosnians, after the name “Bosna”. Bosnian Aghas and Beys (local rulers), and were important figures in administration and other services, and were “educated, generous, proud, just and so on” (Mazuranic, 1928: 20).

The secondary data analysis also indicates the presence of the Muslim Princes of the eleventh century such as the following Slavs: Naja in Malaga, Mobarak in Valencia, Muzaffar, and Lichib, Lord of Tortosa; Khairan Slav general who took possession of the larger towns in the East, who conquered Almeria and entered Cordoba; also, Badr, Slav Vezir, who lately received the title of hajib (Prime Minister), Ibn Abi Wada’a, Slav general and ruler of Cordoba (1011/2) and Najda, Slav general (Dozy, 1913: 737-740). There was also Anbar, Slav general of the Suleiman - son of Abd el-Rahman III (Dozy 1913: 555-556), and Wadhih, Slav freedman of Almanzor (Ibn Abi ‘Amir) and Prime Minister (Dozy, 1913: 555). According to Dozy (1913: 547), Wadhid was the most influential of the Salvs and Governor of the Northern parts of Iberian Peninsula.
It is important to note that Balkan Slavs had settlements during the rule of the Caliph Abd al-Rahman III (912-961) who was the most important ruler of Muslim Spain and had a large number of Slavs. In the city of *al-Madinah al-Zahirah* (or al-Zahra A. "the brilliant town"), the Caliph Abd er-Rahman III surrounded himself with a bodyguard, which included some 3750 Slavs. His standing army of a hundred thousand men included Slavs from Slavonic tribes (Hitti, 1970: 525) of the Balkans. Abd er-Rahman III had a tolerant attitude not only to Slavs and other Islamised groups, but to non-Muslims, particularly the Jews, and led to the cooperation of the best talents of his realm, creating the regime of enlightenment (Grabois, 1980: 15).

In the Maghrib (North Africa) and Andalus, the supporters of existing Muslim dynasties were from the lands of Slavs, and could be their founders. For instance, in the third decade of the eleventh century, small kingdoms were formed in what is called the *taifa* (small kingdom) period. They included Tortosa, Valencia, Denia, Murcia and Almeria, on the eastern coast of the Iberian Peninsula (Hourani, 1991: 116). These provinces had rulers of Slavic origin who settled there and established autonomous power (Fossier, 1997: 189).

In Moorish Spain there was a great number of *'Amirid* Slavs (Donzel, 1994: 33) particularly in the capital city of Cordoba (Dozy, 1913: 547). Also, at the Court of Malaga there were Slavs (Dozy, 1913: 622) and they ruled in small eastern taifa states (Dozy, 1913: 595). For instance, the Slav Mujahid was one of the most remarkable taifa kings in the eleventh century. al Andalus (Fossier, 1997: 189). Tortosa became the capital and was a brilliant centre of Muslim studies of the little provinciality of the *'Amirid* Slavs, where the best known of them was Slav *Nabil* (Donzel, 1994: 453).

By the eleventh century, references to Slavic slaves virtually disappear. Indeed, by this period, many of these former slaves had risen from servitude to join ruling elites in the taifa states. There are several plausible explanations for this shift. First, the decline of Slavic slavery in the eleventh century may have been owing to

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21 Name of the descendants of Almanzor who ruled in Valencia from 1021-1065.
the eastward expansion of Europe and the increasing christianisation of Slavic lands. Second, perhaps the demise of the centralisation of the Umayyad state, whose rulers had at one time employed thousands of the Saqaliba, reduced the demand for large and loyal corps of Slavic slaves. Islamic rulers in the Near East began to turn to slave sources on their own eastern and northern borders (Constable, 1994: 206).

Eastern geographers of the tenth century mention Saqalibas, among those were castrated, as one of the main Andalusian exports (Fossier, 1997: 187). The slave troops of the Umayyad and Fatamid armies, including the Slavs, were largely replaced by mercenaries from the Far East (Brett, 1980: 53). This includes the first description called *Surat al-Ard* (A. “Picture of the Earth”) by Ibn Hawqal, which shows Spain of Abd al-Rahman III through the eyes of a visitor who compares its cities and its products with those of Iraq. The Galicians, the Basques, the Franks and the Slavs, including those originally from the Balkans who stretch beyond them into the steppes of Asia, provided the slaves, especially the eunuchs, who were exported as far as the borders of India (Brett, 1980: 92).

The following data analysis is also related to early Bosnian settlements in India. The Slav Jasha (G. Melek Yaz) (1480-1528) came from the South Slavic coastline, from Ragusa. He was a merchant who traded extensively in different kinds of items, particularly with western Europe. He had his own market on an island called “Ragusa” and traded with Egyptian harbours and other Mediterranean coastal towns as well. During his trade, Jasha enjoyed both support, from the East and the West (Mazuranic, 1928: 30). In his time, many Balkan Slavs migrated to India, because of their desire to find good living opportunities there. In India they worked in the services of the Indian dukes (Mazuranic, 1928: 30). This is a significant indication that in multiethnic India, there also existed Balkan Slav settlements with Bosnian members. In addition to this evidence, in 1596 on the Indian coast, a Ragusan fleet consisting of 20 military ships also operated (Evans, 1973: 287). Evans (1973:289) notes that Ragusan ships sailed as far as the Persian Gulf. Bearing in mind that many
Bosnians sailed on Ragusan ships, this data is informative because it shows both Bosnians exploration toward the Orient and their contact with Persian Muslims.

Balic, Hadzijahic, Omerbasic, Busatic, Mazuranic and other scholars state that many of these Balkan Slavs, including those who originated, either through familial or geographical relationships from Bosnian medieval territorial magnitude significantly contributed in promotion of Islamic values or became important representatives in Arab, Ottoman and Persian empires. 

Islamisation of Bosnia from the southeastern and northeastern borders

This section highlights Islamic influence from the southern, eastern and northern borders of Bosnia. This includes fragmentary observations by Hadzijahic (1997), Omerbasic (1997), Imamovic (1996), Jalilam (1999), Bojic (2001), Barford (2001) and other scholars.

The earliest noted contact between the Balkan Slavs and Islam occurred during the expansion of the combined army of Bulgars with Arabs and different Turkish groups from Central Asia. Led by the Khan Asperuch (or Isperich 644-701), this army crossed the Danube River in Bulgaria in 680. This is also the period when the Byzantine Empire started to decline due to regular invasions by Avars, Arabs, Persians, Slavs, Bulgars and other ethnic groups, mainly of Turkish origin (Pribichevich, 1982: 179-180). The Danube Bulgars, led by the Khan Asperuch, also used their power base to attack the land frontiers of Byzantium itself, while Arabs often attacked Constantinople from the sea. It is important to note that it was the first historical record of the appearance of Islam in the Balkan inland. It is also important to note that among these Balkan migrants were also large Muslim groups and Slavic-speaking Bosnians (Karpat, 1990: 134).

There were large numbers of Slavs in the Balkan Avar forces, mainly in the capacity of infantry, but also manning the dug-out boats called monoxyla\textsuperscript{22} which were used to ferry Persian troops across the Bosphorus to the European side.

\textsuperscript{22} A distinctive type of craft made from hollowed-out tree-trunks.
(Barford, 2001: 70). The Slavs were skilled in making and manning these special boats they used to meet and help different ethnic groups to cross the Danube River and in the attack on Constantinople in 626 (Auty, 1965: 12-13). The coming of Arabs and Persians in the southeast Balkans is significant because of their earliest introduction of Islam among different Slavic groups, including Bosnians. The north of the Byzantine territory, which includes the Balkan regions, was already settled by a large population of Slav communities, some of which had been there for several generations. At that time, different tribal groups, including Muslims, settled chiefly in the Balkan regions. Barford’s (2001: 349) map shows that from the eighth century, Bulgarian settlements already existed on the eastern border of Bosnia in Drina River valley (see appendix no 15). Among those Bulgar settlers were those who earlier converted to Islam. It was also a time when Islamised Slavs came into early contact with Muslims (Hadzijahic, 1977: 22; Balic, 1995: 39).

The early contacts, which continuously lasted from the eighth century between Arabs and Bosnian Slavs, occurred through Muslim explorers and Arab naval raids towards the Balkan shore through the Adriatic Sea. This is also the period when small Muslim settlements appeared. These were noted by medieval European and Arab scholars (Hadzijahic, 1970: 23-24; Omerbasic, 1997: 10). Hadzijahic (1977: 23-24) claims that the Muslim missionaries and traders in the early Middle Ages visited Muslim settlements in the Balkans (Hadzijahic, 1977: 23). Some of the early Islamised Balkan inhabitants were excellent seafarers on the Adriatic Sea. In his notes, the Arab geographer, El-Idrisi during his visit to the Balkan regions between 1151-1159, emphasised that these local residents were capable seamen (Omerbasic, 1997: 8). For instance, Toma Arhidakon (1200-1260) mentioned that some Adriatic Slavs had contacts with Arabs during the Arab expansion on the eastern Adriatic coast (Hadzijahic, 1970: 23-24). During his visit to the Balkan shore, the Arab traveller Ja’kut el-Hamevi in his work Mu’āzem, noted that “there existed the Slavic and Muslim groups who lived side by side” (Omerbasic, 1997: 10). Furthermore, historical sources (cited in Omerbasic, 1997: 8) mentioned that there was a local Muslim ruler called Donal Saracen who was a “protector of Patarens” or Bosnian Bogumils.
The early Middle Ages were characterised in the northeastern Balkans by the spread of Islamic scripts, including the Holy Qur’an. At the beginning of the ninth century, the Holy Qur’an was translated into an old Slavic language and was also written in Arabic script called Aljamijado and spread amongst Balkan Slavs in Bulgaria by the Saracens or other Muslim groups. In the Slavic alphabet by St. Cyril and St. Methodious, there is a letter “ь” which had Arabic origin. Also, during the reign of the Tzar Teofil (829-842), around the city of Salona were Muslims and these two Christian missioners had cultural contacts with these Muslim residents of this region (Hadzijahic, 1977: 22-23, Balic, 1995: 39). Old chronicles (cited in Jalinam, 1999: 167-168) mention that Seljuk tribes who migrated from the southeastern Balkans settled over the Hungarian and Bosnian borders, such as Kalisi or Kobar, Bughars from Volga, Pechenegez or Beslenjejeveci and Turks-Vardnioti, who were mainly a frontier guard, and they had free opportunity for religious practices, only with an obligation to protect borders and respect laws. In addition, in 1161 the Hungarian King Geza sent 500 Isma'ilites to the German Tzar Fridrich (Bojic, 2001: 13).

From the Tatar steppe over Bulgaria, between the ninth and tenth centuries, different Muslim groups came to the lower Drina, Sava and Danube river valleys (northeastern regions and border of Bosnia), and from these valleys they established Muslim settlements in the southern borders of Hungary. Historical sources (cited in Bojic, 2001: 13) mainly called these Muslims, Ismaclites. Because of the Hungarian expansion in the Bosnian region of Banat (also called Usora and Soli and later Tuzla) there is a toponym “Kalešija” village (between Tuzla and Zvornik), which is related to the “Tatar” Muslim group - Kalize. In 1345, this village was renamed in Kuslat - (T. Kus means “bird”) (Bojic, 2001: 13). Some of those Muslim groups met the first Ottoman expeditions in these regions, especially in northeastern region of Bosnia (Bojic, 2001: 13).

This following data analysis found that resettlement of the Balkan Slav occurred through the changing of their temporary residences due to different imperial expansions. This includes an influx of Bosnian Slavs to other regions, or their
return to Bosnia. This cross-cultural contact and movements significantly contributed in the process of their Islamisation. Byzantine rulers resettled mass populations of the Slavs in Asia Minor, such as during the reigns of Emperor Justinian II (685-695) (Mitsakis, 1975:21) and Russian Czar, Theofil (829-842). Many settled Bosnian Slavs in Anatolia joined the Arab Muslims in their armies (Hadjizjahic, 1977: 24).

The analysis of Omerbasic’s (1997) work Islam before coming of Ottomans in our regions includes significant information about Balkan Slavs and the early Bosnian Muslim settlements during the rule of different Arab and European rulers. According to him, during the early Arab expansion toward the Balkan coast, many Balkan Slavs migrated to Sicily and embraced Islam. During the reign of Fridrich II (1214-1250) and his successors Manfred and Konrado, many of these Muslims worked as advisers or were in high posts, including military service for these kings. In this region of southern Italy, these Muslims built mosques. However, because of further Italian and German imperial expansion, many of these Islamised Slavs were resettled to Italy. Omerbasic (1997: 5,9) points out that during the reign of the Germano-Roman Kings including Fridrich II, 160,000 Muslims from Sicily firstly were resettled in the town of Lucera (southern Italy) near the city of Foda. Then, during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, from the town of Lucera, some of these Muslims returned to the Balkans, including Bosnia and Dalmatia, which were under the influence of the Hungarian Kingdom from eleventh century and established their settlements in the southern Balkans. For most of them, the most convenient route was the Neretva River valley through Herzegovina toward northern Bosnia. This is significant evidence that Muslim settlements existed on both shores of the Adriatic Sea (Omerbasic, 1997: 10). Some of these Muslim migrants in the Balkans, including the Bosnian region were descendants of the earlier Islamised Balkan Slavs, who were previously resettled from the Balkans to Sicily during the early Arab rule (Omerbasic, 1997: 9).

The following evidence confirms early Islamic influence from southern regions of the Balkans, which was extended in Bosnian regions as well. During the reigns of Hungarian Kings including Koloman (1102), Stjepan II, Geza, Bela III (1180-
1196), his son Andrew II (1196), Bela IV (1235-70), and Ladislav Cuman IV (1272-90), Muslim settlements on the Bosnian borders were well established. For instance, King Koloman gave free autonomy to the people of Dalmatia to choose their local clergy and rulers, but he kept his right to take taxes on the import of goods. The number of masts on ships paid taxes. From that period appeared the Arabic word, *džumbrak* meaning, “tax by number of masts” (Omerbasic, 1997: 5). Also, from the ninth century another Arab word appeared in the regions of Herzegovina. It was *mogoris* which means “tax payment on the block of lands” by the people of Ragusa to the local Bosnian rulers (Imamovic, 2003: 49). Also, two Muslim settlements behind the northern Dalmatian coast were called “fortification of Islam” (T. Seddi-Islam) (Omerbasic, 1997: 10).

Some medievalists such as Imamovic, Sunjic, Solovjev, Krekic, Mazuranic and others found that the city of Ragusa played an important role as a mediator of migrations from the Balkans to the other Mediterranean regions, which were under rule of the Arab or Ottoman Empires. For instance, in the early Middle Ages, the Ragusan Senate became the elected council of an independent trading centre. From Ragusa, the different merchants exported slaves, mainly of Bosnian descent, by sea to Italy, Greece, Turkey, Egypt and the Levant. Many Bosnian children from Bogomil families ended up as slaves because of the heretical beliefs of their parents (Singleton, 1985: 70).

Vinaver (Cited in Sunjic, 1996: 171) found through statistical analysis from Venice that during the thirteenth century in cooperation between merchants and feudals of Ragusa with Bosnian feudals and traders, Bosnian slaves were brought to cities such as Drijeva, Ragusa, Brstanik and Korcula. According to this analysis, Slavs sold by Ragusan traders came to Venice, Ancona, Firenze, Sienne, Bari and Greek islands and from there were shipped toward Muslim regions. In this trade, Sicily was mainly a trade station for the western part of the Mediterranean toward Majorca, Spain, Southern west France (Sunjic, 1996: 171). These slaves were sold from Sicily to different parts of Islamic empires where they embraced Islam. However, some of these slaves stayed in Ragusa and some were exchanged with slaves from Levant. For instance, according to reports from
1282 and 1283 in Ragusa, five female and one male from Bosnia ("de Bosna") were sold (Krekić, 1956: 96).

In the thirteenth century, because of Hungarian oppression, many Bosnian Bogumils, especially from the Bosnian region of Usora (Imamovic, 1996: 47) and Trebilje region (Imamovic, 2003: 90), ended up as slaves in further trade of Ragusa in the Mediterranean. According to Ragusan records robci was a Slavic name for slave traders who captured slaves in the Balkan inland. Their buyers were mainly residents of Dalmatia and Italia (Imamovic, 2003: 90). Also, Levantine traders came to Ragusa primarily to buy Bosnian Slav slaves (Krekić, 1956: 118) (appendix no 16). Transported to Islamic regions, many Bosnian Bogumils converted to Islam. With the Christianisation of the Balkan Slavs, there was a period where slavery on the Adriatic Sea was reduced until Bogumilism obtained expansion. From the thirteenth century, the presence of Bogumilism increased the slavery trade in the Adriatic Sea (Solovjev, 1946: 142).

Export of Bosnian slaves from Slavic neighbouring countries to different parts of the Mediterranean continued in the fourteenth century. Between 1366 and 1393, there were many slave records from Bosnia and other Slavic countries to the Levant. In addition, some slaves from different parts of the Mediterranean, including Greece and Levant, were sold in Ragusa (Krekić, 1956: 97). Although the Bosnian documents were not numerous, the archival documents from Ragusa between thirteenth and fifteenth centuries often mentioned slaves from Bosnia and other South-Slavic regions (Solovjev, 1946: 147). According to records from the fourteenth century of certain Venetian members of nobility, there is evidence of a slavery trade with Tatars, Russians, Cherkez, and sometimes with Bosnians (Solovjev, 1946: 143).

This source of data, particularly in the work of Solovjev (1946), includes additional facts related to migrations from Bosnia to different Mediterranean regions. Solovjev (1946: 148) argues that the presence of Bogumilism, in Bosnia in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries contributed to the ongoing slavery trade. This trade was the most dynamic in the lower Neretva River in the market called
Drijeva (Herzegovina). In that part of Bosnia, merchants from Catalonia came and exported slaves to Apulia (Italy) and Sicily. They came with their own ships to the city of Ragusa or Korcula Island. In such trading activities, Bosnia and Hum (Herzegovina) were the most exposed. This trade lead Bosnian King Ostojic and Herceg Hrvoje to argue (in the year 1400) (1985:70) that slavery be prohibited in Ragusa.

In 1387, the Great Council of Kotor Island issued a ban on the slavery trade. Ragusan Councils in the years 1413 and 1416 issued prohibitions of slavery. On May 9, 1418 the Council of Korcula Island proclaimed the prohibition of the slavery trade. However, slavery continued in Bosnia and Hum up to the fifteenth century as a legal institution (Solovjev, 1946: 150), after which it became an illegal trade, when slaves became an expensive luxury.

While the previous discussion is related to Islamisation mainly from the southeastern regions of the Balkans and Bosnia, the following analysis is related to the process of the Islamisation of Bosnia from the north. Hungary was Bosnian's immediate neighbour and always showed a desire to extend its authority in this direction (Hussey, 1966: 546). Bosnian historian Jalimam (1999) and other scholars provide significant data of Islamic influence from Hungary. Old historical sources (Cited in Jalimam, 1999: 165) mention Muslim ventitiviri (travel-merchants) and they were Pechenogci (L. Bisseni, Bysseni or Besseni, H. Bossenyok), Khazar Muslims, Bughars from the Volga River and the lower Danube valley, Horesmije or Hyarezmije (R. Hvalisi, H. Kalisi), Kumani or Kimani (R. Polovci) and Saracens (Arabs from Iraq and Syria). These Muslim groups were mentioned in the eleventh and twelfth century works of Abu-Hamid al-Garnati, Jovan Kinamos and Nikita Homijet. In addition, the Saracens were called Ismaelites (H. Hysemaeliti) (Jalimam, 1999: 166). In 1196, one document mentioned traders in Bosnia, “Hysemaelite vel Bisseni”. Muslim merchants from Hungary had influences on the Bosnian Bogumils. According to Jalimam (1999: 166), these migrations in Bosnia show good disposition of the Oriental traders from Hungary and the tolerance of the Bosnian Bogumils.
In his office, the Hungarian King Bela III (1180-1196) appointed people of different backgrounds including his secretary Farkas, who by his name appears of Oriental origin. Due to the assistance of his secretary, King Bela III established new settlements including those of Islamic background, on unpopulated lands called hospites (Ormerbasic, 1997: 6; Jalimam, 1999: 164). During the reign of the King Bela III, Ismaelites enjoyed some privileges such as tax exemptions and free import of goods. Ismaelites also worked as traders, blacksmiths of coins (L. lucrum cameræ), customs officers, advisors, postmen and so on (Ormerbasic, 1997: 6).

The Bosnian Ban Boric, together with the Muslim tribe Kalesije, fought with Hungarians against the Byzantines (Hadzijahic, 1977: 27). Abu Hamid-al Garnati, during his stay in Hungary (1150-1153) noted that in a battle (1151-1155) between armies of Hungary and Byzantine, both sides had Muslim soldiers (Jalimam, 1999: 166). The routes of their contacts from opposite sides were the southeastern regions of the Balkans. These Muslims who fought for Hungary were Kalesije whose settlements were around Srijem (northeastern border of Bosnia) (Hadzijahic, 1977: 27). Because of the Bosnian Ban Boric (first half of twelfth century), alliance (G. simahas) with Hungary and his protection of Bosnia (Imamovic, 2003: 65), Ban Kulin (second half of twelfth century) who was his successor, may have known about Kalesije Muslims on the border with Hungary. In the end of the thirteenth century and the beginning of the fourteenth century, there were Bosnian feudals which have Muslim names during the reign of the King Ostoja, but later as well. For instance, the Bosnian King sent by his Bosnian Muslim missionary Reuf an agreement to Dubrovnik. Also, in 1401 a Muslim from the region of Lasva was named Batala (A. brave man). Probably these examples of Muslims and their names appeared after the Kosovo battle in 1389 (Bojic, 2001:13).

Ricaut (Cited in Hadzijahic, n.d.: 24) mentions that “Muslim soldiers abided on the borders of Hungary and Moravia” and they “read in Slavic language the new Testament obtained from Moravia or Dubrovnik, but they also learned Arabic and Qur'an, and even Persian”. In the second half of the twelfth century, Kinnamos
wrote that in northeastern border of Bosnia (in Srijem) “lived Dalmatians, Hungarians and Ismaelites (Kalizi-Muslims) who came from the other side of the Danube River” (Omerbasic, 1997: 11). By resettlement of Ismailies from Srijem, the King Manuel Emperor of Constantinoplo (-1180) built a castle on the other side of the river and give it to these Muslims (Omerbasic, 1997: 11-12).

During the reigns of Hungarian Kings Andrija II (1196) and Ladislav Cuman IV (1272-90), a “large number of Ismaelites and Saracens came to the Balkan interior” (Omerbasic, 1997: 12). Ismaelites in the fourteenth century lived in Aljmas, and according to Koller (Cited in Omerbasic, 1997: 12), they also lived around the town of Ilok in 1460 According to Gasic (Cited in Omerbasic, 1997: 12), some of these Kalizi-Muslims lived on an island called Bosut until the thirteenth century. Long before the Ottoman expansion, Ismaelites also lived in a settlement called Sarkudin, near the town Morovic, which was located on the local church’s block of land (Omerbasic, 1997: 13).

The Hungarian King Emerik had a forge and its blacksmiths of coins were Ismaelites who had dynamic cultural and trade exchanges with Bosnians. In the western part of the Balkans, there is evidence of three Islamic coins, minted by these Ismaelites. King Emerik, in his charter to residents of the city of Osijek in 1196, mentioned the existence of Ismailies. These coins and a charter are material proof of the early Muslim settlements toward the northwestern border of Bosnia Omerbasic (1997: 7). There are also some Hungarian coins, which had Islamic inscriptions. Motifs of the Saracens could be seen, especially from 1371, when certain Jakobus Saracenus bought forges in Hungary, then minted and designed coins to show his Arab origin (Hadzijahic, 1977: 28). In addition, Hungarian coins during the reign of King Ljudevit (1342-1382) had a motif consisting of two Saracen faces (Hadzijahic, 1977: 28). Bosnian natural sources such as mines, attracted Hungarian and Bosnian rulers to invite skilled miners to settle in different Bosnian regions. Different European miners (common name for them sas), including German Saxons (or Sasi), came to Hungary then they settled in Bosnia in the thirteenth century or earlier and in the later Middle Ages became partly Islamised (Mikolji, 1953: 369; Hadzijahic, 1990: 148).
The following data analysis found that the process of the Islamisation of Bosnia was intensified during the early Turkish expansion. Sufi missions of a variety of orders to Bosnia were followed by migration of different Muslim settlers, particularly different Turkish groups. Amongst a variety of Turkish tribes, which settled toward the Balkans and Bosnia, were also Yoruks, Jermens, Tatars, Cherkez and Laza. In order to achieve further conquering of European territories, the Ottomans planned to populate the eastern border of Bosnia with a large number of Cherkez, but historical facts confirm only 200-300 Cherkez householders from the tribe called Abazih, in Sandzak of Novi Pazar (Hadzijahic, 1990: 140). During the reign of the Sultan Orhan (1326-62), Ottomans had expanded over Thrace and according to his plan he colonised the Balkan regions including Bosnia, populating them with settlers of Turkish origin. They were mainly Turks from Anatolia who migrated to Europe (T. Rumelija). In addition the Turks called Europe the Rumeli toprak (Roman soil) (Imamovic, 1996: 99). Albanian Muslims, as cattle-breeders, often migrated to southwestern regions of the Balkans and there formed settlements. The name Arnaut is often related to Albanians in the Balkans, including Bosnia. Some of these Arnauts came from around the small towns of Plava and Gusinje (present day Montenegro), and introduced a breed of sheep (B.rruda ovca). The presence of this breed of sheep confirms early Albanian Muslim migration in Bosnia. Later, Albanians will become known as the Bosnian frontier guard (Hadzijahic, 1990: 145). The region in the old town of Visoko called Aronautovići, probably derives from 'Arnaout'.

Further analysis found that in the early Ottoman period, the gradual conversion of the Bosnian Slavs to Islam contributed in both the assimilation and slavisation of Turkish migrants in Bosnia. Filipovic (1953: 147), Gakovic (1953: 152) and Skaric (1953: 147) point out that from the second half of the fifteenth century, Slav Muslim migrants were from neighbouring countries including those from Serbia, Macedonia, Albania. After the battle in Vienna, a large wave of Muslims from Dalmatia, Croatia, Slavonija and Hungaria came to Bosnia, as well as Turks and Islamised Greeks (Kulisic, 1953: 147-152). Kulisic (1953: 149) points out that apart from the Islamised Bosnian Bogumils to which most of the descendants
of present day Bosnian Muslims belong, from an anthropological context, the Muslim population in Bosnia is a mixture of different ethnicities.

The Bosnian conversion to Islam initiated different dervish orders and travelling scholars. From Macedonia, Ishak-Bey Isakovic sent the Slavic Muslim missionaries to preach Islam in Bosnia. Because of the Slavic origin and similar Slavic language, these missionaries assisted the Bosnian Slavs in their acceptance of Islam (Bojic, 2001: 48). In addition, the earliest translated works from Arabic to Bosnian were in the middle of fifteenth century, thanks to dervishes and missionaries in Bosnia who wrote about mysticism, logic and philosophy. For instance, the first copied work of Ibn Sina (or Avicena) was by Mohammed Seferhisari (Bojic, 2001: 48).

In the early period of the spread of Islam by Turks, some members of families embraced Islam, but other members of the same families were followers of other faiths or embraced other religions (Tadic, 1940: 71). During the Ottoman expansion many Bosnians as children or youths came to Istanbul and by obtaining education and skills became influential in different Ottoman provinces. Because of their Slav origin, some prominent Bosnians were translators for the Balkan residents such as those in Bosnia and Ragusa. Ragusan archives consist of many examples of Bosnian translators for Ragusa. For many of them “speaking Slavic language meant belonging to the same people” or they considered that “because of similar language Dubrovnik had protection by the Bosnian Slav Vezirs engaged in the Porta”. Venetian and French diplomats reported “in Istanbul the Slavic language was widely in usage and there people from Ragusa enjoyed respect because of their Slavic origin” (Tadic, 1940: 72-73).

As a result of the arrival of different Muslim groups in Bosnia, the earliest contacts between Ottomans and Bosnians occurred in the second half of the fourteenth century. On that occasion, the Ottomans captured, transported and sold Bosnian Slavs in Levant and North Africa. In these Arabic countries, Bosnians embraced Islam. With Ragusan ships, some of them returned to Bosnia. This is
one reason why in Bosnia, among the Bosnian aristocracy before the Ottoman conquest, there already existed the Bosnian Muslims (Bojic, 2001: 46).

After the Ottoman conquest of the city of Skopje (Macedonia) in 1392, this region became an Ottoman province and more importantly, an initial strategic point for further expansion toward Bosnia through the Bosnian road (B. Bosnian drum). Subsequently, the Bosnian road, which connected Skopje and Hodidjed (old castle of Sarajevo), became a main area of the early Islamic influence by the Ottomans. There, on the eastern border of Bosnia, around the mining site of Gluhovici (near the town of Novi Pazar) there was already a Muslim settlement which had a Kadi. This example shows early Islamisation during the reign of the Bosnian kingdom (Imamovic, 1996:106). Vrhbosna (present day Sarajevo) was an Ottoman place of the Vojvode (ruler) of "Western sides" from 1436 (Mujezinovic, Traljic, 1982: 7). In the first occupied part of Bosnia in 1450, the Ottomans established the Bosnian province called “Bosansko Krajiste” ruled by Ishak-bey Isakovic from Skopje. In the first administrative record in 1455, this region was called Vilajet Hodidjed (T. Vilayet Saray ovasi), which means a “field around a castle” (Imamovic, 1996: 107).

The Ottoman expansion toward Bosnia consisted of several phases. Apart from conquering new territories, the first phase also contributed in the process of Islamisation (Sabanovic, 1982: 13). The first phase of the Ottoman conquest of Bosnia included the devastation of regions and the resettlement of Bosnians. This was followed by the establishment of the Ottoman bases in the nearest places, as a part of a strategy for further expansion (Sabanovic, 1982: 16). For instance, according to the Sultan’s plan, in 1384 Beglerbey of Rumelia Samacaus-Zade Timur Pasha, son of Alibey, came and devastated Herzegovina. He occupied many Bosniak castles and returned to the Sultan with many Bosnian slaves and other goods (Muvekkit, 1998: 25). Again, according to Sultan’s plan in 1391/92, Jigit Pasha (Evermos-Bey) devastated Bosnian provinces and brought many Bosnian slaves to the Sultan (Muvekkit, 1998: 31). In 1434, by command from Edirne, Ishak-bey overran Bosnia and devastated southeastern Hungary, around the city of Temisvar, and resettled many slaves (Basagic, 1900: 9). In 1515,
Skender-bey Ormosovic brought 1,000 Bosnian youth to Istanbul (Basagic, 1900: 25). There in the different Ottoman provinces, including the capital Istanbul, many of these resettled Bosnians embraced Islam. Many Islamised Bosnians became important imperial figures. Also, Bosnian Spahies (rulers) fought for the Ottoman Sultan Selim I (1512-20) in Persia (Basagic, 1900: 25), where they had contacts with Persian Muslims. This information confirms the large scale of depopulation of the Bosnian regions, subsequent mass Islamisation of Bosnians in different provinces of the Ottoman Empire and their contacts with other Muslim and non-Muslim groups.

In addition, this analysis provides significant statistical data related to the period during the early Ottoman expansion where the following features show the depopulation of the Bosnian region. Turks with their expansion toward the Balkans transported many slaves, which they sold in the Far East (Solovjev, 1946: 152). Antonio Veronese noted that in 1463, 100,000 people were resettled from Bosnia to different parts of the Ottoman Empire (Sunjic, 1996: 173). According to estimations by Venetian historian Saunda, the Ottomans had resettled by 1533, from western regions of the Balkans in other parts of the Ottoman Empire, almost 600,000 Slavs. Old sidzilli (documents) from Sarajevo confirm large resettlements of Slavs (Hadzijahic, 1990: 108).

Finally, the Ottoman conquering of Bosnia lasted a full 77 years (from 1386 to 1463) (Imamovic, 1996: 82), which confirms that during Turkish rule, not only Islamisation, but the conquest of Bosnia, was a gradual process as well. To conquer Bosnia in 1463, the Sultan Mehmed II Conqueror came with an army of 150,000 soldiers and the last part of Herzegovina was conquered in 1482. However, the Bosnian city of Jajce fell in 1528 (Imamovic, 1996: 82-83) and the Ottomans took the last Bosnian city of Bihac in 1592 (Imamovic, 2003: 120). One should not forget that during Ottoman expansion many Bosnians embraced Islam outside of its borders.
Conclusion

It is evident from the analysis of both primary and secondary data, that the earliest Bosnian Islamic history are complex phenomena that remain virtually unknown inside and outside of Bosnia. The empirical research reported in this study traced Islamic religious and cultural influences in Bosnia from the Arab, Turkish and Persian world, and linked it to the earliest Bosnian Muslim contribution in preserving and promoting Islamic values in Bosnia.

Apart from the earliest Bosnian Islamic evidence, including those from archaeological and different administrative and archival sources, this historical and empirical analysis found that one of the significant factors that played a crucial role in the earliest process of Islamisation of the Bosnian Slavs was the migration of Bosnians to the Arab, Turkish and Persian regions. Information about these migration phases was collected and documented through a detailed analysis of fragmentary items by earlier as well as contemporary scholars. The analysis provides clear evidence in support of Bosnian Muslim migrations, settlements and the emergence of a unique Bosnian Islamic culture. This primary data was compiled from several language sources as well as from a variety of relevant local cultural and archaeological sources.

This data shows that the early process of Islamisation in Bosnia left a significant imprint not only in the Bosnian traditional multireligious/cultural milieu, but in the European mosaic as well.
CHAPTER SIX

Conclusion

In previous studies on Bosnia, the process of Islamisation has been analysed historically from the date of the Ottoman conquest. However the crucial problem of such analysis is that it does not recognise that fact that the conquest (which happened during the Ottoam era) is different from the 'informal' spread of Islam in Bosnia. This point is all the more important in establishing a clear distinction between the Arabisation and/or Islamisation process as opposed to the Turkification process during the Ottoman rule.

The research questions focussed on the era, areas and factors, which contributed to early Islamisation of Bosnia. A broad investigation of primary and secondary data is provided from a variety of sources related to Bosnia's early encounters with Islam. Key findings include the earliest examples of the large migrations and settlements from the Balkans into other Mediterranean territories. This included cases of early conversion of the Bosnian Slavs to Islam during the depopulation of the Balkans. Textual data, fragmentary observation by earlier medievalists and modern historians as well as archival and administrative documentation provided strong empirical evidence in support of this argument concerning the early influence of Islam on Bosnian society.

The thesis shows that depopulation of large areas of Bosnia played an important role in the spread of Islam. In early medieval time, "the Balkan Slaves including Bosnians were both numerous and influential" (Lewis, 1973; Hiti, 1970; Malcolm, 1996; O'Callaghan, 1975). Also, Hadzijahic (1977), Balic (1995), Solovjev (1946), Mazuranic (1928), Bojic (2001) and others provide similar fragmentary examples of this "nearly forgotten chapter of Bosnian Islamic history". However, the study of Islamisation of the Bosnians is inextricably linked to the Islamisation of the Balkan Slavs who converted to Islam during their migrations to different Mediterranean regions. This issue is significant in understanding the earliest stage
of spread of Islam in the Balkans during the mediaval era which suggests clearly that many Bosnians were Islamised outside of Bosnia.

The historical data was specifically focused on the early migrations and settlements in the pre-Ottoman and early Ottoman periods. The examination of this early medieval era shows that the earliest Islamic impact occurred in the eighth century before the formation of the Bosnian state (tenth to twelfth century) then through to reaching its medieval territorial magnitude as a kingdom and finally up to the early Ottoman period (end of the fifteenth century).

In summary, the period up to the end of the thirteenth century was characterised by cultural contacts with Arabs in the Mediterranean as well as migrations and settlements of Bosnians outside Bosnia proper. It was the first part of early Islamic history in Southern Europe. This is the strongest evidence of the earliest process of Islamisation when thousands of young Balkan Slavs were brought from outside the lands of Islam, including Bosnia, into the provinces of Muslim princes and became their trusted lieutenants, poets, scholars and scientists. Some of them became governors, administrators, or rulers. These earliest examples were in different Mediterranean regions such as in Moorish Spain, North Africa, the Middle East, Asia Minor and later Persia. This observation confirms that Muslim Slavs, including Bosniaks, from the early Middle Ages contributed to the development of multiethnic societies.

The second part of the thesis discussed the early Ottoman period from the early fourteenth to later fifteenth centuries, when many Southern Slavs were under the influence of the early Ottoman Islamic culture. Many Bosniaks rose to the highest offices in the Ottoman Empire or achieved ceminence as scholars, poets, jurists, theologians, scientist, admirals and rulers. This discussion also shows that Bosnia was influenced by early Turkish, Arabic and Persian Islamic arts.

This thesis uncovered a number of facts, as an undivided amalgam, which contributed in creating the hybridity of Bosnian identity in the Bosnian society. The analysis shows important aspects related to the Islamisation of Bosnia, such
as the significance of frontiers, the role of dervish orders and more importantly a number of early Islamic cultural influences. This thesis highlights a number of significant religious and cultural manifestations in early medieval time such as interfaith dialogue, fasting days, multicultural festivals, early Muslim and non-Muslim settlements and promotion of religious tolerance by missionaries.

As Karic (1999: 95) points out, Islam in Bosnia is a common treasure for all Bosniaks, a precious treasure from which they have been drawing cultural, artistic, literary, urban, architectural and traditional inspiration. The early process of Islamisation in the Balkans and Bosnia initiated not only acceptance of a new religion, but also a framework for a unique contribution to multicultural/multireligious society.
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