

Towards a Prosopography of the Deputies from Bosnia-Herzegovina in the First Ottoman Parliament

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Introduction

After the publication of the electoral regulations, on the 29th of October 1876, Ottoman local authorities prepared the elections in the Bosnian and Herzegovinian *vilayets* by proclaiming and commenting the regulations. As a matter of fact, Herzegovina had formed an independent province since the end of 1875, and therefore had to send its own representatives to the parliament in Istanbul. It has to be noted, too, that at that time, Bosnia included the area known by the name *Sandjak of Novi Pazar*. Because of the close political and cultural relationship between the two provinces historically, on several occasions representatives from Herzegovina were designated as if they came from Bosnia. This fact illustrates that on the administrative level the two regions seemed to be considered as a single entity. While this seems convincing at first glance, things look quite different on closer scrutiny. Devereux in his classic work made the same mistake.¹

“Democratic proportional elections” (1 deputy for 50,000 inhabitants) formed only theoretically the basis for representation in the Ottoman parliament; in practice the electoral process in these two provinces followed a “confessional key” that was based on a numeric equilibrium between Muslims and Non-Muslims: in Bosnia, three Muslims and three non-Muslims (2 Christians and 1 Jew representing the Sarajevo Sephardic community); in Herzegovina, two of each group (2 Muslims and 2 Christians). Such a balance could have raised problems because of questions of proportionality between Catholics and Orthodox within the Christian category. However, the Metropolitan of Sarajevo, Anthimos, demanded that only the proportion between Christians and Muslims be altered – according to what he said was the existing Bosnian confessional balance, which would have resulted in four Christian and two Muslim representatives. The French consul of Sarajevo put forward figures that also indicated numerical superiority of Christians (4 out of 7) over Muslims (3 out of 7). Similarly, the vice-consul of Mostar wrote a polemical request, assessing the number of people from the major communities in Herzegovina as 37.5% Muslims, 34.5% Orthodox and 24.5% Catho-

¹ Robert Devereux, *The First Ottoman Constitutional Period. A Study of the Midhat Constitution and Parliament* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1963).

lics out of a total population of about 260,000 persons. But none of them succeeded in their requests, and the principle of equality between Muslim and Non-Muslim representatives was preserved.

The Ottoman constitution was translated in the spring of the following year into "Slavonic" and published in *Bosnia*, the official provincial newspaper appearing in Sarajevo. This considerable delay is one indicator among others that may serve to illustrate that the population did not show much interest in this latest political novelty. In *Herzegovina*, the official Herzegovinian provincial newspaper published in Mostar, the text was published in Turkish although very few there knew this language; the *vali* of Herzegovina did not expect any official translation from Istanbul and had commanded it to the editor of *Herzegovina* (probably Mehmed Hulusi), who had no qualification for this task. We do not know if this translation was ever published.

This lack of interest is understandable. First, from 1864 on, the population had faced many changes and was not interested in this announcement of theoretical improvements which were not expected to lead to any concrete changes in daily life. On the other hand, the area was in the very midst of warfare, which had begun in Herzegovina the year before and was dragging on because of Serbian and Montenegrin interference since July 1876. Furthermore, "representation" was an almost totally alien political concept, and widely considered as an Austro-Hungarian battering ram intended to conquer the *vilayet*. So, when at the end of November 1876, *Bosnia* published the decree establishing the General Council of the Empire, next to no one understood or reacted.

The vote had to be indirect in one ballot. Each *kaymakamlık* council (*meclis-i idare*), stemming from a joint appointment between the "popular vote" (i.e. local notables) and the provincial authorities, was supposed to designate four of its members in order to dispatch their propositions to the *sancak* council, which was, in turn, responsible for sending them to Sarajevo. Each member (about 190 in total) had to write down and put into an envelope the name of the six men he wanted to be elected. These envelopes were to be opened in the presence of a control committee formed of fifteen persons. One observer noted ironically that counting the votes must have been a difficult task because although the number of electors was very low, the process of counting lasted more than one week.

As a matter of fact, the viziers exerted a decisive influence on the elections, particularly in Bosnia, where the governor Mehmed Nazif Paşa (from July 7, 1876 to April 24, 1877) had submitted to the simple approval of *kaymakamlık* councils the nominations prepared by the provincial administration. Moreover, in this province, only 35 persons enjoyed the right of passive vote because of the restrictive conditions for eligibility. One of them excluded those who did not know the Ottoman language from the right to be designated, and at that time only a handful of otherwise eligible men in Bosnia and Herzegovina were sufficiently proficient in Ottoman Turkish. The electoral process in Herzegovina was similar. The

medlis-i idare of the *vilayet* sent to the *kaymakamlık* councils a proposal they had to approve without any question.

Thus, the elections took place during the war against Montenegro and with a totally indifferent population, which furthermore had no real idea of the representative system and imagined this parliament to be as powerless as the local councils. The eligible too, appointed rather than elected by these councils, and without any experience concerning elections and election campaigns, remained politically unconcerned. There were no political fights behind the scenes because there was no scene – and because the Organic Statute stipulated a voting process largely without publicity. However, the perspective of the honors the office might bring with it and the remuneration (announced as 300 piasters per month) provoked a kind of competition among the local notability.

Elections for the second session did not mark any change or improvement in the population's political sensibility. Russian victories over the Ottoman army were forming the main interest of public discussion at that time. Moreover, whatever results the first session might have brought about, they remained invisible and unknown. The only noticeable difference was that Herzegovina had meanwhile been reintegrated into the administrative framework of Bosnia (February 2, 1877) and that there were now four Muslim and four non-Muslim deputies instead of five respectively – thus, contrary to the British vice-consul's assertion, Muslim and Christian representation underwent modifications, as detailed below. Furthermore, there was no longer an Orthodox deputy because the one elected declined his election. Lastly, two Jewish deputies were appointed to participate to the second session, perhaps because a certain number of men in this community knew Turkish and more probably because they had relations to the local government.

For the second session each *kaymakamlık* council was supposed to indicate eight names to the *vali*, and the latter had to choose. It seems that this time the process was quicker than before. Moreover, there is an indication of at least a certain amount of "democratic" process because sources indicate that Bašagić, for the second session, was elected and not nominated; but in his precise case, we must also emphasize that he belonged to the group of close friends of the new *vali*, Ahmed Mazhar Paşa (Üsküdar 1834-Istanbul, March 3, 1891), who governed Bosnia from April 25, 1877 to July 12, 1878.

As was required of the elected representatives, they were equipped with certificates of good character and solvency by the City Council and the *kadis*, on whose jurisdiction they depended. Thereafter, elected persons had the benefit of traveling cost defrayals for Sarajevo and Istanbul. They were ordered to wear a black coat and trousers of the same color.² They would also receive a monthly amount

² AHM OC 1326, 20 X. 1293 /November 1, 1877; AHM OC 1261, 28 L 1294 /November 4, 1877; AHM OC 1338, 23 X. 1293 /November 4, 1877; AHM OC 1322, 27 XI. 1293 /December 9, 1877; Cat Esih 250, 24 XII. 1293 /November 3, 1877; Cat Esih 170, 25 X. 1276 (date error: more probably 1293) / January 6, 1878).

of money, though this information appears only in Us' collection and not in the local archival material.³

At the Parliament, Bosnian and Herzegovinian representatives spoke little. The only occasion when they broke their silence was when the Ottomans surrendered the town of Nikšić to the Russian army⁴ in the spring of 1877: then they discussed in many words the Herzegovinian-Montenegrin conflict, which had been vigorous since 1852 or even before. However, the case of Ibrahim Bey Bašagić, who does not appear much in Us' collection although he was designated as parliamentary secretary for the second session, proves that a parliamentarian's political significance cannot be solely measured by the length and frequency of his speeches.

In the evenings, Bosnian and Herzegovinian deputies in Istanbul spent their time together commenting the latest events and sharing news from their provinces. They also entertained themselves with Bosnian folkloric songs. One day, Fehim Đumišić, who hosted a native Sarajevo woman famous in Istanbul for her voice, organized an evening gathering with the leading classical divan poet in Istanbul, Hikmet, alias Arif Bey Rizvanbegović (1839-1903). The latter was the son of a powerful Herzegovinian *ayan*, who, after his father's murder in 1850, was exiled to the capital. Hikmet's enthusiasm grew the more he listened to the arias and songs, and he exclaimed at the end: "My people are the greatest poets!" Such glorification of language and culture may serve as an indication of how the national idea began, slowly but surely, to impregnate Muslim elites at the end of the Empire.

The deputies' stay in the capital also offered the opportunity for political negotiations with the central government: during the first session, Herzegovinian deputies asked for the preservation of the special administrative status of their *vilayet* – they wanted to be ruled directly from Constantinople, and not by the Bosnian *vali*. They were ready to accept that the head of the administration at Mostar would bear only the title of a *mutasarrif*. At the same time, the Bosnian deputation argued to get rid of the *vali* Nazif Paşa. Being successful in this, they got Mazhar Paşa, the above-mentioned *alla franca*-educated Istanbuliot *vali*, who was not the best of friends to them.

According to the French consul, the deputies were totally unimportant people, and at first he refused to provide any biographical information about them although he had certain ties with some of them; he regretted that no Muslim candidate proposed by the Government (read: no progressive Muslim, as he saw it) had succeeded in being designated by the local *meclis*. The historian Milorad Ek-

³ Hakkı Tarık Us, *Meclis-i meb’usân 1293 = 1877*, 2 vols. (İstanbul, Vakti, 1940-54), 154-155. Devereux, *The First Ottoman Constitutional Period* does not mention it. Deputies from Bosnia-Herzegovina were paid as following (in *kurus*): Mehmed Muhyi Bey (Kapetanović): 500; Salamon Efendi (Salom): 1000; Mustafa Sıtkı Efendi (Karabeg): 800; Yáver Efendi (Baruh): 500; Marošik Pozo Efendi (Marošić): 500; Pero Efendi (Sahačija): 500; Ibrahim Bey (Bašagić): 500; Fehim Efendi (Đumišić): 1500. Variations do not find any clear explanation.

⁴ AHM OC 1314, 31 Mart 1293/ April 12, 1877. Nothing of this discussion appears in Us.

mečić (1928-) shares this point of view; he asserts that all the deputies from Bosnia and Herzegovina were rich and conservative, but he does not support this assumption with any details about each person. Actually, as the prosopographic analysis shows, “conservative” must be qualified as a category which encompasses relatively similar fates until 1878, but will diverge after this date.

First session: Bosnia				
Group	a	b	Elected, first round	Definitively elected
<i>Jews</i>	3	1	Baruh	Baruh
<i>Catholics</i>			- †	Marušić
<i>Orthodox</i>		1	Petrović	Petrović
<i>Muslims</i>	3	1	Fadilpašić †	Osmanpašić
		2	Korkut †	Hafizadić
		3	Đumišić	Đumišić
		4	Osmanpašić	
		5	Hafizadić	

First session: Herzegovina				
Group	a	b	Elected, first round	Definitively elected
<i>Jews</i>	2			
<i>Catholics</i>			Grabovac	Grabovac
<i>Orthodox</i>			? (a trader) †	Bilić
<i>Muslims</i>	2	1	Karabeg †	?
			?	Bašagić

Second session: Bosnia and Herzegovina					
Group	a	b	Elected, first round	Definitively elected	
<i>Jews</i>			Baruh	Baruh	
			Salom	Salom	
<i>Catholics</i>	4		Marušić or Marinović	Marušić or Marinović	
			(Petrović)	Sahačija	
<i>Orthodox</i>	4		Petrović †	(Sahačija)	
<i>Muslims</i>			Kapetanović	Kapetanović	
			Karabeg	Karabeg	
			Đumišić	Đumišić	
			Hafizadić †	Bašagić	

Legend: a: number of deputies b: rank according to vote †: resignation

Sources

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Biographical Section

Jews

Javer Salomon Baruh (Sarajevo, 1843-Sarajevo, June 1, 1902)

Javer Salomon Baruh was a deputy to the two sessions. With Salomon Salom and Moše Atijas (known as Zeki Efendi Rafajlović, a civil servant and the first historian of the Bosnian Jewish Community), he was the most influential Jew in Bosnia at the time of his election. All three were great turcophiles.

A descendant of the first rabbi in Sarajevo, who came there from Salonika in the first half of the 17th century, Baruh belonged to one of the most influential Sarajevo Jewish families in the 19th century, several members of which had obtained fame as stockbrokers and traders. A manuscript written by a literate member of the family tells the origins of Baruh's prosperity, but there must have been an error in his identity because these semi-tales recount the discussion between Baruh and a governor of Bosnia in 1832, at a time when the former could not have been a mature person as shown in the story. Probably these stories relate to his father: in this case, Baruh would have been the protégé of an army supplier and *bazarbaşı* of Sarajevo, who became with time the richest citizen in the town thanks to the goodwill of local Ottoman heads. He also owned large estates in the province.

Baruh himself began his education at the time the very first attempts of cultural modernization in Bosnia were being made: he went to the *rüşdiye* of Sarajevo, a type of reformed school for the training of civil servants in a more modern fashion. There he acquired an excellent knowledge of the Ottoman language. He then worked as a customs secretary until 1873, when he became director of the *vilayet* printing shop and chief editor of *Bosnia*, the official newspaper of the province. He occupied this strategic post until 1875; after a two-year disappearance from the historical record, we find him again at his election to the Istanbul Parliament. Following the French consul's statement, generally critical towards deputies, Baruh was elected by means of schemes and lost his reputation even among his co-religionists.

Although Hakkı Tarik Us does not quote any of his discourses in parliament, we find in *Bosnia* (no. 612 of February 28, 1878, not consulted) a talk Baruh held about the reestablishment of *kaime* (coupons) after devaluation due to the war. After the Austro-Hungarian occupation (1878), he did not want to take any distinguished service in the Landesregierung and lived as a landowner and pensioner until his death.

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Isaković Salomon see Salom Salomon

Salom Salomon (Sarajevo, 1845-Sarajevo, January 30, 1911)

He was a Jewish deputy to the second session and most influential. He was also named Isaković after his father Isak (1806-1874); his surname is alternately Salomon or Salomon.

Leaving Padua, Salom's ancestors settled in Sarajevo probably in the first half of the 18th century. At that time, Bosnian Jews had commercial ties with the Jews of Padua and Venice (among others). In the family there were famous stockbrokers. Salom's grandfather (d. 1842) was a medical doctor, as was his father. The latter studied medicine in Padua and enjoyed a great reputation in all communities in Sarajevo. Following the reforms of 1856, Salom's father was designated as the Jewish member of the *meclis-i idare*. As did Baruh's father, he sent his son Ziver, and probably also his other son Salomon, to the *rüşdiye*. Ziver later became a *kaymakam* in Damascus.

When his father emigrated to Jerusalem during the latter part of his life, Salomon succeeded him at the *meclis-i idare*, and was always a confidant of governors. Sent to the Parliament, Salomon was received in audience by Sultan Abdülhamid and was awarded by the Order of the *Mecidiye*.

When Bosnia-Herzegovinian deputies returned to their homeland, he was designated (together with Kapetanović, Petrović and Sahačija) by Sarajevo Ottoman

authorities to form a committee for fighting the increasing violence in the country and in the capital. At the end of June 1878, Salom and such men as Kapetanović and Petrović participated in the so-called “National Committee” in Sarajevo with Hadji Lojo at its head. Salom even offered a horse to Lojo, a gesture which made him famous, and agreed to the creation of a local government which was to fill the power vacuum left by the Ottomans; he also wrote against the resolution of the Berlin Congress. However, the Jews did not join the Muslims in the organized armed resistance to the Austro-Hungarian troops.

Thereafter, Salom participated in the creation of “*La Benevolencia*,” a Jewish association that strove to educate the community’s youth; he also was active in the foundation of the first local bank with Kapetanović and Bašagić, and for more than thirty years, he was president of the Sarajevo Jewish Community.

Sources: see Baruh Javer Salamon, except archival material.

Yaver Disraeli see *Baruh Javer Salamon*

Catholics

Grabovac Stevan (dates unknown)

Grabovac Stevan was elected in Herzegovina to the first session of parliament. He was an ex-member of the Herzegovinian council, and the Franciscans denounced him as “a man of the Turks” – however, he did not write in Turkish. Public opinion did not credit him with a very high morality.

It is most probable that he was a brother or a parent of Stojan Grabovac from Mostar, a friend of the political leader of the Franciscan order in Bosnia (see also Kapetanović). In November 1875, Stojan (nicknamed Jašar Paşa) had been designated to be the commanding major (*binbaşı*) of the new Gacko *sancak* (Eastern Herzegovina) and had close ties with Kostan Efendi, an Armenian who was at the head of this *sancak*. Stojan fled with Kostan Efendi to Istanbul on February 2, 1877, when the situation in the *vilayet* became increasingly worryisome.

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Marinović (surname and dates unknown)

Following the French consul's statement, a certain Marinović from Zvornik was elected to the second session before the resignation of Petrović (see respective entry for this name); in this case, Marušić (see respective entry) was a representative only at the first one, as it is quite certain that Petrović gave his mandate to Sahačija. However, no document corroborates this singular testimony of Marinović's existence.

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Marošić Jozo (dates unknown)

Marošić Jozo was elected to both sessions (at the first Session for Bosnia). In Us, his name is mangled to Marovshik Boyou Agha; in other documents, one finds Marušić.

His family was one of the wealthiest in the Bosnia of the mid-19th century. When in 1851 the Tanzimat reforms were applied there by Ömer Paşa to the leasing and tax-farming business, a relative of Marošić purchased the provincial customs for 100,000 piasters and invested also in agricultural tax-farming together with two other Christian traders.

A Catholic from Travnik, Marošić himself was a trader in furs; at the time of his first election, he was reputed to be the wealthiest man of his community, astute and prepared to act in accordance with governmental decisions.

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Sahačija Pero (dates unknown)

Sahačija Pero was designated for the second session. He received his mandate because of Petrović's resignation (see respective entry). Therefore, there were no more Orthodox deputies from Bosnia and Herzegovina. Probably a watchmaker, as indicated by his surname, Sahačija was living in Sarajevo. With Kapetanović, Petrović and Salom (see respective entries), among others, he took part in the committee formed by the Sarajevo Ottoman authorities on June 8, 1878 to fight against increasing violence in the countryside and in the main town of the region.

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Orthodox

Bilić Sava (dates unknown)

Bilić Sava was elected in Herzegovina to the first session of parliament. The newspaper *Stamboul* rendered his name as Yelyij Efendi,⁵ but “Yelyij” does not look like a Bosnian Christian name unless we accept the reading “Jelić,” which is quite improbable. Bilić was a grocer in Mostar. According to the French consul’s assessment, he belonged to the few traders in Mostar who were at the same time landowners and had farmers on their estates, thanks to the disintegration of the domains of the famous Herzegovinian pasha, Ali Paşa Rizvanbegović (1783-1851). Traveling from time to time to Triest for the sugar and coffee trade, he was also a stockbroker. Very careful in his political position, he feared the Muslims but disliked any rapprochement with Montenegro or Serbia, mostly because he profited from the Ottoman régime. He spoke Turkish but was not literate in this language.

After the Austro-Hungarian occupation, in the 1880s, Bilić was Mostar’s vice-mayor and tried to juggle loyalty to the new authorities with leadership in Orthodox political opposition against them. For example, as president of the Mostar Orthodox parish, he signed a protest against the implementation of the Austro-Hungarian conscription in Bosnia-Herzegovina on December 10, 1881, but was not sentenced to exile or imprisonment; and two years later, while vice-mayor, he begged for his son Vladislav to receive admission to Vienna’s famous Theresianum. He was partly unsuccessful, as his son only attended Löwenberg boarding school, a less famous establishment of the Monarchy for the sons of high-ranking representatives. At the same time, he was organizing demonstrations against Austro-Hungaria.

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⁵ Devereux, *The First Ottoman Constitutional Period*, 262 and 266 n. 19.

Petrović Petro (Korçë (Albania), 1833-Sarajevo, December 25, 1906)

Petrović Petro was elected to the two sessions. Better known as Petraki Efendi, he declined his re-election and made this known by wiring from Vienna, where he was conducting business at the time, giving his mandate to the Catholic Pero Sahačija (see the respective entry).

As a child in the 1830s, Petrović Petro came to Sarajevo with his father Konstantin, an “Albanian” (thus Ekrem Bey Vlora in his memoirs), or “Vlach” (Tsintsar, as he was identified in Bosnia) trader from Korçë. Konstantin kept a shop and pursued army supplying in the Banja Luka, Zvornik and Travnik *sancaks*, succeeding in this way in becoming one of the wealthiest men in Sarajevo and the whole province. From February 1, 1869 to April 30, 1871, he was the appointed bursar of the provincial government.

After his father’s death, Petro took over his business. Constantly enjoying the confidence of high-ranking Ottoman officials, he had close ties with the *vali* Şerif Osman Paşa, who ruled in Bosnia from 1861 to 1869: for example, he was sent to Istanbul to convey large amounts of money. He was also a very close friend of Mustafa Paşa Vlora when the latter was vice-governor of Bosnia (1875-1878). Several times elected to the *meclis-i idare*, he was renowned throughout the province and therefore was entrusted to appease the Herzegovinian peasant rebellion in the summer of 1875, before it expanded into Bosnia – unsuccessfully, however, since the peasants refused to lay down their arms. He did belong, like Bašagić and Kapetanović (see the respective entries), to the Reform Commission in the spring of 1876, which did not work very concretely; at that time, he was well known for being astute and involved in government trade. He was elected to the first session, and apparently did not contribute much to parliamentary debate.

After he resigned from his second mandate, Ottoman officials were aware of his autonomist aspirations. He returned from an absence of several months (almost all spent in Vienna) at the end of 1877 and demonstrated his ambition to become the head of the province in case the Powers would let the population determine it. This made him suspicious to Belgrade, where any project excluding Serbia was opposed, and consequently the Principality sent, according to the French consul’s reports, a special agent to keep an eye on him.

With Kapetanović, Sahačija and Salom (see respective entries), he was chosen by Sarajevo officials in the spring of 1878 to form a national committee which had the task to organize measures against increasing violence. Later he agreed with Hadji Lojo’s activities, even though he did not really become involved in his organization. A close friend of Kostan Efendi’s, an Armenian who had been in service in Bosnia for years and who was the head of the Herzegovinian *vilayet* during its one-year life, Petrović helped him get out of Bosnia in July.

After the occupation of 1878, he still enjoyed the confidence of Austro-Hungarian authorities and the Sarajevo Orthodox. At the municipal elections of

1884 and until 1890 (except in 1887), he largely forestalled his rivals. In 1890, he became Sarajevo vice-mayor, a post he held up until his death. With Kapetanović, Bašagić and Salom (see the respective entries), he took part in the foundation of a bank with local seed capital and belonged for years to its staff. He tried to establish a theater in his town and was the president of the Sarajevo Orthodox commune for a short period. The Landesregierung wanted to present him as a positive example to his co-religionists when they began to protest against Austro-Hungarian interference in their religious affairs, but he hesitated to let himself be brought into a situation of possible confrontation.

After a consular post in Vlorë from 1898 until 1902, where he showed a great knowledge of the Albanian language and customs, his son Aristotel would be the first mayor of Sarajevo after the formation of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, from 1918 to 1920.

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Petraki Efendi see Petrović Petro

Muslims

Ali Bey (dates unknown)

He seems to have been deputy of Herzegovina to the first session instead of Tanović (see respective entry). More information could not be obtained.

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Bašagić Ibrahim Bey (Nevesinje (Herzegovina), September 5, 1841-Sarajevo, November 8, 1902)

Bašagić Ibrahim Bey was deputy to the two sessions (at first for Herzegovina). For the second session, he was elected after Hafizadić's (see respective entry) resignation.

Bašagić belonged to a Herzegovinian beylical family which appeared on the political-military scene of this region at the end of the 17th century, during the War of Moreus (1683-1699), under the name of Redžepašić. They probably descended from South-Herzegovinian military notables, even if their last name at the time, Šehić (Şehzade), seems to indicate that they had ties with sheikhs. The name Bašagić comes from Ibrahim Bey's father, who was *bašağa* in Herzegovina.

Born in 1841 in Nevesinje, 40 km east of Mostar, Bašagić had a troubled childhood because of the unrest that was evolving in the Bosnian *eyalet* and that culminated in the military expedition of Latas Ömer Paşa (1850-2). At his father's death (1851), he was soon sent to Travnik in order to pursue the education he had first received in the mekteb of his native village. During his seven-year stay (1853-1859), he followed Derviš Mehmed Korkut's lessons. The latter was a famous Bosnian *alim*, *müderris* and mufti of Travnik. Thanks to him, he became trained as a lawyer and a poet: he learned Arabic and Persian, and spoke Turkish as if it were his mother tongue. In the field of poetry, his *mahlas* from this time was "Edhem;" he was also a calligrapher and copied religious manuscripts. As Korkut was a Naqshibendi sheikh, we can assume that he initiated him into the order. It has to be mentioned that Korkut was one of the few ulemas who sided with Istanbul when the majority of the Bosnian *eyalet*'s population opposed the Tanzimat. This orientation would stand out in Bašagić's entire career.

In 1859 or 1860, the young man went back to Nevesinje, where the struggle against Montenegro was now raging. After some low administrative posts, he became *kaymakam* representative in Nevesinje in 1863 or 1864 and married a daughter of the Čengić family in 1868. These two events show that he was an important personage both in the *eyalet*'s Tanzimat administration and in local Herzegovinian

life (as the Čengić family was one of the most powerful in the *sancak* after 1851). Perhaps, he took part, too, in the literary magazine that a young Bosnian Muslim launched in Sarajevo in 1869, and in that way would have been in contact with Young Ottomans in Istanbul or in Sarajevo (via Ziya Tevfik).

On February 9, 1870 he was made *kaymakam* of Piva, an area now in Montenegro. Its inhabitants lived in near autarky and were convinced by Montenegro to reject Ottoman authority. Furthermore, it seems that the local Muslims were opposed to the Ottoman reforms. Bašagić handed in his resignation one month after his nomination, and as it was refused, he reiterated it two times until July 1875, when he was moved to the head of the Foča *kaymakamlık*. But by then the insurrection of 1875-8 had already broken up in Herzegovina.

Afterwards, Bašagić was appointed an expert in the pacification commission led by Ahmed Muhtar Paşa (see also Kapetanović and Petrović), and was on this occasion described by the French consul as a “non fanatic ulema.” He also took part in the commission that was in charge of the evaluation of the war damages. In December of 1876, he entered the administration of the new Herzegovinian *vilayet*, and was designated *kaymakam* of Ljubuški when Herzegovina was administratively reintegrated into the province of Bosnia. In the meantime he was elected by the majority of the Herzegovinian council to the first session of the parliament.

He must have been of some importance among the members of the parliament, as is indicated by his designation as secretary of the “Rumeli club,” a parliamentary group. In addition he became a member of a parliamentary commission working on reform. Unfortunately, no consulted document or article gives details about these two parliamentary groups. Contrary to his compatriots, during this first session, he spoke little about the Ottoman surrender of Montenegro and Nikšić (which finally occurred on September 7, 1877). When he returned to Ljubuški in July, he was worried about the transfer of refugees from Nikšić in his *kaymakamlık*.

At first, he was not elected to the second session; but Hafizadić (see the respective entry) resigned, and the Bosnian *vilayet* council had to hold a new vote: Bašagić received 14 votes from Herzegovina, 2 from Travnik, 1 from Banja Luka and 1 from Sarajevo, and was therefore sent to Istanbul. Here he was again secretary of the Rumeli club and one of the three secretaries of the parliament. In these functions, he held a legalist point of view against deputies’ contestations on parliamentary work and stood by General Şevket Mehmed Paşa when the latter was accused of atrocities he had allegedly committed in Bulgaria. However, he accused the government of shunning any responsibility in the Nikšić affair on February 12, 1878. The day after, the parliament was closed.

After he went back to Herzegovina, he was active among Mostar officials and adhered to the instructions from Istanbul that ordered the local population to keep quiet after the Congress of Berlin. However, the town council, and Bašagić

with it, sent a telegram to Vienna stating that, in order to prevent any trouble, they would not tolerate any military intervention from Austro-Hungary while it was taking possession of the two provinces.

Bašagić belonged to a group of Muslims who were plainly faithful to Ottoman administration in the province. With other men of the same orientation, he was called on by the *vali* Ahmed Mazhar Paşa in Sarajevo to give him advice in the chaotic situation. In the main town, Hadji Lojo had seized effective power and forbidden the wearing of western clothing, which meant that men like Bašagić, who did not give up their *alla franca* clothes, were threatened by the mob. After brief and fruitless negotiations with the rebels, he came back to Mostar where Karabeg (see respective entry) and other officials had been murdered, and then fled to Nevesinje. Probably thanks to Kapetanović (see respective entry), he quickly established contacts with the Austro-Hungarian military staff and was designated to head the Stolac *kaymakamlık* in September.

After a few months, when the definitive Austro-Hungarian administrative frame was installed, Bašagić was moved to the same functions in Konjic and decorated with the Knight's Cross of the Franz-Joseph Order on the May 16, 1879. The government was satisfied with his involvement in supporting the local Islamic community in a loyalist way, but his financial direction seems to have failed. Some of the duties he took most seriously were his paternal ones: he educated in Oriental languages, poetry and local history his eldest child, Safvet-beg (1870-1934), who would later become the father of Muslim nationalism in Bosnia-Herzegovina. He also gave a very pious direction to this education and did not hesitate to write (in Ottoman) religious advice to his son even when the latter was 25. His son, while young, learned Ziya Paşa's *Terkib-i bend*, a famous piece of Ottoman revivalism from the late 1860s. Namık Kemal's perceptible influence on the first articles written by Safvet-beg are most probably the result of his father's tutelage.

In winter 1881/82, Herzegovina revolted once again; Bašagić went up to Sarajevo by invitation of the new Common Minister of Finance, Béni von Kállay (1839-1903). At 40 years of age, he finally emerged from his semi-anonymous career and took over the control of the *vakf* organization in the whole province. On March 13, 1883 he was appointed *müfettiş* in the Vakf Commission set up by Kállay, and was tasked with taking inventory and sorting out the finances of all the establishments in Bosnia-Herzegovina. On November 22, 1893 he became director of the same institution and remained so until his death.

Bašagić met in Sarajevo a prominent historian of the province, Salih Sidki Hadžihuseinović, called Muvekkit. Under his influence he began to write biographies of Ottoman men of letters and power native to Bosnia and Herzegovina. This activity covered the years 1883-1886. He also launched (in collaboration) a newspaper in Ottoman, *Vatan* (Homeland), supported by the Austro-Hungarian authorities in order to wheedle the Muslim population and divert it from emigrat-

ing to Ottoman regions. Bašagić published a few poetic pieces and probably more lead articles (unfortunately unsigned). Publication stopped in 1896, but the newspaper had no success from the beginning because of the low number of people in Bosnia-Herzegovina who were literate in Ottoman.

Unlike Kapetanović (see respective entry), Bašagić was not an ideologist. In his concern for nationalism, he kept close ties with Young-Ottoman ideas until the end of his life, and dreamed for instance about sending his son to study in Istanbul. When he collaborated with Kapetanović in 1888 on opening a Muslim reading room in Sarajevo, it was certainly with different intentions, i. e., to cultivate oriental literary taste. However, he was not anti-western, and he gave his permission when his son Safvet-beg insisted on attending the Obergymnasium in Sarajevo. One can define his political position as a moderate one. He was a good patriot and good poet, a good Muslim and convinced modernist, and always refused to join any form of Serbian or Croatian nationalism. In accord with these qualities, he collected epic songs together with Kapetanović and wrote historical articles on local events (the Ottoman conquest and Bosnian “heroes” of the 17th century). In another area, he participated with Kapetanović in the foundation of a bank with local seed capital in 1888.

His liberal attitude and the jealous rivalry of less favored Muslims gave rise to rumors and covert opposition from 1886 on. In 1895 he and Kapetanović were openly criticized, but this attempt was unsuccessful. In 1899 the heads of the protest movement against Austro-Hungarian interference in Muslim community affairs accused him publicly. Bašagić was ill at that time and he offered his resignation in the middle of 1901. His resignation was well received by the government because his personality was an obstacle to the negotiations with the protesters; however, Kállay always appreciated him because of his constant loyalty.

Today, Bašagić is famous in Bosnia-Herzegovina because of his son, but a detailed study of this Ottoman province in the 19th century should demonstrate his significance for his own sake.

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Đumišić Fehim (dates unknown)

Đumišić Fehim was elected to both sessions (in the first election for Bosnia, he received the third highest number of votes).

Although he was a famous Muslim leader at the end of Ottoman rule in Bosnia-Herzegovina, only scarce information about him can be collected. His grandfather Hacı Nazim Ağa had been assassinated by the vizier of Bosnia at the end of the 1830s. His father was then exiled, and Fehim accompanied him. Once they returned to Bosnia, his father was called as a representative of Banja Luka to the provincial *meclis* in Sarajevo. After his arrival in this town, the authorities kept him there for diverse reasons, and he died in this situation.

Fehim Đumišić was a nephew of Teskeredžić (see respective entry) on his mother's side. He had a reputation for astuteness but was accused of backwardness and hostility to the idea of Muslim-Christian equality. Ill-famed for his corruption among the officials of the *vilayet*, and nick-named “the famous oppressor from Banja Luka” by the Croatian press, Đumišić, as a distinguished citizen of Banja Luka, was nevertheless appointed to a commission, active between the second half of May and September 1875, whose task it was to delimitate the boundary with Austria-Hungary in the northern area of Bosnia. This work had to be interrupted because of the peasant insurrection of the same year. At the end of summer 1877, he took part in the repression against this insurrection in the area south-west of Banja Luka. By the end of 1877, his losses in burned harvests, stolen cattle, etc. were estimated at 100,000 francs.

His activity in the parliament is not known. We can only guess that he had good accommodations in Istanbul since he was able to host evening events for the other deputies (see introduction). He led the active resistance against the Austro-Hungarian army during the summer of 1878 and emigrated to Istanbul after the definitive victory of his enemies.

In the Ottoman capital, during the 1880s, he was considered the leader of the emigre group of Bosno-Herzegovinian landowners, and the Austrians called him a “most dangerous agitator,” because he stayed in contact with other Bosnian opponents (both Muslim and Orthodox) to the new regime. This does not mean, however, that the Austrian authorities in Sarajevo sought any occasion to cause him financial trouble: although he was not on his estates, they forced Đumišić's peasants to give him the *hak* (agricultural contribution in the sharecropping system) they had not paid between 1879 and 1882. However, from the 1890s, his house in Istanbul became a meeting place of opponents to Austrian rule in his homeland, which resulted in two protestations at the Porte at the end of 1894.

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Fadilpašić Mustafa Bey (1834-December 6, 1892)

Fadilpašić Mustafa Bey was elected for Bosnia to the first session with a great majority. He then resigned – the French consul reports that the reason for this behavior was that public opinion in Bosnia reprehended Ottoman politics in the province; furthermore, Fadilpašić disliked appearing in a deputation that was attacked by the Croatian newspaper *Obzor*. It was also said that he did not want to participate in debates with Baruh (see respective entry) at his side. Osmanpašić (see respective entry) was then elected instead of him.

Since he did not come to Istanbul, we will not give any further details about him, except that he was most probably the richest and most powerful man in Bosnia and Herzegovina at the time of his election.

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Hafizadić-Naimefendić Mehmed Bey (dates unknown)

Hafizadić-Naimefendić Mehmed Bey was elected to both sessions; he went to Istanbul only for the first (representing Bosnia), replacing Korkut, who had refused his election. He is also designated as Naimzade (quoted in this way by Devereux). He resigned from his second mandate, and Bašagić (see respective entry) took his place.

He lived in Travnik, which was the *eyalet*'s center from the end of the 17th century to 1850, where he had great influence. After the promulgation of the *Hatt-i hümayun*, officially read in Sarajevo on March 13, 1856, he was one of the rare Muslim leaders who took an active part in supporting the reforms. He appealed for equality between Muslims and non-Muslims, defending the local *kaymakam* Şevki Efendi against the town's conservative party (see also Teskeredžić).

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Ibrahim Edhem: makhtas of Bašagić Ibrahim Bey

Kapetanović Mehmed Beg (Vitina, December 19, 1839-Sarajevo, July 28, 1902)

Kapetanović Mehmed Beg was a deputy to the second session. As for Karabeg and Bašagić (see respective entries), the fact that he was an appointed official was not detrimental to his election, and he retained his functions even after going to Istanbul.

A most influential Bosnian Muslim in his time, Kapetanović was born to a family of *beys* who occupied the post of *kapudan* and, later, of *müsellim* in Ljubuški (West Herzegovina), a little town 15 km from their estates in Vitina. As a polemic uncovered in 1892 shows, they stemmed from a Croatian common family from Vrgorac, the Puzdrić, Islamized in the 18th century. This fact is very important in order to understand the paradoxes of this complex personality. His mother was a member of a Herzegovinian beylical family glorified by epic popular songs.

He completed his education in a Mostar *mekteb* and returned to Ljubuški in order to listen to the teachings of a famous *hoca*, Mustafa Efendi Krehić. He ac-

quired a good knowledge of the Ottoman, Arabic and Persian languages. Thanks to his qualities and to what was considered as an extended course of religious studies, he was rapidly celebrated as a great scholar.

He had a rapidly ascending public career in Herzegovina. When he was 22 years old, he became a member of the *meclis-i idare* of Ljuboški and participated in a pacification commission in Nevesinje. When Ahmed Cevdet Paşa (1822-1885) came to pacify the provinces, Kapetanović was his advisor for Herzegovina (June-December 1863), and was decorated with the Order of the *Mecidiye*. Going to war against Montenegro in 1864, he distinguished himself and advanced to the rank of a *kapicibaşı* on December 9, 1864. Six months later, on June 5, 1865, he obtained a post as *kaymakam* in Stolac, where he governed until November 9, 1867, when he moved to the *kaymakamat* in Ljuboški. The same year, he advanced to the rank of colonel.

In 1869, he decided to go on a tour of Europe. This indicates a sense of curiosity which set him apart from most of his compatriots. Before him, only one other Muslim from his home region is reported to have traveled around Western Europe (see also Teskeredžić). Trieste, Venice, Padua and Verona were his first visits, followed by Vienna and Pest after passing through Tyrol and Salzburg. He continued in the Mediterranean area: Corfu, Egypt, Izmir, Istanbul. He finished with Rumelia (Varna, Ruščuk, Bucharest, and then continued along the Danube and Sava to Bosnia). We do not know what exactly he did on his voyage nor how his experiences altered his views of the world; but doubtlessly his future political decisions were influenced by these travels.

He resumed his *kaymakam* functions by moving to Stolac again on November 27, 1871. From there, he went to Foča (February 5, 1874), but he could not bear the atmosphere of the town, and on March 30, 1874, he became *kaymakam* of Trebinje. This last post played a great role in his life because he met there Vuk Vrčević (1811-1882), a famous Montenegrin collector of folk art and an Austro-Hungarian vice-consul (since 1869). Unfortunately, the records Vrčević sent to his superiors, always compiled in Italian, do not describe anything but military operations in the Trebinje surroundings. We know that Vrčević gave Kapetanović some books in Croatian or Serbian, especially those regarding Muslims (Gundulić, Njegoš), and was in return educated by the bey in Oriental matters, including basic skills in Ottoman. At this time, Kapetanović began to publish little occasional poems in *Bosnia*, the official newspaper of Sarajevo.⁶

When, in the spring of 1875, the great Herzegovinian uprising took place in his *kaymakamlık*, Kapetanović understood very quickly that there was nothing to do and that the Ottoman Empire would never find any solution to the prevailing social problems. He went to Sarajevo, married there the daughter of a very influential bey, Mustaj Paşa Babić, and tried to take an advantageous place in the politi-

⁶ "Vilajetske vjesti," *Bosnia* no. 450 (1 M 1292/ January 27 and February 8. 1875), 1.

cal circles of the *vilayet* center. He succeeded in being designated on April 15, 1876 as a member of the reform commission that was set up after Andrásy's note of December 1875 (see also Bašagić and Petrović). However, the commission only stated that any action would be in vain. Thanks to his promotion, Kapetanović was placed at the head of the Sarajevo *belediye* with an appointment of 1,200 piasters a month.

Ambitious by nature and by his social position, Kapetanović wanted to obtain the post of *vali*. The new vali Ahmed Mazhar Paşa (d. 1891), an *alla franca* educated reformist, formally recommended his candidature but did not really support it. The Porte refused to promote Kapetanović probably because his austro-philia was suspicious. Indeed, the mayor was acquainted with consuls, especially the Austro-Hungarian ones; he confided to a French consul that, according to the deputies of the first session, the parliament was "a pure comedy."

Nevertheless, whether because of his high position, or whether in order to get him away from Bosnia and Austria-Hungary, Ahmed Mazhar Paşa sent him as a deputy to Istanbul for the second parliamentary session. He seems to have been unaware of this new appointment until the last moment. On this occasion, the British consul Freeman praised him as "a most enlightened and liberal Muslim," as the French consul had done two years before, as had the French vice-consul in Mostar at the end of 1877, who had added this reservation to his judgment: "astute and enlightened, for the country." While in Istanbul, he was corresponding with the political leader of the Franciscan order in Bosnia, and did not hide the fact that he expected no salvation except from Austria-Hungary. He did not speak at the Parliament.

This attitude explains his involvements during the months after his return from Istanbul. It was during the time when the Great Powers were preparing for the Berlin Congress, which began on June 13, 1878. The inhabitants of Bosnia-Herzegovina, feeling powerless, did not show any activity but waited for the international verdict. During this time, moderate Sarajevo Muslims, of whom Kapetanović was a member, joined a group of more radical elements, and agreed to form a national committee. Kapetanović probably did not feel concerned and anticipated an Austro-Hungarian intervention. Yet, how deep the cultural abyss between the two groups actually was can be gathered from their different attitudes about the kind of clothing suitable for a good Muslim. The radical group ordered that everybody had to be dressed in traditional clothes, while men like Kapetanović or Bašagić wore the same type of clothes as Istanbul reformists, *alla franca*. As a French traveler in 1880 remarked, Kapetanović (who happened to have a double-chin) was in every way a European. When, at the beginning of August 1878, the arrival of the Austro-Hungarian forces was announced, he fled from Bosnia, afraid of the possible Muslim reprisals against him, and joined General Jovanović's army (1828-1885) in Dalmatia. He claimed his loyalty to the new overlords and promised no resistance from the Ljubuški population.

Henceforth, he was always in close contact with Austro-Hungarian heads, who trusted him. After being designated for the deputation which went to Vienna to greet Franz Joseph for the occupation, he was chosen on December 7, 1878, for the municipal council, with a yearly remuneration of 1,200 forints, and then on August 11, 1879 became honorary governmental counselor. He participated in the election of a new Muslim religious head in 1881, was sent to Herzegovina by the government when rebellion lurked at the end of 1881, and was nominated member of a *vakf* commission on March 29, 1883, then member of the commission for laws and decrees implementation on January 16, 1884, and member of the commission for *tapu* delivery on forest estates (one of the most strategic functions in the provincial economy) on May 31, 1884.

Not only did he receive honors with pleasure (3rd st. Iron Crown on April 19, 1879), but he also sought them out as is shown by his demand to be given the title of Graf on August 28, 1880. Officials estimated that there was no aristocracy in Bosnia-Herzegovina in the sense of Austrian or Hungarian nobility, and gave him the exclusive right to carry the name "of Vitina" three years later (August 24, 1883). At any rate, in the society gossip column of the *Sarajevski list* ("Sarajevo Journal"), the official newspaper, his name appears frequently, and he considered himself the cultural and political leader of Bosnia-Herzegovinian Muslims. On these grounds, he published a polemic article in 1879 and two booklets in 1886 and 1893 where he defended the idea of a possible westernization of Muslims and their right to constitute a proper nation in face of Croatian and Serbian nationalisms. In another article (1879), he criticized Istanbul newspapers that painted the Austro-Hungarian occupation in dark colors. According to him, Bosnia-Herzegovina would never return to the Ottoman Empire and benefited, under the European legacy of the Habsburg Empire, from religious freedom. There was, he wrote, consequently no reason for Muslims to emigrate (one major phenomenon among the Muslim population in the years following 1878). This stance resulted in his co-religionists' strong opposition to his person, because they judged that Austria-Hungary was a Catholic power and not really neutral in religious affairs.

Kapetanović's nationalism oscillated between a narrow and a broad definition, i. e. sometimes it included all the religious communities of the province under the same label, while at other times it comprised only the Muslims. Kapetanović was never clear on this topic, as is demonstrated by his activities as a publicist. His patriotism and love for belles-lettres led him to initiate, in 1883, a wide collection of epic songs and popular sayings among local Muslims, which was published in 1887 under the title *Narodno blago* ("Popular Treasure") and was hailed by scholars as a great literary event. Only the Serbs criticized him for printing in Latin script, and he published the book again in Cyrillic one year later. In July of 1888, with Bašagić (among others), he founded a Muslim reading room in Sarajevo, to develop literacy among his co-religionists, following the example of Orthodox Bosnians. Until then, his writings had appeared in different magazines (Catholic or

Orthodox), but now, since the cultural organization of Muslims had been set up, he wanted to launch another weekly, both cultural and political (broadly speaking). *Bošnjak* ("The Bosniak") developed a nationalist discourse against Serbs and Croats in various poems, essays, editorials, letters, historical studies, etc. However, Kapetanović and his group were united by their common friendship with Catholic Bosniacs and Croats, this being the reason for their sympathies with Croatian nationalism. For example, at the same time when he argued against Croats in *Bošnjak*, Kapetanović openly spoke of the Croatian roots of Bosnia-Herzegovinian beys.

It has to be noted that Kapetanović pretended to write in his private correspondence in a Bosnian variety of Cyrillic, the so-called *Bosančica*, which allegedly had been preserved by the beys (supposedly a former Slavic nobility) since the Middle Ages. Such allegations are not supported by historical evidence; for example, a man like Bašagić, who was a native of an older family than Kapetanović, never used *Bosančica* in his entire life but exclusively the Arabic script and Ottoman language, even in correspondence with his son.

These were the unclear beginnings of Muslim nationalism in Bosnia-Herzegovina. In 1893, Kapetanović succeeded in being elected mayor of Sarajevo and had to withdraw from *Bošnjak*. The election figures show a slow but regular popularity increase among Sarajevo voters (about one thousand). He held this position for seven years, then resigned, probably because of the beginning of Muslim political contestation of Austro-Hungarian rule. Tensions between "Ottoman" and "Austrian" parties among Muslims had begun years before, but now Bašagić and Kapetanović were both in a tricky position, because they were blamed for benefiting economically from their political positions. Actually, as their participation in the foundation of a bank with local seed capital in 1888 indicates, they were probably far wealthier than many of the beys.

Kapetanović finished his literary production with an anthology of texts and proverbs translated from oriental languages, entitled *Istočno blago* ("Oriental Treasure"), in 1896 and 1897. He was the first Bosnia-Herzegovinian Muslim to write only in his mother tongue, both when writing his own texts and when translating from foreign languages.

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Karabeg Mustafa Sidki (Mostar, 1833/4-Mostar, August 2, 1878)

Karabeg Mustafa Sidki was a deputy to the second session. Babić says that he was also sent to the first session, but if we positively know that he was elected, we also are aware that he resigned because Ali Paşa, then *vali* of Herzegovina, enforced the statute stipulating that any civil servant, if elected, had to resign from his position. This resignation was not noticed by the majority of his contemporaries.⁷ Karabeg preferred his functions of mufti, which he kept during the second session although the statute was still applicable: actually, the new *vali* of Bosnia, Ahmed Mazhar Paşa, did not strictly apply this law. Bašagić (see respective entry) was another example of this *laissez-faire* practice in the second session.

The Karabeg family dates back at least to the middle of the 17th century, when they settled in Mostar and the surrounding region, where they were *sipahis* and administered large estates. However, Mustafa Sidki Karabeg had a spiritual vocation and was not destined to be a landlord. Born in 1832, he left Mostar, his native town, at the age of 19 (in November 1851) in order to complete in Istanbul the education he had received in Herzegovina. Before his departure, he had frequented the local *medrese* and had achieved a good command of the Arabic language. Once in the imperial capital, he was curious about all branches of religious and profane science. What is most important, he was taught by Mevla Halil, a future Şeyhülislam. The latter would play a very important role in his life because the political importance of Mevla Halil allowed Karabeg to have a certain audience at the Divan.

Very studious during the four years of his residence in Istanbul, Karabeg was taken ill because of mental fatigue. On doctors' orders, he left the capital at the end of 1855 for a healthier life in Mostar. In the *sancak* center, the mufti position had become vacant when the previous mufti died while returning from Mecca. Since 1852, Mostar Muslims had been looking for a mufti in vain, and when Karabeg came, despite the fact he was not a mature man yet, they offered him this position. Karabeg had planned to continue his studies, but on his father's ad-

⁷ See the British vice-consul's assessment in Devereux, *The First Ottoman Constitutional Period*, 137 and 270; and the *Bosnia* issue of 29 April (Bosnia no. 566, 16 R 1294/ April 17 and 29, 1877), 1).

vice, he accepted the position of mufti in 1857 and fulfilled these duties until his death in 1878.

Perhaps the best way to present his personality is to begin with his conviction about scholars, which was reported by his pupil Riđanović: for Karabeg, scholars were divided into two groups – researchers and good men. Used to describing only the good sides of people about whom he spoke, we must see that he was a thoroughly positive man and, in general, an isolated one.

Because of his originality, Karabeg is considered to have initiated a new Islamic reform period in Herzegovina, which can – up to a certain point – be termed as an “Islamic revival.” He belonged to the few Bosnian and Herzegovinian Muslim ulema that adhered to the Tanzimat, and therefore promulgated a number of fatwas. He preached in rural areas and gave advised on what he believed to be an inevitable adaptation of Islamic customs to the challenges of the modern world. At the same time he aspired to a purer faith. He wrote a few works, the most outstanding of which is a commentary of Molla Hüsrev (the third şeyhülislam, d. 1480), composed in good Arabic according to Hazim Šabanović.

Thanks to his cleverness and brainpower, Karabeg “specialized” in politics: for long years, he incessantly criticized civil servants (mostly from Istanbul) because they did not look after their responsibilities in the right way, neglecting the people’s welfare. He assisted local *müsellims* in their work, paradoxically professing a certain secularist vision of political life. In this activity, he certainly entered in contact with Bašagić (see respective entry). The reform of 1864, which instituted local and provincial councils, automatically made him the president of the *meclis-i idare* in Mostar. At these functions, he always showed a great sense of justice. He did not hesitate when he learned that the Herzegovinian *mutasarrif* had been unfair in one of his judgments and fought him until he prevailed.

Karabeg possessed a certain charisma. Of average height, he had an emaciated face with a little beard; he walked and moved with measured dignity. He possessed high personal authority because he was a very strict Muslim in his private life. It is generally stated that the fluency of his speech struck those who approached him. He was successful as a teacher: he taught religious topics in Mostar and Arabic literature at the Karadžoz *medrese*. From 1866 on, he was also included in the staff of the newly opened *rüstdiye* of Mostar. Finally, he officiated as an imam and *hatib* in the mosque of the quarter where he lived, and used his paternal influence to lead his sons in this religious way.

The tolerance with which his biographer Riđanović emphatically credits him has to be re-contextualized. Karabeg was a zealous protector of the Ottoman Empire’s integrity and participated in the war against “unfaithful” Montenegro in 1862 on Lovçeli İbrahim Derviš Paşa’s side. His bravery persuaded Lovçeli to solicit a decoration for him, and he obtained the rang of *mevla* and was decorated with *Mecidiye* and *İftibar*. He was deeply convinced that the Empire had to be ruled according to the Sharia. This explains his attitude in summer 1875, when the insur-

rection began in Herzegovina: he accused civil servants of weakness and poor education and of lacking firmness in face of the uprising. Therefore he regarded them as one of the main reasons for the rebellion. Another conviction he held was that the Christian insurgents had to be castigated. He explained his point of view to Lovçeli, who had been appointed Bosnian governor in the meantime, but the latter did not comply with these views, instead asking the Porte to exile Karabeg.

Forced to go to Istanbul, Karabeg learned from Mevla Halil that Cevdet Paşa needed Lovçeli's presence in Bosnia at this time. According to the *seyhüllislam*, Cevdet Paşa had had no choice but to get Karabeg out of the province in order to let Lovçeli realize his mission without obstruction—although Cevdet was personally convinced of Karabeg's merits. After an interlocution with the grand vizier and the *seyhüllislam* on the current war and its causes, Karabeg was permitted to go to Mecca for the second time. Unfortunately, the date of his first *hajj* has not been recorded.

Returning to Mostar in the autumn of 1876, he did not accept his election to the first session and instead fought against Montenegro in 1877 at the side of *müşir* Süleyman Paşa. Elected to the second session, he embodied, as did Bašagić (see respective entry), the role of an advocate of the Islamic character of the state and, to the same extent, of tolerance. He was convinced of the necessity of a desperate resistance against Russia (whose armies were dangerously approaching Istanbul) for the sake of state unity, even if that meant the government had to retreat to the inner territory of Anatolia. He is reported to have said in this context: "Death is better than the constraints of occupation." He also accused the Ottoman officials of weakness.

Actually, he fell into depression after the signing of the San Stefano Treaty, and read aloud the Koranic surah traditionally recited in condolences to the family of the deceased. Back in Mostar, after this three-month stay in Istanbul, he abandoned all public action and devoted himself to scholarship. When the Austro-Hungarian army arrived, he conformed his attitude to the orders coming from Istanbul. An official telegram from Istanbul explicitly stated that the Double Monarchy did "not come as an enemy." Unfortunately, the Muslim people of Mostar prepared an armed resistance, and its leaders solicited Karabeg to issue a fatwa calling to Holy War. He refused. A hostile crowd that was told that Karabeg, when elected to the Ottoman Parliament, had not gone to Istanbul but to Vienna and had sold out Bosnia-Herzegovina to Austria-Hungary entered the hall where the mufti was in discussion with other officials of the town, and savagely killed him on August 2, 1879. Two days later, the town surrendered without any battle because the self-proclaimed leaders of the resistance were too fearful of Austrian repression.

Karabeg's biography was composed in Arabic by one of his pupils and personal secretary, Haci Abdullah Efendi Ridanović (1844–after 1917), who later became mufti of Mostar himself. It has been translated into Bosnian by Nakičević. Fi-

nally, it has to be noted that there exists a literary description of the mufti written in Bosnian by Ibršimović.

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Korkut Mola Efendi (dates unknown)

Korkut Mola Efendi was elected to the first session (for Bosnia); he resigned, as did Fadilpašić (see respective entry), although he held the second rank in the votes. Hafizadić-Naimefendić (see respective entry), who had reached fifth place in the voting, went to Istanbul instead of him.

The French consul designates him only by his first name and adds that he was the son of the Travnik mufti, who was at that time one Korkut; however, with the single exception of this consular document, the literature does not note the existence of any Korkut Mola Efendi. He was a conservative.

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Osmanpašić Murad Bey (dates unknown)

Osmanpašić Murad Bey was elected to the first session for Bosnia, achieving fourth place in the voting; he went to Istanbul instead of Fadilpašić (see respective entry). A son of Osman Nuri Paşa (1832-1900), the famous victor at the Siege of Pleven in 1877, he lived in Novi Pazar. At that time, Osman Nuri Paşa was the military commander of Bosnia and battled against Serbia when it went to war against the Ottoman Empire in 1876. This might be the most prominent reason for Murad Bey's election, since available sources do not mention him; it has to be noted that he was not elected to the second session, during the months when his father withstood the siege (July-December 1877). He was the only deputy for Bosnia-Herzegovina who was not a native of these provinces.

Redžepašić Ibrahim Bey see Bašagić Ibrahim Bey

Riza Efendi (dates unknown)

According to Us, he was deputy for Bosnia to the first session but he is not mentioned anywhere else.

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Tanović Mula Ago (Ključ (Herzegovina), 1823-?)

Tanović Mula Ago seems to have been a deputy to the first session: but his name does not appear in all sources. His name seems to appear first in Kreševljaković, probably on the evidence of Safvet-beg Bašagić, whose father was himself a deputy (cf. Bašagić). It is most probable that other authors, for example Kapidžić and Balić, depend on him. A contemporary descendant of Tanović has written the history of his family, but does not provide any further information than do these authors. According to Kreševljaković, Tanović was present at the second session (Kapidžić erroneously speaks of 1876). However, there is no mention of Tanović either in Us nor in Devereux.

What seems probable is that Tanović was elected to the first session but did not go to Istanbul. French consular archives certify that he was designated at the end of January 1877, but his name was not published in the official newspaper. If this is the case, he may have been replaced by a certain Ali Bey, the second Herzegovinian deputy to the first session whose name is mentioned in the works of Us and Devereux.

Born in Zagraci near Ključ, district of Gacko, Herzegovina, M. A. Tanović partly completed his education in Sarajevo. A document dating from October 6, 1840, proves that he was a student in the Kurşumli *medrese* of the Gazi Husrev Bey Mosque in this town. He was sent there with the agreement of his father Bešo Tanović (d. October 7, 1840), by the famous İsmail Ağa Čengić (1778- September 23/24, 1840) with the intention of setting him on a career as a kadi of local origin in the *kadilik* of Gacko-Cernica.

He pursued his studies in Istanbul in the Harıcı *medrese*, where he learned Arabic and Turkish. He had the reputation of being well versed in the hadith and the Sharia. Once kadı in Cernica at 28 years of age, he belonged since 1864 to the *vilayet* council in Sarajevo, where he represented the Herzegovinian Muslims along with Hakija Resulbegović from Trebinje, a member of a well-known family in this *sancak*.

After the Austro-Hungarian occupation (1878), Tanović moved to Mostar and sided with the Muslims favorable to the new regime. He is said to have enjoyed the confidence of local Christian farmers. His three sons settled down in Turkey at the end of 19th century, and their descendants still live there.

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Teskeredžić Derviš Bey (Travnik, ?-Istanbul, 1878)

According to Kreševljaković and Korkut, Teskeredžić died in 1878 as a Bosnian deputy in Istanbul. However, it is improbable that he was officially elected and except these authors, no other source mentions him. Perhaps he accompanied the other parliamentarians from the region to Istanbul because he was an influential bey of Travnik and a curious man, the first of the Bosnia-Herzegovinian Muslims

who had gone abroad in 1857 and 1859 not for trade but just to “see the world” (Osijek, Vienna, Pest, London, Paris), at a time when he was still young. He seems to have been impressed by what he saw and built a “European” house in Travnik in 1858. Although he has sometimes been identified as opposing Ottoman centralization, Ottoman authorities trusted him on different occasions, and he himself took on the defense of Şevki Efendi, a reformist *kaymakam* appointed in 1852 in Travnik who wanted to implement the *Hatt-ı hümâyûn* in the town but collided with local notables. Naimefendić (see respective entry) belonged to the group led by him.

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