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***Convivencia* under Fire: Genocide and Book-burning in Bosnia**

“The fire lasted for days. The sun was obscured by the smoke of books, and all over the city sheets of burned paper, fragile pages of grey ashes, floated down like a dirty black snow. Catching a page you could feel its heat, and for a moment read a fragment of text in a

strange kind of black and grey negative, until, as the heat dissipated, the page melted to dust in your hand.”

Kemal Bakaršić on the burning of the National and University Library,
Sarajevo, August 25-27, 1992. [1]

“All that is written endures, what is committed to memory takes flight.”

Mula Mustafa Ševki Bašeskija (1731-1809),
Bosnian diarist and chronicler of eighteenth-century life in Sarajevo. [2]

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The most famous book in Bosnia is a lovely illuminated manuscript known as the Sarajevo Haggadah. Although it found a home in Bosnia in the early 1600s, it was made in another place and time. It is a testimony to the artistic and cultural creativity of those who made it, valued it, and protected it over the ages. It is also a survivor. On at least four occasions in its long history, the Sarajevo Haggadah has survived attempts to destroy multicultural communities. Each of these attempts to

eradicate pluralism was also accompanied by the burning of books.

This small codex, illustrated with 69 miniatures and containing the readings for the Jewish feast of Passover and a selection of religious poems and prayers, was made around 1350 in the Kingdom of Aragon. [3] It is a rare and particularly fine example of the Hebrew manuscript production that flourished amidst the *convivencia* of medieval Spain—a pluralistic society

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where, despite individual and communal jealousies and tensions, a multiplicity of religions (Christian, Jewish, and Muslim), cultures, and languages (Romance, Hebrew, and Arabic) coexisted and interacted with each other.

In all three of the great monotheistic traditions, Judaism, Christianity and Islam, the book has a special status as the repository of divine revelation and the law, as the means of binding together the community, and of transmitting and elaborating tradition. In the era of *convivencia*, the book also played a central role in the connections made across cultural and religious boundaries, which went beyond the famous translation projects and philosophical debates to the creation of new artistic and literary forms born out of these interactions. These included phenomena such as the emergence of secular Hebrew poetry influenced by Arabic poetic forms, and the flowering of the arts of the book in all three traditions. Even religious manuscripts, such as Bibles and Haggadoth, or the Christian biblical commentaries of Beatus of Liebana, clearly show the cross-cultural influences of Islamic, Jewish and Christian artistic traditions. Profiat Duran, a 14th-century Jewish physician, philosopher and astrologer at the court of King John I of Aragon, wrote about the importance of fine books:

... study should always be in beautiful and pleasant books, containing harmonious script written on fine vellum, and with luxurious bindings, and should be carried on in pleasant buildings; for the beholding and study of beautiful forms with delicate drawing and fine painting is one of those things that please the soul, urges on and strengthens its powers. It has therefore been to the perfection of

our nation that the wealthy and prominent in every generation have always exerted an effort in the production of beautiful codices. [4]

Many of the “beautiful codices” that delighted Profiat Duran and his pious and learned contemporaries did not survive the second half of the 15th century, when the era of *convivencia* came to a tragic end with the mass expulsions of Jews and Muslims from the Iberian peninsula. The “cleansing” of all non-Christians from the land was accompanied by the ceremonial burning of Jewish and Islamic books. Mass burnings of Jewish books in Valladolid (1461) and Salamanca (1490) preceded the expulsions of 1492, while the triumph of Catholicism over Islam and the forced conversion or expulsion of Muslims from Spain was celebrated in 1499 by a public and festive burning of Islamic books in Granada, by order of the archbishop of Toledo, Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros. [5]

Among the books that escaped the flames was the codex now known as the Sarajevo Haggadah, taken along into exile as a cherished family heirloom when its Jewish owners were expelled from Spain. Of the handful of manuscripts that survive from the golden age of Hebrew book-making in Spain not one remains in its country of origin. After a sojourn in northern Italy, sometime in the early 1600s, this Haggadah codex arrived in Bosnia where a community of Spanish Jews had found refuge and a new form of *convivencia* in the city of Sarajevo.

In the course of the sixteenth century Sarajevo had grown from a village at the foot of a medieval fortress into the

commercial and administrative center of the Ottoman province of Bosnia. It was a city where Muslim, Jewish and Christian craftsmen, merchants, scholars, clerics, and laborers lived and worked side by side and where religious and cultural diversity was seen as part of the normal fabric of communal life. As in medieval Spain, *convivencia* in Sarajevo did not imply an absence of hierarchies of status or of periodic friction between individuals and groups, but the fact of pluralism itself was taken as a given.

Among the benefactions of Sarajevo's first native Bosnian Muslim governor, Gazi Husrev Beg, was the city's first public library, established in 1537. Within sight of the great mosque, also founded by Gazi Husrev Beg, stood the city's first Orthodox Christian church, built to attract tradesmen of that faith to the city's newly laid-out bazaars. Another Ottoman governor, Siyavus Pasha, endowed an Islamic pious foundation (*waqf*) in 1580-81 to erect a large apartment building (*han*) for the poorer members of Sarajevo's Jewish community and gave permission to build the city's first synagogue. [6]

As the city grew and prospered, it became a center of scholarship and literary life and of book production. From the colophons of still-extant manuscripts and from documents, we know the names of hundreds of Bosnian authors and copyists who produced thousands of manuscripts in a variety of languages and alphabets: Arabic, Ottoman Turkish, Persian, Hebrew, Ladino (Judaeo-Spanish), and Bosnian Slavic written in *aljamiado* (Arabic script), *bosan ica* (the Bosnian variant of Cyrillic script) or *latinica* (Latin script), as well as

Church Slavonic, and Church Latin. This interaction of cultures in Bosnia, like the *convivencia* of medieval Spain, gave rise to some wonderfully complex forms, such as lyrical poetry written by Muslim Slavs in the classical Islamic literary medium of Arabic and Persian verse, but showing the stylistic influence of Petrarchan sonnets brought in from the Dalmatian coast. [7]

In its new home in Sarajevo, the exquisite little Haggadah codex from Aragon continued in its role as the centerpiece of family Passover observances. Wine and food stains mark some of the pages; on one, there is a child's scrawl. But before the century was over it was once again in danger. In the year 1697, Sarajevo and its version of *convivencia* came under attack as the city was sacked and burned by the army of the Habsburg emperor, under the command of Prince Eugene of Savoy.

Just eleven years previously, the combined Habsburg and allied armies of the Holy League had stormed the walls of Buda, the capital of Ottoman Hungary. The fall of the city on September 2, 1686, came after a hard-fought three-month siege. When the victorious Christian troops surged through the breaches in the walls they spared neither the city's residents nor their homes and belongings. In the last decade of Ottoman rule, the Jewish community in Buda had numbered about 1,000 people. Barely half of them survived the city's reversion to Christian rule.

In a memoir entitled *Megilat Ofen* [The Book of Buda] and in the marginal notes of a scriptural commentary, Isaac Schulhof, a learned and prosperous member of the city's Jewish community, has left a first-hand account of these events, which took

the lives of his wife and son, his home, and all of his possessions. Along with the looting and the slaughter in the streets, Schulhof witnessed the massacre by Habsburg troops of 72 Jews inside a synagogue where they had tried to take shelter. Hundreds more captives were killed by drunken mercenaries on the banks of the Danube. Those who survived the siege and its aftermath, including several hundred Jews and 6,000 Muslims, were taken by the Christian troops as chattel to be sold as slaves or held for ransom. Many of the surviving Jews, including Schulhof himself, were ransomed by Samuel Oppenheimer, the Habsburg emperor's banker; others were redeemed with money collected from Jewish communities all over Europe.

The "cleansing" of Buda's non-Christian communities was not an isolated event. It was preceded in 1670 by a Habsburg imperial edict ordering the expulsion of all Jews from Vienna and Lower Austria. Oppenheimer himself and a handful of other Jews whose services were deemed indispensable to the court were allowed to stay, but had to pay for this privilege with a substantial annual fee (*Toleranzgeld*).

In Buda and Pest, mosques and minarets were pulled down and the city's three synagogues were sacked and burned. That the losses must also have included books may be inferred from one of Isaac Schulhof's marginal notes to his scriptural commentary, recalling the days before the siege:

About three years ago (i.e. before 1686) some thirty heads of families [in Buda] got together and elected me to study with them. And every week on Wednesday nights I would study through

the night until dawn with them, reading the five books of Moses, the Prophets and the Hagiographa, the Mishna, the Haggadah and midrashic works. At the conclusion all would stand and with loud voice and pleasant melody sing songs like "My Soul's Beloved," which are printed in the book *The Gates of Zion*, and then melodiously recite the prayer that is customary following the study of the scriptures. And since learning is enriched by competition among those who thirst for knowledge, others also got together, bachelors and young men who had recently married; there were about twenty of them, who also engaged a scholar to study with them. ... If only the destruction of the city had not intervened, this institution would have endured forever... [8]

Among the survivors of the fall of Buda was a learned young man named Sevi Hirsch Ashkenazi, who was to become famous as one of the leading religious scholars of the age. His wife and young daughter were killed in the 1686 siege and his parents were taken captive by Prussian soldiers, but he found a safe haven in Sarajevo, where the Jewish community employed him as their *chacham* (rabbi). Four years later, the rabbi left to find his parents in Berlin and thus was spared from seeing scenes of the sack of Buda repeated in Sarajevo. [9]

The burning of Sarajevo is described in an entry in Prince Eugene of Savoy's war diary:

On 23 October [1697], I placed the troops in a broad front on a height directly overlooking the city. From there, I sent detachments to plunder it. The Turks had already taken the best things to safety, but still a great quantity of all

sorts of goods remained behind. Towards evening the city began to burn. The city is very large and quite open; it has 120 fine mosques. On the 24th I remained at Sarajevo. We let the city and the whole surrounding area go up in flames. Our raiding party, which pursued the enemy, brought back booty and many women and children, after killing many Turks ... [10]

In his description of the burning of Sarajevo, the prince does not mention books as such, but the pain of seeing books consumed by the flames figures prominently in a verse lament for the city's destruction written by an anonymous Bosnian Muslim author:

They came and burned the beautiful city of Sarajevo down.
 Like cattle they drove the innocent people out,
 They came and burned the beautiful city of Sarajevo down.
 They burned Korans by the thousands and countless [other] books,
 How many mosques they burned, sanctuaries pulled down!
 The whole city, from one end to the other, they ruined and devastated,
 They came and burned the beautiful city of Sarajevo down... [11]

Before Prince Eugene and his expeditionary force withdrew with their loot and captives, the city center, including the synagogue and the houses and shops of Sarajevo's first Jewish quarter around El Cortijo, the great apartment building built from the bequest of Siyavus Pasha, had been completely burned and sacked. Many books had perished but, although we have no witness other than the fact of its survival, the Sarajevo Haggadah once again was saved. [12]

Sarajevo, including its old Jewish quarter,

was retaken and rebuilt and Ottoman rule endured for another two centuries, until another Habsburg army took the city in 1878. Fortunately, times had changed and the Habsburg empire was now a formally pluralistic enterprise no longer interested in imposing religious uniformity upon its subjects. Instead, Bosnia-Herzegovina's new rulers sought to bring their newly-acquired territory into the modern age. Among the civic improvements of the Habsburg era was the Semaljski muzej (Landesmuseum, now the National Museum), established in Sarajevo in 1888 as Bosnia's first scientific institution and research library organized on the western model. In 1894, the codex that is now known as the Sarajevo Haggadah was purchased from a private owner to become one of the new museum's most prized possessions. It was taken to Vienna to be examined by the leading experts, and then returned to the custody of the museum in Sarajevo, which has preserved it to this day.

Although Sarajevo gained notoriety in 1914 as the site of the political assassination that sparked the Great War, the city survived that war physically unscathed. At the end of the war in November 1918, Bosnia's last Habsburg governor Baron Sarkotic handed over power in Sarajevo to the Bosnian local authorities. A few days later, Serbian and Montenegrin troops entered the city and Bosnia became part of the newly-founded Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, which before long was renamed Yugoslavia.

From the outset, the new kingdom was beset by disputes between centralists and local autonomists and by competing Serbian and Croatian nationalist ambitions.

From 1929 until the eve of World War II, the country was ruled by decree as a royal dictatorship, which instead of resolving these divisions wound up exacerbating them. Despite the political tensions and the economic depression of the 1930s, cultural and literary life continued to flourish among Sarajevo's diverse ethnic and religious communities. During the interwar years, about half of all Sarajevans were Bosniaks (Muslim Slavs), one seventh were Jews, and the rest were divided between Orthodox Serbs, Catholic Croats, and others. Cultural and literary associations, clubs, religious societies and labor and business groups published books, almanacs and journals and maintained dozens of libraries and community reading rooms. Among them was La Benevolencija (est. 1892), Sarajevo's leading Jewish cultural, educational and charitable society, which in 1933 opened its own research library. [13]

Nazi Germany invaded Yugoslavia in April 1941 and partitioned the country among its allies and local collaborators. Bosnia-Herzegovina, divided into German and Italian occupation zones, was assigned to the so-called "Independent State of Croatia," run by a brutal fascist puppet regime installed by the Germans in Zagreb.

As in World War I, Sarajevo once again emerged from the four years of war and occupation with only minor physical damage, but Bosnia and its people had suffered terribly. More than 300,000 Bosnians of all ethnic groups died in concentration camps, reprisals and massacres, in fighting the Nazis or each other. Hardest hit as a community were Bosnia's Jews—of an estimated 12 to

14,000 Jews in Bosnia-Herzegovina barely 2,000 survived the Holocaust.

In the initial days of the German occupation, anti-Jewish laws were enacted and all of Sarajevo's eight synagogues and its other Jewish community institutions were sacked and vandalized.

Treasures that were not stolen were burned. Centuries of record books, precious silver, ancient libraries, and illuminated manuscripts—nearly the sum total of Sarajevo's Jewish heritage—was carted off or went up in smoke. [14]

Among the institutions attacked by the Nazis and their local sympathisers were the library of La Benevolencija, the Jewish community reading rooms (*Jevrejske čitaonice*), and other communal and private library collections. Much was lost in the first orgy of looting and destruction, but the Germans took care to pack up some of the more valuable items from the La Benevolencija library and the historical documents of the Sarajevo Jewish community and sent them off to the "Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg", a central institute set up to collect such cultural loot from all over Europe. A wartime report preserved in the Bosnian state archives makes reference to one such shipment of twelve crates of books from the La Benevolencija library, which was sent off to Berlin on October 29, 1941. After Sarajevo's liberation, the ministry of education of Bosnia's new Communist government was informed in July 1945 by a representative of La Benevolencija that the society's library before the war had contained "some 2,000 books" including among them documents "of great antiquity and historical value...

which the Ustasha [Croatian quisling regime] took away in 1941 and until now we haven't been able to establish where these books are located". [15]

Among the few survivors of that dark era was the famous Sarajevo Haggadah codex, concealed from the Nazis in the worst days of the occupation by a courageous Bosnian museum curator. More than half a century later, we still don't know exactly how the Haggadah was saved, but the amazing fact that this book—Sarajevo's most famous Jewish cultural artefact—was somehow kept from falling into the hands of the Nazis has given rise to a variety of anecdotes and legends. According to one account:

In 1941, immediately after the occupation forces entered Sarajevo, a German officer came to the National Museum and ordered the director [Dr. Jozo Petrović] to hand over only the manuscript Haggadah from the rich Museum collection. The director used various excuses to delay the delivery of the valuable leather codex, and managed in the meantime to smuggle it out of the large museum building into a mountain village in the vicinity of Sarajevo. After the city was liberated, this true treasure was returned to the safe of the Museum.

Recent studies, based on documents in the National Museum's archives, have called into question key features of the legends surrounding the rescue of the Haggadah, such as the dramatic story of the manuscript being spirited out of the building under the noses of the Nazis and hidden in a mountain village (buried beneath a peasant's threshold, inside a mosque, or under an apple tree according to some accounts). Although the docu-

mentary record is tantalizingly incomplete, it points to the part played by museum curator Derviš Korkut in the preservation of the manuscript during the war. His role presents an example of the intercommunal and interpersonal ties fostered by centuries of *convivencia* in Bosnia.

Korkut, a Bosnian Muslim, was in charge of the National Museum's library. He also had a close and long-standing connection with Sarajevo's Jewish community. In the 1920s, his translation of an Ottoman-era document recording prominent Jewish families in early 19th-century Sarajevo was serialized in the local newspaper *Jevrejski glas* (Jewish Voice). On the eve of the war, when the "Jewish question" in Yugoslavia had become a hot political issue (in October 1940 the royal Yugoslav government enacted its first anti-Jewish decrees), Derviš Korkut responded by writing an article entitled "Anti-Semitism is Foreign to the Muslims of Bosnia and Herzegovina" and having it published in Belgrade.

Following the Nazi invasion, there is evidence that Korkut used his access to museum records to alter labels and catalogue entries in order to conceal and protect manuscripts, including several codices personally entrusted to him for safekeeping (*u amanet*) by a Sarajevo Jew, Vito Kajon, in October 1941. Kajon's Jewish manuscripts survived the war in the museum's library, in a box labeled: "Archiv der Familie Kapetanović—Türkische Urkunden" (Archives of the Kapetanović family—Turkish documents). As for the museum's famous Haggadah codex, the evidence suggests that Korkut was the last person to sign for the manuscript before the war. Thereafter it disappears from the

record and is not mentioned in inventories until the end of 1943, when the museum was closed for the duration of the war and its most valuable collections were evacuated from the building and placed in a vault of the State Bank. The Sarajevo Haggadah is listed in the inventory of items evacuated from the museum on December 9, 1943, by order of the new museum director, Vejsil Ćurčić. Six weeks prior to this, on October 29, the museum library's inventory book records—after a long silence—Ćurčić's receipt of the Haggadah codex from Derviš Korkut. The complete details of how the Haggadah was preserved from the Nazis are still unknown. However, the fact that this unique manuscript was deliberately concealed for a time during the German occupation and emerged intact after Sarajevo's liberation is not in question. [16]

Half a century after the Nazi invasion, the idea of *convivencia* in Bosnia once again came under attack by the ideologues of ethnic and racial purity. Selected as targets of these attacks were not only people of the “wrong” ethnic or religious heritage, but also books, libraries and archives, museums, works of art, houses of worship and historic architecture. In terms of the deliberate destruction of cultural heritage, the 1992-95 war in Bosnia and Herzegovina far surpassed the material damage inflicted on the country during World War II. [17]

In the summer of 1992, Sarajevo witnessed what may well be the largest single incident of book-burning in modern history. [18] The target was Bosnia's National and University Library, housed in a handsome Moorish-revival building built

in the 1890s as Sarajevo's city hall. Before the fire, the National and University Library held an estimated 1.5 million volumes, including over 155,000 rare books, unique archives and special collections, 478 manuscript codices, 600 sets of periodicals, a complete set of all the books, newspapers and journals published in Bosnia since the mid-19th century, as well as the main research collections of the University of Sarajevo. [19]

In a three-day inferno (August 25-27) the library building was gutted, the greater part (an estimated 90%) of its irreplaceable contents reduced to ashes. Shortly after nightfall on August 25th a barrage of incendiary shells fired by Serb nationalist forces from several positions on the heights overlooking the library burst through the roof and the large stained-glass skylight, setting the book stacks ablaze. Repeated shelling kept rekindling the fire, while snipers, mortar shells and anti-aircraft guns fired at sidewalk level targeted firefighters and volunteers attempting to save the books. Eyewitness reports describe the scene:

[The National Library] was blazing out of control Wednesday after the besieged Bosnian capital came under fierce bombardment overnight. Firefighters struggling with low water pressure managed to extinguish the blaze several times during the night but the building ... kept coming under renewed attack. ... By mid-morning, the north and central sections of the crenelated four-storey building were completely engulfed by flames. Windows were exploding out into the narrow streets and the building's stone north wall was cracking and collapsing under the heat of the raging

inferno. ...The fire started shortly after 10 p.m. on Tuesday night and, despite the efforts of the city's fire department, kept reigniting and growing. The slender Moorish columns of the Library's main reading room exploded from the intense heat and portions of the roof came crashing through the ceiling. ... [20]

Serb fighters in the hills ringing Sarajevo peppered the area around the library with machine-gun fire, trying to prevent firemen from fighting the blaze along the banks of the Miljacka river in the old city. Machine gun bursts ripped chips from the crenelated building and sent firemen scurrying for cover. Mortar rounds landed around the building with deafening crashes, kicking up bricks and plaster and spraying shrapnel. Asked why he was risking his life, fire brigade chief Kenan Slini , sweaty, soot-covered and two yards from the blaze, said: "Because I was born here and they are burning a part of me." [21]

Braving a hail of sniper fire, librarians and citizen volunteers formed a human chain to pass books out of the burning building to trucks queued outside. Interviewed by a television camera crew, one of them said: "We managed to save just a few, very precious books. Everything else burned down. And a lot of our heritage, national heritage, lay down there in ashes". Among the human casualties was Aida Buturovi , a 32-year-old librarian in the National Library's international exchanges section. She was killed by a mortar shell as she tried to make her way home from the library. Amidst the carnage caused by the intense Serb nationalist bombardment of the city, her death went unnoted except by her family and colleagues. Bosnia's Ministry of Health reported on August 26th

that 14 people had been killed and 126 had been wounded in Sarajevo during the preceding 24 hours. [22]

Three months earlier, the Serbian gunners' target had been Sarajevo's Oriental Institute (est. 1950), home to the region's largest collection of Islamic manuscript texts and Ottoman documents. Targeted with phosphorus shells on May 17th, the Oriental Institute and virtually all of its contents were consumed by the flames. Losses included 5,263 bound manuscripts in Arabic, Persian, Ottoman Turkish, and Bosnian Slavic written in Arabic script; an



Fig. 1. *Convivencia* – Jewish and Islamic books rescued from the burning National and University Library of Bosnia-Herzegovina, August 1992. (photo: Andrea Markov)

archive of 200,000 Ottoman documents, primary source material for 500 years of the country's history; a collection of over 100 Ottoman cadastral registers recording land-ownership and population structure in Bosnia from the 16th through the late 19th century; and 300 microfilm reels with copies of Bosnian manuscripts in private hands or in foreign institutions. The Institute's reference collection of 10,000 printed books and 300 sets of periodicals, the most comprehensive special library on its subject in the entire region, was also destroyed, as was its catalog and all work in progress. [23]

In each case, the library alone was targeted; adjacent buildings stand intact to this day. Serb nationalist leader Radovan Karadžić has denied that his forces were responsible for the attacks, claiming the National Library had been set ablaze by the Muslims themselves "because they didn't like its ... architecture". [24]

The 200,000-volume library of Bosnia's National Museum (Semaljski muzej Bosne i Hercegovine) in Sarajevo was evacuated under shelling and sniper fire during the summer of 1992. Among the books successfully rescued from the Museum was one of the country's greatest cultural treasures, the Sarajevo Haggadah. [25]

We have the word of the Bosnian Serb officer in charge for the fact that the shelling of the museum was intentional. In September 1992, BBC reporter Kate Adie went to the siege lines and interviewed the battery commander, asking him why his men had shelled the Holiday Inn, where all the foreign correspondents were known to stay. The officer apologized,

explaining that they had been aiming at the roof of the National Museum, across the street from the hotel, and had missed.

The National Museum was badly damaged during the 3-1/2-year siege. Shells crashed through the roof and the skylights and all of its 300 windows were shot out; shell-holes penetrated the walls of several galleries. Parts of the Museum's collection that could not be moved to safe storage remained inside the building, exposed to damage from artillery attacks and to decay from exposure to the elements. Dr. Rizo Sijarić, the Museum's director, was killed by a shell burst during Sarajevo's second siege winter (December 10, 1993), while trying to arrange for plastic sheeting from U.N. relief agencies to cover some of the holes in the building. [26]

The libraries of ten of the sixteen faculties of the University of Sarajevo were also wholly or partly destroyed by Serbian shelling, suffering combined losses of 400,000 books and 500 periodical titles. Of the remaining faculty libraries and specialized research institutes affiliated with the university, all suffered some degree of damage to their buildings, equipment and collections; all the libraries lost members of their staffs. Eight branches of Sarajevo's municipal public library were also shelled and burned. [27]

The catalogue of losses does not stop there. One could mention the destroyed and looted monastery, church and library of the Franciscan Theological Seminary in the Sarajevo suburb of Nedžarići; the shelling and partial destruction of the regional archives of Herzegovina in Mostar; the 50,000 volumes lost when the library of

the Roman Catholic bishopric of Mostar was set ablaze by the Serb-led Yugoslav army; the burning and bulldozing of the 16th-century Serbian Orthodox monastery of Žitomislčić south of Mostar by Croat extremists; and similar acts of destruction in hundreds of other Bosnian communities subjected to “ethnic cleansing” by Serb and Croat nationalist forces. [28]

The fates of two such communities, Janja in northeastern Bosnia and Stolac in the country’s southern region of Herzegovina, are representative of a widespread pattern of destruction.

Before the 1992-95 war, Janja was a small town of 10,000 people, 95 percent of them Bosniaks (Muslim Slavs), located in the fertile Semberija plain near the Drina River, about six miles south of Bijeljina. In 1993-94 Janja was in the news as the scene of a particularly brutal “ethnic cleansing” campaign conducted by nationalist thugs led by a former soccer player named Vojkan Djurković, members of a Serbian paramilitary unit under the command of Željko Ražnatović (known by the *nom de guerre* “Arkan”).

According to information received from the State Commission for Investigating War Crimes in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the Old Mosque (Atik džamija) in the center of Janja was blown up between 3 and 4 a.m. on April 13, 1993; the ruins were leveled by bulldozer the following day. Janja’s second mosque was destroyed in the same manner in early May. Among the town’s other cultural treasures was the private library of the late Mr. Alija Sadiković (1872-1936). A scion of one of the area’s oldest Muslim families, Alija-efendija Sadiković was a scholar and a notable author, repre-

senting the last flowering of a 400-year-old tradition of Bosnian-language literature written in the Arabic script (*alhamijado*). In a survey of Islamic manuscript collections in Bosnia, published in 1992, the Sadikovic collection is recorded as having about 100 manuscript codices along with hundreds of rare printed books in Ottoman Turkish, Bosnian, Arabic, and Persian. Mr. Sadiković had bequeathed his library to Janja’s Old Mosque, which also housed valuable collections of rare books and Islamic manuscripts that had been deeded to the mosque by two other well-known Muslim scholars from Janja, Halil-efendija Jelić and Mustafa-efendija Hadžić. All three of these book collections, an estimated 3,200 volumes, were destroyed in the spring of 1993, along with Janja’s historic Old Mosque. The adjacent mosque graveyard, with the tombs of scholars and writers from Janja, was also bulldozed. [29]

In the months that followed, the “ethnic cleansers” also disposed of the town’s Bosnian Muslim population, sending many of the men to concentration camps and making women, children and old people pay extortion money for the privilege of being expelled across the confrontation lines. All but a handful of the 30,000 Bosniaks living in the Janja-Bijeljina area were “cleansed” by Djurković and his men, reportedly acting on direct orders from Radovan Karadžić’s headquarters in Pale. At the end of the war, most of Janja’s surviving inhabitants were refugees living in temporary housing in the Tuzla area. Vojkan Djurković is alive and well and a prominent man in the nearby town of Bijeljina, which is still controlled by pro-Karadzic hard-liners, as is Janja. Since the end of the war, investigators from the

International War Crimes Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia have discovered three mass grave sites near Janja, which are believed to hold the remains of hundreds of massacred Muslim civilians. [30]

The losses in Stolac, a historic small town in Herzegovina, also illustrate the link between the destruction of a community through the killing or expulsion of its members and the destruction of its communal memory by the “ethnic cleansers.” On the eve of the recent war, Stolac was inhabited by some 19,000 people, about half of them Bosnian Muslims, one third Bosnian Croats and one fifth Bosnian Serbs. Considered by the Bosnian government for nomination as a UNESCO world heritage site during the 1980s, Stolac was known for its well-preserved traditional residential architecture, its 17th-century market, four ancient mosques, and a Baroque Serbian Orthodox church built in the last years of Ottoman rule, all spectacularly arrayed on a hillside beneath imposing Ottoman-era fortifications.

In the summer of 1993, Stolac was “ethnically cleansed” by the HVO, the Bosnian Croat nationalist militia. A report by the office of the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees describes what happened:

... In early July [1993], hundreds of draft-age men in Stolac, a predominantly Muslim town, were reportedly rounded up [by the Bosnian Croat authorities] and detained, probably in [the concentration camps at] Dretelj and Gabela. The total number of detained civilians from Stolac is believed to be about 1,350. ... On 1 August, four mosques in Stolac were blown up. That night, witnesses said, military trucks carrying soldiers firing their weapons in

the air went through the town terrorizing and rounding up all Muslim women, children and elderly.

The cries and screams of women and children could be heard throughout the town as the soldiers looted and destroyed Muslim homes. The soldiers, who wore handkerchiefs, stockings or paint to hide their faces, took the civilians to Blagaj, an area of heavy fighting northwest of Stolac.

(UNHCR Press Release REF/1034, August 23, 1993)

A memorial book issued in 1996 by the presidency-in-exile of Stolac Municipality lists the following losses of unique original manuscripts, documents and community records burned by the HVO:

- The Library of the Muslim Community Board of Stolac, including 40 manuscripts from the 17th-19th centuries, valuable printed books and community records going back to the 19th century (burned in mid-July 1993 by HVO militiamen);
- The Library of the Emperor’s Mosque in Stolac—tens of manuscripts in Bosnian, Arabic, Turkish and Persian, from the 17th-19th centuries, along with 8 framed *lawhas* (illuminated single-page compositions of Islamic calligraphy) from the 18th and 19th centuries. Burned by the HVO in early August 1993, together with the Emperor’s Mosque (Careva džamija, Mosque of Sultan Selim I, built in 1519);
- Library of the Podgradska Mosque (Mosque of Ali Pasha Rizvanbegovic) in Stolac—tens of manuscripts and historical documents of the 18th-19th centuries, and 5 *lawhas* (the oeuvre of one local 19th-century calligrapher). The mosque library was burned in the fire set by the HVO to destroy the Podgradska Mosque (built in 1732-33) at 11 p.m. on

July 28, 1993; the burned-out building was mined on August 8. The rubble remaining after the explosion was trucked away and the site was leveled.

- Several important private collections of documents, manuscript volumes and rare books belonging to Bosniak (Muslim Slav) families in Stolac were burned by HVO militiamen when the town's Muslims were rounded up and expelled and their houses destroyed in July-August 1993. We have only limited information available on the contents of these collections. There is a published description of 50 bound manuscripts (39 Arabic, 2 Persian, 9 Ottoman Turkish) in the Habiba Mehmedbašić collection; the manuscripts were burned when the Mehmedbašić family home was looted and set ablaze by Croat extremists. The historic mansions, libraries, and family papers of other old Bosniak families in Stolac—Rizvanbegović, Behmen, and Mahmutćehajić—were also burned and destroyed. [31]

Throughout Bosnia, public and private libraries, archives, museums and other cultural institutions were targeted for destruction, in an attempt to eliminate the material evidence—books, documents, and works of art—that could remind future generations that people of different ethnic and religious traditions once shared a common heritage and life in Bosnia. In hundreds of towns and villages, communal records (cadastral registers, parish records, endowment deeds) that documented the historical presence and properties of minority communities were torched by nationalist extremists as part of “ethnic cleansing” campaigns. An estimated 481,100 linear meters of records—the equivalent of a row of document storage

boxes more than 300 miles long—were destroyed in attacks on historical archives and local registry offices during the 1992-95 war. Lost in the flames were hundreds of thousands of documents recording people's births, deaths, and marriages, their properties and businesses, and, their cultural and religious lives, civic and political activities and associations. [32]

While the destruction of a community's institutions and records is, in the first instance, part of a strategy of intimidation aimed at driving out members of the targeted group, it also serves a long-term goal. These records were proof that others once lived in that place, that they had historical roots there. By burning the documents, by razing mosques and churches and bulldozing graveyards, the nationalist forces who took over these towns and villages were trying to insure themselves against any future claims by the people they had expelled and dispossessed. [33]

Underlying these “practical” motives, was a structure of ideological justification. Public support for “ethnic cleansing” was promoted by nationalist publications and the electronic media, which presented history as the eternal struggle of the pure Serb (or pure Croat) nation against a racial and religious enemy threatening its very survival. Beginning in 1986, the Serbian public was treated to a deluge of television docudramas, historical novels, essays, and speeches in which Muslims were portrayed as race-traitors and Christ-killers. [34]

Patriotic academics were called upon to explain to a credulous public the true depravity of the Muslims, who were alleged to be using books as an instrument to plot

genocide against Serbs. Thus in April 1993, at the height of “ethnic cleansing” by Serbian forces in Bosnia, the Serbian scholar Nada Todorov informed readers of a military journal that

... the traditional *Thousand and One Nights* tales, which Muslims are supposed to have read in their childhood, deserves special blame, since these stories have provided “subliminal direction” to the Muslims to torture and kill Christians. As Todorov explains: “Since these stories are full of eroticism, it is certain that they [the Muslims] read them carefully during puberty, so that their effect on the personality of the latter is clearly evident. In committing atrocities in Bosnia-Herzegovina, [their] conscious, sub-conscious, and unconscious levels of personality have been at work.” [35]

This theme was also promoted by the psychiatrist Dr. Jovan Rasković, Radovan Karadžić’s mentor and co-founder of the nationalist Serbian Democratic Party (SDS), in his book *Luda zemlja* (A Mad Country), published on the eve of the war. In this book, Dr. Rasković presented his psychoanalytic theories about the ethnic groups of Yugoslavia, which he claimed to have discovered in his clinical practice. He declared that Muslims were plagued by an “anal-erotic fixation” (as evidenced by their practice of frequent ritual ablutions) and by a compulsion for acquiring assets and money. Croats allegedly suffered from “castration anxieties” and were weak and incapable of true leadership, but they had a “genocidal instinct” which made them especially dangerous to Serbs. Serbs, on the other hand, were the only psychologically healthy and vigorous group

capable of exerting authority, and thus were destined to dominate the other Yugoslav peoples. [36]

Dr. Biljana Plavšić, professor of biology and former dean of the Faculty of Natural Sciences and Mathematics at the University of Sarajevo, took this kind of “racial science” one step further in her role as vice president in Radovan Karadžić’s Bosnian Serb war cabinet. “Ethnic cleansing” was a “natural phenomenon,” she assured the Serbian public, made necessary by the “genetic deformity” of Bosnian Muslims. The Muslims’ ancestors, she averred, had originally been Serbs,

... but it was genetically deformed material that embraced Islam. And now, of course, with each successive generation this gene simply becomes more concentrated. It gets worse and worse, it simply expresses itself and dictates their style of thinking and behaving, which is rooted in their genes. [37]

Implied in this and similar statements is the idea that by adopting an “Oriental” religion the ancestors of Bosnia’s Muslim Slavs had crossed not only religious but racial boundaries. Such ideas can have fatal consequences. On July 11, 1995, the U.N.-protected enclave of Srebrenica in eastern Bosnia was overrun by Serb nationalist forces led by Gen. Ratko Mladić. Bosnian Serb radio, based at Karadžić and Plavšić’s headquarters in the ski resort of Pale, broadcast the news that normality had been restored to “free Srebrenica.” This announcement was followed by the song: “Die you scum, the Serbs are the champions. Come out onto your balconies and hail the white Serb race.” [38]

In the spring of 1996, after the Dayton peace agreement, the first Western journalists were allowed to visit “free” Srebrenica by the Bosnian Serb authorities. Elizabeth Neuffer of the Boston Globe reported what she found there:

Eight months have passed since the Bosnian Serb army overran this United Nations “safe haven” and some 8,500 Muslim men and boys disappeared, many now believed to have been executed and dumped in mass graves nearby. But the memory lives on.

The tangled remains of Srebrenica’s two mosques are still crumpled on the main street. Piles of garbage reveal burned books with Muslim names on the flyleaves. [39]

Despite all that has happened, there are still people in Bosnia and elsewhere who are working to preserve the memory of that country’s pluralistic society, its long history and its multicultural heritage. At the forefront of that struggle are the librarians of the National and University Library of Bosnia and Herzegovina (NULBH) who are determined to rebuild their institution. They have a long-term plan to reconstitute the library’s collection of *Bosniaca*. According to Enes Kujundžić, the director of the NULBH, the term “Bosniaca” is defined as:

- Bosnian imprints (books produced in Bosnia on all subjects), and
- books about the subject of Bosnia (wherever they were produced).

Assembling and preserving this kind of national “collection of record” is the first of the two main functions of any national library. The other function, of course, is its role as the country’s major research library.

Since 1995 OCLC Inc., a cataloguing consortium based in Dublin, Ohio, and the University of Michigan Library have compiled on-line bibliographies recording holdings of *Bosniaca* in major American libraries. Closer to home, the national libraries in Slovenia and Croatia are sharing data and expertise with their counterparts in Bosnia. This will help Dr. Kujundžić and his staff at the NULBH in planning the first phase of their project to reassemble a core collection of important Bosnian imprints and books written about Bosnia and Herzegovina. The records in these databases will be part of a master bibliography, from which the Bosnians can select which works they would like to have in the form of microfiche, CD-ROM or other facsimiles, and which small subset of books they deem important enough to include in a desiderata list of works that the Sarajevo library will seek to acquire in the original form (by purchase, donation, or exchange).

Both the OCLC project and the University of Michigan data will help with efforts to gather information about *Bosniaca*, by identifying North American libraries that currently own publications that may no longer exist in Bosnian collections. These items can then be given priority in ongoing preservation programs that film or scan rare library materials. Once that is accomplished, arrangements can be made at relatively modest cost to provide additional copies for the Bosnian library. [40]

Another way in which Bosnian publications can be rescued from the ashes is by reissuing them. Since the end of the war, Bosnia’s publishing industry has been turning out hundreds of reprint editions of

classic works originally published in Bosnia or written about Bosnia, as well as anthologies of Bosnian literature and new studies of Bosnian culture and history. These new editions will help take the place of many of the books that were lost in the burning and pillage of both public and private libraries during the 1992-95 war. [41]

The Bosnia Library Project, a program of book donations organized by Jeff Spurr, a librarian at Harvard University, helps address the other important function of the National and University Library—its goal to serve once again as a major research library that can support teaching and other academic and professional work in Bosnia-Herzegovina. About 30,000 books and journals donated by American university presses, other publishers, academic libraries, and learned societies as part of this project are either already in Sarajevo or on their way there. Other book donations have come from Europe and the Middle East. For obvious reasons, the goal of restoring working academic libraries that can serve the needs of the University of Sarajevo and other educational institutions in Bosnia has taken precedence in terms of the urgency and scale of efforts involved.

The quest to recover “Bosniaca”—including both published works and copies of manuscripts—is a long-term undertaking that is only now beginning to bear fruit. In an effort to resurrect some of Bosnia’s lost manuscripts and documents from the ashes, a team of Bosnian and American scholars have established the Bosnian Manuscripts Ingathering Project. We were prompted by the realization that

although the collections of the Oriental Institute and many other manuscript libraries in Bosnia perished in the war, a number of the destroyed originals probably still exist in the form of microfilms, photocopies or other facsimiles taken by foreign scholars as part of research projects or sent abroad as part of exchanges between Bosnian libraries and foreign institutions. By setting up a registry of the current locations of these copies, we hope to help our Bosnian colleagues to reconstitute at least part of their collections. [42]

Recently, the Ingathering Project received a packet of ca. 360 pages of archival photocopies from Eleazar Birnbaum, a retired professor at the University of Toronto in Canada. Birnbaum had gone to Sarajevo in 1981 to do research in Bosnian manuscript libraries and had brought back several hundred photocopies of items that interested him. Some of those photocopies were taken of manuscripts in the collection of the Sarajevo Oriental Institute. Eleven years after his visit, the Institute was shelled and burned. All of the original manuscripts perished in the flames, but the Canadian scholar still had the stack of photocopies from Sarajevo in his study. When he found out about the Ingathering Project from an announcement in a professional journal, he wrote us a letter, offering to let us make copies of his photocopies, as a contribution toward recovering at least some of the Oriental Institute’s lost manuscript collection. The material he sent us includes full or partial copies of 14 works in Ottoman Turkish, two in Persian, and one in Arabic. Several of the recovered items are unique copies of works not recorded in other collections; among them are texts of

considerable philological, literary, historical and artistic interest. All qualify, in one way or another, as “Bosniaca”.

Among these resurrected images of lost originals, we found a copy of the following manuscript:

- Orijentalni institut u Sarajevu, MS 4811/II. (84 fols. - complete copy) a collection of anecdotes (*hikayat*) written in Ottoman Turkish by an anonymous author in 1585 (copy dated 1640). A number of the anecdotes refer to Bosnian topics and to personages of Bosnian origin. Among them is a rather racy tale recounting how the Bosnians came to be converted to Islam, followed by a satire on the alleged manners and customs of the more rustic Bosnian converts, known as *poturs* (which the author glosses as “half-Muslims”). This unique text is important as a document of cultural history, showing how Bosnians perceived themselves, each other, and their society during an era of social and religious transformation. The recovery of this manuscript is particularly significant, since it is not among the works recorded in Salih Trako and Lejla Gazić’s 1997 catalogue of the lost literary MSS. of the Sarajevo Oriental Institute. [43]

Another item among these recovered manuscripts turned out to be an example of “Bosnian Americana”—an excerpt from a 16th-century Ottoman work on the discovery of the New World:

- Orijentalni institut u Sarajevu, MS 115 (fols. 1b-13a), part of a miscellany copied in Sarajevo the early 1700s; the manuscript opens with a work

entitled *Ibtida’-i Zuhur-i ĞAlem-i Cedid* [The first appearance of the New World], a 16th-century treatise in Ottoman Turkish on the discovery of America and the marvels of the New World (based on texts translated from Latin and Spanish). While variants of this text are recorded elsewhere, the existence of this particular manuscript testifies to the fact that there were people in Sarajevo ca. 1700 with an intellectual curiosity about the world beyond the confines of the Balkans and the Ottoman Empire, who commissioned such manuscripts and presumably read them and discussed them with their friends. Recorded in Salih Trako and Lejla Gazić’s 1997 catalogue, p. 308, no. 525.

This item came to us separately from two sources: one photocopy was included among the items received from Prof. Birnbaum; another, somewhat clearer copy of the same manuscript was donated to the Ingathering Project by Prof. Thomas Goodrich, a specialist on the history of cartography and on Ottoman accounts of the New World. Goodrich, who recently retired from teaching, is also donating a valuable collection of reference books from his personal library to the Oriental Institute in Sarajevo.

A Bosnian graduate student at the University of Chicago contacted us with some vital information—she had worked at the Oriental Institute in Sarajevo before the recent war and remembered the names of several scholars from Germany, Italy, Macedonia and Turkey who had come to the Institute during the 1980s and had ordered photocopies of items in the

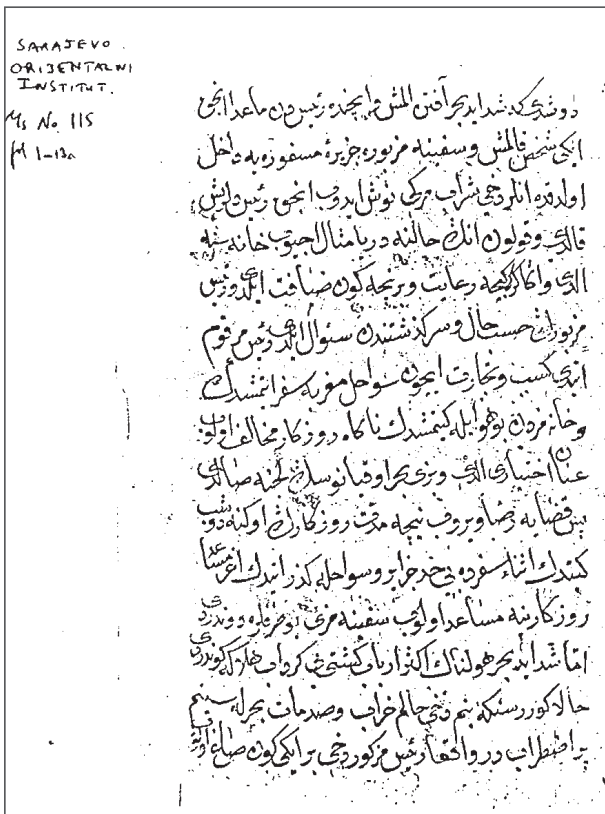


Fig. 2. Recovered Text — Photocopy of a page from *Ibtida’-i Zuhur-i ‘Alem-i Cedid* [The First Appearance of the New World], an early treatise in Ottoman Turkish on the discovery of America. The original manuscript was one of 5,263 codices burned when the Sarajevo Oriental Institute was shelled by Serb nationalist forces on May 17, 1992. Photocopies of this text and of other destroyed codices have been recovered by the Bosnian Manuscripts Ingathering Project.

Institute’s collection. We are now trying to contact those individuals (or, in the case of two of them who have since died, their heirs) to see if we can persuade them to supply us with copies of their copies of the lost Bosnian manuscripts.

The search continues, as we hope it will for many years to come. Each item we uncover is one bit of light rescued from the darkness of oblivion and one more way to frustrate the aims of those who tried to

destroy Bosnia, its people and their cultural heritage. [44]

Aside from gathering documents, donations of books, equipment and funds for education and rebuilding, how can and should we respond to these attacks against culture? First, we have to reassert and act on our own belief that there are principles of decency and international legality that are worth defending. This means doing everything in our power to make sure that those who violate international laws are indeed punished and not rewarded for their deeds. It means pressing our governments to give not only political but serious financial support for the prosecution of such crimes before the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY), and demanding the arrest and extradition of indicted war criminals who are still at large.

The targeting of libraries, archives and cultural monuments cannot be construed as an expression of one side’s views in a political dispute. Nor is it merely one of the many regrettable calamities of war. It is a war crime and a serious violation of international laws and conventions. The latter include the Geneva Conventions of 1949, the 1954 Hague Convention on the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict, and the 1977 Protocols I and II Additional to the Geneva Conventions, which add criminal sanctions to the terms of the 1954 Hague Convention.

All of these conventions were ratified by the government of the former Yugoslavia and have been accepted as legally binding by its successor states. Determined to do more than just help remedy the damage,

we have gathered eyewitness statements and other evidence that we hope will enable the ICTY Prosecutor’s office at The Hague in preparing indictments against those responsible for targeting the National and University Library in Sarajevo in August 1992. The successful prosecution of crimes against culture in a court of international law will set an important precedent and we hope it will serve as a warning to would-be “cultural cleansers” everywhere.

Bosnians of all ethnicities need our help. Faced with the bitter aftermath of war and the difficulties of an imperfect peace, many of them nevertheless remain committed to rebuilding and recovering their multicultural heritage and to keeping not only the memory but the practice of *convivencia* alive. Supporting them in this endeavor will help shape their society’s future and ours.

NOTES:

- [1] Described by Kemal Bakaršić, chief librarian of Bosnia’s National Museum, in “The Libraries of Sarajevo and the Book That Saved Our Lives”, *The New Combat: A Journal of Reason and Resistance*, 3 (Autumn 1994), pp. 13-15.
- [2] Mula Mustafa Ševki Bašeskija, *Ljetopis, 1746-1804*, ed. and transl. by Mehmed Mujezinović (Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša, 1968) p. 8, where Mula Mustafa first gives the saying in Arabic, followed by an Ottoman Turkish gloss: “*kullu ma kutiba qarra wa ma hufiza farra demisler, ya’ni her ne yazarsan kalur ve ne ezberlersen kaçar.*” This aphorism about the permanence of the written word cited by Mula Mustafa was part of his Ottoman and Islamic cultural milieu. Similar sayings, attributed to the Prophet Muhammad and to his son-in-law ‘Ali , were current among the educated elite and can be found in Ottoman treatises on the art of writing. Thus, Nefes-z de Ibrahim Efendi (d. 1650), *G lz r-i sav b*, ed. Kilisi Muallim R f’at (Istanbul: G zel Sanatlar Akademisi, 1938), p. 32, cites ‘Ali’s gloss on a hadith of the Prophet: “*al-’ulum wahshiyyah, qayyiduha bi ’l-kitabati*” (Knowledge is [flighty] like a wild beast—tie it down with [ropes of] writing); a similar gloss is offered by Mula Mustafa Bašeskija’s contemporary, M stak mz de S leyman Sa’deddin Efendi (1718-1787), *Tuhfe-i hatt t n*, ed. Ibn lemin Mahmud Kemal [Inal] (Istanbul: Devlet Matbaas , 1928), p. 15. I am grateful to my friend Dr. Irvin Cemil Schick for pointing out this connection. The unique manuscript of Mula Mustafa’s diary in Sarajevo’s Gazi Husrev Beg Library lived up its motto by surviving the 1992-95 siege intact.
- [3] For a discussion of the origin, importance and ownership history of this manuscript, see Eugen Verber, *The Sarajevo Haggadah* (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1988), pp. 19-22, and Bezalel Narkiss, “Manuscritos iluminados hispanohebreos”, *La Vida jud a en Sefarad*, ed. Elena Romero (Madrid: Ministerio de la Cultura, Direcci n General de Bellas Artes y Archivos, 1991), pp. 170-96.
- [4] An excerpt from his grammatical treatise *Ma’aseh Efod*, transl. and cited by Gabrielle Sed-Rajna in “Hebrew Illuminated Manuscripts from the Iberian Peninsula”, *Convivencia: Jews, Muslims and Christians in Medieval Spain*, ed. Vivian Mann, Thomas F. Glick, Jerrilynn Dodds (New York: George Braziller, in association with the Jewish Museum, 1992), pp. 133-57, p. 134; my statement on the special role of the book in the monotheistic traditions is adapted from Sed-Rajna. For

the historiography and varied interpretations of the term *convivencia*, see Thomas F. Glick's introductory essay to the same volume (pp. 1-9).

- [5] On the burning of Jewish books in Valladolid, see Taddäus Saderecki, *Der Talmud im Feuer der Jahrhunderte*, transl. M. Safier (Wien: Victoria, 1937), p. 20; for the 1490 book-burning in Salamanca, see Anne Lyon Haight, *Banned Books*, 3d ed. (New York: R.R. Bowker, 1970), p. 7; the above, as well as the great 1499 *auto da fé* of Islamic books in Granada, are described in H. Rafetseder, *Bücherverbrennungen: Die öffentliche Hinrichtung von Schriften im historischen Wandel* (Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 1988), p. 142. The forced conversion of Muslims and the expulsion of the unconverted was not concluded until 1502; in 1609-14 the descendants of these forced converts, known as Moriscos, were also expelled from Spain. It was the historical memory of the burning of Islamic scriptures in Granada that inspired the now-famous line in Heinrich Heine's play *Almansor*, where an Andalusian Muslim named Hassan is heard to say: "That was merely a prelude; where they burn books, in the end they will also burn people" (H. Rafetseder, *Bücherverbrennungen*, p. 101).
- [6] On Bosnian society and culture in the Ottoman era, see Noel Malcolm, *Bosnia: A Short History*, rev. ed. (New York: New York University Press, 1996), chapters 4-10; for the *waqf* of Siyavus Pasha and the early history of Sarajevo's Spanish-Jewish community, see Moritz Levy, *Die Sephardim in Bosnien: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Juden auf der Balkanhalbinsel* (Sarajevo, 1911; repr. Graz: Wieser Verlag, 1996), pp. 11-22, 134. Siyavus Pasha's grant of permission for the building of a synagogue next to the *han* was, technically, a violation of Islamic law—which allows the repair and reconstruction of pre-existing non-Muslim houses of worship, but not the erection of new ones where none had stood before. What makes this bending of the law all the more remarkable is that the property was entangled with two Islamic pious foundations: the *waqf* of Gazi Husrev Beg, which owned the land underneath the buildings, and that of Siyavus Pasha. For the history of Siyavus Pasha's foundation and of the great *han* he built for the Jews of Sarajevo (which they called El Cortijo, the "Great Courtyard" in Judaeo-Spanish), see Alija Bejtici, "Sijavuš-pašina daira," *Prilozi za proučavanje istorije Sarajeva*, 2 (1966), pp. 61-102.
- [7] For Arabic-script scriptoria in 16th-19th century Bosnia, see Muhamed Ždralović, *Bosansko-hercegovački prepisivači djela u arabičkim rukopisima* [Bosnian and Herzegovinian Copyists of Works in Arabic Manuscripts] (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1988) 2 vols.; for Bosnian authors of works in Arabic, Ottoman Turkish and Persian, see Amir Ljubović, *Logička djela Bošnjaka na arapskom jeziku* [Treatises on Logic Written in Arabic by Bosnian Authors] (Sarajevo: Orijentalni institut, 1996); Lamija Hadžiosmanović and Minka Memija, *Poezija Bošnjaka na orijentalnim jezicima* [Poetry Written by Bosnians in Oriental Languages] (Sarajevo: Preporod, 1995); Amir Ljubović and Sulejman Grozdanić, *Prozna književnost Bosne i Hercegovine na orijentalnim jezicima* [Prose Literature of Bosnia-Herzegovina in Oriental Languages] (Sarajevo: Orijentalni institut, 1995); for works in Ladino and Hebrew, see Muhamed Nezirović, *Jevrejsko-španjolska književnost Bosne i Hercegovine* [Judaeo-Spanish Literature of Bosnia-Herzegovina] (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1992). One of many examples of intertextuality in Bosnian literature is a poem about a failed uprising of Bosnian Muslim notables, written in the Bosnian Slavic vernacular in Hebrew script, found in a 19th-c. MS on *materia medica* preserved in the collection of the Sarajevo Jewish community; similar poems are found in aljamiado manuscripts (Slavic in Arabic script) and in early collections of Bosnian oral folklore: Jasna Šamić, "Qu'est ce que 'notre héritage': plus particulièrement sur un manuscrit conservé au siège de la communauté juive (Jevrejska opština) de Sarajevo", *Anali Gazi Husrev-begove biblioteke* 17-18 (1996), pp. 91-96.
- [8] Isaac Schulhof (1650-ca. 1733), [*Megilat Ofen*] *Budai krónika 1686.*, transl. László Jólesz, commentary by Ferenc Szakály (Budapest: Magyar Helikon, 1979), cited passage on pp. 71-

72. All three of Buda's synagogues were burned and 11 of the city's 12 mosques were demolished after the siege; the remaining mosque, by the Danube riverbank, was converted into a saltpeter mill; József Molnár, "Az utolsó budai dzsámi", [The Last Mosque in Buda] *Müemlékvédelem* 12 ii (1968), pp. 104-105.
- [9] Moritz Levy, *Die Sephardim in Bosnien*, pp. 28-29, based on Chacham Sevi Ashkenazi's biography by his son Jacob Emden (1697-1776), *Megilat sefer*. For the dates of Chacham Sevi's stay in Sarajevo and the circumstances of his departure for Berlin, see the preface to the French translation of this work, *Mémoires de Jacob Emden, ou, L'anti-Sabbataï Zewi*, transl. Maurice-Ruben Hayoun (Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1992), pp. 13-14, 74-75.
- [10] Excerpt from Prince Eugene's war diary, cited and transl. by Noel Malcolm, in *Bosnia: A Short History*, pp. 84-85.
- [11] Anonymous poem from 1697; English translation adapted from an excerpt quoted in Miroslav Prstojević, *Sarajevo, ranjeni grad = Sarajevo, the Wounded City* (Sarajevo: Ideja, 1994), p. 20; for the full text of this poem in Bosnian, see Amina Šiljak-Jesenković, "Motivi u pjesmama o Sarajevu na turskom jeziku" [Motifs in Poems about Sarajevo Written in Turkish], *Prilozi historiji Sarajeva: radovi na znanstvenog simpozija Pola milenija Sarajeva, održanog 19. do 21. marta 1993. godine*, ed. Dževad Juzbašić (Sarajevo: Institut za istoriju, Orijentalni institut, 1997), pp. 157-64, esp. pp. 163-64.
- [12] Moritz Levy, *Die Sephardim in Bosnien*, pp. 28, 109-115.
- [13] On the ethnic politics that broke up the first Yugoslavia, see Ivo Banac, *The National Question in Yugoslavia: Origins, History, Politics* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1984); for the role of libraries in the cultural life of Bosnia between the world wars, see Ljubinka Bašović, *Biblioteke i bibliotekarstvo u Bosni i Hercegovini, 1918-1945* [Libraries and Librarianship in Bosnia and Herzegovina, 1918-1945] (Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša, 1986); Samija Sarić, *Jevrejska kulturna i druga društva u Bosni i Hercegovini, 1885.-1945.: regesta* [Jewish Cultural and Other Associations in Bosnia and Herzegovina, 1885-1945] (Sarajevo: Državni arhiv Bosne i Hercegovine, 1995).
- [14] Edward Serotta, *Survival in Sarajevo: How a Jewish Community Came to the Aid of Its City* (Vienna: Edition Christian Brandstätter, 1994), p. 22.
- [15] For the October 1941 document and the July 1945 report, see Ljubinka Bašović, *Biblioteke i bibliotekarstvo*, pp. 181-82, 370-72; for the collecting activities of the Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg, see Peter M. Manasse, *Verschleppte Archive und Bibliotheken: die Tätigkeit des Einsatzstabes Rosenberg während des Zweiten Weltkrieges* (St. Ingbert: Rohrig, 1997).
- [16] The version of the rescue story cited here is from E. Verber, *The Sarajevo Haggadah*, p. 20; for a more elaborate variant see E. Serotta, *Survival in Sarajevo:*, pp. 22-24. For the Haggadah-rescue tales as folklore, see: Vljako Palavestra, "Pričanja o sudbini Sarajevske Haggade" [Stories about the Fate of the Sarajevo Haggadah], *Sefarad '92 Sarajevo, 11.09-14.09.: Zbornik radova*, ed. M. Nezirović, Boris Nilević, Muhsin Rizvić (Sarajevo: Institut za istoriju; Jevrejska zajednica Bosne i Hercegovine, 1995), pp. 305-312. These legends are compared with the documentary evidence by Kemal Bakaršić in: "The Story of the Sarajevo Haggada", *Judaica Librarianship*, 9 (1994-95), pp. 135-43; idem., "Gdje se nalazila Sarajevska Haggada u toku drugog svjetskog rata?" [Where Was the Sarajevo Haggadah during the Second World War?], *Sefarad '92: Sarajevo, 11.09-14.09.: zbornik radova*, ed. M. Nezirović, Boris Nilević, Muhsin Rizvić (Sarajevo: Institut za istoriju; Jevrejska zajednica Bosne i Hercegovine, 1995), pp. 285-303. For an update, with additional documents, including the original text and English translation of Derviš Korkut's article: "Antisemitizam je stran muslimanima u Bosni i Hercegovini" [Anti-

Semitism is Foreign to the Muslims of Bosnia and Herzegovina], *Naši jevreji i jevrejsko pitanje do nas*, ed. Mica Dimitrijević and Vojislav Stojanović (Belgrade: Štamparija Minerva, 1940), pp. 53-54, see Kemal Bakaršić, “The Never-Ending Story of C-4436 a.k.a. the Sarajevo’s Haggada Codex”, *Wiener Slawistischer Almanach*, Sonderband 52 (2001), pp. 267-89, online at <http://www.openbook.ba/obq/no17/wsa.pdf>

- [17] Council of Europe. Committee on Culture and Education, *Information Reports on the Destruction by War of the Cultural Heritage in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina* (Strasbourg: Council of Europe, Parliamentary Assembly, 1993-97), vols. 1-10 = Assembly Documents nos. 6756, 6869, 6904, 6989 + addendum, 6999, 7070, 7133, 7308, 7341, 7674, 7740; Vesna Blažina, “Mémoricide ou la purification culturelle: la guerre et les bibliothèques de Croatie et de Bosnie-Herzégovine”, *Documentation et bibliothèques* 42 (1996), pp. 149-64; Alain-Charles Lefèvre, “Bosnie et Croatie: un désastre culturel sans précédent”, *Archéologia* no. 328 (Nov. 1996), pp. 26-35.
- [18] By some estimates, the total number of books destroyed by the Nazis before and during World War II was in excess of 20 million, in about 45 major and countless smaller book-burnings. In no single instance, however, did the destruction reach this scale of magnitude. Another infamous case of library-burning occurred in the early days of World War I, when the German army set fire to the Library of the Catholic University of Louvain, in an act of reprisal that shocked the civilized world. An estimated 600,000 volumes were consumed by the flames when the library was set afire on the night of August 25-26, 1914—78 years to the day before the attack that destroyed the Sarajevo library; on the burning of the Louvain library, see Wolfgang Schivelbusch, *Eine Ruine im Krieg der Geister: Die Bibliothek von Löwen, August 1914 bis Mai 1940*, rev. ed. (Frankfurt: Fischer Taschenbuch, 1993).
- [19] The losses are described by the library’s director, Enes Kujundžić, “Memoria Bosniaca—Memoria Mundi”, *Bosniaca: časopis Nacionalne i univerzitetske biblioteke Bosne i Hercegovine* 1 (1996), pp. 5-12; idem, “From Ashes: The Fate of the National and University Library of Bosnia and Herzegovina”, [Web site]: <http://www.geocities.com/CapitolHill/6777/library.htm> (still accessible via the Internet Archive <http://www.archive.org>). See also the Web site of the National and University Library at <http://www.nub.ba/>.
- [20] Kurt Schork, “Sarajevo’s Much-loved Old Town Hall Ablaze”, Reuter Library Report, Wednesday, August 26, 1992.
- [21] John Pomfret, “Battles for Sarajevo Intensify as Bosnian Peace Conference Opens”, Associated Press, August 26, 1992.
- [22] Manuscripts and books evacuated from the building during the fire and surviving materials salvaged from the library’s basement after the foundation had cooled were taken to a former Ashkenazi synagogue, which in 1945 had been donated by Sarajevo’s Jewish community for cultural uses: Tatjana Praštalo, “Death of a Library”, *Logos* 8 ii (1997), pp. 96-99; Fahrudin Kalender, “In memoriam: Aida (Fadila) Buturović (1959.-1992.)”, *Bibliotekarstvo: godišnjak Društva bibliotekara Bosne i Hercegovine* 37-41 (1992-96), p. 37; casualty figures for August 25-26 cited in: Phil Davison, “Ancient Treasures Destroyed”, *The Independent* (London), August 27, 1992, p. 8.
- [23] Lejla Gazić, “Stradanje Orijentalnog instituta u Sarajevu” [The Destruction of the Oriental Institute in Sarajevo], *Glasnik arhiva i društva arhivskih radnika Bosne i Hercegovine*, 32 (1992-93), pp. 23-25.
- [24] Statement by Karadžić quoted in *Newsday*, November 30, 1992.
- [25] Once again, the escape of the famous Haggadah from destruction gave rise to legends and speculation; one particularly dramatic, but apparently spurious account appears in Marian

- Wenzel, “Eye Witness in Sarajevo: Our Sister and Brother Curators and Art Historians”, *The Art Newspaper* (London), vol. 4 no. 32 (November 1993), p. 7. The evacuation of the National Museum and its collections, including the Haggadah, is described by the Museum’s librarian, Kemal Bakarsic, in “The Libraries of Sarajevo”, pp. 14-15, and “The Story of the Sarajevo Haggada” pp. 135, 141-42. As the siege of Sarajevo continued, speculation concerning the famous manuscript culminated in an article by Thom Shanker, “Missing Pages: Sarajevo Postcard”, *The New Republic* 212 vii (February 13, 1995), pp. 14-15, which included the scurrilous charge that the “Muslim government” in Sarajevo—allegedly indifferent to the fate of a Jewish cultural treasure—had already disposed of the manuscript in order to obtain cash for buying weapons. The Bosnian authorities responded by risking a public display of the Haggadah manuscript at Passover observances that spring: Roger Cohen, “Bosnia’s Jews Glimpse Book and Hope”, *New York Times*, April 16, 1995.
- [26] Kate Adie’s interview cited in Anon., “Bosnia’s Written History in Flames? The Major Libraries and Archives Reported Destroyed”, *The Art Newspaper* (London), vol. 3 no. 21 (October 1992), p. 1; for damage to the National Museum, see Rizo Sijarić, “Update on the Semaljski Muzej, Sarajevo”, *Museum Management and Curatorship* 12 (1993), pp. 195-199; Marian Wenzel, “Obituary: Dr. Rizo Sijarić, Director of the Semaljski Muzej, Sarajevo. Killed in Sarajevo, 10 December 1993”, *Museum Management and Curatorship* 13 (1994), pp. 79-80.
- [27] Emir Žuljević, “Die Lage des Bibliothekswesens in Bosnien-Herzegowina: Bücher teilen das Schicksal der Menschen”, *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* (1996), pp. 315-21; Kevin Myers, “Blasting Holes in Bosnia’s History”, *Irish Times*, August 14, 1993.
- [28] The destruction of the Nedžarići library and of other private and public libraries and art collections in Sarajevo, including his own, is described by the writer Ivan Lovrenović, “The Hatred of Memory”, *New York Times*, May 28, 1994; see also *Cultural Institutions and Monuments in Sarajevo*, ed. by Aida Čengić and Ferida Duraković (Budapest: Open Society Institute, Open Society Project of Sarajevo, March 1995); András Riedlmayer, “Erasing the Past: The Destruction of Libraries and Archives in Bosnia-Herzegovina”, *Middle East Studies Association Bulletin* 29 i (July 1995), pp. 7-11.
- [29] On Alija-efendija Sadiković and his contributions to Bosnian *aljamijado* literature, see Muhamed Huković, *Alhamijado književnost i njeni stvaraoči* (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1986), pp. 179-193. Muhamed Ždralović gives a very brief description of the Sadiković collection in his article “Bosnia-Herzegovina”, in: *World Survey of Islamic Manuscripts*, ed. G. J. Roper (London: Al-Furqan Foundation, 1992). vol 1, pp. 87-110, p. 95; information on the fate of the collection was provided in a personal communication (May 21, 1998) from Prof. Aiša Sendijarević, who kindly contacted Mr. Sadiković’s grandson Fahrudin Sadiković (now living in Tuzla) on my behalf. Data on the destruction of the mosques in Janja was obtained in July 1997 from the State Commission for Investigating War Crimes on the Territory of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina (Državna komisija za prikupljanje činjenica o ratnim zločinima na području Republike Bosne i Hercegovine) in Sarajevo; reporter Robert Block, who visited Janja in May 1993, wrote about the town’s ruined mosques and terrified Muslim residents in “Referendum Haunted by Fear”, *The Independent* (London), May 16, 1993.
- [30] On the “ethnic cleansing” of Janja, see Charlotte Eagar, “Muslims Pay for Own Ethnic Cleansing”, *The Observer* (London), September 4, 1994; Robert Block, “Town Moves from ‘Limbo to Living Hell’: ‘Ethnic Cleansing’ in Janja Is Being Executed with Businesslike Efficiency”, *The Independent* (London), September 27, 1994; Roger Thurow, “Reporter’s Notebook: Return to Janja Finds the ‘Cleansing’ Sadly Complete”, *Wall Street Journal*, November 22, 1994; Laura Berman, “The Price of Peace”, *The Detroit News*, March 18, 1996; Roy Gutman, “Albright

Team Views Graves: Bones Protrude from Furrows”, *Newsday*, March 23, 1996; John Pomfret, “Bosnian Serb Switches From Purges to Politics: Will Elections Legitimize ‘Cleansers?’” *International Herald Tribune*, August 23, 1996.

- [31] For a description of the Mehmedbašić collection, see Fehim Nametak, “Rukopisna zbirka Habiba Mehmedbašića iz Stoca”, [The manuscript collection of Habib Mehmedbašić of Stolac] *Anali Gazi Husrev-begove Biblioteke*, vol. 11-12 (1985), pp. 181-2; on the destruction of cultural heritage in Stolac, see Matej Vipotnik, “Searching for Bosnia’s Lost Cultural Treasures”, originally published in the final issue of the online newspaper *Berserkistan* (July 30, 1996), now online at <http://www.haverford.edu/relg/sells/Stolac/DestroyingStolac.htm> and the documentation compiled by the Presidency-in-exile of the Municipality of Stolac, *Crimes in Stolac Municipality, 1992-1994* (Mostar: Sid, 1996), pp. 45-54; the latter is also available online at <http://www.haverford.edu/relg/sells/Stolac/StolacCrimes.html>
- [32] Before the 1992–95 war Bosnia’s state archives at the national and regional level held a combined total of 25,054 linear meters of archival materials. Of this body of material, 1,625 linear meters (6.5 percent of the total) were destroyed, lost or seriously damaged during the war. However, 155,961 linear meters of archival materials (more than six times the combined holdings of the state archives) were held by 11,997 local registry offices; 85 percent of this material was more than twenty years old, some of it dating from the Austro-Hungarian period (1878-1918) or from the era of Ottoman rule (late 1400s to 1878). More than half of these archival holdings, an estimated 81,000 linear meters (52 percent) were destroyed during the war. Local registry offices additionally held 767,808 linear meters of active registry materials, of which an estimated 398,500 linear meters (49.8%) were destroyed. The Oriental Institute in Sarajevo held more than 200,000 historical documents and cadastral registers from the Ottoman provincial archive as well as the archives of Ottoman-era kadi’s courts; the collection was totally destroyed in May 1992. Data cited by permission from an unpublished paper by Azem Kožar, “War Destruction of the Archival Materials in Bosnia and Herzegovina”, presented at the International Symposium on the Rehabilitation of the Archive Service in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Public Record Office, London, 7–8 May, 1999.
- [33] The rationale behind this kind of cultural “cleansing” was summed up by a Croat nationalist militiaman, who told a Western reporter in September 1993 why he was trying to destroy the 427-year-old Ottoman bridge at Mostar: “It is not enough to clean Mostar of the Muslims – the relics must also be removed.” Robert Block, “Croatian Death Squad Talks Tough around the Pooltable”, *The Independent* (London), September 6, 1993. Since the end of the war, the stones of the destroyed Old Bridge (Stari Most) have been recovered from the riverbed—it will be rebuilt; Jerrilynn Dodds, “Bridge over the Neretva”, *Archaeology* 51 i (Jan.-Feb. 1998), pp. 48-53.
- [34] Mark Thompson, *Forging War: The Media in Serbia, Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina* (London: Article 19 International Centre against Censorship, 1994); Michael A. Sells, *The Bridge Betrayed: Religion and Genocide in Bosnia* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996); Vesna Pešić, *Serbian Nationalism and the Origins of the Yugoslav Crisis* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Institute of Peace, 1996); *Radicalisation of the Serbian Society: Collection of Documents*, ed. Sonja Biserko and S. Stanojlović (Belgrade: Helsinki Committee for Human Rights in Serbia, December 1997).
- [35] Nada Todorov, interviewed by Col. Nikola Ostojić in: “Genocidne poruke iz ‘1001 noći’” [The Genocidal Messages in ‘The Thousand and One Nights’], *Vojska*, April 8, 1993, p. 20, cited in Norman Cigar, *Genocide in Bosnia: The Policy of Ethnic Cleansing* (College Station, Tex.: Texas A & M University Press, 1995), pp. 70, 221; for other statements of this kind see N. Cigar, “Serbia’s Orientalists and Islam: Making Genocide Intellectually Respectable”, *Islamic Quarterly* 38 iii (1994), pp. 147-70.

- [36] Jovan Rašković, *Luda zemlja* (Belgrade: Akvarijus, 1990), pp. 124-28, *et passim*; Dennis L. Breo, "Human Rights II: Cherif Bassiouni Condemns 'Psychology' of Balkan War Crimes", *JAMA, The Journal of the American Medical Association* 270 (1993), pp. 643-45; Stevan Weine, *When History is a Nightmare: Lives and Memories of Ethnic Cleansing in Bosnia-Herzegovina* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1999), pp. 87-132.
- [37] Statement by Plavšić, published September 1993 in the journal *Svet* (Novi Sad), cited by Slobodan Inić in: "Biljana Plavšić: Geneticist in the Service of a Great Crime", *Bosnia Report* (London) 19 (June-August 1997), p. 1, online at <http://www.bosnia.org.uk/bosrep/junaug97/plavsic.cfm>
Professor Inić's article first appeared in Serbian in the November 1996 issue of *Helsinki povelja* [Helsinki Charter], published in Belgrade by the Helsinki Committee for Human Rights in Serbia.
- [38] Charlotte Eager, "From Haven into Hell", *The Observer* (London), July 16, 1995.
- [39] Elizabeth Neuffer, "War Crimes Probe Pains Srebrenica: Genocide Charges Stir Range of Emotions in Bosnian City", *Boston Globe*, April 2, 1996.
- [40] Edward T. O'Neill, Jeffrey A. Young, and Robert Bremer, "The Bosnian National Library: Building a Virtual Collection", *Annual Review of OCLC Research 1996* (online at <http://www.openbook.ba/obq/no2/bosnia1.htm>). Kimberly Sweet, "Volumes of Hope", *University of Chicago Magazine* (October 1998), College Report, pp. viii-x (<http://magazine.uchicago.edu/9810/CollegeReport/volumes.htm>).
- [41] The move to reprint books began almost immediately during the war, with the issue of a facsimile edition of Mehmed-beg Kapetanović Ljubušak's classic work, *Što misle muhamedanci u Bosni*, first published in 1886. Issued in 1992 under the imprint Edicija Memoria Bosniaca, this edition is marked "Reprint izdanja grade spasene iz Vijećnice – NUB BiH razorene 25./26.08. 1992": reprint [based on a copy] of the original publication rescued from the Town Hall – National and University Library, destroyed on August 25-26, 1992. This was one of hundreds of books and periodical titles published in besieged Sarajevo and in other Bosnian towns during the war; *Bibliografija monografskih publikacija 1992-1994: popis ratnih izdanja* [Bibliography of monographic publications 1992-94: a checklist of wartime publications] (Sarajevo: Nacionalna i univerzitetska biblioteka Bosne i Hercegovine, 1995); Enes Kujundžić, *Gutenberg's Legacy in Wartime—Bosnia and Herzegovina: The Publishing of Periodicals 1992-1994* (Siena: Università degli Studi di Siena, Comitato LI.SA, 1995).
- [42] There are precedents for the successful reconstitution of lost historical archives and manuscript collections, most notably the case of the medieval collection of the State Archives of Naples. In 1943, following the Allied landings in Sicily, more than 30,000 volumes and about 50,000 parchments, comprising the oldest and most valuable part of the archive's collection, were moved to the supposed safety of a villa at Montesano, outside of Naples. The villa was set on fire by retreating German troops and the archive totally destroyed. A decades-long effort by Neapolitan archivists and their colleagues abroad has since succeeded in reconstructing and publishing a large part of the burned archive from copies in private hands and in other collections: 44 volumes of the reconstituted Angevin archives of Naples have been published since the war. Riccardo Filangieri, "Report on the Destruction by the Germans, September 30, 1943, of the Depository of Priceless Historical Records of the Naples State Archives", *The American Archivist*, 7 iv (October 1944), pp. 252-55; *idem*, "Un essai de reconstitution des Archives Angevines de Naples", *Archivum*, 1 (1951), pp. 135-37; John L. Kirby, "The Archives of Angevin Naples: A Reconstruction", *Journal of the Society of Archivists*, 3 iv (1966), pp. 191-194.

- [43] *Katalog rukopisa Orijentalnog instituta: lijepa književnost* [Catalogue of the Manuscripts of the Oriental Institute: Belles-lettres], ed. Salih Trako, Lejla Gazić, Posebna izdanja, 20 (Sarajevo: Orijentalni Institut u Sarajevu, 1997), 410 pp. , a descriptive catalogue of 564 Arabic, Persian, Turkish and Aljamiado (Bosnian Slavic in Arabic script) manuscripts of belles-lettres held by the Institute. This was one of several catalogues being prepared for publication by scholars at the Oriental Institute on the eve of the war. After a barrage of Serb incendiary shells had destroyed the Institute's collection and all work in progress, a copy of the typescript draft of this catalogue was discovered on deposit in the files of Bosnia's Ministry of Culture. Two senior staff members of the Institute, Salih Trako and Lejla Gazić, made their way out of the besieged city, taking the manuscript of the catalogue with them. They were able to complete the final editing work as house guests of the great scholar of Islamic manuscripts, Dr. Fuad Sezgin and his wife Ursula, in Frankfurt, Germany, where they had access to the necessary reference works, which no longer existed in Sarajevo.
- [44] The Bosnian Manuscripts Ingathering Project was established in 1994 by Amila Buturović (York University), András Riedlmayer (Harvard University), and Irvin Cemil Schick (Massachusetts Institute of Technology); for further information readers are urged to consult the project's home page on the World Wide Web: <http://www.openbook.ba/bmss/>

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