

Jews in the State Agencies and Offices of the Bosnian Vilayat from 1868 to 1878 (A Framework of Understanding Issues of Minorities in the Ottoman Empire in the Second Half of the 19th Century)

1868-1878 Yılları Arasında Bosna Vilayeti Devlet
Kurum ve Dairelerindeki Yahudiler (19. Yüzyılın
İkinci Yarısında Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'ndaki Azınlık
Meselelerini Anlamak İçin Genel Bir Çerçeve)

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Abstract

This paper deals with the data on the participation of Jews in state agencies and offices of the Bosnian Vilayat from 1868 to 1878. The aim is to provide a general framework for understanding of problems and questions of “minorities” in the Ottoman Empire in the second half of the 19th century. Detailed information about the participation of Jews in Ottoman administration in the *Vilāyet-i Bosna* is taken mostly from the Bosnian *Salnames* (the official annual reports of *Diwan* of Vilayat Bosnia) and the official newspapers of Vilayat Government and other magazines published during that time, such as *Bosna*, *Sarajevski cvjetnik*, *Vjestnik* and *Neretva*. This paper draws attention to the fact that the law regulations on equal representation of all minorities in local authorities were applied to all residents in the Empire at that time. It is especially noteworthy when studying and interpreting various events and situations in the Balkans in the second half of the 19th and early 20th centuries.

Keywords: History of the Balkans, Jews, Bosnian Vilayat, 1868-1878

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Özet

Bu makale 1868 ile 1878 yılları arasındaki süreçte Bosna Vilayetinin devlet kurumları ve dairelerine Yahudilerin katılımına ilişkin kayıtlarla ilgilenmektedir. Amaç 19. yüzyılın ikinci yarısında Osmanlı İmparatorluğundaki “azınlıkların” sorun ve meselelerini anlamak için genel bir çerçeve çizmektir. Yahudilerin Vilayet-i Bosna’da Osmanlı idaresinde yer alışları hakkındaki ayrıntılı bilgiler çoğunlukla Bosna salnamelerinden (Bosna Vilayet Divanı’nın yıllık resmi raporlarından), Vilayet İdaresi’nin resmi gazetelerinden ve *Bosna, Sarajevski cvjetnik, Vjestnik ve Neretva gibi* o dönem yayınlanmış olan diğer mecmualardan elde edilmiştir. Bu makale, yerel idarelerde tüm azınlıkların eşit temsili hakkındaki hukukî düzenlemelerin o dönemde imparatorluğun tüm sakinleri için uygulanmakta olduğu gerçeğine dikkat çekmektedir. Bu, 19. yüzyılın ikinci yarısı ve 20. yüzyılın başlarında Balkanlardaki çeşitli hadise ve durumları araştırıp, yorumlarken dikkat edilmesi gereken bir husustur.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Balkan tarihi, Bosna Vilayeti, 1868-1878

1. Introduction

Previous studies on Bosnian Sephardic Jews in the Balkans give a general historical framework or consider a period after the arrival of the Austro-Hungarian authorities from 1878 to the present days. Writing about Bosnian Jews in Ottoman period is based mostly on the written popular oral tradition or archival sources, while books on general history,¹ articles and reviews on the history of Bosnian Sephardic community use both types of sources.² On the other hand, studies that deal with the history of the Bosnian Sephardic Jews on the basis of sources in Dubrovnik Archives or on the reports of European travel writers are especially interesting for comparative historical studies.³ Written works about Bosnian Jews based on the Ottoman sources are usually brief and generally deal with the history of Bosnian Sephardic Jews in the 16th

¹ See: Vladimir Ćorović, “O Istoriji Jevreja Bosne i Hercegovine”, *Bosna i Hercegovina*, Beograd 1925; Simon Dubnov, *Kratka istorija jevrejskog naroda* (prev. Andrija Gams, Josip Pressburger), Beograd: Savez jevrejskih opština Jugoslavije, Beograd 1982.

² Moritz Levy, *Die Sephardim in Bosnien, ein Beitrags zur Geschichte der Juden auf der Balkan-Halbinsel*, Sarajevo 1911; Sneschka Panova, *Die Juden zwischen Toleranz und Völkerrecht im Osmanischen Reich: Die Wirtschaftstätigkeit der Juden im Osmanischen Reich (die Südosteuropaländer) vom 15. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert*, Frankfurt am Main & Wien [u.a.]: Petar Lang 1997; Matthias B. Lehmann, *Ladino Rabbinic Literature and Ottoman Sephardic Culture*, Bloomington: Indianapolis Indiana University Press 2005; Israel Bartal, *Geschichte der Juden im östlichen Europa 1772–1881*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2010.

³ Miović, Vesna, *The Jewish Ghetto in the Dubrovnik Republic (1546-1808)*, Zagreb–Dubrovnik: Hrvatska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti 2005.

and 17th centuries. When it comes to the historical sources from the 19th century, the Ottoman register book "Saraybosna kefileme defteri"⁴ from 1841-42 and recorded by qadî Muhamed Mestvica in Sarajevo is especially valuable for the topic. As it is obvious from the modern historical literature, there is almost no article in Bosnian language which in a systematic way deals with one of the most important periods in the history of Bosnian Jews in 19th century, the period of their active participation in state agencies and offices in the Bosnian Vilayat from 1865 to 1878. Therefore, in this paper we will provide information about Jews in Ottoman administration in Bosnia during this period, based on the official sources. Actually, we will try to answer the question whether there are special political or other skills and privileges of the Bosnian Sephardic Jews, or the reasons for such a situation are completely different.

2. Jews in the state agencies of Bosnian Vilayat

Detailed information about the participation of Jews in Ottoman administration in the *Vilāyet-i Bosna* in this article is mostly taken from the Bosnian *Salnames* (the official annual reports of *Diwan* of Vilayat Bosnia) and the official newspapers of Vilayat Government, as well as other magazines published during that time, such as *Bosna*, *Sarajevski cvjetnik*, *Vjestnik* and *Neretva*. Among the Jews who are in the Vilayat commission for education (Ma'arif Komisyonu) in 1870, a prominent place was held by the *vekil* of Sarajevo *haham* (rabbi), Hodja Fenic. The *vekil* of Sarajevo rabbi was in the same commission for education in 1871 as well, and from 1874 together with two distinguished Sarajevo Jews, namely Yako Agha and Paro Agha. The *vekil* of Sarajevo *haham* and a member of a Commission for education of the Bosnian vilayat in 1875 and 1876 is Hodja Avram. In 1877 the member of Commission for education as a representative of the Bosnian Jewish community was the *haham* (rabbi) himself, Hodja Avram. Sarajevo rabbi stayed as a representative of the Jewish community in the Commission for education of Bosnian vilayat in 1878. Together with the representatives of the Jewish community in the Commission for education of Bosnian vilayat, there were Sarajevo mufti Mustafa Hilmi Effendi, who represented Muslims together with two other renowned Muslim citizens, as well as fra Grga Martić who represented Catholics and Greek-Orthodox mythropolit Antimos Effendi.

All the questions and problems relating to the reformed education in Bosnia at that time were discussed in the Commission. To gain an idea how important was the presence of the representatives of Bosnian Sephards in the Commission for education of Bosnian vilayat, we shall give several examples: in

⁴ See: *Mula Muhamed Mestvica, Popis uzajamnog jamčenja stanovništva u Sarajevu iz 1841. godine*, (translation: Derviš Korkut), Vol. 1, Sarajevo 1970.

the year 1867⁵ in the city of Sarajevo, there were 50 Muslim primary schools, 7 schools of Bosnian Sephards and 6 schools of the Orthodox and Catholics in total. There were 255 Jewish students, out of which only 15 girls went to the Girls' Sephardic school, while the rest of the 240 students went to Boys' Sephardic school. In the same year, Travnik had 50 students in two Jewish schools, Mostar had 14, Banja Luka 20 and Bijeljina 160.

Only Sarajevo had *Sephardic school for girls*. In the same year, there were 499 Jewish students (484 boys and 15 girls). In the next year of 1868⁶ there was the same number of schools for all the religious confessions in Sarajevo, in which there are 305 Jewish students, out of which 23 were girls and 282 boys. In Travnik the number rose to 57 Jewish students in two schools, Banja Luka had 23, and Mostar Kaza 19, and Bijeljina 175 Jewish students. In one year the number of Jewish students rose for 80 students, from 499 to 579 Jewish students. We encounter the same number in 1869.⁷ In 1870⁸ there is the same number of Jewish students in Sarajevo (23+282=305) and Bijeljina (175), while in Banja Luka the number decreased to 10, in Mostar the school is closed and in Travnik the number drops to 36, having in mind that Sephardic school for girls was founded and had 11 female students, while the number of male students was 25.

The change in comparison to the previous year is that in that year the total number of Jewish students in Bosnian schools decreased, but the number of Sephardic *girls in schools increased* (34+492=526). In 1871⁹ in Travnik, the boys' and girls' school were merged, so the total number of Jewish students in city of Travnik is 38, and in Sarajevo it was the same as in previous years (23+282=305), just like in Bijeljina (175), while in Banja Luka the number increased to 13. In Livno, which belonged to Travnik Kaza, there were 12 Jewish students that year. It was hard to find the exact data for years 1873-74, since the data was written for two categories together, for Muslims and non-Muslims.

In the year 1867¹⁰ in the Governing council of Vilayat (Meclis-i İdāre-i Vilāyet) there were 13 members and the vali of Bosnian vilayat Sharif Osman Pasha. There were two Sephard members: haham (rabbi) Avram Effendi and a member of Council Isak Effendi. The rest of the members in the Governing council of Vilayat were: Mehmed Veysi, Tefvik Beg, Muhammed Pasha, mythropolit Antimos, then fra Grgo Effendi, Yeftanovic Manoylo Effendi

⁵ *Salnāme-i Vilāyet-i Bosna*, 1284.H., p. 85-88.

⁶ *Salnāme-i Vilāyet-i Bosna*, 1285.H., p. 95-99.

⁷ *Salnāme-i Vilāyet-i Bosna*, 1286. H., p. 92-96.

⁸ *Salnāme-i Vilāyet-i Bosna*, 1287. H., p. 150-154.

⁹ *Salnāme-i Vilāyet-i Bosna*, 1288. H., p. 140-144.

¹⁰ *Salnāme-i Vilāyet-i Bosna*, 1284. H.

(Orthodox) and Ivo Effendi (Latin). Thus, 7 out of 13 members of the Council were non-muslims. In the Appellate council (Meclis-i Temyiz-i Huquq ve Cinayet) the members were: muderris Mustafa Effendi, then Hodja Dano Effendi (musevi), and Yorgi Besre Effendi (Orthodox), Mato Effendi (Latin) and several of the professional jurists. In the Financial Council of Vilayet (Daire-i Muhasebe-i Vilayet) two of the treasurers were Hodja Yako Effendi and another Yako Effendi. In the Office of Vilayat Print of that year, 1867, Davicho Effendi worked as a director. In the Legal Council of Sarajevo *liva* there was Hodja Manto (musevi), and in the Council for criminal measures of *liva* Hodja Rafo. In the Trade council of *live* there were: president Ragib Agha (muderris) and the members: Salih Agha, Abdi Agha, Hodja Simo (Orthodox), Hodja Solomon (musevi) and Hodja Yovan (Orthodox). In the Council for municipality administration there were kajmakam Tosun Beg and the members of municipality board: Risto (Orthodox), Andriya Andric (Orthodox) and Hodja Fins (musevi). In Herzegovinian sanjak in the Office for public correspondence (Daire-i Umur-ı Tahriye), Yosef Alkalay Effendi worked as a *translator* (tercümān). So, Yosef Alkalay Effendi was an *official translator in the state agencies* in Herzegovinian sanjak.

In 1868¹¹ in the Administrative council of Vilayat (Meclis-i İdare-i Vilayet) the president was Osman Pasha, and the members stayed mostly the same, although the council had another mythropolit (Dionisiyus Effendi), while the members of the Council of Vilayat in the name of Bosnian Sephards were also haham (rabbi) Avram Effendi and a noble citizen Isak Effendi. In the Appellate Council (Meclis-i Temyiz-i Huquq ve Cinayet) the president was Kamil Effendi and the members were: Abdullah Agha, Mehmed Agha, Gyorgi Effendi (Orthodox), Mato Effendi (Latin) and Dano Effendi (musevi). In the Office of Vilayat print the publisher was Mustafa Rifat Effendi, and the translator and the director of the print was Davicho Effendi. There were 12 taxational officials in Bosnian vilayet, and the commissioner of the treasury in the Tax office was Daniyal Effendi. In the Appellate council (Meclis-i Temyiz-i Huquq ve Cinayet) of Sarajevo Sanjak that year the representative of Jews and a member of the Council was Rafo Effendi. The president of the Trade council of *liva* / sanjak (Meclis-i Ticaret-i Livā) was Abid Effendi, while the members were: Salih Agha, Simo Agha, Solomon Agha and the scribe Numan Effendi.

The commissioner of the treasury of the Office for the finances of Sarajevo *liva* was the eminent Hodja Yako Effendi. In the Council of Sarajevo municipality the president was Tosun Beg, and the members of the Council were: Abdi Agha, Mustafa Agha, Hamamdji Hadji Mustafa Agha, engineer Linardovic Effendi, Parin Agha, Papo Agha, Hodja Fins and scribe Ahmed

¹¹ *Salnāme-i Vilāyet-i Bosna*, 1285. H.

Effendi. The inspectors of Sarajevo liva of Bosnian vilayat were: Emin Effendi (main inspector), Mehmed Effendi, Murad Effendi, Salih Agha and the Jew Moshon Effendi. Among the tax collectors in Sarajevo liva there was a certain Yako Agha (musevi).

The commissioner of the treasury (sandık emini) in the Office for finances (Dā'ire-i Umūr-i Hisābiyye) of Zvornik sanjak in 1868 was Mishon Effendi (musevi). In the Office for public affairs of Herzegovinian sanjak of Bosnian vilayat the director for correspondence was Osman Zeki Effendi, while the translator (tercümān) was Alkalay Effendi. In Travnik sanjak in the Governing council of liva mutesarraf was Mustafa Hulusi Effendi, and the members were: Sharif Mahmud Hamdi Beg (deputy mutesarraf), mufti Hadji Dervish Mehmed Effendi, Hamid Beg, Mehmed Beg, Shemsi Beg, Ivo Agha, Risto Agha and Isak Agha (musevi).

The manager of the treasury in Travnik liva was Rafo Effendi, while Sobotail Agha was elected by elections from Sephardic community into Appelative Council (Meclis-i Temyiz-i Huquq ve Cinayet-i Livā). There is also a noble Sephard by the name Sobotail Agha in the Trade council. Moshon Agha was one of the tax collectors in the Jajce Kaza.

In 1869¹² one encounters the similar data as for the previous year. In the Appelate council of Vilayat (Meclis-i Temyiz-i Huquq ve Cinayet) the scribe was Dano Effendi (musevi). In the Office of vilayat press, among the staff there were Avram Effendi (the fourth typesetter in the official papers of Vilayet Bosnia) and Hayim Effendi. In the municipality of Sarajevo Fins Effendi (Finci) still represented Sephards.

Among the vilayat tax officials a prominent member was the commissioner of the vilayat treasury Daniyal Effendi. In the Governing council of Sarajevo sanjak the members were: mula Tahir Effendi, mufti Mustafa Hilmi Effendi, mythropolit Dionisiyus Effendi, Husein Agha, Hadji Mehmed Beg, fra Grgo Martić (Latin), jevrejski haham (rabbi) Avram Effendi, Simo Agha (Orthodox), Pero Effendi (Latin) and the scribe Ibrahim Hilmi Effendi.

In the Trade council of Sarajevo sanjak there was Solomon Agha, while the commissioner of the sanjak treasury was Hodja Yakov, one of the noble controlors in Sarajevo sanjak was Yosef Effendi. Among the officials for tax collecting there was a certain Hadji Yako Effendi as "*millet-i musevi tahsildari*" – "tax collector selected from Jewish people".¹³ In the Office for finances (Dā'ire-i Umūr-i Hisābiyye) of Zvornik sanjak in 1869 there was Mishon Effendi, just like the previous year.

¹² *Salnāme-i Vilāyet-i Bosna*, 1286. H.

¹³ *Salnāme-i Vilāyet-i Bosna*, 1286. H.

One of three officials in the Office for Public Affairs and Finances of the Kaza Brcko was Rafo Effendi, as the scorer of reports in the protocol books. In the Appellate council of liva (Meclis-i Temyiz-i Huquq ve Cinayet-i Livā) of Travnik Sanjak there was Sobotail Agha as a Jewish representative from Travnik, while among the finance officials as a commissioner of Sanjak treasury there was the noble Rafo Effendi.

The commissioner of the treasury of Bihac Sanjak was Behur Effendi (Musevi). In the Governing council of the Novi Pazar sanjak there was Yosef Agha, and in the Appellate council of liva (Meclis-i Temyiz-i Huquq ve Cinayet-i Livā) in Novi Pazar as a representative of Sephards there was Haymul Effendi. The commissioner of the Banja Luka Sanjak was Yasef Agha, while Yosef Alkalay Effendi still worked as a translator in the Office for administration of the public correspondence of Herzegovina sanjak in the 1869 as well.

In 1870¹⁴ the Governing Council of Vilayat (Meclis-i İdāre-i Vilāyet) consisted of a vali and four elected members chosen internally from every religious denomination. From the Jewish community there was a noble Sephardi Isak Effendi in the Council. The high judicial and appellate agency of Vilayat (Dīvān-ı Temyiz-i Vilāyet) consisted of the scribe officials and elected representatives. That year those who were chosen were: Sunullah Effendi, Zuhdi Effendi, Abdi Agha, Minhal, Antonaki Effendi (Orthodox), Mato Agha (Catholic) and noble, distinguished (mümeyyez) Sephardi member Sunbul Effendi. Four elected members of the Trade Vilayat court (Mahkeme-i Ticāret-i Vilāyet) were: Shehrī-zāde Ibrahim Agha, Misirli Hadji Mehmed, Yovo Agha (Orthodox), Salmon Effendi (Musevi) i Dano Effendi (Musevi).

In the Office of the “Vilayat Press” the director was still a Jew Davicho Effendi, while there was a new, assistant member in typesetting the letters in Bosnian, and that was Avram Eskinazi. It is possible that he was one of the immigrants who in 1870 often came from Austro-Hungarian Slavonic regions to Bosnia. In the printing office Dimsho Agha worked, while Hayim Effendi was responsible for distribution of newspapers and Vilayat editions, including textbooks in state schools.

In the same year (1870) in the newly founded Vilayat Special commission for the advancement of education, among others, *babam* (rabbi) Hodja Fince (Finci) held a prominent place, while the Sarajevo Rabbi office holder (*vekil-i hābām*) Avram Effendi still represented the Jews in the Governing council of Sarajevo liva/sanjak. In the Appellate Council of liva (Meclis-i Temyiz-i Huquq ve Cinayet-i Livā) Sarajevo Sephards were represented by Rafo Effendi (Musevi).

¹⁴ *Salnāme-i Vilāyet-i Bosna*, 1287. H.

Still the governor of the treasury of Sarajevo liva/sanjak was the noble Sephard Yako Effendi, and in the Sarajevo municipality directorate the Jews were represented by Sephard Hodja Finci (Finci). One of the tax collectors from the Sephardic Sarajevo community was Hadji Yako. Hadji Yako was one of the official revenue collectors in Sarajevo sanjak as a representative of the Jewish community. This year Mishon Effendi was again the commissioner of the treasury (sandık emini) of Zvornik Sanjak. Among the customs officials at Azizija and Shamac, among others, the sources mention the scribe Yakob Effendi (musevi) and Reyhan Effendi, and the clerk in the department for public affairs and finances in kasaba Brcko was Rafo Effendi (musevi).

In the Appellate Council (Meclis-i Temyiz-i Huquq ve Cinayet-i Livā) of Travnik sanjak there was Sobotail Agha, while in Trade court there was Yako Agha (musevi), in the municipality council Ezre Agha (musevi), and as a commissioner of the treasury of Travnik sanjak Rafo Effendi. In the Office for finances of Bihac sanjak, the commissioner the treasury of Bihac liva was Behur Effendi (musevi), and the commissioner of the treasury for taxes was Manto Effendi, while in the Office for municipality affairs in Bihac the Jewish representative was Yoso Agha (musevi). In the Office for finances of Novi Pazar sanjak there was Haymul Effendi, and in the Office for finances of Banja Luka sanjak as a commissioner of treasury was Yasef Effendi.

In 1871¹⁵ in the Governing council of Vilayet a representative of the Bosnian Sephardim were Isak Effendi (musevi), and Sunbul Effendi (musevi) in the High Appellate Agency of Vilayet. In the Trade court of Vilayet the Jewish representative was Askenazi David Effendi (musevi), while in the Office of the Vilayet printing office the director was still Davicho Effendi and Avram Eskinazi still worked as a typesetter for texts printed in Bosnian. From the technical staff responsible for the distribution of newspapers one should mention Hayim Effendi. In the Central commission for notation of the real estate (Merkez-i Tahrir-i Emlak Komisyonu) among eight clerks the Jews were represented by Danyal Effendi. In the Special commission for the advancement of school education there was haham (rabbi) Hodja Finci. Among the controlors there was Yosef Agha. In the Governing council of Sarajevo sanjak the representative of rabbi was Avram Effendi, while in the Appellate council of liva/sanjak (Meclis-i Temyiz-i Huquq ve Cinayet) there was Rafo Effendi just as the previous year.

In the municipality administration in Sarajevo there was Hodja Finci again as a representative of the Jews. In Fojnica Kaza and in the Commission for census council there was Musevi Yako Agha. In Brcko Kaza among the officials enumerators and those who do the calculation in the office of the

¹⁵ *Salnāme-i Vilāyet-i Bosna*, 1288. H.

census clerk who issued the documents there was Solomon Effendi. In the same kaza, the scribe Rafo Effendi worked on the customs.

In the customs department in Bjeljina Kaza a scribe David Effendi worked. One of the officials who worked in the same kaza in the “treasury for the common benefit of the community” was a scribe Avram Effendi. In the customs office in Zvornik Kaza David Effendi worked as a scribe.

In Kaza Srebrenica in customs office Musevi Rafo Effendi worked. In the same year in Travnik sanjak in the Appellate council of liva/sanjak (Meclis-i Temyiz-i Huquq ve Cinayet) there was Musevi Sobotail Agha, in Trade court Yako Agha, and in Municipality council (Meclis-i Belediyye) there was Ezre Agha, while the commissioner of the treasury of Travnik sanjak was a Jew David Effendi. In Bihac sanjak in the municipality council there was Yoso Agha, Musevi.

In Novi Pazar sanjak in Bosnian vilayat in the Department for financial affairs of sanjak as a commissioner of the treasury there was a Jew Haymul Effendi. During that time in Novi Pazar around 200 Bosnian Sephardis lived.¹⁶ In Kaza Trgovishte in Novi Pazar sanjak in the Department for grievances in Kaza there was Danyal Agha. In Herzegovina sanjak Alkalay Effendi worked as a translator in the Department for census in sanjak/liva.

When it comes to students in Jewish schools in 1871, the numbers were as following: in Sarajevo sanjak in 7 Sephardic schools there were 23 girl students and 282 boy students, in Zvornik sanjak in Kaza Bijeljina in one Jewish school there were 175 students, in Banja Luka sanjak there were 13 Jewish students in one school, in Travnik sanjak in two Sephardic schools there were 38 students in the very Kaza Travnik, and in Kaza Livno in Travnik sanjak there were 12 Jewish students. When it comes to salnamas, the official state annual reports of the region, one should point out that in the period 1872-1878 the Jewish schools were not listed separately from the other general schools in Bosnian vilayat. The small increase of the number of Jewish children in the schools of Bosnian Sephardis is suggested, in accordance to the increase of the Jewish population in cities where the Jews lived in larger communities.

Among the listed recipients of the special Sultan acknowledgements in salnama from 1873, there was Hodja Sunbul Musevi, one of the members of the Appellate council of Vilayet, as a recipient of the order mejidyye (*mecidiyye*) “of the fifth rank”, then the director of the Office of the pressroom of Vilayat Davicho Effendi as a recipient of *mejidyye* “of the fifth rank”.

¹⁶ According to the travelogues of Andrea Shamat, in Novi Pazar in 1807 there were around 100 Jews. In 1896 there were 156 registered – 73 men and 83 women in the Sephard community. They had a great role in the economic life of Novi Pazar town.

In the printing office of Vilayet, the *typesetter for the Hebrew letters* was Solmon Effendi, and the distributor was again Hayim Effendi. In the Office for census (Tahrīrāt Kalemī) in the Department for customs as a commissioner of the treasury of Vilayet there was Danyal Effendi, and in Trade court of Travnik Sanjak Isa-kar Musevi worked as a first scribe, and in the Commission for the Real Estate recording (Tahrīr-i Emlāk Komisyonu) in Sarajevo sanjak there was Solmon Effendi.

In Sarajevo hospital “Gurebā Hastahānesi” one of the three doctors was the Jew, a person named Sunbul Yako Effendi whose specialty were *medicines and their preparation*. This hospital grew out of revenues of Gazi Husrevbey’s wakf. In Kaza Visoko in Sarajevo Sanjak as a commissioner of the treasury (*sandık emini*) of Kaza there was Isak Effendi. In Kaza Fojnica in Sarajevo sanjak, in the Governing council of Kaza there was Yako Agha, while in the Commission for census in Kaza Kladanj there was a Jew Hodja Yuda.

In the Office for finances (Muhāsebe Kalemī) in Zvornik sanjak as a commissioner of the treasury there was Shua Effendi. In Brcko the commissioner of the treasury was Pistol Effendi, and in the Customs Directorate (Idāre-i Rusūmāt) Rafo Effendi worked, while the main clerk for issuing the documents about the cadastral census was Solomon Effendi, Musevi. In Zvornik sanjak in Kaza Kula the commissioner of the treasury was Hodja Yako Effendi.

In Kaza Maglaj the commissioner of the treasury of Kaza was Hayim Effendi. In Herzegovina sanjak Alkalay Effendi was the official “tercuman” (translator). In the Governing council of Novi Pazar sanjak as an elected Sephardic member there was Yosef Agha, and in the Appellate council of Kaza Trgovishte Daniyal Effendi worked.

In Kaza Kostajnica in Bihac sanjak the commissioner of the treasury (*sandık emini*) was David Effendi. In the Appellate council of Travnik sanjak Sobotail Agha was chosen as a Sephard member, while the commissioner of the treasury was Daniyal Effendi.

In the Directorate of the Municipality council in Travnik sanjak there was Ezre Agha, and in the Treasury of the public affairs Yako Agha and Hodja Dane worked. As a commissioner of the general affairs in Kaza Livno Yoso Effendi worked. In the Office for finances in Banja Luka sanjak Yaso Effendi worked.

In 1874 in the Governing council of Vilayet Bosnia as a representative of Bosnian Sephardim the assignee of the main Sarajevo rabbi, Avram Effendi was elected, and the honorary member of the Appellate divan of Vilayet Hodja Sunbul Effendi. In the Commission for education in Vilayet was haham Hodja Finc. In the Office of the printing house two Sephards worked in setting the

letters for Hebrew. In the Office for finances in Office for supervising taxes the commissioner of the treasury of Vilayet was Daniyal Effendi.

In the Directorate of the municipality council in Sarajevo there was Hayim Effendi and in the Trade court Dane Effendi. In the Cadastral commission there was Solmon Agha. Yako Effendi was still employed in Sarajevo hospital. In Kaza Kladanj the commissioner of the treasury of Kaza was Santo Effendi, and in the Commission for cadastral census there was Hodja Yuda. In other places as well, with some exceptions, there were almost the same names just like in salnamas for the previous year.

There was a gradual increase of the number of Jews in some institutions of Vilayat Bosnia. In official annual reports (*Bosna salnameleri*)¹⁷ in Governing council of Vilayet there were the assignee of rabbi Avram Effendi and Solmon Effendi with the the “mecidiyye-i sultānā” of fourth degree; in the Office for finances of Vilayet the commissioner of the treasury there was Rafo Effendi and his assistant was Daniyal Effendi. The assignee of rabbi (*Hāhām*) Hodja Avram Effendi was in the Commission for education in Vilayet, while Solomon Effendi worked in the printing office of Vilayet. Just as in the previous year, in the Directorate of municipality council in Sarajevo there was Hayim Effendi.

The customs supervisor in Kaza Stolac was Solomon Effendi. In the Office for finances in Zvornik Kaza Shua Effendi was still working, and in Zvornik itself the commissioner for the treasury of Kaza and municipality council was Yosef Effendi. Hodja Dane was still a commissioner of the treasury in the Office for general affairs of Travnik sanjak. In Kaza Jaice, the commissioner of the treasury was Yosef Effendi. In Kaza Livno, the scribe in the office for customs was also called Yosef Effendi, in Kaza Glamoc the commissioner of the treasury was Avram Effendi, and in Kaza Dumno the commissioner of the treasury was Solomon Effendi.

In Banja Luka sanjak the commissioner of the treasury in the Office for finances was David Effendi. In Bihac sanjak the commissioner of the treasury in the Offices for finances was Yasef Effendi. In Kaza Novosel in Bihac sanjak the commissioner of the treasury was Rafo Effendi and in Kostajnica David Effendi, while in Kaza Prijedor the commissioner of the treasury was Solomon Effendi.

In 1876¹⁸ in Governing council of Vilayet there were two elected representatives of Bosnain Sephards Avram Effendi and Solomon Effendi, just as in the previous year. In the Appellate council of Vilayet there was Sunbul Effendi, and in the Commission for education in Vilayet Hodja Avram Effendi. And in the Office for supervision of taxes in Vilayet the

¹⁷ *Salnāme-i Vilāyet-i Bosna*, 1292. H.

¹⁸ *Salnāme-i Vilāyet-i Bosna*, 1293. H.

commissioner/secretary of treasury was Daniyal Effendi. In the Municipality directorate of Sarajevo there was Hodja Baruh, and in the Trade court Finc Hajmo as a member on a specified time. In the Commission for registering there was Solomon Effendi, and in the hospital in Sarajevo, Sunbul Yako Effendi was still working. In the Governing council of Novi Pazar sanjak, there was Yosef Agha. In Kaza Mitrovica in Novi Pazar sanjak, the commissioner of the treasury was Alkalay Effendi.

In Kaza Brcko the commissioner of the treasury was Solomon Agha, in Kaza Bijeljina the commissioner of treasury was Yako Effendi, in Kaza Zvornik Yosef Effendi. In Municipality council in Zvornik the commissioner of the treasury was called Yako Effendi as well. The commissioner of the treasury in Kaza Srebrenica was Avram Effendi, in Maglaj Isak Effendi, in Gracanica Hayim Effendi, in Travnik Hodja Dane, in Kaza Jajce Yosef Effendi, in Kaza Glamoc Avram Effendi, in Kaza Dumno Solomon, in Banja Luka it was Hodja Yako with fourth degree *mejidiyye* order of the fifth rank, in Kaza Derventa Hodja Yako Effendi, in Novoselo Rafo Effendi, in Kaza Kostajnica David Effendi, in Kaza Prijedor Solomon Effendi.

In 1877¹⁹ in Governing council of Vilayat Bosna the representative of Bosnian Sephards was Avram Effendi as an assignee of Sarajevo hahambashi (rabbi) and Solomon Effendi with fourth degree of „meciđiyye-i sultānī“ order of the fifth rank. In the Appellate Diwan there was Hodja Sason Effendi, and in the Commission for education in Vilayat, there was the assignee of haham Avram Effendi again. The machine-worker in the Directorate of the printing office of Vilayat Bosna was Solomon Effendi. The assignee of the treasury of Kaza Fojnica in Sarajevo Sanjak was Sabatayi Effendi, and the assignee of the treasury in the Department for finances of the Novi Pazar sanjak was Haymule Effendi, while the commissioner of the treasury for the same Kaza was Avram Effendi. In the Office for public affairs in Kaza Mitrovca in Novi Pazar sanjak Dankosh Effendi worked.

In the Commission for registering the property in Travnik sanjak Ezre Agha worked, and also in the Municipality council, while in the Office for public affairs in Travnik sanjak David Agha worked, as a member, and Hodja Dano Effendi, as a commissioner of the treasury. The commissioner of the treasury in Kaza Livno was Avram Effendi, in Dumno Solomon Effendi who worked in the Municipality directorate of Dumno. The commissioner of the treasury of the Office for finances in Banja Luka sanjak was Yako Effendi with the fourth degree „meciđiyye-i sultānī“ of the fifth rank, while in the Trade court of the same Sanjak Yahudi Avram worked for a specific time.

¹⁹ *Salnāme-i Vilāyet-i Bosna*, 1294. H.

In Derventa commissioner/secretary of the treasury of Kaza was Yako Effendi. In Kaza Kostajnica commissioner of the treasury was David Effendi, in Kaza Brcko Solomon Effendi, in Kaza Bijeljina Yako Effendi, in Kaza Srebrenica Avram Effendi, in Kaza Maglaj Isak Effendi, in Kaza Gracanica Hayim Effendi, and in Kaza Donja Azizija for commissioner of the treasury Moshon Effendi was appointed.

In 1878²⁰ in the Governing council of Vilayet there was Avram Effendi as a full member and Salamon Effendi with *mejidiyye* of a fifth rank as an elected member, while in the Appelate Diwan of Vilayet there was Hodja Sason. In Commission for education there was haham Avram Effendi. In Trade court of Sarajevo sanjak there was Yudich Haymo Agha, and in Commission for registering the property Daniyal Effendi worked. Commissioner of the treasury in the Appelate council of Kaza Kladanj was a certain Santo, and in Commission for registering the real estate there was Yuda Effendi.

The commissioner of the treasury in the Office for finances in Herzegovina sanjak was David Effendi, while the commissioner of the treasury in Commission/Department for education was Salamon Effendi. In Kaza Brcko the commissioner of the treasury was Haim Effendi, and in Kaza Bijeljina Yako Effendi. The commissioner of the treasury of Travnik sanjak was Dano Effendi. Yehudi Avram worked in Trade court of the Banja Luka sanjak. In Kaza Gradiska the commissioner of the treasury of the Municipality council was Alkalay Effendi.

The data mentioned in the work could be analyzed from various aspects of research: from the aspect of economy, trade, education, trading law, sociology, etc. We do not deal with these kinds of analysis in this paper. We are interested in what these data meant in everyday life of Bosnian Sephardim and how much did the positions they held in state bodies enable them to gain certain social privileges and how much did they make their everyday life easier. That is why we searched for data from the press of that period. On that basis, one can see that Bosnian Sephardim lived with considerable means, but that there were also those who were poor and who were bankrupt. There were Jews who lived in Bosnia for centuries, and who call themselves Sephardim, but there were, although in a smaller number, those who came after they were exiled from East Europe, and especially from Moldavia and southern Poland.

For the question of research into the everyday co-existence of Jews, Muslims, Catholics and Orthodox in Bosnian Vilayat, we chose an article from the newspaper *Bosna* (no. 51, pg. 1), the official journal of the Vilayat Government, where detailed attention is accorded to the life of Sephardic community in Sarajevo, and which mentions some personages whose names we

²⁰ *Salnāme-i Vilāyet-i Bosna*, 1295. H.

encounter in the official reports about the state bodies of Bosnian Vilayat in the period 1865-1878. The text goes as follows:

“Moysey Luyi Effendi, habambasha of the Jewish municipality in Sarajevo, Yako Effendi, vilayat sanduk-emin, and Yosif Effendi, liferant (contractor) for military needs in Bosnian vilayat, Davich Effendi, the governor of the vilayat printing office and Solomon Agha, the Sarajevo tradesman, who by their conduct and loyalty deigned into the royal mercy, were awarded by the high porta. To Mr Habambasha the order of mejidiyye, fifth rank, was replaced with the fourth rank, and Yako Effendi and Talat Effendi received rutbas Hodjaghan. Davich Effendi and Solomonaga received the orders of mejidiyye of the fifth rank.

To the awarded gentlemen the orders came with the royal decrees relating to that.

Mr Habambasha, as every Saturday when he summons the members of his municipality into the synagogue, held a speech in the last Saturday to the congregation summoned for the prayer, and in that speech he mentioned the high royal gravy and prayed to God for the health and life of his Royalty the King, to which the whole congregation replied with enthusiasm: ‘Amen! Long live the King!’ During the prayer, habambasha held in front of him the open book of testaments and in it versed speech, which he spoke after the prayer to people, in these words:

‘God Almighty save his highness, our merciful Sultan, who is the pupil of the eye of the whole world, and in His name let he be praised to the end of the world.

Under His beneficial shadow, we have enjoyed all the rights and protection and all the wealth, so we have to praise Him and to be proud to be His subjects.

We are newcomers in this land, but we found protection and rights in the state of the Ottoman ruler and we are free to practice all the principles of our faith without any disturbance or prohibitions, so we live our short life peacefully and in harmony.

That is why we should remember this mercy of our Ruler's, and to continually pray to God for the health and life of His Majesty, just as we have been always on service and obedient to his royal government.

We should remember this mercy especially now, when his Highness awarded his servants of the Jewish people with ranks and rutbas, and me, your spiritual shepherd and other prominent members of our community.

We are not strong enough in speech, nor do we have enough words to express our gratefulness to His Highness, since we are now by this royal goodness again bound to His throne, and this is not felt only by us here in Sarajevo, the seat of the province, but also by all the citizens of European nation, living in Bosnian Vilayat, let us rejoice and thank His Highness and pray to God for his health.

Let us pray then unanimously to God, and let us say: God raise his glory and the might of his highness the king, and give him the power over his enemy and submit all of them to him.'

Then Mr Habambasha placed his hands onto the open book of testaments and said: 'I vow with this book, that I shall give from my property to poor 500 groshes, and that for the health of His Highness.'

We are also obliged to be thankful and to acknowledge his excellency Mr Osman Pasha, who appreciated the faithfulness and loyalty of the royal subjects, and who presented us to the high port.

Let us also pray to God to give us peace and tranquility, so we could live in the health of the king in His country.

Thus said, Mr Habambasha ended his speech, and all the listeners responded enthusiastically: Amen!' (newspaper *Bosna*, No. 51, p. 1)

Of course, we could say that the cited article may represent the attitude Editorial Board of official newspaper "Bosnia", but the data mentioned in the work are completely authentic and trustworthy. It is not only about coexistence of different religious communities in the Bosnian Vilayat from 1868 to 1878, about the life "next to each other": it is about the participation of different communities in the government bodies and agencies. So, we could talk about a *system of joint participation of different religious communities in government* in Ottoman Bosnia in mentioned period.

3. Conclusion (framework for understanding the problem)

The participation of the minorities in the Ottoman governmental system of education and even in the provincial bodies overlooking education programs is also exceedingly noteworthy. Before anything else, we must answer the simple question as to how and why such a high number of Jews and other different religious groups appeared in numerous official bodies of the Bosnian Vilayat. The answer may appear difficult to come by, yet it is genuinely logical. After a number of *tanzimat* reforms and edicts, a separate edict on the selection and participation of the representatives of Jewish community in the Empire, generally referred to as "*Habambaşılık Nizamnamesi*" came to pass in 1865. The document was drafted upon a request put forward by 12 representatives of Jewish communities in the region of Istanbul as well as by 4

rabbis (*hahambashi*). The document was endorsed by Sultan on March 21 1865 and published in the official gazette (*Takvīm-i Vekāyi*) on May 3 1865. The Istanbul rabbi became the leader of all Jewish communities in the Ottoman Empire. Rabbi Yakir Geron was exceptionally influential in high administrative circles of the Empire and was instrumental in the furthering of Jewish cause outside of Ottoman realm.²¹

So, we could conclude that the presence of Jews in official bodies in the Bosnian Vilayat was the result of the implementation of the aforementioned *Nizamnāme*. Thereby, Jews officially became one of the “*constitutive peoples*” in the Empire, including the Bosnian Vilayat, and were elected to representative bodies of central and local administration irrespective of their actual numbers. So, when we observe the number of Jewish representatives in official bodies on the Bosnian Vilayat between 1868 and 1878, it is clearly visible that Jews were considered to be a *political constituent in the society*, despite the fact that their number in some local communities was negligible. On the other hand, all confessional communities were duly represented in official administration of the Bosnian Vilayat, including Jews, Catholics, Muslims and Orthodox Christians. This made Bosnia a balanced and well organized “multiconfessional administrative unit” in the Empire with high degree of local governance and freedom. That fact is properly reflected in the example of Jewish participation in the administration of the Bosnian Vilayat between 1868 and 1878.

²¹ Ülkühan Olgun, *Osmanlı Son Dönemi Yahudilik ve Hahambaşılık*, Giza Yayınları, İstanbul 2009.

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