



## Special Document File

### THE HERZEGOVINIAN MUSLIM COLONY IN CAESAREA, PALESTINE

The *Journal of Palestine Studies* presents an original translation of a 1981 article by Yugoslav anthropologist Nina Seferović (1947–1991) on “Bushnaqs”—Palestinians whose ancestors hail from the territory of present-day Bosnia-Herzegovina. Seferović describes the circumstances of the Bushnaqs’ departure in the late nineteenth century; the distinct community they founded in the village of Caesarea near Haifa; and their assimilation into the Palestinian nation. This study is a contribution to the social history of Palestine that raises productive questions about the legacies of the Non-Aligned Movement and about the role of race and temporality in framing such categories as settler and native in the broader examination of settler colonialism.

Below, in order of appearance, are Darryl Li’s translator’s preface, “A Note on Settler Colonialism,” illuminating and explicating the original study; Nina Seferović’s article, “The Herzegovinian Muslim Colony in Caesarea, Palestine,” and an appendix titled, “Balkan Migration to the Middle East.” A substantial section of endnotes follows, divided into three corresponding parts.

#### Translator’s Preface: A Note on Settler Colonialism

DARRYL LI

IN THE EARLY 1880s, dozens of Muslim families from what is now Bosnia-Herzegovina arrived in Ottoman Palestine. Most coalesced into a new community on the site of the ancient village of Caesarea, south of Haifa, while others settled in Yanun, near Nablus. Unlike many other Europeans arriving in Palestine at that time—whether Jews enacting a Zionist project or Christian utopians like the German Templers—the descendants of these migrants, called *Bushnaqs*, are today widely considered part of the Palestinian people.

In February 1948, the Haganah expelled Caesarea’s last non-Jewish inhabitants, one of the earliest operations of its kind during the Nakba.<sup>1</sup> In subsequent years, the state of Israel destroyed the Bushnaqs’ homes (the mosque they built remains as a tourist attraction) and converted the area into a heritage site featuring various excavated ancient and medieval structures. In addition to hosting Israel’s only full-size golf course, Caesarea is now an affluent suburb, boasting the personal homes of Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu and the Baron Benjamin de Rothschild.

Today, there are Bushnaqs throughout Palestine/Israel and the Palestinian diaspora, or *shatat*. The term Bushnaq—an Arabization of “Bošnjak” (more on which below)—was originally a label connoting geographical origin but over time it came to function as a family name as well. Although many work to retain or revive a distinct sense of their origins, few Bushnaqs speak the southern Slavic language of their ancestors or maintain any direct connection with Bosnia. A number of them have played prominent roles in modern Palestinian history, including ‘Ali Bushnaq (d. 1968), cofounder of the Palestinian Liberation Front; ‘Abd al-Rahman Bushnaq (1913–1999), a BBC broadcaster, translator, and writer who also spent decades as a manager in the Arab Bank; folklorist and translator Inea Bushnaq; and Dr. Mustafa Bushnaq (1887–1974), one of the founders of an-Najah National University in Nablus who was a member of both the Palestinian National Council (PNC) and the Jordanian Senate.

In 1981, the Yugoslav anthropologist Nina Seferović (1947–1991) published a brief study of the Caesarea Bushnaqs drawing on interviews she conducted with members of the community in Jordan, Lebanon, and Yugoslavia (see endnote 1 for “The Herzegovinian Muslim Colony in Caesarea, Palestine” below). Despite some historical and geographical errors, this short article remains to my knowledge the most detailed account of Palestinians of Bosnian origin that has appeared to date in English, Arabic, Hebrew, or the language formerly known as Serbo-Croatian.<sup>2</sup> As such, it provides some useful data on the social history of Palestine and raises productive questions for Palestine studies on issues of race, migration, solidarity, and settler colonialism.

#### RACE, MOBILITY, AND EMPIRE IN PALESTINE STUDIES

The racial dynamics produced by Zionism—especially its constructions of the categories of “Jew” and “Arab”—have long been a central preoccupation of Palestine studies. In contrast, questions of race and ethnicity *among* Palestinians have remained underexplored and potentially sensitive.<sup>3</sup> Zionist writing has long emphasized the migration of diverse non-Jewish populations to Palestine prior to the Nakba—not only Druze and Bedouin, but also Armenians, Circassians, and the like—to question the existence of a Palestinian nation or to downplay the impact of Zionist colonization on Palestine.<sup>4</sup> (Accordingly, the fact of migration serves as evidence that the Palestinians are somehow not autochthonous and that they therefore cannot claim to be indigenous vis-à-vis the Zionist movement.) The limited references to the Bushnaqs in English are consistent with this tendency.<sup>5</sup>

The growth and consolidation of the field of Palestine studies in recent decades, however, should provide scholars with sufficient confidence to engage these complex and diverse histories of migration and settlement without fear of bolstering denialist narratives. The alternative, positing a static transhistorical territory with a monolithic unchanging population, would render Palestine and its people mere objects that were acted upon by outside forces such as empire, capital, and Zionism. Incorporating migration from neighboring countries as well as from Europe, Asia, and Africa is crucial to moving beyond a “Palestine exceptionalism” that demands consideration as a unique and isolated case.

In this vein, we can turn to studies like Seferović’s, which focuses on the origins and early years of Bushnaq *muhajirs*, the general term applied to Muslims moving to the Ottoman Empire from territories it gradually lost during the nineteenth century. As such, Seferović’s account of why they

went to Caesarea and how they came to see themselves as Palestinian is somewhat perfunctory and leaves open questions to be addressed in future archival and oral history research. Nevertheless, the article shows that in Palestine, Bushnaqs are *assimilated but not unmarked*, with their difference perceived largely in phenotypical terms, as being light-skinned or “white.” Even today, the generally more fair-skinned Bushnaqs face questions about their origins from other Palestinians and outsiders alike. The Bushnaqs are but one example of groups who push the boundaries of the categories of “Arab” and “Palestinian” but also arguably enrich them. In this sense, they are like Afro-Palestinians, another understudied group for whom assimilation has by no means eliminated difference; at the same time, Afro-Palestinians and Bushnaqs occupy starkly different places in the global hierarchies of race that inflect all national categories, including Palestinians.<sup>6</sup>

The challenge of historicizing ethnic and racial difference among Palestinians also raises questions of comparison and connection. Since the Balkan wars of the 1990s, Bosnia and Palestine have been frequently juxtaposed as highly mediatized sites of mass atrocity or as case studies of “ethnic conflict” in debates over the merits of territorial partition. Seferović’s work, however, does not take Bosnia and Palestine as given units to be compared; instead, having been written in a very different context, well before the dismemberment of Yugoslavia, it challenges us to think about ties connecting these spaces across time.

The muhajir movements to the Ottoman Empire were part of a major demographic transformation of southeastern Europe and Anatolia over the course of the long nineteenth century that culminated in the notorious “population exchanges” between Greece and Turkey in the early 1920s.<sup>7</sup> Bosnia, however, was distinct from other former Ottoman territories that gained independence or were conquered by Russia and where new ruling regimes engaged in mass expulsions of Muslims as part of the attempted consolidation of their nationalist projects. Instead, Bosnia was ruled by the Austro-Hungarian Empire, which generally sought to preserve the demographic situation in order to maintain the pretense (until 1908) that it was respecting the Ottoman Empire’s *de jure* sovereignty—and to forestall Serbian designs on the province. Hence, Muslim migration from Bosnia was on a smaller scale and relatively “voluntary”; muhajirs tended to be from families of means and some were able to move back and forth between the Ottoman Empire and Bosnia.<sup>8</sup>

Scholars in Turkey and Bosnia have paid increasing attention to muhajir history in recent years<sup>9</sup> but their work is often framed by contemporary national categories. Hence, muhajirs traveling to Ottoman realms outside of what is now republican Turkey—like the Bushnaqs of Caesarea as well as those who settled in Tunisia, Saudi Arabia, and elsewhere—have been left out. And as important and wide-ranging as the muhajir movements were, Seferović is keenly aware that they do not exhaust the history of Balkan-Arab connections, as evidenced in one of her longer footnotes, which is reproduced here as an appendix (see “Balkan Migration to the Middle East” below).<sup>10</sup> Seferović’s work thus helps further develop an analysis of Palestine within the broader historical horizons of the Ottoman Empire.<sup>11</sup>

## PALESTINE AND NON-ALIGNMENT

Moving from comparison to connection is also helpful for theorizing solidarity. The text of Seferović’s study pertains mostly to Ottoman-era movements between Palestine and Bosnia, but

its context of production stems from a different and no less interesting transregional frame that has become more fashionable in recent years: that of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM), in which Yugoslavia played a leading role. In the 1970s, the NAM was vocally supportive of Palestinian rights both at the United Nations and within other international forums. Yugoslavia cut diplomatic ties with Israel after the June 1967 war and later sold military equipment to the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and provided medical and educational assistance to the Palestinians.<sup>12</sup> Scholars in Serbia and Croatia have in recent years made significant contributions to the study of Yugoslav diplomacy in the Middle East,<sup>13</sup> but a social history of this transregional phenomenon remains to be written. Research here is crucial to move beyond superficial celebrations of “solidarity” in the form of summits of statesmen from the global south and the equally superficial rebuttals they inevitably attract.

A study of how non-alignment was lived or experienced between the Balkans and the Middle East would undoubtedly feature people like Seferović. Her father, Nusret, was a Yugoslav diplomat of Muslim background who served in Jordan, Lebanon, Morocco, Greece, Turkey, and Bulgaria. The research for her study of the Palestinian Bushnaqs was undertaken during trips to the Middle East to visit her family (although the bulk of her short career focused on Ethiopia). One of Seferović’s sources was a Yugoslav doctor who worked in PLO hospitals in Jordan. Seferović would later join the Museum of African Art in Belgrade, which was founded by Zdravko Pečar, a journalist and diplomat who spent years in Nasserite Egypt and wrote a major firsthand account of the Algerian Revolution.<sup>14</sup> The vectors of non-alignment travel ran in the other direction as well to include Arab students in Yugoslavia, perhaps the best known being the Saudi novelist, ‘Abd al-Rahman Munif (author of the *Cities of Salt* quintet), who earned his doctorate in petroleum economics at the University of Belgrade in the 1950s.<sup>15</sup> These legacies endure today: Bosnian-Palestinian families formed through non-alignment travel endured Israel’s summer 2014 attack on Gaza, while Serbia recently granted honorary citizenship to former Fatah leader Mohammad Dahlan.<sup>16</sup>

Seferović’s article appeared in 1981 in a collection of papers published by the Institute of Ethnography of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts dedicated to migration from Yugoslavia, with articles on the country’s diaspora in the United States, Australia, and Turkey. (At the time, Serbia was one of the six republics that together constituted socialist Yugoslavia.) Remittance income from Yugoslav workers abroad contributed significantly to the country’s economy and, as importantly, resonated with the idea of non-alignment providing a uniquely expansive form of mobility. Even today, people in the region nostalgically recall the red Yugoslav passports that enabled travel to a greater range of countries than those of other states, whether communist or capitalist.<sup>17</sup>

We can also see how scholarship in a NAM country could still be affected by the politics of knowledge production in the West. Seferović’s sympathy for the Palestinians is obvious and she even described Zionism as a “nationalist psychosis”; but her bibliography of Middle East-related sources was largely confined to mainstream English and French texts produced before critiques of Orientalism became widespread in the Western academy, in the last quarter of the twentieth century. Her description of the Nakba in Caesarea has a passive, agent-less tone, largely consistent with most scholarship on Palestine outside the Arab world at the time.

Seferović's text is also not entirely free from portrayals of Islam as foreign to the Balkans. This reflects an Orientalism that is as embedded in local nationalisms as the one emanating directly from the West. For example, she refers to Muslim Slavs as a "domestic Islamized population" (*domaće islamizirano stanovništvo*)—notwithstanding the fact that their ancestors accepted Islam centuries earlier—and describes their departure as a "withdrawal" (*povlačenje*) from the region. Similarly, Seferović often collapses the Ottoman Empire into republican Turkey across different time periods, referring loosely to "Turks" or "Turkey"; in this translation, I have attempted to disentangle these terms for the purposes of clarity.

### NAMES AND NATIONS: BOSNIAN, BOSNIAK, BUSHNAQ

An appreciation of the possibilities and limits of non-alignment—or any other form of solidarity—also requires a solid analytical grounding in local contexts. Here, some background on the management and legitimization of nationalist identities within socialist Yugoslavia may be helpful. Contrary to some popular perceptions, socialist Yugoslavia did not seek to eradicate all forms of nationalism among its citizens. Rather, under the slogan of "brotherhood and unity" (*bratstvo i jedinstvo*), its constitutional structure continued to be organized around the country's recognized nations: Serbs, Croats, Slovenes, Macedonians, Montenegrins, and Muslims.

The term Muslims, denoting a recognized nation—"Muslimani," the capitalization of the first letter distinguishing them from "*muslimani*," or adherents of the Muslim faith in general—was introduced into the constitution only in 1971. It refers to the country's population of Slavs of Muslim background (as opposed to, say, Muslim Albanians), who are today most often referred to as Bosnian Muslims or Bosniaks. Debates on nationalism in the region have long highlighted alleged Muslim backwardness in developing nationalist consciousness, as opposed to the more "advanced" Serb and Croat nationalisms.<sup>18</sup> Over the past century at least, there have been several common responses to the Muslim "problem": to consider Muslim Slavs of the region to be a nation akin to Serbs and Croats; to deny their nationhood and treat them merely as Serbs or Croats of the Muslim faith; or to treat them as "Turks," essentially non-autochthonous settlers who should have left with the Ottoman army and administration. The 1971 amendments were a partial step toward the nationality option: they recognized Muslim Slavs as a nation in the Yugoslav constitutional order but without designating a territorial homeland of their own. Serbia, for example, was "the state of the Serbian nation," but Bosnia-Herzegovina—which had only a Muslim plurality—was constitutionally defined as a homeland for Muslims, Serbs, and Croats alike.

Seferović's study should be read with this fraught history in mind as she speaks of the same people alternately as "our" migrants, as Muslims (with a capital "M"), and as "Bosniaks" (singular: *Bošnjak*, plural: *Bošnjaci*). This slippage is consistent with the dominant ideology at the time the piece was written. Hence, the article frames the Bushnaqs of Caesarea as *Yugoslav* despite the fact that they had left decades before a country of that name existed. And it glosses them as *Muslims* in a national sense, even though it is likely that they did not think of themselves in those terms, as a Muslim nationalist position likely would have been to discourage migration in favor of preserving the strong possible demographic presence in Bosnia.

As for the third term Seferović uses, Bosniak, it has become widely accepted since the collapse of Yugoslavia as a national name for Bosnian Muslims, whereas "Bosnian" (*Bosanc/Bosanci*) is now

used to refer merely to the state or territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina without any given national or ethnic content. This purported distinction between the ethnic and the civic, however, has only crystallized in recent decades. Historically, one can find numerous usages of the term Bosniak in the more geographical sense, referring at times to non-Muslims. Accordingly, one should resist any temptation to read Seferović as a supporter of Bosniak nationalism *avant la lettre*, as she only uses the term to distinguish the migrants from Middle Eastern peoples they encounter and not from others in Yugoslavia or Bosnia. In light of the above, I have used the Arabic term “Bushnaq” in this essay to refer to the muhajirs as they came to be constituted as a distinct group *in Palestine*, without presupposing national identities or lack thereof before arrival.

### IMMIGRANTS AND SETTLERS IN PALESTINE STUDIES

Finally, Seferović’s study raises productive questions for thinking about settler colonialism, a term that has experienced a revival in both activism and scholarship on Palestine.

Settler colonialism is a distinct form of colonialism that emphasizes not simply alien rule and exploitation but also demographic transformation through the implantation of colonists who constitute a new society rooted in the territory that structurally subjugates or even decimates indigenous populations. The analytical framework and political language of settler colonialism have been most helpful in challenging the narrow redefinition of Palestinian liberation as an independence struggle based on the territories conquered in 1967. The emphasis on settler colonialism has denaturalized the Green Line as an analytical boundary that too rigidly separated the plight of Palestinians under Israeli occupation from those holding Israeli citizenship. It has also helped dethrone the notion that Zionism and Palestinian nationalism are merely isomorphic competing nationalisms. This perspective has drawn attention to how Zionism reconfigures notions of race, religion, and nation to create a global category of “Jews” invested with greater rights to the territory than Palestinians directly connected to it. Finally, the comparative framework of settler colonialism has elicited useful connections between Palestine/Israel and the United States, calling into question the latter’s presumed “normality” as providing an analytical or normative model of democracy.

Such interventions have been important and helpful. One accordingly hopes that the turn to settler colonialism in Palestine scholarship will produce rigorous comparative studies that enrich and speak back to the fields from which they have borrowed.<sup>19</sup> Moreover, they should also attend to the possible foreclosures that this framework brings, such as how settler colonialism’s territorial focus may leave an uncertain role for the *shatat*.<sup>20</sup>

Seferović’s account of the Bushnaqs helpfully unsettles, so to speak, some of the categories that have framed this analysis and can accordingly help to sharpen it. The term she uses for the Bushnaqs after their arrival in Palestine, *doseljenik*, can be rendered in English as either “immigrant” or “settler.” In other words, it does not make a distinction between those who join an existing society and those who establish a new one on radically different terms. Seferović uses the same term for European Jews and Germans in Palestine and even today, it is the most common label in media accounts across ex-Yugoslavia for Israeli Jews living in the West Bank.

Yet as Seferović tells us, the Bushnaqs, unlike the Germans and Jews, somehow became Palestinian. One can easily identify factors to explain this: in the Ottoman era, the Bushnaqs did

not enjoy the same extraterritorial legal privileges that were granted to citizens of European states; under the British, Bushnaqs were classified by the Mandatory authorities as “Arabs”; as Sunni Muslims, they shared a religious orientation with many of their Arab neighbors; the small size of the community impelled Bushnaqs to develop close economic, social, and kin ties with the surrounding population; and, not least, they shared the experience of expulsion and exile and the international legal status of “Palestine refugee” as a result of the Nakba and its aftermath. It may even be that the Nakba itself was the decisive factor in rendering the Bushnaqs unarguably Palestinian.

But more striking here is how the almost simultaneous arrival of the Bushnaqs and the Jews of the First Aliyah forces us to reckon with the relationship between time and settler colonialism. The notion of settler colonialism poses a “paradox of the prior”: the definition of indigenous groups as historically antecedent to settler society can serve as a basis for legitimizing their claims but such a framing can also help banish indigenes to the realm of historical backwardness.<sup>21</sup> In the case of Palestine/Israel, this is further complicated since Zionism posits *both* a claim to historical precedence in biblical times as well as a superseding modernity. If settler colonialism in the so-called New World (even the term is telling) is structured by a division between a time before and after some moment of “contact,” in Palestine/Israel there is an oversaturation of history that buries Palestinians under multiple layers of historical sediment: Jewish, Roman, Byzantine, Mamluk, Crusader, Ottoman, and so on. Moreover, notions of settler colonialism based on the passage of empty chronological time are vulnerable to the gradual accretion of new claims as embodied in the self-serving cliché that “at some point, the settler must become a native.” In other words, a simplistic notion of time leaves Palestinians both too early and too late in history, while Zionist presence only becomes ever more naturalized and chronologically distant from the Nakba or any other form of “original sin” that may be recognized.

The Bushnaqs have at best a limited claim to chronological precedence to Zionist settlers in Palestine. But the uncontroversial nature of their “Palestinian-ness” shows that simple linear time does not capture all that is at stake. For every moment that the settler-colonial state reiterates its own temporality—its ancient roots and modern vistas—it reenacts the structures of privilege and exclusion that affect all those dispossessed in its wake. In other words, it matters little if Bushnaqs were not “first” or if they have been superseded: like all Palestinians, they are still locked in a structural relationship with the regime that renders them indigenous through exclusion.

This is not to say, however, that the Bushnaqs are Palestinian merely because Zionism makes them so. In a striking essay on Palestinian citizens of Israel returning to their villages of origin inside the 1949 armistice lines, Samera Esmeir posits a notion of time distinct from the chronological linearity of the settler-colonial state. In such practices of return, Esmeir discerns “an unbroken relationship that sums up and summons all past connections, memories and lived experiences leading up to the present . . . that never passes, never progresses, never succumbs to the [colonial] time of relentless expansion, but to the contrary keeps it at bay.”<sup>22</sup> This counter-hegemonic approach to time is not an atavistic essence, but rather a set of narratives, practices, and commitments that are sustained and enacted in spite of enormous pressures to yield and forget. Nina Seferović must have glimpsed it in her interviews with the Bushnaqs three decades ago, just as one can find it among Palestinians anywhere today.

### About the Translator

Darryl Li is an anthropologist and attorney. Thanks are due to Nadia Abu El-Haj, Naor Ben-Yehoyada, Laura Boushnak, Hussein Bushnaq, Vedran Grahovac, Dženita Karić, Mezna Qato, and Andrés Riedlmayer.

## The Herzegovinian Muslim Colony in Caesarea, Palestine

NINA SEFEROVIĆ

TRANSLATED BY DARRYL LI

AFTER THE AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN OCCUPATION of Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1878, a group of Herzegovinian Muslims emigrated to the Turkish Empire. The Ottoman authorities of the time settled this group in Caesarea (Qaysariyya), on the Palestinian coast of the Mediterranean Sea.

This article will examine the emigration of this group of Herzegovinian Muslims, the establishment of their colony in Palestine, and how they preserved their ethnic identity while adapting to the new environment.

The data presented in this study stems primarily from interviews conducted between 1977 and 1979 in Amman, Beirut, Damascus, Belgrade, Sarajevo, and Mostar with individuals who were born and lived in Palestine before the 1948–49 Arab-Israeli war and whose ancestors migrated from Herzegovina to Caesarea. Interviews were also held with women, born in Yugoslavia between the two world wars and married to the descendants of such emigrants, their families having already been neighbors in generations past; some of those individuals were from families that later returned to Yugoslavia. Other informants included those with close relatives who emigrated but did not cut ties with family back in the “old country.” Furthermore, conversations were held with various scholars, historians, sociologists, and economists, including experts on Judaism from the Middle East and our country who studied, among other subjects, the settlement of these areas since Ottoman times. Useful information was also provided by individual diplomatic, trade, and other representatives of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY) serving over the years in Israel and elsewhere in the Middle East who have personally met descendants of our emigrants from Herzegovina and became acquainted with their history and fate.<sup>1</sup>

### MAJOR REASONS FOR EMIGRATION FROM BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA AFTER 1878

The military and political decline of the Ottoman Empire entailed gradual diminution of its territory, as well as the withdrawal of both Turkish and locally “Islamized” populations to areas that remained under the Sultan’s supreme authority.<sup>2</sup> In the Balkan Peninsula and elsewhere, each episode of Ottoman retreat was followed by waves of Muslim emigration.<sup>3</sup> This migratory wave, known as the “muhajir migrations,”<sup>4</sup> continued throughout the age of Turkish withdrawal.<sup>5</sup>

The withdrawal of Bosnia-Herzegovina’s Muslim population occurred from these parts of our country even while still under Ottoman rule. These movements had a mostly individual character.<sup>6</sup> Migration to the Ottoman Empire after the Austro-Hungarian occupation, however, included quite significant numbers of Bosnia-Herzegovina’s Muslims.<sup>7</sup> In typical areas of out-migration,<sup>8</sup> those dissatisfied with the overall situation and the difficulties and uncertainties of



life-chances saw no option other than to leave.<sup>9</sup> Serbs, Muslims, Croats, and Jews<sup>10</sup> all migrated from Bosnia-Herzegovina, but Muslims were consistently the most numerous of those who departed.<sup>11</sup> Although Muslim emigration was a topic of perennial concern to Bosnia-Herzegovina's Austro-Hungarian rulers, such movements nevertheless continued and indeed intensified around incidents that reinforced the people's sense of uncertainty or even hopelessness about their already difficult circumstances.<sup>12</sup> Although authorities did not keep records on migration between 1878 and 1883,<sup>13</sup> it is assumed that the greatest number of Muslims left in these early years of the occupation.<sup>14</sup> An additional wave of migration was spurred on by the introduction of a new territorial defense law,<sup>15</sup> with the "Džabić movement" around the turn of the century,<sup>16</sup> as well as after the Austro-Hungarian annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1908.<sup>17</sup> According to some [reports], the latter was the broadest of all the migration waves from Bosnia-Herzegovina under Austro-Hungary.<sup>18</sup> Major migrations to the Ottoman Empire ground to a halt after the 1912–13 Balkan wars.<sup>19</sup> The next major wave came after 1919, with the emergence of the new historical and political situation in the Balkan Peninsula, when large numbers of Turks and Muslims speaking the Serbo-Croatian language<sup>20</sup> also departed from liberated territories that joined the newly created state of Yugoslavia.<sup>21</sup> Some of our population also migrated to Turkey after World War II.<sup>22</sup>

### ***Emigration from Herzegovina to the Ottoman Empire and the Muhajir Settlement Policy***

Spurred by the Austro-Hungarian occupation, a group of about one hundred Herzegovinian Muslim families, linked by ties of kinship and friendship, decided to emigrate to the Ottoman Empire. They were of both urban and rural backgrounds,<sup>23</sup> hailing mainly from Mostar and other places in Herzegovina such as Trebinje, Stolac, and Čapljina. The Ottoman authorities at the time settled this group near Haifa,<sup>24</sup> on the Palestinian coast of the Mediterranean Sea, where they built a village atop the site of the ancient town of Caesarea.<sup>25</sup> They lived there until the official proclamation of the state of Israel in 1948, when by force of circumstance they were displaced to the neighboring Arab countries and their village ceased to exist.<sup>26</sup> They comprise a sizeable population among our diaspora in the Middle East today. [For more on this diaspora, see "Balkan Migration to the Middle East" below.] But after a century of living in this part of the world, they no longer exhibit any distinctive traits<sup>27</sup> that would allow them to be defined as a separate ethnic group, as they are today totally blended within the Arab cultural milieu.

As this group set out, all they knew was to head to the Ottoman realms, without knowing where they would settle. Muhajirs lived in provinces throughout the empire,<sup>28</sup> and Muslims from Bosnia-Herzegovina in particular could be found on both its European and Asian flanks.<sup>29</sup> Although most were settled in the sparsely populated expanses of Anatolia (Asia Minor), a number of Bosniaks<sup>30</sup> set up in the Arab provinces of the Ottoman Empire.<sup>31</sup> This group of Herzegovinian Muslims also headed to the Middle East.

In general, it is difficult to discuss with certainty the influence of Ottoman policies on settlement of the muhajirs, as this issue has not been thoroughly clarified to date. One can only surmise on the basis of inference and analogy from other cases why this group of Herzegovinian Muslims was sent to the Middle Eastern areas of the Ottoman Empire.

The Turkish authorities determined where to send the muhajirs according to the ethnic, strategic, and economic aspects of their colonization policies,<sup>32</sup> regardless of the migrants' own will and aspirations.<sup>33</sup> First and foremost was the need to internally populate the empire<sup>34</sup> by using muhajirs to increase the numbers of Muslims,<sup>35</sup> which had been thinned out by frequent wars.<sup>36</sup> Muhajirs lived in all the Turkish provinces but the resettlement process did not proceed in a uniform manner.<sup>37</sup> As the area of Palestine was sparsely populated throughout the nineteenth century,<sup>38</sup> one can assume that this was one reason for settling the Herzegovinian Muslims there. Meanwhile, the context of the second half of the nineteenth century was one in which "the Sick Man on the Bosphorus" was afflicted in its dying throes<sup>39</sup> by uprisings in the Middle East due to the awakening of Arab nationalism and the broader movements of liberation from Turkish rule,<sup>40</sup> as well as economic and cultural penetration from the West,<sup>41</sup> which only intensified after the Congress of Berlin.<sup>42</sup> In light of these factors, one can assume that the Turkish authorities engaged in a kind of "demographic interpolation," settling sparse, insecure, and hostile border areas of the empire with populations that would be loyal. Accordingly, Circassians—the traditional "watchdogs" of the Turkish Sultan<sup>43</sup>—and Muslims from the Maghrib came to Palestine after 1878, in addition to the group of about one hundred families from Herzegovina.<sup>44</sup>

### ***The Emigration***

On the eve of the occupation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, several prominent Mostar families—including the Stupac, Čehajić, Hadžijahić, Rizvanbegović, Lakišić, and Drače clans—sent representatives to Constantinople tasked with seeking permission to move to Turkey. Having been granted approval, representatives of the Lakišić, Rizvanbegović, and Čehajić families spearheaded preparations for the journey.<sup>45</sup> These arrangements took about six months, during which time the muhajirs gathered together. The Austrian occupation authorities did not hinder or help the migrants.<sup>46</sup> Similarly, the Turkish authorities were involved only in providing immigration permits. Entire families set out together.<sup>47</sup> Fixed assets were sold for nothing; they carried only what was necessary, plus as much currency and gold as possible.

The first place they stopped was Constantinople,<sup>48</sup> then İzmir. Some families stayed in İzmir while the others continued to Syria, specifically a village just outside Damascus.

Being relatively well-provisioned, the emigrants did not receive any special assistance from the Turkish authorities. They purchased land with their own funds and took up farming. From the outset, however, they faced hostility from the local population, "who received them as foreigners."<sup>49</sup> Believing that they would find greater religious purity while living in the ancient Islamic lands, the Bosniaks instead were confronted with ethnic intolerance, startling regional particularities that were strange to them, and religious "impurity" among the autochthonous population. They became acutely aware that the only thing tying them to this people was a common religion. This ethical and moral discomfort was accompanied by problems with acclimatization. Unable to adapt to the desolation and heat at the edges of the Syrian desert (to say nothing of their disappointing new neighbors), they decided to ask the Ottoman authorities to facilitate their resettlement, on condition that they could stay together. The government acceded to this request and accorded them the freedom to choose a new place of residence. They learned from a compatriot working in the Ottoman administration about Caesarea, a semi-ruined archaeological site near Haifa, on the

Palestinian coast of the Mediterranean Sea. Only those who had the means to do so left; a small number remained in Syria, while some others returned to Anatolia and settled in Adana and Istanbul.

So, after about two years in Syria the group set out for Palestine,<sup>50</sup> having lost ties to their homeland with no new arrivals from Bosnia-Herzegovina. There, they settled in Caesarea while a smaller group—comprised of the Lakišić, Silić, Mićijević, and Mikišić<sup>51</sup> families—split off and went to Yanun, near Nablus.

## THE BOSNIAK SETTLEMENT IN CAESAREA

### *Families Residing in Caesarea*

From the hundred or so families that moved from Mostar, about fifty settled in Caesarea; only thirty-two of the families' names are known. In Caesarea, there were the Zubčević and Muratović families from Trebinje; the Mehićs who were in both Mostar and Trebinje; the Džampo family, originally from Stolac; the Šaldos hailing from Čapljina; the Čerkezovića who were in Mostar but do not know their origins; the Rizvanbegovića, a famous Stolac family that was equally distinguished in Mostar; the Rajkovića from Blagaj, although also in Mostar; the well-known Fazlagić family from Čapljina (who must have also lived for a long time in Mostar, as evidenced by the existence of a "Fazlagić Street" in the city); as well as the Ulakšić, Borić, Mikišić, Vjetro (or Jetro), Hadži Mula (or Hadžimulić) families, whose origins are unknown. All the other families that settled in Caesarea were from Mostar and could be considered large, respectable, and well-off. These were the Lakišić, Puzić, Hadžiselimović, Hasanagić, Čehajić, Drače, Omeragić, Stupac, Demirović, Ramić, Kadrijević, Hadžajlić, Brkić, Dizdar, Komad, Mićijević, Repak, and Repavac families.

At the time of immigrating to Caesarea, the Mostar muhajirs were the only people living in the village, but they soon paid fellahin<sup>52</sup> to cultivate their land. The Ottoman authorities later settled seven Circassian families, an "Islamized" Bulgarian one, and two Turkish families in Caesarea. The Bosniaks enjoyed cordial relations with them and with all of the neighboring communities; they had good ties and business relationships with the indigenous Jewish communities of Hadera and Zamarin.

There were virtually no new arrivals from Bosnia-Herzegovina unless we count the women who were brought over from the old country as wives starting in the 1930s. One exception was the Mehmedbegović family, which moved to Caesarea in the 1920s, at the invitation of their kin among the Hadžijahića. Many of the immigrants fell ill in the early years of the settlement at Caesarea due to the difficult climate, which was compounded by the negative effects of the wetlands just outside the settlement. Malaria in particular took its toll, as did homesickness. In the first ten years in Palestine, there were many deaths, with entire families wiped out and no births due to sterility.<sup>53</sup>

### *Municipal Autonomy*

Bosniaks in Caesarea were organized into a municipality in accordance with Turkish regulations in force at that time.<sup>54</sup> The mudir<sup>55</sup> was Ahmad-beğ Katkhuda and the muezzin<sup>56</sup> was a Bosniak from the Drače family. On their own initiative, the villagers built a mosque with a school that provided four years of religious education for children.<sup>57</sup> The Bosniaks hired an Arab teacher called Hajj Hasan, whom they also paid to act as imam.

### ***Construction of the Settlement***

The Herzegovinian muhajirs were attracted to the ancient site of Caesarea<sup>58</sup> for three reasons: (1) the site was empty, so it afforded them an opportunity to live on their own; (2) the presence of fertile land suitable for cultivation; and most importantly (3) the ancient town had its own harbor, which was very important since the lack of convenient land links to the outside world at the time made opening up access to the sea especially conducive to trade. Caesarea was not settled immediately, however; the emigrants lived in Haifa and other nearby areas for about two years while the village was being built and only moved in after construction was finished. As with their initial arrival into the Middle East, the Turkish authorities did not provide any assistance to the muhajirs in building their village.<sup>59</sup> Instead, the community was left to solve its problems on its own, and it used its own resources to hire a German engineer.<sup>60</sup>

As with other muhajir settlements throughout Turkey, the new Bosniak settlement in Caesarea stood out from nearby communities in its layout and architecture.<sup>61</sup> It was built within the walls of the ancient Roman and Byzantine settlements, but modeled on Herzegovinian villages near Mostar, as remembered by the immigrants. Along the wide streets were two-story stone houses with ceramic tile roofs and fenced-in gardens. This was a sharp contrast from the classic style of villages indigenous to this part of the world, which lacked windows, had interior courtyards onto which the rooms would open, and were surrounded by high walls.<sup>62</sup> The number of rooms varied between two and four, depending on the size of the family and its financial situation. Each house had a sitting room, bedroom, *mutbakh*,<sup>63</sup> and attic. These rooms were furnished in a typical Bosnian style, while the toilets were built in “the old style”—in the courtyard.

They also constructed public buildings in the village: an administrative office, a customs post for the Caesarea harbor, and a mosque with school and graveyard, all of which the Bosniaks built on their own.

### ***Clothing***

The older styles of clothing from the homeland remained in use among the Bosniaks of Caesarea until the second generation in Palestine, when they gave way to garments from the surrounding Arab population. This change was primarily due to the impact of the new environment, as well as through conscious adaptation to new living conditions. This happened to all of the villagers, without regard to their social status. Men tended to be first in taking up local clothing, on account of their closer connections with the outside world; women, being tied by tradition to hearth and home, lagged behind. In this new place, women started by abandoning pantaloons (*dimije*, or *salwars*), which were not worn by Arab women.

Thus, the attire of the old country was abandoned relatively quickly, just as with the muhajirs in Turkey,<sup>64</sup> who also adopted the clothing of the surrounding population.

### ***Diet***

Like our muhajirs in Turkey,<sup>65</sup> Bosniaks took on the traditional food of their new surroundings while continuing to produce dishes typical of the old country, including specialties of Bosnian Muslim cuisine such as *pite* (savory filo-dough pies), *gurabije* (shortbread biscuits), and *hurmašice* (cakes soaked in syrup).

### ***Work, Labor, Trades***

The Bosniaks' holdings lay about three kilometers outside the village. The land was good and fertile, and one of their primary occupations was exploiting the soil. For help in cultivating the land, they hired fellahin who worked as wage laborers on the Bosniaks' lands and also performed gardening tasks and other manual labor. Aside from agriculture, the most common and lucrative trades were in animal husbandry and handicrafts.<sup>66</sup>

### ***Marriage and Family***

After settling in Caesarea, large families lived together in shared households, which would include the families of fathers, married sons, and their own wives and children. Marriage was for the most part monogamous, with only one known case of bigamy among the Bosniaks.

Considerations of ethnicity and wealth status were major factors in marriage decisions, with a tendency toward maintaining ethnic endogamy. Spouses were chosen in situ: wives and husbands were found among the Bosniaks of Caesarea. Some went to Turkey in search of wives from the Bosniak diaspora there. Such trips were common. To a lesser extent was the practice of seeking brides from the home country, starting in the mid-1930s.

At first, there were no marriages to Arabs. But this eventually changed, as many Bosniaks died from the harsh climate and women in particular could not conceive children in the first ten years. Gradually the villagers started to arrange marriages with the Arab population.

### ***Elements of Spiritual Culture***

Since the Herzegovinian Muslim settlers and their Arab neighbors in Palestine shared a common religion, it is very difficult one hundred years later to discern major cultural differences between the immigrants and indigenes. Moreover, it is important to note that it was precisely through their shared religion that the Herzegovinian muhajirs consciously assimilated into the surrounding Muslim Middle Eastern population.

However, the muhajirs still preserved their maternal language, thanks mostly to women in the domestic space who nurtured and passed it along to the younger generation. At first they deliberately maintained their mother tongue, but eventually the language came to be neglected. Serbo-Croatian was spoken intensively until the children started school, but as youths of the second generation began to pursue education elsewhere, the language was lost.<sup>67</sup>

After their arrival, they continued to pass down oral traditions from one generation to the next, including folk songs, stories, and proverbs—but these, too, were eventually lost with the passage of time.

## **EMIGRATION FROM CAESAREA**

### ***Reasons and Directions***

Emigration from Caesarea began early. The hardship of adjusting to the new climate and feelings of insecurity from bedouin raids that were otherwise common in this part of the world<sup>68</sup> compelled some families such as the Ramićs and Rajkovićs to return home and others to move elsewhere in the Ottoman Empire, such as the Dizdars and others.

There was also a wave of families that departed when their children reached school age. Since Caesarea only had a four-year religious school, many families moved to bigger cities such as Haifa, Tulkarm, Nablus, Jaffa, and Jerusalem seeking education for their children. From there, youths could seek larger centers for study.

The infiltration of new foreign immigrants also encouraged the Bosniaks to increasingly abandon Caesarea. First came German colonists, who offered large sums of money to purchase Bosniak properties,<sup>69</sup> followed by Jews with their own amply attractive offers to buy land and houses. The influx of Jewish immigrants was particularly intense around 1920–22, when Bosniaks began to leave Caesarea in larger numbers.<sup>70</sup>

The mass exodus of the Herzegovinian muhajirs from Caesarea triggered faster and more significant changes in their lifestyles, accelerating their assimilation into the surrounding Arab population. In the censuses conducted by the British Mandate, Bosniaks were treated as Arab Muslims.<sup>71</sup> It was at this time that the ethnic label Bushnaq (Bošnjak) became a family name—aptly symbolizing their blending in.<sup>72</sup>

As construction began on the Haifa port<sup>73</sup> after World War I, the harbor in Caesarea lost its importance; similarly, the opening of the coastal railway line south of Haifa<sup>74</sup> also diminished the village's importance and pushed the muhajirs to move to new places where they could continue to ply their trades. During this period, their movement was free and voluntary, without any interference from the Mandatory authorities. They moved to neighboring big cities, and some families returned to their homeland. At the time of the mass movement from Caesarea, economic reasons also spurred many families—including the Muratovići, Lakišići, Čerkezovići, and Dizdars—to move to Turkey, especially to Adana.

After the creation of the state of Israel in 1948, the Bosniaks moved out of Caesarea definitively and, like the rest of the Arab population of Palestine, were displaced to neighboring Arab countries such as Syria, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, and Egypt.<sup>75</sup> With the departure of the Bosniaks, Caesarea ceased to exist as a village.<sup>76</sup> Since then, it has been only an archaeological site of cultural and touristic importance.

## THE SITUATION TODAY

Today, Bosniaks live in the occupied territories of Jordan [*sic*], in Tulkarm, Nablus, and Ramallah; in Amman, there are about sixty families, who are mostly of a higher socioeconomic status. There are also large numbers of Bosniaks in Kuwait. In Lebanon, Bosniak families live in Beirut (Drače), Tyre (Repavac), and Tripoli (Džampo). In Syria, they live in Damascus and in Tartus, on the Mediterranean coast. They also live in Egypt [*sic*], particularly in the Gaza area. Some have even moved to Tunisia.<sup>77</sup> For a while, a Bosniak family lived in Bahrain, and later moved to Kuwait, and some Bosniaks settled for a while in Abu Dhabi. It also seems that there are Bosniaks in Saudi Arabia, in Riyadh, Mecca, and Jeddah.<sup>78</sup> Many have returned to Turkey, while one family, that of Dr. Sulejman Kathuda, returned a few years ago to Yugoslavia, renewed its Yugoslav citizenship, and lives in Mostar.

The Bosniaks have to this day preserved a strong sense of particularity, along with some cultural and anthropological characteristics.<sup>79</sup> They still differ from the Arab cultural environment to some extent, having never fully accepted all the Middle Eastern, Islamic Arab customs. They still

maintain ethnic endogamy, and accordingly have a noticeably lighter complexion. But the mother tongue slowly but surely faded out, and even the older generation today does not speak it particularly well. In the eyes of their new neighbors, they are today part of an Arab Middle Eastern people—the Palestinians.<sup>80</sup> One can say that one hundred years after arriving in the region, the Herzegovinian muhajirs live in near complete assimilation with the Arab population of this part of the world.

#### About the Author

Nina Seferović (1947–1991) was a Yugoslav anthropologist who worked at the Ethnographic Museum and later at the Museum of African Art, both in Belgrade. This article first appeared as “Kolonija Hercegovackih Muslimana u Kajzeriju u Palestini,” *Zbornik radova Etnografskog instituta* 12 (1981): pp. 47–64, and was translated for the *Journal of Palestine Studies* by Darryl Li with the kind permission of the Institute of Ethnography of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts.

## Balkan Migration to the Middle East

In the Hijaz (the region of Saudi Arabia encompassing the holy cities of Mecca and Medina) there are large numbers of foreign Muslims of diverse origins who stayed on after pilgrimages.<sup>1</sup> In the early decades of the nineteenth century, the traveler J. L. Burckhardt encountered individual pilgrims from our region who, like many others, had settled under various circumstances and started new families there, severing ties with kin and friends back home.<sup>2</sup>

Throughout the Middle East, Muslims of Slavic origin from Sandžak, Kosovo and Metohija, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Montenegro, Macedonia, Serbia (from Niš, Vranje, and Leskovac), plus Albanians and ethnic Turkish refugees were settled as muhajirs. There were also Orthodox [Christians] and Catholics from our region in the Middle East. In the holy cities of Arabia, Burckhardt met various Christians from our country who had inexplicably wound up in that country. During the construction of the Suez Canal in the 1860s, the labor force included Catholics from Dalmatia (especially the island of Korčula) and workers from the Montenegrin coast.<sup>3</sup> After the opening of the canal in 1869,<sup>4</sup> semi-skilled and highly skilled workers from these areas were recruited to work in transport operations. During this period, a community of Macedonians and people from Dalmatia and other parts of the Croatian coast emerged in Alexandria, Suez, and along the canal, working in trade. They remained there as of the period between the world wars and retained memories of their origins, even as they assimilated into the local population.

During the construction of the Baghdad railway starting in the late nineteenth century, workers came from Bosnia and elsewhere in our country, as did engineers, merchants, and others.<sup>5</sup> After the 1878 Congress of Berlin, came another wave of Herzegovinian Muslims, namely the ones who settled in Caesarea.

Although Albanians have been moving to the Middle East for centuries, their economic migration reached a climax after the 1912–13 Balkan wars. They have settled in Aleppo (150 families from Pejë/Peć and Vushtrri/Vučitrn) and Damascus (5,000 people), which has the largest Albanian community in the Levant. In the city, there are several neighborhoods with Albanians, plus a well-known “Albanian village” just outside the capital. In this village are Albanians from

Kosovo and Albania itself. They live relatively well, sticking together and aiding one another, but Albanian customs are completely suppressed. Because of their difficult immigrant life, they take pains to blend in as much as possible. In the same period, some Albanian families migrated to Beirut from Preševo (according to a program on Priština TV filmed in Syria and Lebanon in October 1977 and aired the following year).

During World War II, a small group moved from Bosnia to Syria, including many Muslims. They later fought on the Allied side in the Middle East. Having acquitted themselves well of their tasks, many remained in the Syrian and Lebanese armies and still live in the two countries.

As for the emigration of our Jews to Palestine, it was limited from 1878 through the era of the British Mandate and took place at the individual level.<sup>6</sup> During the Balkan wars, some Jews from Macedonia went to Palestine.<sup>7</sup> After World War I, Jewish emigration to Palestine (aliyah), began from Yugoslavia, lasting about a decade and included several hundred youth pioneers (*halutzim*).<sup>8</sup> Around this time, about 1,500 Jews from Bitola, Macedonia, also departed. In late 1940 and early 1941, the last organized batch of the Hashomer Hatzva'ir Zionist youth group went to Palestine and founded Kibbutz Gat shortly before the outbreak of World War II [*sic*]. The first mass migration of Yugoslav Jews—about 8,500 persons/individuals—came after World War II with the 1948 founding of the Israeli state.<sup>9</sup> This group left voluntarily, afflicted by a nationalist psychosis.<sup>10</sup>

At the present time, the emigration of our population to the Middle East is of a largely sporadic and individual character.

## ENDNOTES

### Translator's Preface: A Note on Settler Colonialism

- 1 Benny Morris, *The Birth of the Palestinian Refugee Problem Revisited* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 130.
- 2 There is a more extensive literature on Caesarea, the place, focusing on the archaeology of the Roman, Byzantine, and Crusader periods. I am not aware of any dedicated study of the Palestinian Bushnaqs, but several surveys of villages destroyed in the Nakba briefly note their presence. See, for example, Mustafa al-Dabbagh, *Biladuna filastin*, 2nd ed., vol. 7: Fi diyar al-jalil—jund al-urdu (2) (Beirut: Dar al-tali'a, 1974), pp. 635–38; Jamil 'Arafat, *Al-qura al-filastiniyya al-muhajjara fi qada' Hayfa* (Damascus: Dar al-shajara lil-nashr wal-tawzi', 2004), pp. 203–10. Birzeit University's Palestinian Archive Project contains several oral history interviews with Bushnaqs. See Interviews with Sadiq Bushnaq (1986), <http://www.awraq.birzeit.edu/?q=en/node/480>; 'Abd Allah Mustafa Bushnaq (1986), <http://www.awraq.birzeit.edu/?q=en/node/479>.
- 3 The racialization of Arabs as a category has been noted as an important and underexplored area of research more generally. Jessica Winegar and Lara Deeb, "Anthropologies of Arab-Majority Societies," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 41 (2012): p. 549.
- 4 Perhaps the best-known example of the use of migration as a way to undermine Palestinian national claims is the largely discredited Joan Peters, *From Time Immemorial: The Origins of the Arab-Jewish Conflict over Palestine* (New York: Harper and Row, 1984). Peters's erroneous use of statistical data and plagiarism have been extensively documented. See, for example, Norman Finkelstein, "Disinformation and the Palestine Question: The Not-so-Strange Case of Joan Peters's *From Time Immemorial*," in *Blaming the Victims: Spurious Scholarship and the Palestinian Question*, ed. Edward Said and Christopher Hitchens (London: Verso, 1988); Yehoshua Porath, "Mrs. Peters's Palestine," *New York Review of Books*, 16 January 1986.



- 5 See, for example, David Grossman, *Rural Arab Demography and Early Jewish Settlement in Palestine: Distribution and Population Density during the Late Ottoman and Early Mandate Periods* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 2011[2004]), pp. 70–72; Seth Frantzman and Ruth Kark, “The Muslim Settlement of Late Ottoman and Mandatory Palestine: Comparison with Jewish Settlement Patterns,” *Digest of Middle East Studies* 22, no. 1 (2013): pp. 80, 83, 89.
- 6 Afro-Palestinians have been conspicuously absent as either participants or even objects in the recently revitalized interest in the United States in the histories, presents, and possible futures of Black-Palestine solidarity. For some tentative outsider perspectives on this community, see Susan Beckerleg, “The Hidden Past and Untold Present of African-Palestinians,” in *Reflections on Arab-Led Slavery of Africans*, edited by K. K. Prah, pp. 193–207. (Cape Town: Centre for Advanced Studies of African Society, 2005); Jewel Bush, “Related Somehow to Africa: Black Palestinians and the Search for Shared Identity,” *Transition* 2015.
- 7 On muhajir (Turkish: *muhacir*) movements in the 19th and 20th centuries generally, see Kemal H. Karpat, *Ottoman Population, 1830–1914: Demographic and Social Characteristics* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985), pp. 55–59; *The Politicization of Islam: Reconstructing Identity, State, Faith, and Community in the Late Ottoman State* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 184–88.
- 8 The English-language scholarship on muhajir migration from Bosnia is limited. The best available sources include Leyla Amzi-Erdoğdular, “Afterlife of Empire: Muslim-Ottoman Relations in Habsburg Bosnia-Herzegovina, 1878–1914” (PhD Thesis, Columbia University, 2013); Muhamed Mufaku al-Arnaut, “Islam and Muslims in Bosnia, 1878–1918: Two *Hijras* and Two *Fatwas*,” *Journal of Islamic Studies* 5, no. 2 (1994), pp. 242–53.
- 9 See Safet Bandžović, *Iseljavanje Bošnjaka u Tursku* (Sarajevo: Institut za istraživanje zločina protiv čovječnosti i međunarodnog prava, 2006); Fikret Fazlagić, *S Bošnjacima u Turskoj* (Zenica: BZK Preporod, 2010); Fahriye Emgili, *Yeniden Kurulan Hayatlar: Boşnakların Türkiye’ye Göçleri, 1878–1934* (Istanbul: Bilge Kültür Sanat, 2012); Tufan Gündüz, *Alahimanet Bosna: Boşnakların Osmanlı Topraklarına Göçü* (Istanbul: Yeditepe, 2012). For later migrations from Yugoslavia to Turkey, see Edvin Pezo, *Zwangsmigration in Friedenszeiten?: Jugoslawische Migrationspolitik und die Auswanderung von Muslimen in die Türkei (1918 bis 1966)* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2013).
- 10 Perhaps the most prolific scholar of Balkan-Arab connections is Muhammad Mufaku al-Arna’ut, who was born in Damascus to a family of Albanian muhajirs and is based at Al al-Bayt University in Jordan. His bibliography, in Albanian, Serbo-Croatian, and Arabic, is quite extensive. See, for example, Muhammad Mufaku al-Arna’ut, *Dirasat fil-silat al-‘arabiyya al-balqaniyya khilala al-tarikh al-wasit wal-hadith* (Beirut: Jadawil lil-nashr wal-tarjama wal-tawzi’, 2012); *al-Islam fi Yughuslafiya: min Balghrad ila Sarayivu* (Amman: Dar al-bashir, 1993); *Al-thaqafa al-albaniyya fil-abdjadiyya al-‘arabiyya* (Kuwait: Al-majlis al-watani lil-thaqafa wal-funun wal-adab, 1983).
- 11 One example of the importance of migration can be seen in Michelle Campos’s important account of Ottoman patriotism in Palestine, which discusses a boycott campaign against the 1908 Austro-Hungarian annexation of occupied Bosnia. Unfortunately, Palestinian Bosnian communities—whom one can imagine having diverse views on and personal stakes in the matter—are apparently absent from Campos’s sources even though Caesarea is not far from the boycott campaign’s epicenter in Jaffa. Michelle Campos, *Ottoman Brothers: Muslims, Christians, and Jews in Early Twentieth-Century Palestine* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2011), pp. 100–7.
- 12 Ante Batović, “Nonaligned Yugoslavia and the Relations with the Palestine Liberation Organisation” (paper presented at the 11th Mediterranean Research Meeting at the European University Institute, Workshop 12, “Superpower Rivalry and the Third Way(s) in the Mediterranean,” Florence, 2010), p. 16.
- 13 See Tvrtko Jakovina, *Treća strana Hladnog rata* (Zagreb: Fraktura, 2011); Vladimir Petrović, *Jugoslovenska stupa na Bliski Istok: Stvaranje jugoslovenske bliskoistočne politike 1946–1956* (Belgrade: Institut za savremenu istoriju, 2007); Aleksandar Životić, *Jugoslavija i Suecka kriza: 1956–1957* (Belgrade: Institut za noviju historiju Srbije, 2008). On Yugoslav arms exports to the Middle East and North Africa, see Jovan Matović, *Vojni poslovi Jugoslavije i svet XX veka* (Belgrade: Tetra GM, 2003), pp. 199–295.

- 14 Zdravko Pečar, *Alžir do nezavisnosti* (Belgrade: Prosveta, 1967); translated and abridged as *Algérie: témoignage d'un reporter yougoslave sur la guerre d'Algérie* (Algiers: Entreprise nationale du livre, 1987).
- 15 Mahir Jarrar, *'Abd al-Rahman Munif wal-Iraq: Sira wa-dhakira* (Casablanca: Al-markaz al-thaqafi al-'arabi, 2005), pp. 28–29. Munif also wrote an introduction to the Arabic edition of a book by the Yugoslav Nobel literature laureate Ivo Andrić. 'Abd al-Rahman Munif, "Taqdim: Ivu Andrić wa-hikayat min al-Busna," in *Hikayat min al-Busna*, ed. Ivo Andrić (Beirut: Al-Mu'assasa al-'arabiyya lil-dirasat wal-nashr, 1996).
- 16 Fahrudin Smilović, "Bosanka u Gazi za AJB: Svake sekunde očekujemo smrt," *Al Jazeera Balkans* (2014), <http://balkans.aljazeera.net/vijesti/bosanka-u-gazi-za-ajb-svake-sekunde-ocekujemo-smrt>; Ivan Angelovski, Aida Ramusovic, and Lawrence Marzouk, "Serbia Quietly Grants Citizenship to Abbas Rival," *Balkan Insight* (2015), <http://www.balkaninsight.com/en/article/serbia-quietly-grants-citizenship-to-abbas-rival>.
- 17 Stef Jansen, "After the Red Passport: Towards an Anthropology of the Everyday Geopolitics of Entrapment in the EU's 'Immediate Outside,'" *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 15, no. 4 (2009). The collapse of Yugoslavia and subsequent wars also resulted in a sharp curtailing of international mobility for citizens of the successor states. Bosnians, for example, only regained the right to visa-free travel to western Europe nearly two decades later, in 2010.
- 18 Relatedly, Serbia and Croatia both boast traditions of academic ethnology that were tied to nationalist projects of identity-formation, albeit in complex and contingent ways. On the history of Serbian ethnology, see Slobodan Naumović, "Identity Creator in Identity Crisis: Reflections on the Politics of Serbian Ethnology," *Anthropological Journal on European Cultures* 8, no. 2 (1999): p. 39–128. Although Seferović's work on migration was part of a new trend of work in the 1970s that pushed beyond the discipline's traditional parameters, she also copiously cited works from the canon of Serbian ethnology and human geography, including authors such as Jovan Cvijić and Čedomil Mitrinović who generally (and pejoratively) treated Muslims as "Islamized" Serbs.  
In contrast, ethnology in Bosnia did not develop in support of nation-building due to the discipline's roots in Austro-Hungarian rule, the ongoing ambiguities over Muslims and nationalism in Bosnia, and the relative neglect of Bosnian ethnology in favor of established departments in Belgrade and Zagreb under socialist rule. See Larisa Kurtović, "Cataloguing Tradition in a Socialist Republic: Ethnology in Bosnia-Herzegovina, 1945–1990," in *The Anthropological Field on the Margins of Europe, 1945–1991*, ed. Aleksandar Bošković and Chris Hann (LIT Verlag: Zurich, 2013).
- 19 For one example of such a study, see Patrick Wolfe, "Purchase by Other Means: The Palestine *Nakba* and Zionism's Conquest of Economics," *Settler Colonial Studies* 2, no. 1 (2012).
- 20 I owe this observation to Mezna Qato.
- 21 Kevin Bruyneel, "The Paradox of the Prior and Settler-Colonial Temporality: Statism, Collective Memory, and the Politics of the Calendar" (paper delivered at the 2011 Native American and Indigenous Studies Association conference).
- 22 Samera Esmeir, "A Guide for the Perplexed," *Middle East Report Online*, April 2014. Esmeir's argument can be read as one productive response to Elizabeth Povinelli's provocation that "the critical task of indigenous theory is to become something *otherwise than prior*" (emphasis added). Elizabeth Povinelli, "The Governance of the Prior," *Interventions: International Journal of Postcolonial Studies* 13, no. 1 (2011): p. 22.

## The Herzegovinian Muslim Colony in Caesarea, Palestine

- 1 Among the descendants of these emigrants, the most comprehensive information was provided by: Abdurrahman Ali Bushnaq, a businessman from Amman; Abdullah Bushnaq, a retiree from Amman; Selma Bushnak, née Brkić, married before World War II to Abdullah Bushnaq, homemaker; Amina Bushnaq, homemaker from Beirut; Lamyia El Khalil, née Bushnak, owner of

an orange grove in southern Lebanon, Beirut; Dr. Sulejman Kathuda, a retired doctor from Amman, living today in Mostar; Umica Kathuda, née Čišić, married in the late 1930s to Dr. Sulejman Kathuda; engineer Samir Kathuda, their son, living in Yugoslavia, as well as Aiša Džabić, homemaker from Mostar; Muhamed Mujić, a civil servant from Mostar; Narcisa Mujić, homemaker from Mostar; Ibrahim Đikić, civil servant from Sarajevo; Džemal Drače, retiree from Belgrade with close and distant relatives among the emigrants.

Among the scholars and publicists who provided the most information were: Joseph Sfeir from Beirut and Eugen Werber, scholar of Judaism from Belgrade.

Useful data was also provided by: Razia Brkić, who with her husband, the trade representative of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY), spent many years in the Middle East and met several of our emigrant families; Mithad Muratbegović, diplomatic representative of the SFRY and his wife Razija; Meho Rajković and his wife, Bahra; Nusret and Emilija Seferović; and Dr. Muhamed Ustavdić, a doctor in Srebrenik (near Tuzla) who spent several years working in the hospitals of the Palestinian liberation movement, whose patients included descendants of our emigrants and their Arab neighbors, from whom he heard and learned many details about the history, life, and fate of the colony of Herzegovinian Muslims in Caesarea, Palestine.

- 2 Salim Čerić, *Muslimani srpskohrvatskog jezika* (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1968), p. 114; D.E. Eremeev, *Etnogenez turok* (Moscow: Nauka, 1971), p. 171; Vojislav Radovanović, *Opšta antropogeografija*, vol. 1 (Belgrade: Gračevinska knjiga, 1959), p. 174; L. Trnjegorski, *Jugoslovenske manjine u inostranstvu* (Belgrade: Narod i država, 1938), p. 135.
- 3 Radovanović, *Opšta antropogeografija*, pp. 174–75; Čerić, *Muslimani srpskohrvatskog jezika*, p. 115; Trnjegorski, *Jugoslovenske manjine u inostranstvu*, p. 135; *Bune i ustanci u Bosni i Hercegovini u XIX veku*, (Belgrade: Vojnoistorijski institut JNA, 1952), p. 16; Xavier de Planhol, *Les fondements géographiques de l'histoire de l'Islam* (Paris: Flammarion, 1968), p. 258; Kemal Karpat, *Turkey's Politics: The Transition to a Multi-Party System* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1959), p. 94; Jovan Cvijić, *Balkansko poluostrvo i južnoslovenske zemlje: Osnovi antropogeografije* (Belgrade: Zavod za izdavanje udžbenika, 1966), pp. 141–42, 569; Milisav V. Lutovac, "Migracioni procesi stanovništva Jugoslavije," in *Cvijićev zbornik: U spomen 100 godišnjice njegovoj rođenja*, ed. Milisav V. Lutovac (Belgrade: Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, 1968), pp. 190–91; "Pogovor," in *Cvijićev zbornik: U spomen 100 godišnjice njegovoj rođenja*, ed. Milisav V. Lutovac (Belgrade: Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, 1966), p. 569.
- 4 Cvijić, p. 142; Alija Nametak, "Narodni osećaji bosansko-hercegovačkih muslimana iseljenih u Tursku," *Napredak* 3, no. 4 (1933): p. 41. Also known as the "muhajir movement" (Jovan Cvijić, "O iseljavanju bosanskih muhamedanaca," in *Cvijićeva knjiga*, ed. Jovan Cvijić and Jovan Erdeljanović [Belgrade: Sveti Sava, 1927], p. 82); the "muhadžirstvo" (Čedomil Mitrović, *Naši muslimani: Studija za orijentaciju pitanja bosansko-hercegovačkih muslimana* [Belgrade: Društvo, 1926], p. 48); and the "hijra" (Nametak, "Narodni osećaji bosansko-hercegovačkih muslimana iseljenih u Tursku," p. 41).
- 5 de Planhol, *Les fondements géographiques*, p. 258.
- 6 F.M. Vejzović, "Štampa o iseljavanju muslimana u periodu austro-ugarske okupacije Bosne i Hercegovine," *Bosna i Hercegovini: Iseljenički almanah 1970*, p. 108.
- 7 Vejzović, "Štampa o iseljavanju muslimana," p. 108; de Planhol, *Les fondements géographiques*, p. 257; Trnjegorski, *Jugoslovenske manjine u inostranstvu*, p. 135.
- 8 Ejub Sijerčić, *Migracije stanovništva Bosne i Hercegovine* (Sarajevo: Republički zavod za statistiku SR BiH, 1976), p. 19.
- 9 On the reasons for the emigration of Bosnia-Herzegovina's Muslims during the Austrian occupation, see G. Gravier, "Emigracija muslimana iz Bosne i Hercegovine," *Pregled*, 15 January 1911, pp. 476–79; M.S. Filipović, "Bošnjaci u okolini Skoplja," *Pregled*, October–November 1931, p. 262; E. Bulbulović, "Nekoliko fragmenata iz naše bliske prošlosti," *Jugoslovenski list*, 1 January 1941, p. 11; Vojislav Bogičević, "Emigracija muslimana Bosne i Hercegovine u Tursku u doba austrougarske vladavine 1878–1918. godine," *Historijski zbornik III/1–4* (1950): pp. 185–86; Abduselam Balagija, "Les

- musulmans yougoslaves" (University of Algiers, 1940), pp. 132–33; Cvijić, "O iseljavanju bosanskih muhamedanaca," pp. 84, 89; Dragiša Lapčević, *O našim muslimanima* (Belgrade: Knjižara Gece Kona, 1925), p. 47; Vejzović, "Štampa o iseljavanju muslimana u periodu austro-ugarske okupacije Bosne i Hercegovine," p. 108; Čerić, *Muslimani srpskohrvatskog jezika*, p. 161; Hamdija Kapidžić, *Hercegovački ustanak 1882. godine* (Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša, 1973[1958]), pp. 13, 67, 74; Bune i ustanci u Bosni i Hercegovini u XIX veku, p. 29; Đorđe Pejanović, *Stanovništvo Bosne i Hercegovine* (Belgrade: Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, 1955), pp. 42–45; Nametak, "Narodni osećaji bosansko-hercegovačkih muslimana iseljenih u Tursku," p. 41; A. Apostolov, "Kolonizacija na muhadžirite do Makedonija i rastrojstvo na čifčiskite odnosi od krajot na XIX vek do 1912. godina," *Glasnik na institutot na nacionalna istorija IV/1–2* (1960): p. 115; de Planhol, *Les fondements géographiques*, p. 259; F. Slipičević, *Bosna i Hercegovina od Berlinskog kongresa do kraja prvog svetskog rata (1878–1918)* (Zagreb: Povijesno društvo NR Hrvatske, 1954), pp. 10, 14, 18; Hamdija Kapidžić, "Bosanci i Hercegovci u Americi pred izbijanje prvog svetskog rata," *Bosna i Hercegovini: Iseljenički almanah* 1970, p. 181; Vladimir Stojančević, "Migracije iz Bosne i Hercegovine u Srbiju izazvane događajima 1876–1878. godine," in *Otpor austrougarskoj okupaciji 1878. godine u Bosni i Hercegovini*, ed. Milorad Ekmečić (Sarajevo: Academy of Arts and Sciences of Bosnia-Herzegovina, 1979).
- 10 R. Zaplata, "Iseljavanje iz Bosne i Hercegovine," *Jugoslavenski list*, 19 May 1940, p. 11.
  - 11 R. Zaplata, "Iseljavanje iz Bosne i Hercegovine," p. 11.
  - 12 Bogićević, "Emigracija muslimana Bosne i Hercegovine u Tursku u doba austrougarske vladavine 1878–1918. godine," p. 181.
  - 13 Bogićević, "Emigracija muslimana Bosne i Hercegovine," p. 182.
  - 14 Zaplata, "Iseljavanje iz Bosne i Hercegovine," p. 11; Mita Kostić, "Pregled bosansko-hercegovačkih muslimana po kosovskom vilajetu 1883. godine," *Istorijski časopis* 1, no. 1–2 (1948): p. 252; Muhamed Hadžijahić, "Uz prilog prof. Vojislava Bogićevića," *Historijski zbornik* III/1–4 (1950): p. 191. Filipović, "Bošnjaci u okolini Skoplja," p. 262; Bogićević, "Emigracija muslimana Bosne i Hercegovine u Tursku u doba austrougarske vladavine 1878–1918. godine," p. 181.
  - 15 Kostić, "Pregled bosansko-hercegovačkih muslimana," p. 252.
  - 16 Slipičević, p. 30; Alija Nametak, "Jedna anonimna propagandna pesma za iseljavanje bosanskih muslimana u Tursku," *Novi behar*, 15 April 1936, p. 279.
  - 17 Bulbulović, "Nekoliko fragmenata iz naše bliske prošlosti," p. 10; Filipović, "Bošnjaci u okolini Skoplja," p. 262; Gravier, "Emigracija muslimana iz Bosne i Hercegovine," p. 477; Nametak, "Jedna anonimna propagandna pesma za iseljavanje bosanskih muslimana u Tursku," p. 279.
  - 18 Cvijić, "O iseljavanju bosanskih muhamedanaca," p. 84.
  - 19 Nametak, "Narodni osećaji bosansko-hercegovačkih muslimana iseljenih u Tursku," p. 42.
  - 20 Lutovac, "Pogovor," p. 269.
  - 21 Mirko Barjkatarović, "O etničkim grupama u Jugoslaviju," *Narodno stvaralaštvo-folklor* VIII/29–32 (1969): p. 362; "O etničkoj strukturu balkanskog poluostrva," in *Cvijićev zbornik: U spomen 100 godišnjice njegovoj rođenja*, ed. Milisav V. Lutovac (Belgrade: Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, 1968), p. 236; E. Mušović, "Jugoslovensko useljeničtvo u Turskoj," in *Cvijićev zbornik: U spomen 100 godišnjice njegovoj rođenja*, ed. Milisav V. Lutovac (Belgrade: Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, 1968).
  - 22 Lutovac, "Pogovor," p. 269; Jovan Trifunovski, "O muhadžirima u Kočanskoj kotlini," *Etnološki pregled* 3 (1961): pp. 150–51; Barjkatarović, "O etničkoj strukturu balkanskog poluostrva," p. 236; Sijerčić, p. 20.
  - 23 Hadžijahić, "Uz prilog prof. Vojislava Bogićevića," p. 191; Zaplata, "Iseljavanje iz Bosne i Hercegovine," p. 11; Kostić, "Pregled bosansko-hercegovačkih muslimana," p. 252; Bulbulović, "Nekoliko fragmenata iz naše bliske prošlosti," p. 10; Vejzović, "Štampa o iseljavanju muslimana u periodu austro-ugarske okupacije Bosne i Hercegovine," p. 108; Gravier, "Emigracija muslimana iz Bosne i Hercegovine," p. 479; Bogićević, "Emigracija muslimana Bosne i Hercegovine u Tursku u doba austrougarske vladavine 1878–1918. godine," p. 18; Wayne S. Vucinich, *The Ottoman Empire: Its Record and Legacy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1965), p. 117.

- 24 "Qaysariyya" is the Arabic form of the Latin name Caesarea. "Caesarea," in *Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, ed. Michael Avi-Yonah (London: Oxford University Press, 1975), p. 271.
- 25 "Caesarea," p. 271.
- 26 "Caesarea," p. 271.
- 27 Barjkatarić, "O etničkim grupama u Jugoslaviju," p. 359.
- 28 Karpat, *Turkey's Politics*, p. 94n36; de Planhol, *Les fondements géographiques*, p. 257.
- 29 Cvijić, "O iseljavanju bosanskih muhamedanaca," p. 142; "O iseljavanju bosanskih muhamedanaca," p. 85; E. Čelebić, "Naši u Turskoj," *Svijest* 1935, p. 8; Gravier, "Emigracija muslimana iz Bosne i Hercegovine," p. 477.
- 30 On the ethnonym "Bosniak," see Petar Vlahović, "Etnologija Jugoslavije," from outline for course in *Etnogeneza naroda Jugoslavije*, Belgrade University Philosophy Faculty, 1979, p. 193.
- 31 Mitrinović, *Naši muslimani*, p. 49.
- 32 Apostolov, "Kolonizacija na muhadžirite do Makedonija i rastrojstvo na čifčiskite odnosi od krajot na XIX vek do 1912. godina," p. 116.
- 33 Gravier, "Emigracija muslimana iz Bosne i Hercegovine," p. 480.
- 34 Gravier, "Emigracija muslimana iz Bosne i Hercegovine," p. 478; Bogićević, "Emigracija muslimana Bosne i Hercegovine u Tursku u doba austrougarske vladavine 1878–1918. godine," p. 178.
- 35 Gravier, "Emigracija muslimana iz Bosne i Hercegovine," p. 478.
- 36 Apostolov, "Kolonizacija na muhadžirite do Makedonija i rastrojstvo na čifčiskite odnosi od krajot na XIX vek do 1912. godina," p. 130.
- 37 de Planhol, *Les fondements géographiques*, p. 265. On the areas of muhajir settlement in general, see de Planhol, *Les fondements géographiques*, pp. 260–66.
- 38 Philip Hitti, *Istorija Arapa: Od najstarijih vremena do danas*, trans. Petar Pejčinović (Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša, 1967 [1937]), p. 655; Marie Syrkin, "The Palestinian Refugees: Resettlement, Repatriation, or Restoration?," in *Israel, the Arabs, and the Middle East*, ed. Irving Howe and Carl Gershman (New York: Quadrangle Books, 1972), p. 178.
- 39 Vucinich, *The Ottoman Empire*, pp. 78–96; Abdul Latif Tibawi, *A Modern History of Syria, including Lebanon and Palestine* (Edinburgh: Macmillan, 1969), pp. 179–206; Richard F. Peters, *Histoire des turcs, de l'empire à la démocratie* (Paris: Payot, 1966), pp. 68–91.
- 40 Tibawi, *A Modern History of Syria*, pp. 152–63; Emanuele Gherzi, *L'Espansione europea ed i movimenti nazionalistici nel mondo musulmano* (Florence: Biblioteca di studi coloniali, 1943), pp. 84–90; Milutin Milenković, *Arapi između juče i sutra* (Belgrade: Beogradski izdavačko-grafički zavod, 1974), pp. 51–55.
- 41 Tibawi, *A Modern History of Syria*, pp. 172–78, 180–86; Pierre Jean-Daniel André, *L'Islam et les races*, vol. 1: Les origines, le tronc et la greffe (Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1922), pp. 236–78; Peter Mansfield, *The Ottoman Empire and Its Successors* (London: Basinstoke, 1973), pp. 22–23; Hitti, *Istorija Arapa*, pp. 670–79; Vucinich, *The Ottoman Empire*, pp. 177–78; Alexander Aaronsohn, *With the Turks in Palestine* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1916), pp. 1–20; Chatelus, *Stratégies pour le Moyen-Orient*, p. 37.
- 42 Tibawi, *A Modern History of Syria*, p. 173. Also, Chatelus, *Stratégies pour le Moyen-Orient*, p. 37; Raphael Patai, *The Kingdom of Jordan* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1958), p. 20.
- 43 Tibawi, *A Modern History of Syria*, p. 173.
- 44 As was customary, this group of muhajirs was led by elders. Gravier, "Emigracija muslimana iz Bosne i Hercegovine," p. 479.
- 45 Bogićević, "Emigracija muslimana Bosne i Hercegovine u Tursku u doba austrougarske vladavine 1878–1918. godine," pp. 183; Kostić, "Pregled bosansko-hercegovačkih muslimana," p. 252.

- 46 This was also the case with other muhajir groups. Gravier, "Emigracija muslimana iz Bosne i Hercegovine," p. 479; Vejzović, "Štampa o iseljavanju muslimana u periodu austro-ugarske okupacije Bosne i Hercegovine," p. 108.
- 47 At first the emigrants headed to the large towns, gathered in groups, awaited decisions as to where they would be resettled. Gravier, "Emigracija muslimana iz Bosne i Hercegovine," p. 480.
- 48 The muhajirs aroused suspicion among the local people. Karpat, *Turkey's Politics*, p. 96.
- 49 "At the same time Muslim Bosnians (Bushnaq) were transferred to Syria upon the occupation by Austria of Bosnia and Herzegovina. They were settled in the half-ruined Caesarea on the coast of Palestine . . ." Tibawi, *A Modern History of Syria*, p. 174. They founded a "small Bosniak village" "Caesarea," pp. 271–72.
- 50 To territory today occupied by Jordan [*sic*].
- 51 It is not confirmed that this family settled in Yanun.
- 52 Arab peasants. André Miquel, *L'Islam et sa civilisation: VIII-XXe siècle* (Paris: A. Colin, 1968), p. 506.
- 53 During these first ten years, none of the women gave birth.
- 54 "The provincial administration laws promulgated by the Turkish authorities in 1864 and 1870 empowered religious associations (džemats) to establish and organize municipal administrations, with each municipality having an organization for each religious community. These džemats, which were primarily established on religious grounds, were not only organizations for worship but also had characteristics of municipal meetings, with the state leaving them to perform important services such as court jurisdiction in questions of marriage, and the running of educational and charitable institutions that the state did not wish to take on." Georges Corm, *Prilog proučavanju multikonfesionalnih društava*, trans. Miroslava Popović-Vujisić (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1977[1971]), pp. 220–21.
- 55 The term for local administrator in Ottoman times. Abdulah Škaljić, *Turcizmi u srpskohrvatskom-hrvatskosrpskom jeziku* (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1973), p. 468.
- 56 A functionary working in the mosque. *Turcizmi u srpskohrvatskom-hrvatskosrpskom jeziku* (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1973), p. 471.
- 57 As was the case in the old country. Balagija, "Les musulmans yougoslaves," p. 94.
- 58 On the history and significance of Caesarea, see Simon Dubnow, *Kratka istorija jevrejskog naroda* (Belgrade: Savez jevrejskih opština Jugoslavije, 1962[1936]), pp. 76, 78; "Caesarea," see the concise bibliography on this archaeological site on p. 28; Gaston Haelling, *Palestine israélienne* (Paris: Editions La Jeune Parque, 1952), pp. 33–34; Martin Noth, *Histoire d'Israël* (Paris: Payot, 1970[1960]), p. 412; Vidosava Nedomački, *Stara jevrejska umetnost u Palestini* (Belgrade: Savez jevrejskih opština Jugoslavije, 1964), p. 63; Gérard Nahon, *Les Hébreux* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1963), pp. 115, 153, 186; Lee Levine, "Some Observations on the Coins of Caesarea Maritima," *Israel Exploration Journal* 22, no. 2–3 (1972): p. 134.
- 59 It was only with the arrival of muhajirs from Crete in 1900 that the state began to build typical houses for immigrants. De Planhol, *Les fondements géographiques*, p. 268.
- 60 Germany's penetration of the Middle East was accompanied by the arrival of its experts. Aaronsohn, *With the Turks in Palestine*, p. 268.
- 61 It has been noted that one of the general characteristics of muhajir migration was their retention of their own particular style of housing, which they brought with them from the homeland. Rather than merely change the basic type of traditional housing in a certain area, they radically changed the use of building materials itself. In Turkey today, even a century after settling, their houses differ from those of the autochthonous population. The nature of these immigrant villages has noticeably evolved from rural, to semi-urban, to urban types. De Planhol, *Les fondements géographiques*, pp. 268–69.
- 62 Tibawi, *A Modern History of Syria*, p. 177.
- 63 Arabic for "kitchen." Škaljić, *Turcizmi u srpskohrvatskom-hrvatskosrpskom jeziku*, p. 480.

- 64 S. Smlatić, "U Kalabuku kod Izmira," *Bosna i Hercegovina: Isejlički almanah 1972*, p. 112.
- 65 S. Smlatić, "U Kalabuku kod Izmira," p. 112.
- 66 Products from their estates were exported to Egypt, Turkey, and several European countries.
- 67 This process was also typical among our emigrants in Turkey. Smlatić, "U Kalabuku kod Izmira," pp. 112–13.
- 68 Tibawi, *A Modern History of Syria*, pp. 136–37.
- 69 Tibawi, *A Modern History of Syria*, p. 189.
- 70 The Third Aliyah fell between 1919 and 1923.
- 71 See John Hope Simpson, "Palestine: Report on Immigration, Land Settlement, and Development," (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1930).
- 72 Changing surnames appeared only in 1924, during the British Mandate. That was when all the Bosniak families took the surname Bushnaq. Only one took the name Kathkhuda, which was actually the original Persian version of their old family name, Čehajić. Škaljić, *Turcizmi u srpskohrvatskom-hrvatskosrpskom jeziku*, pp. 186–87. All the Bosniaks today remember their old surnames and use them among themselves.
- 73 Edwin Samuel, *The Structure of Society in Israel* (New York: Random House, 1969), p. 11.
- 74 Samuel, *The Structure of Society in Israel*, p. 11.
- 75 After the creation of the state of Israel in 1948, the Palestinian Arab population was displaced to the surrounding Arab countries. For more, see Syrkin, "The Palestinian Refugees: Resettlement, Repatriation, or Restoration?," p. 209; Charles-Henri Favrod, *Les Arabes*, Encyclopédie du monde actuel (Paris: Edma, 1975), see the entries on Palestine (pp. 248–49), the West Bank (pp. 128–29), and Gaza (pp. 58–59); Milenković, *Arapi između juče i sutra*, pp. 193–94; Chatelus, *Stratégies pour le Moyen-Orient*, p. 20.
- 76 See "Caesarea," p. 271.
- 77 In Tunisia, there are the Mostarli and Bushnaq families, although it is not known for certain if they originate from the Bosniaks of Caesarea.
- 78 There is disagreement on this point among informants.
- 79 They say: "We are Slavs, not Turks. Still less are we Arabs."
- 80 "The Arabs of Palestine, the majority of the non-Arab immigrants from the East (Kurds, Caucasians, Armenians and Turks) and from the West (Greeks, a number of Italian, Yugoslav and Albanian families, and the remnants of the crusaders) together constituted one people with a unified culture." Ibrahim al-Abid, *A Handbook to the Palestine Question*, vol. 17, Palestine Books (Beirut: Palestine Liberation Organization Research Centre, 1969), p. 57. In the identity documents of the Bosniaks, Palestine is indicated as their place of birth and they are treated accordingly by the officials of the countries in which they live today.

## Balkan Migration to the Middle East

- 1 Chatelus, *Stratégies pour le Moyen-Orient*, p. 46.
- 2 John Lewis Burckhardt, *Travels in Arabia: Comprehending an Account of Those Territories in Hedjaz which the Mohammedans Regard as Sacred* (Beirut: Librairie du Liban, 1972[1929]), pp. 14–15.
- 3 André Miquel, *L'Islam et sa civilisation: VIIIe–XXe siècle* (Paris: A. Colin, 1968), p. 483; Emanuele Ghersi, *L'Espansione europea ed i movimenti nazionalistici nel mondo musulmano* (Florence: Biblioteca di studi coloniali, 1943), p. 41; Milutin Milenković, *Arapi između juče i sutra* (Belgrade: Beogradski izdavačko-grafički zavod, 1974), p. 36.
- 4 Miquel, *L'Islam et sa civilisation*, p. 483; Milenković, *Arapi između juče i sutra*, p. 36.
- 5 Pierre Jean-Daniel André, *L'Islam et les races*, vol. 1: Les origines, le tronc et la greffe (Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1922), p. 237; André, *L'Islam et les races*, vol. 2: Les rameaux (mouvements régionaux

- et sectes): p. 86; Peter Mansfield, *The Ottoman Empire and Its Successors* (London: Basinstoke, 1973), p. 20; Tibawi, *A Modern History of Syria*, pp. 185–88.
- 6 Cvi Rotem, "Historija Jevreja Jugoslavije od Jakira Eventova," *Jevrejski almanah 1968–1970* (1971), p. 49.
  - 7 Žamila Kolonomos, Luci Petrović, and Lavoslav Kadelburg, *Poslovice, izreke i priče sefardskih Jevreja Makedonije* (Belgrade: Savez jevrejskih opština Jugoslavije, 1978), p. 57; David Alkalaj, "Jugoslovenski alija," *Jevrejski almanah 1955–1956*, p. 190.
  - 8 Edwin Samuel, *The Structure of Society in Israel* (New York: Random House, 1969), p. 32; Alkalaj, "Jugoslovenski alija," p. 190.
  - 9 David Perera, "Neki statistički podaci o Jevrejima u Jugoslaviji u periodu od 1938. do 1965. godine," *Jevrejski almanah 1968–1970*, p. 137; Alkalaj, "Jugoslovenski alija," p. 191; David Levi-Dale, *Spomenica. 1919–1969* (Beograd: Savez jevrejskih opština Jugoslavije, 1969), p. 146.
  - 10 Perera, "Neki statistički podaci o Jevrejima u Jugoslaviji u periodu od 1938. do 1965. godine," p. 191.