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## Chapter Three: The Public and Semi-Public Libraries of Sarajevo, 1118-1244/1707-1828

No account of written culture in Ottoman Sarajevo in general and of book culture in particular would be complete without taking into account the role of public and semi-public libraries in the city's book culture.<sup>525</sup> Public libraries may be defined as independent libraries intended for use by members of the public. Semi-public libraries are usually attached to other institutions and are primarily meant for those associated with those institutions, e.g. *madrassa* students in the case of *madrassa* libraries. In Ottoman Sarajevo, most libraries were attached to other institutions such as mosques and *madrassas* and in that sense may be considered semi-public. In rare cases, they functioned as independent libraries housed in their own buildings. There were also family libraries, kept in the homes of individuals, but endowed for public use. These family libraries are to be distinguished from privately-owned books registered in the inheritance inventories and analysed extensively in this dissertation. The main difference between family libraries and private book-collections was in their function and purpose: family libraries were endowments and access to them was defined by the terms of endowment. Privately-owned books, by contrast, were not subject to the institution of endowment and so could be donated, sold, exchanged or divided up in court as part of the deceased's estate.

It has already been noted that countless books and valuable historical documents, such as the Sarajevo court protocols (*sijills*), were either plundered or destroyed as a result of the Habsburg army's sack of Sarajevo in 1109/1697. In the years that followed, fire, civil strife, and the ravages of time cut short the life of many more books and libraries.<sup>526</sup> One of the greatest losses to Bosnian cultural heritage occurred during the siege of Sarajevo during

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<sup>525</sup> Ismail Eren, "Prilozi bibliografiji objavljenih radova o orijentalnim bibliotekama u Jugoslaviji" [Contributions to the bibliography of published works on Oriental libraries in Yugoslavia], *Anali* II-III (1974), pp. 249-258; Lamija Hadžiosmanović, *Biblioteke u Bosni i Hercegovini 1878.-1918.* (Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša, 1980). For an up-to-date bibliography on the libraries of Ottoman Bosnia, see: Osman Lavić, *Biblioteke u Bosni u periodu osmanske vladavine* [Libraries in Bosnia under Ottoman rule] (unpublished M.A. thesis) Sarajevo, 2013.

<sup>526</sup> Basheski notes that on 8 Šafar 1187/1 May 1173 the city courthouse (*maḥkeme*) caught fire, destroying all the writing boards (*peş-tahtalar*) and some court registers (*sicillât-dan bir miqdâr*), while the chief Sarajevo judge (*mollâ*) was at a picnic (*teferrüc*) in a village near Sarajevo, *MMB*, fol. 21a, 21b; *Saraybosnalı*, pp. 114, 115. About seven years later (25 Dhū'l-ḥijja 1193/3 January 1780) he writes that the Pasha *maktab* burned down along with the *muşḥafs* (bound copies of the Qur'an) in it, *MMB*, fol. 35b; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 144.

1992-95. Consequently, it is often difficult, if not impossible, to form a proper picture of the Sarajevo libraries and their collections during the period under consideration. For some libraries we only have the list of books that formed the initial endowment. In other words, we cannot always establish with certainty a particular library's holdings at different stages of its development.

Apart from the occasional endowment charter, our main sources of information about libraries come from ownership seals and marginal notes found on extant manuscripts, if and when they specify library affiliation. The fragmentary and scattered nature of evidence may be the reason why, until quite recently, no full account has been attempted of the history of Ottoman-era libraries in Sarajevo and Bosnia. With the recent completion of the cataloguing of the Gāzī Hüsrev-bey Library collections (along with a number of other libraries with smaller holdings, such as the National and University Library, the Sarajevo Historical Archive, and the Bosniak Institute), it should now be possible to get a much better picture of the history of various libraries.<sup>527</sup>

The patchy state of the evidence for various aspects of Sarajevo libraries between 1118/1707 and 1244/1828 means that sometimes one has to draw on examples from other Bosnian and Balkan towns and from periods outside the time frame of the present study. This is done under the assumption that, whatever its importance as the cultural capital of the province, Sarajevo was part of a wider Ottoman cultural realm which shared many common features in book culture.

It took a long time to rebuild Sarajevo after 1109/1697. Many endowments had been destroyed, never to be restored again. For example, of the city's three *madrasas* (schools of higher learning), only the Gāzī Hüsrev-bey *madrasa* survived into the 12<sup>th</sup>/18<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>528</sup> On the other hand, a number of new endowments were created during that very same

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<sup>527</sup> There is a caveat here, at least so far as the Gāzī Hüsrev-bey Library manuscripts are concerned. The early catalogues (vol. I/1963, vol. II/1979, vol. III/1991), which took a relatively long time to get written and published, are distinguished by great attention to detail and include extensive information on marginalia. The later catalogues were produced faster, but they give little information about the marginal notes. See: Muhamed Ždralović, "Bosnia-Herzegovina" in the *World Survey of Islamic Manuscripts volume I*, ed. Geoffrey Roper (London: Al-Furqan Islamic Heritage Foundation, 1992), pp. 100, 101.

<sup>528</sup> As one Bosnian scholar notes, the destruction was not only material, as many scholars were killed or fled the country, Ismet Bušatlić, *Studije o sljedbenicima knjige* [Studies on the followers of the book], (Sarajevo: Fakultet islamskih nauka & El-Kalem, 1428/2007), p. 228.

12<sup>th</sup>/18<sup>th</sup> century, including several *madrāsas* and two purpose-built, independent libraries. These were the first major institutions of the kind to be built since the heyday of the city's expansion in the 10<sup>th</sup>/16<sup>th</sup> century. The construction of the two libraries was particularly noteworthy, as these were the first purpose-built libraries in the city.

Given their origins, purpose and institutional affiliation, the libraries of Ottoman Sarajevo may be divided into the following categories:

- 1) mosque libraries,
- 2) *maktab* libraries
- 3) *takka* libraries,
- 4) *madrāsa* libraries,
- 5) independent libraries, and
- 6) family libraries.<sup>529</sup>

**1. Mosque Libraries.** The role played by the patronage of Ottoman administrators in the development of book culture is exemplified in the person of Sarajevo's founder, Isa-bey Ishaković. Although there are no records to show that his endowments for the city included a library, he is known to have endowed one for his mosque in Skopje (Turkish: *Üsküp*) in present-day Macedonia.<sup>530</sup> The mosque charter lists the following 22 works:

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<sup>529</sup> There is no evidence for even a single mausoleum library in Bosnia of the sort found in other parts of the Muslim world, e.g. in medieval Damascus, on which see: Youssef Eche, *Les bibliothèques arabes publiques et semi-publiques en Mésopotamie, en Syrie en Egypte au Moyen-Age* (Damas: Publication de l'Institut français, 1967), pp. 239, 240. Lavić classifies Bosnian Muslim libraries in terms of accessibility into public, semi-public, *evladiyet vakfi* (Arabic: *waqf ahli*) libraries, and private and personal libraries, as well as by the type of institution to which they were affiliated, namely *madrāsa*, mosque and *takka* libraries, see Lavić, *Biblioteke u Bosni*, pp. 33, 34.

<sup>530</sup> This was the Alaca Mosque in Skopje. The charter is dated the beginning of Dhū'l-Qa'da 848/February 1445. As Gliša Elezović indicates, the original *sjills* (court registers) of the Skopje *sharī'a* court were destroyed or lost during the Serbian conquest of the city in 1912. Elezović's translation was based on a transcript from the Kosovo *sharī'a* court, dated 8 Shawwāl 1309/6 May 1892. The charter was written in Arabic and Elezović believed it served as the template for many later Ottoman charters in the Balkans. He gave the book titles partially as a mix of transcription (in Cyrillic) and translation, e.g: Коментар на 'Умде' ("a commentary on 'Umda"), not as *sharḥ-i 'Umda*, as was probably written in the charter. For this reason it has proven impossible to identify some of these works. See: Gliša Elezović, *Turski spomenici* [Turkish Monuments], *knjiga I, sveska 1 1348-1520., Zbornik za istočnjačku istoriku i književnu građu, serija prva, knjiga I* (Beograd: Srpska kraljevska akademija, 1940), pp. 14-22.

- 1) a complete *Ṣiḥāḥ* of Jawharī;<sup>531</sup> full title: *Tāj al-luġha wa ṣiḥāḥ al-‘arabiyya* (the Crown of Language and the Soundness of the Arabic), a dictionary. This work could not be identified.
- 2) a complete *Kashshāf*;<sup>532</sup> full title: *al-Kashshāf ‘an ḥaqā’iq al-tanzīl wa ‘uyūn al-aqāwīl fī wujūh al-ta’wīl* (the Revealer of the Truths of Revelation and the Choicest Sayings Concerning the Ways of Interpretation) by Abū al-Qāsim Jārallāh Maḥmūd b. ‘Umar al-Zamaksharī (d. 538/114), a Qur’an commentary, *GAL G I*, 290/1.
- 3) a complete Qur’an commentary by Baghawī;<sup>533</sup> full title: *Tafsīr al-Baghawī* (the Tafsīr of al-Baghawī) or *Ma‘ālim al-tanzīl* (Milestones of Revelation), a Qur’an commentary by Abū Muḥammad Ḥusayn b. Mas‘ūd al-Farrā’ al-Shāfi‘ī (d. 516/1122 or 510/1117), *GAL G I*, 364/4.
- 4) a complete *Mashāriq al-anwār* (*the Place of the Rise of Rays*);<sup>534</sup> a commentary on *al-Mashāriq* by Akmal al-dīn. This work could not be identified.
- 5) *Hidāya fī al-fiqh*;<sup>535</sup> *al-Hidāya fī al-fiqh al-ḥanafī* (Guidance to Ḥanafī jurisprudence) by Burhān al-dīn b. ‘Alī b. Abū Bakr al-Marghinānī al-Ḥanafī (d. 593/1196), jurisprudence, *GAL G I*, 376; *GAL S I*, 644.
- 6) A commentary on *Hidāya* by Jawharzāde;<sup>536</sup> This work could not be identified.
- 7) A commentary on *Majma‘ al-baḥrayn* by the author of the work;<sup>537</sup> full title: *Majma‘ al-baḥrayn wa multaqā al-nahrayn* (the Gathering of the Two Seas and the Confluence of the Two Rivers) by Muḥaffar al-dīn Aḥmad b. ‘Alī b. Tha‘lab ibn al-Sā‘atī al-Baghdādī al-Ḥanafī (d. 694/1294 or 696/1296), jurisprudence, *GAL G*, 382, 383; *GAL S I*, 658.
- 8) Another commentary on *Majma‘ al-baḥrayn* (the Gathering of the two Seas) by Ibn Firishta;<sup>538</sup> This work could not be identified.

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<sup>531</sup> “Комплет “Саххах” од Цевхери-а”, *ibid.*, p.18.

<sup>532</sup> “Комплетан ‘Кјешшаф’”, *ibid.*, p.19.

<sup>533</sup> “Комплет коментара курана од Багавије”, *ibid.*

<sup>534</sup> “Комплет [дела] ‘Мешарик-ул-енвар’”, *ibid.*

<sup>535</sup> “Хидаје фил фикх”, *ibid.*

<sup>536</sup> “Коментар на ‘Хидаје’ од Цевхер заде”, *ibid.*

<sup>537</sup> “Коментар на ‘Меџме-ул-бахреин’ од самог писца дела”, *ibid.*

<sup>538</sup> “Још један коментар на ‘Меџме-ул-бахреин’ од Ибни Фириште”, *ibid.*

- 9) *Jawāhir min shurūḥ al-manzūma*:<sup>539</sup> This work could not be identified.
- 10) *Ṣadr al-sharī'a*:<sup>540</sup> full title: *Ṣadr al-sharī'a sharḥ al-Wiqāya*, a commentary by Ṣadr al-sharī'a al-thānī (al-Aṣghar) 'Ubaydallāh b. Mas'ūd b. Burhān al-sharī'a Maḥmūd b. Ṣadr al-sharī'a al-Awwal (al-Akbar) Aḥmad b. Jamāl al-dīn 'Ubaydallāh al-Maḥbūbī al-Ḥanafī (d. 747/1346), *GAL G I*, 377. This work is a commentary on *Wiqāyat al-riwāya fī masā'il al-hidāya* (Safeguard of Narration on Questions of Guidance) by Burhān al-sharī'a Maḥmūd b. Ṣadr al-sharī'a al-Awwal (al-Akbar) Aḥmad b. Jamāl al-dīn 'Ubaydallāh al-Maḥbūbī al-Ḥanafī (d. 673/1274). *Al-wiqāya* itself is a commentary on *al-Hidāya fī al-fiqh al-ḥanafī* by Burhān al-dīn b. 'Alī b. Abū Bakr al-Marghīnānī al-Ḥanafī (d. 593/1196) (no. 5 on this list).
- 11) *al-Ghunya fī al-fatāwā* (the Sufficient in Juridical Opinions),<sup>541</sup> by Maḥmūd b. Aḥmad b. Mas'ūd al-Qūnawī (d. 771/1369), a collection of fatwas, *GAL G II*, 81; *GAL S II*, 90.
- 12) *Fetava by Kadīhan*,<sup>542</sup> by Fakhr al-dīn Ḥasan b. Manṣūr b. al-Ūzjandī al-Farghānī Qāḍīḥān (d.592/1196), a collection of fatwas, *GAL G I*, 376.
- 13) *Teshīl-ul-lataif-ul-isharat*:<sup>543</sup> This might be an abridged version of *Laṭā'if al-ishārāt* (the Subtleties of Allusions) by Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad.
- 14) *Fatava-i-džami-el-usul*:<sup>544</sup> This work could not be identified.
- 15) A commentary on *Miftaḥ* by Seyid-i-Sherif;<sup>545</sup> This work could not be identified.
- 16) *Telviḥ*:<sup>546</sup> full title: *al-Talwīḥ fī kashf ḥaqā'iq al-tanqīḥ* (Allusions in the Disclosure of the Truths of Revision) by Sa'd al-dīn Mas'ūd b. 'Umar al-Taftāzānī (d. 792/1389), jurisprudence, *GAL S II*, 300, 301.
- 17) *Tevdih-i maksad fil-džer*:<sup>547</sup> This work could not be identified.

<sup>539</sup> “Цевахир мин шурух-ил-манзуме”, *ibid*.

<sup>540</sup> “Још један примерак ‘Садр-и-шерија’”, *ibid*.

<sup>541</sup> “Куњет-ул-фетава”, *ibid*.

<sup>542</sup> “Фетава’ од Кадихана”, *ibid*.

<sup>543</sup> “Тешил-ул-летииф-ул-ишарат”, *ibid*. Two *iḍāfas* are probably a transcription error.

<sup>544</sup> “Фетава-и-цами-ел-усул”, *ibid*.

<sup>545</sup> “Коментар на ‘Мифтах’ од Сејид-и-Шерифа”, *ibid*.

<sup>546</sup> “Телвих”, *ibid*.

<sup>547</sup> The question mark is in the original transcription.

- 18) *Uhdetun fil kjelam*: full title is *Kitāb al-‘umda fī uṣūl al-kalām* (the Book of Pillar in the Roots of Speech) or *‘Umdat fī al-‘aqā’id* (the Pillar in Dogmas) by Abū Barakāt Ḥāfiẓ al-dīn ‘Abdallāh b. Aḥmad b. Maḥmūd al-Nasafī (d. 710/1310), on speculative theology (*kalām*), *GAL G II*, 197; *GAL S II*, 268.
- 19) *A commentary on Umda*;<sup>548</sup> an unspecified commentary on *Kitāb al-‘umda fī uṣūl al-kalām* (see preceding ms. no. 18)
- 20) *Metn-i-kjafi dunye*:<sup>549</sup> this work could not be identified. It might be *Irshād al-kāfi ‘alā matn al-kāfi fī al-‘arūd wa al-qawāfi* (Guide of the Sufficient on the Text of the Sufficient Concerning Metrics and Rhyming) by Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Abū ‘Ā’isha al-Dimanhawī al-Miṣrī al-Shāfi‘ī (d. 1288).<sup>550</sup>
- 21) *A supra-commentary on Keshshaf by mevlana Sad*:<sup>551</sup> full title: *Ḥāshiya ‘alā al-Kashshāf* (a Gloss on the Revealer) by Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd Aḥmad al-Bābartī Akmal al-dīn al-Miṣrī (d. 786).<sup>552</sup>
- 22) *A commentary on Mevakif* by Seid Sherif;<sup>553</sup> full title: *Sharḥ al-mawāqif li al-Jurjānī* (Commentary on Stations of al-Jurjānī) by ‘Alī b. Muḥammad al-Sayyid al-Sharīf al-Jurjānī (d.816/1413), theology (*kalām*), which is a commentary on al-Ījī’s *Kitāb al-mawāqif fī ‘ilm al-kalām* (Book of Stations in the Science of Speech), *GAL G II*, 208, 209.

According to the transcript of the charter, there was one copy of each of the above-listed works, except for the commentary on *Wiqāyat al-riwāya fī masā’il al-hidāya* by Ṣadr al-sharī‘a, two copies of which were endowed. The charter is important as an example of the contents of an early mosque library in the Ottoman Balkans and as evidence of the patronage of books and learning by a high-ranking administrator and army general who was also the founder of Sarajevo.

<sup>548</sup> “Коментар на ‘Умде”, *ibid*.

<sup>549</sup> “Метн-и-кјафи дуње”, *ibid*.

<sup>550</sup> *AM II*, 379.

<sup>551</sup> “Супер коментар на ‘Кјешаф’-а од мевлана Сада”, Elezović, *Turski Spomenici*, I, p.19.

<sup>552</sup> *AM II*, 568.

<sup>553</sup> “Коментар на ‘Мевакиф’ од Сеида Шерифа”, Elezović, *Turski Spomenici*, I, p.19.

Another example of a mosque library closer to Sarajevo comes from the north-central Bosnian town of Mrkonjić Grad (in the Ottoman documents known as Yenice Pazar).<sup>554</sup> Towards the end of the 10<sup>th</sup>/16<sup>th</sup> century, an Ottoman Bosnian official by the name of ḥāj Muṣṭafā, son of Muḥammad, the keeper of the Imperial harem (*kızlar aḡa*), built a mosque in Yenice Pazar and bequeathed books for its library. In his charter, he sets a daily wage of two *akçe* for the librarian. Each book had a note forbidding removal from the mosque. The extant manuscripts from the Kızlar Aḡa Mosque in Mrkonjić Grad, today kept at Gāzī Hüsrev-bey library, are as follows:

1) A miscellany (*majmū'a*) containing two compilations of hadiths with commentary and several short treatises, all by Ibn Kamāl Pāshā, also known as Kemālpaşazāde (d. 940/1533):<sup>555</sup>

a) *Arba'in Ibn Kamāl-pasha* (*Arba'un ḥadith ma' sharḥihā*), a collection of 40 hadiths compiled and with a commentary by Ibn Kamāl Pāshā, GAL G II, 450/13.

b) *al-Ḥadīth al-arba'un li-Mawlānā Kamāl-Pashazāde* (*Arba'un ḥadithan ma' sharḥihā*), a collection of 40 hadiths with a commentary by Ibn Kamāl Pāshā, GAL G II, 450/14. This ms. contains only 28 hadiths.

c) *Risāla fī tafṣīl mā qīla fī ḥaqq abaway al-Rasūl 'alayh al-salām*, a short treatise by Aḥmad b. Sulaymān Ibn Kamāl Pāshā on the status of the Prophet's parents, GAL G II, 450/32.

d) *Kalām fīmā yata'allaq bi-mas'alat khalq al-Qur'an min al-kalām*, on the question as to whether the Qur'an is a created entity, GAL G II, 449, GAL S II, 668.

e) *Risāla fī tafṣīl mā qīl fī ḥaqq abaway al-Rasūl 'alayh al-salām*, a treatise on the status of the Prophet's parents, GAL G II, 450/28.

f) *Risāla fī madḥ al-sa'y wa dhamm al-baṭāla*, a treatise in praise of hard work and against idleness, GAL G II, 452/95.

g) *Risāla fī taṣḥīḥ lafẓ al-zindīq wa tawḍīḥ ma'nāh al-daḡīq*, a treatise on the meaning of the word *zindīq* (heretic), GAL G II, 450/38.

h) *Risāla murattaba fī taḥqīq ta'rīb al-kalima al-a'jamiyya wa tafṣīl aqsāmihā*, a treatise on

<sup>554</sup> Lavić, *Biblioteke u Bosni*, pp. 36, 52-55. According to Mujezinović, this mosque held about 30 manuscripts before they were transferred to the Gāzī Hüsrev-bey library. For more on the history of this town in the Ottoman period, see: Mehmed Mujezinović, *Islamska epigrafika Bosne i Hercegovine*, vol. III [Islamic Epigraphy of Bosnia-Herzegovina], (Sarajevo Publishing, 1998), pp. 9, 10.

<sup>555</sup> Ms. 4453, *GHL* XI, pp. 331-335.

the Arabization of non-Arabic words, *GAL G II*, 452/109.

i) *Risāla fī uslūb al-ḥakīm*, a treatise on Arabic literary stylistics, *GAL G II*, 452/101.

j) *Risāla fī ḥaṣhr al-aḥsād*, also known as *Risāla fī al-ma'ād al-jismānī*, a treatise on the bodily resurrection, *GAL G II*, 450/34.

2) *Ḥāshiyā 'alā sharḥ Dībāja al-Ḍaw'*,<sup>556</sup> a supercommentary by 'Abd al-Laṭīf b. Jalāl al-dīn b. Muḥammad al-Qazwīnī (d. 853/1449) on *al-Ḍaw' fī al-Miṣbāḥ*, which is a commentary on al-Muṭarrizī's *al-Miṣbāḥ*, *GHL VI*, 3935/1.

3) *Münşe'āt*, a collection of more than three hundred examples of formal letters and administrative documents in Ottoman Turkish by an unknown compiler.<sup>557</sup>

4) *Dīwān-i Nasīmī*, a collection of poetry in Ottoman Turkish and Persian by Sayyid 'Imād al-dīn Nasīmī (d. 820/1417) who was put to death for allegedly propagating heretical beliefs.<sup>558</sup>

5) *Wiqāyat al-riwāya fī masā'il al-Hidāya* (Safeguard of Narration on Questions of Guidance)<sup>559</sup> by Burhān al-Sharī'a Maḥmūd b. Şadr al-sharī'a al-Awwal (al-Akbar) Aḥmad b. Jamāl al-dīn 'Ubaydallāh al-Maḥbūbī al-Ḥanafī (d.673/1274); *GAL G I*, 377. *Al-Wiqāya* is itself a commentary on *al-Hidāya fī al-fiqh al-ḥanafī* (Guidance to Ḥanafī Jurisprudence) by Burhān al-dīn b. 'Alī b. Abī Bakr al-Marghīnānī al-Ḥanafī (d. 593/1196), jurisprudence, *GAL G I*, 376; *GAL S I*, 644.

6) *Ḥāshiyat Ya'qūb Pāshā 'alā Şadr al-Sharī'a*, a supercommentary by Ya'qūb Pāshā b. Khidr-bak b. Jalāl al-dīn al-Ḥanafī (d. 891/1486) on the above-mentioned *Wiqāyat al-riwāya fī masā'il al-Hidāya*, *GAL G I*, 377, 378; *GAL S I*, 647.<sup>560</sup>

At the end of the above miscellany there is a further note of book endowment (Ms. R-4455) which lists an additional set of works donated by Kaywānzāde al-Ḥāj 'Uthmān-āghā to the same mosque:<sup>561</sup>

1. *Ghunya*: its full title is *al-Ghunya fī al-fatāwā* (Sufficient Provision in Juridical Opinions), by Maḥmūd b. Aḥmad b. Mas'ūd al-Qūnawī (d. 771/1369), a collection of fatwas, *GAL G II*, 81; *GAL S II*, 90.

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<sup>556</sup> Ms. 4456, *GHL VIII*, p. 387.

<sup>557</sup> Ms. 4458, *GHL XVI*, pp. 480, 481.

<sup>558</sup> Ms. 4459, *GHL XVI*, p. 433.

<sup>559</sup> Ms. 4461, *GHL X*, pp. 44, 45.

<sup>560</sup> Ms. 4455, *GHL X*, pp. 51, 52.

<sup>561</sup> *Ibid.*

2. *Şadr-i sharī'a*: its full title is *Şadr al-sharī'a sharḥ al-Wiqāya* (*Şadr al-sharī'a's Commentary on the Safeguard*) by Şadr al-sharī'a al-Thānī (al-Aşghar) 'Ubaydallāh b. Mas'ūd b. Burhān al-Sharī'a Maḥmūd al-Maḥbūbī al-Ḥanafī (d. 747/1346), *GAL G I*, 377 (see ms. no. 5 above),
3. *Tashrīḥ 'alā Şadr-i Sharī'a*: this workd could not be identified, but is probably a supercommentary on Şadr al-sharī'a al-Thānī's commentary on *al-Wiqāya*,
4. *Wiqāya*: see ms. no 5 above.
5. *Kanz al-Wiqāya* (the Safeguard's Treasure): this work could not be identified, but evidently relates to *al-Wiqāya* (see ms. 5 above).
6. *Mukhtaşar-i ma'ānī* (Compendium of Meanings) by Sa'd al-dīn Mas'ūd b. 'Umar al-Taftazānī (d. 792/1389) is a commentary on *Talkhīş al-Miftāḥ*, a well-known work on Arabic literary stylistics by Jalāl al-dīn Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Qazwīnī (d.792/1389), *GAL G I*, 295; *GAL S I*, 516.
7. *Mullā Jāmī*: its full title is *al-Fawā'id al-Ḍiyā'iyya* (Splendid Benefits) by Nūr al-dīn 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad al-Jāmī (d. 898/1492), which is a commentary on *al-Kāfiya* (the Sufficient) by Ibn Ḥājjib, *GAL G 304/13*; *GAL S I*, 533; *Ahlwardt VI*, 6575.
8. *Tuḥfat al-mulūk* (Gift of Rulers) by Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Abū Bakr b. 'Abd al-Qādir al-Rāzī (d. after 666/1268), *GAL G I*, 383; *GAL S I*, 658.
9. *Munyat al-muşallī*: its full title is *Munyat al-muşallī wa gunyat al-mubtadi'* (Wish of the Worshipper and the Wealth of the Novice), by Sadīd al-dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Kāshgarī (d. 705/1305), *GAL S I*, 659.
10. *Ghaznawī*: its full title is *al-Muqaddima al-Ghaznawiyya fī al-furū' al-ḥanafīyya* (Ghaznawī Introduction to Ḥanafī Branches), a work on the acts of worship (*'ibādāt*) by al-Shaykh Muḥammad b. al-Ghaznawī al-Ḥanafī (d. 593/1196), *GAL G I*, 378; *GAL S I*, 649.
11. *Ta'līm al-muta'allim* (Teaching the Learner), a book of advice on the merits of knowledge and how to acquire it by Burhān al-dīn al-Zarnūjī (d. after 593/1190), *GAL S I*, 837.
12. *Ayyuhā al-walad* (O, son): a book of advice to his disciple by Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111), *GAL G I*, 423/32; *GAL S I*, 750.

13. *Manṭiq jumlası İ̄sāghūjī*. The full title: *İ̄sāghūjī fī al-manṭiq* ([*Porphyry's*] *Isagoge on Logic*), a work of logic by Athīr al-dīn al-Mufaḍḍal b. 'Umar al-Abharī (d. 663/1266), *GAL G I*, 464, 465; *GAL S I*, 839, 844.
14. *Ḥusām Kātī Muḥy al-dīn*: its full title is *Sharḥ al-İ̄sāghūjī li al-Kātī* (*Commentary on [Porphyry's] Isagoge by al-Kātī*), written by Ḥusām al-dīn Ḥasan al-Kātī (d. 760/1359), *GAL G I*, 464; *GAL S I*, 841.
15. *Natāyij al-afkār*: its full title is *Natā'ij al-afkār 'alā minah al-ghaffār* (*Results of Thoughts on the Bestowal of the Much-Forgiving*), a supercommentary by Najm al-dīn b. Khayr al-dīn b. Aḥmad b. 'Alī al-Ramlī al-Ḥanafī (d. cca 1121/1709) on *Minah al-ghaffār li sharḥ tanwīr al-abṣār* (the Bestowal of the Much-Forgiving for the Explanation of Illuminating the Views), which is a commentary on *Tanwīr al-abṣār*, a work of positive law. Both the main text and the commentary by Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. Aḥmad al-Tīmūrtāshī al-Ghazzī al-Ḥanafī (d. cca 1007/1598), *GAL G II*, 311.
16. *Pand-i 'Aṭṭār ya'nī sharḥ-i türkī*. The Persian Şūfī text by Shaykh Farīd al-dīn 'Aṭṭār (d. 627/1229-30) with an unspecified Turkish commentary.
17. *Nāfi'*: this might be *Ḥilyat al-nājī* (the Saving Ornament) by Muṣṭafā b. Muḥammad al-Güzelḥişārī, *GAL S II*, 428.
18. *Ḥāshiyat sharḥ al-Wiqāya Ya'qūb-pasha*: see ms. 6 above.
19. *Khayālī Qāḍmīr*: this workd could not be identified.
20. *Qırmızı cilde beyān evrāq*: an unspecified collection of papers with red leather binding.
21. *Maw'iza turkiyya*: an unspecified text of sermons in Turkish.

The endowment charter mentions eighteen volumes. As we can see, there were 20 works (if we exclude the papers in red leather binding).<sup>562</sup>

Judging by the surviving documents, ḥāj Muṣṭafā's endowment of books for his mosque was a rare example of such a bequest made when the mosque was being built. Most mosque libraries seem to have grown gradually, with individual book donations. Again, notes of

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<sup>562</sup> The notes says: "number of volumes eighteen" (*'aded cild 18 on sekiz*). Below the note of endowment and the seal, there is another, long note about "portions of the Qur'an" (*ajzā' al-Qur'an*) which the catalogue does not mention.

bequest on extant books are the only guide here. Generally, they seem to have been modest in size and in terms of the range of books involved.<sup>563</sup> The contents of mosque libraries presumably concentrated on copies of the Qur'an and religious works which met practical needs of the imam and his flock, including works on Qur'an recitation (*tajwīd*), collections of supplications (*du'ā'*), collections of sermons (*maw'īza*), and religious primers (*ilm-i ḥāl*).<sup>564</sup> The mosque in Yenice Pazar was clearly exceptional in having its own librarian. There is no way of knowing whether every Sarajevo mosque had its own library in those days, but it is reasonable to assume that most kept some books for use by the congregation and the local imam or preacher.

We know from the catalogues that many mosque libraries eventually found a new home in the Gāzī Hüsrev-bey library. Since the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, this library has increasingly served as the central repository for Islamic manuscripts in Bosnia.<sup>565</sup> The tendency to move

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<sup>563</sup> Even the most modest of mosques could hold exceptionally beautiful and rare manuscripts. This was the case with the mosque in the village of Sokolovići in eastern Bosnia, which once held a copy of the Qur'an bound into 30 portions (*juz'*, pl. *ajzā'*) and known as the *Muṣḥaf* of the grand vizier Şoqollū (Sokolović) Meḥmed Pasha (d.897/1579). This 10<sup>th</sup>/16<sup>th</sup> century *Muṣḥaf* was commissioned from an unknown calligrapher by the grand vizier, who then donated it to the mosque in his native village of Sokolovići. Kasim Dobrača describes it as "a masterpiece of Arabic calligraphy", *GHL* I, p. 37. Twenty-two portions have been preserved, with the following now missing: 2, 3, 10, 14, 17, 18, 23 and 30. Since 1902, the *Muṣḥaf* has been kept in the Gāzī Hüsrev-bey Library, class marks 63/1, 4-9, 11-13, 15, 16, 19-22, 24-29. For more details see: *GHL* I, pp. 36-38. For a facsimile of pages from the *Muṣḥaf* see: *GHL* I, pp. 631, 632. Meḥmed Pasha Şoqollū left numerous endowments, including *madrāsas* in Istanbul (the *Faṭḥiyya madrasa*) and Burgūs (present-day Lüleburgaz in eastern Thrace) and a *külliyeye* (an educational complex) in Bor (Anatolia), all of which had libraries, see Erünsal, *Osmanlı vakıf kütüphaneleri: tarihi, gelişimi ve organizasyonu* (Ankara, 2008), p. 147. For examples of the surviving manuscripts from his endowment in Burgūs now kept outside Turkey see: [http://orient-digital.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/receive/SBBMSSecentry\\_secentry\\_00001762](http://orient-digital.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/receive/SBBMSSecentry_secentry_00001762).

<sup>564</sup> Osman Lavić, *Biblioteke u Bosni*, p. 35. An interesting example involves a copy of the *Tāj al-tarājim fī tafsīr al-Qur'ān li al-a'ājim* (The Crown of Translations in Commentaries of the Qur'an for Non-Arabs), a translation and a short commentary of the Qur'an in Persian by Shāhfü'r Abū al-Muẓaffar Ṭāhir b. Muḥammad al-Isfarā'inī (d. 471/1078), *ḤKh* I, 268. This copy was donated to the Careva or Imperial Mosque in Sarajevo in 1827 by 'Umar b. Muṣṭafā Zildžić. *GHL* I, pp. 229-230, classmark 389.

<sup>565</sup> Describing the Gāzī Hüsrev-bey Library, Muhamed Ždralović writes: "During the period from 1867 to 1990, it expanded greatly, owing to the transfer of many other private and *waqf* libraries from different parts of Bosnia and Herzegovina", *World Survey*, vol. I, pp. 99, 100. According to another scholar, in 1912 the Gāzī Hüsrev-bey Library had 1,800 books, of which over 1,000 were manuscripts: Fehim Spaho, "Gazi Husrev-begova knjižnica" [The Gāzī Hüsrev-bey library] in *Gazi Husrev-begova biblioteka: pet stoljeća u misiji bošnjačke*

mosque libraries to the Gāzī Hüsrev-bey Library was probably more pronounced in Sarajevo than in other Bosnian towns and reflects similar trends in other parts of the world.<sup>566</sup> Nevertheless, until the recent war, small provincial towns in Bosnia sometimes had valuable mosque libraries. In neighbouring countries like Montenegro, it is still possible to find them.<sup>567</sup>

**2. *Maktab* Libraries.** As with mosque libraries, the history of *maktab* (primary school) libraries in the 12<sup>th</sup>/18<sup>th</sup> and early 13<sup>th</sup>/19<sup>th</sup> centuries can be partially reconstructed on the basis of endowment charters and extant manuscripts.

The best studied of the Sarajevo *maktab* libraries was that attached to the ‘Aynī-bey *maktab*. Established in 1013/1605, it was one of the more important and prestigious Sarajevo *maktab*s, given its location in the courtyard of Sarajevo’s first mosque (the Careva or Imperial Mosque, established 861/1457). At the start of the 13<sup>th</sup>/19<sup>th</sup> century, there were three libraries operating within the Careva Mosque complex: the Careva Mosque library, the ‘Uthmān Shahdī library, and the ‘Aynī-bey *maktab* library. The Careva Mosque complex also included a *madrasa* (known simply as the Careva *Madrasa*), built right above the ‘Aynī-bey *maktab*, which suggests that the the ‘Aynī-bey *maktab* library may have been used by the *madrasa* students as well.<sup>568</sup>

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*kulture* [Gāzī Hüsrev-bey Library: Five Centuries in the Service of Bosniak Culture] (Sarajevo: Gazi Husrevbegova biblioteka and El-Kalem, 1421/2000), p. 15. Fehim Spaho’s text originally appeared in *Spomenica Gazi Husrevbegove četiri-stogodišnjice* [Memorial-book to Mark the Fourhundredth Anniversary of Gāzī Hüsrev-bey] (Sarajevo: Islamska dionička štamparija, 1932), pp. 74-84.

<sup>566</sup> The same trend is evident in the history of Istanbul libraries: W. Heffering and J.D. Pearson, “Maktaba”, *El<sup>2</sup>* VI (1991), p. 198.

<sup>567</sup> One example worth mentioning comes from neighbouring Montenegro. The main mosque of the city of Pljevlja (Turkish: *Taslica*), which once belonged to Ottoman Bosnia, has an exceptionally beautiful copy of the Qur’an. The manuscript is not mentioned in the *World Survey of Islamic Manuscripts*, vol. III, under the entry for Serbia and Montenegro (pp. 681-91). According to the official city website ([www.pljevlja.me](http://www.pljevlja.me)), the Husejnija Mosque holds a Qur’an manuscript from the 16<sup>th</sup> century and other manuscripts and printed books. As Ždralović noted: “There are in Bosnia and Herzegovina a number of uncatalogued manuscript collections, in private hands, in dervish lodges (*takkas*) and in mosques, which have not been surveyed because of difficulties of access”, *ibid.* p. 89. Moreover, he did not include a single mosque or *takka* library in his survey, probably because hostilities in Bosnia were about to break out at the time of writing.

<sup>568</sup> Lavić, *Biblioteke u Bosni*, p. 83. As Lavić points out, there occasionally arises confusion as to which of these libraries is being referred to in a given document, something he tries to clarify.

The oldest extant bequest from the ‘Aynī-bey *maktab* library is a copy of the *Risāla fī ṣarf* (Treatise on Grammar) written in Turkish and bequeathed in 1226/1811 by Ḥusayn, son of Muṣṭafā.<sup>569</sup> The time gap between the year of the *maktab*’s foundation (1013/1605) and the date of bequest of the oldest surviving work from the *maktab* library is indicative of the vulnerability of the Sarajevo *maktab* libraries. Another early manuscript was bequeathed in 1230/1814-15: *Tarjamat al-qaṣīda Bid’ al-amālī bi al-turkiyya* (Translation of the Poem Beginning of Hopes in Turkish),<sup>570</sup> with several more bequests made after 1241/1826.<sup>571</sup> Indeed, most of the extant book bequests to the *maktab* were somewhat later, starting with a bequest of 172 codices made in 1251/1836 by ḥāj Ibrāhīm-āghā Fazlagić Ispūjlū, son of Islām.<sup>572</sup>

The ‘Aynī-bey *maktab* fell into disrepair and was restored in 1266-67/1850-51.<sup>573</sup> In 1313/1896, the library building was pulled down to make way for a new road. Its holdings were most probably moved to the ‘Uthmān Shahdī library (on which more shortly).<sup>574</sup> Today the ‘Aynī-bey *maktab* library collection is housed in the Gāzī Hüsrev-bey Library. It consist of 75 codices comprising 142 works, most bequeathed after 1244/1828.<sup>575</sup>

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<sup>569</sup> Lavić, *Biblioteke u Bosni*, p. 84; Ms. R-2406, *GHL* II, p. 147.

<sup>570</sup> Ms R-2483, *GHL* III, p. 76. This is a Turkish translation by Aḥmad b. Muṣṭafā Lālī (d. 973/1565) of the theological poem by Sirāj al-dīn ‘Alī b. ‘Uthmān al-‘Ushī al-Farghānī (d.575/1179), *GAL* G I, 429/1. See also: Lavić, *Biblioteke u Bosni*, p. 84.

<sup>571</sup> Lavić, *Biblioteke u Bosni*, p. 84. These were R-1894, R-1599. Lavić writes: “The teacher and the supervisor [Khalīl Harsaklī, son of Ḥasan] bequeathed an unknown quantity of manuscripts bequeathed to ‘the library near the Careva Mosque’ on 15 Sha‘bān 1241/24 March 1826,” Lavić, *Biblioteke u Bosni*, p. 84. But which library, given that there were three or four that fit the description?

<sup>572</sup> Lavić, *Biblioteke u Bosni*, p. 84.

<sup>573</sup> Lavić, *Biblioteke u Bosni*, p. 83.

<sup>574</sup> Lavić, *Biblioteke u Bosni*, p. 87.

<sup>575</sup> Lavić, *Biblioteke u Bosni*, p. 86. According to Lavić’s classification, nearly half of the books were works of grammar and *fiqh* or jurisprudence (66), followed by ethics (fourteen), *aqā’id* or theology (ten), and lexicography (nine). Most of the works are in Arabic (98), followed by Ottoman Turkish (37) and Persian (six). His subject-classified chart accounts for 142 works. In his work, Osman Lavić dedicates several pages to the ‘Aynī-bey *maktab* as a case study. However, he does not deal with *maktab* libraries as a separate category. When I pointed this out to him, he argued that the mosque and *maktab* libraries were often one and the same, since teaching often took place inside mosques. I think this argument is influenced by more recent developments, whereby mosques came to be used for *maktab* teaching largely as a result of the change in the function of the latter and a shift from their use as elementary schools in the Ottoman era to becoming kinds

3. *Takka* Libraries. As mentioned in the preceding chapter, by the 10<sup>th</sup>/16<sup>th</sup> century, Sarajevo already had seven *takkas* or dervish lodges: the ‘Isa-bey *takka*, the Gāzī Hüsrev-bey *Khānqāh* (Şūfī convent), the Iskandar-pasha *takka*, the Gaziler *takka* (also known as the Ḥasan-bey *takka*), the Turna-dervish *takka*, the Janju-ghaza *takka*, and the Dervish Ḥājī-dede *takka*. Two more were added in the 11<sup>th</sup>/17<sup>th</sup> century: the Qā’imī *takka* (in 1074/1664)<sup>576</sup> and the Sinān *takka* (in 1094/1683). The only *takka* buildings still standing today are the *Khānqāh*, which no longer serves its original purpose, and the Sinān *takka*, which continues to function as a meeting place for dervishes and their activities. Only two *takka* libraries or their records have survived, which is not surprising given the fate of many of the *takkas* themselves. It is, however, hard to imagine a functioning *takka* without books, as evidenced by examples from other parts of Ottoman Empire during this same period.<sup>577</sup>

The Sinān *takka* library collection was transferred to the Sarajevo Historical Archives in the 1950s where it remains. The collection of just over a hundred manuscripts has not been catalogued. There is an inventory, however, which gives the title of each work, the author and the language in which it is written.<sup>578</sup>

The only other *takka* library from Bosnia known to have been preserved belonged to a *takka* in Mostar. It was built by a local feudal lord, ‘Alī-pasha Rizvanbegović, who bequeathed 39 works, half of them on jurisprudence and grammar. All the works are in Arabic and not a

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of Muslim “Sunday schools” meant specifically for religious instruction and attended optionally, apart from regular secular schools.

<sup>576</sup> Sejfudin Kemura, *Sarajevske džamije i druge javne zgrade turske dobe* [Sarajevo mosques and other public buildings of Turkish times] (Sarajevo: Zemaljska štamparija, 1911-1913), p. 253.

<sup>577</sup> A shaykh known as al-Zuhrī (d. 1187/1744), who founded an offshoot of the *Khalwatiyya* order named the *Zuhriyya* after him, bequeathed his books to a lodge in Salonica: Eyal Ginio, “Aspects of Muslim Culture in the Ottoman Balkans: A View from Eighteenth-Century Salonica” in *Law, Custom, and Statute in the Muslim World: Studies in Honor of Aharon Layish*, ed. Ron Shaham (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2007), pp. 117, 118. See also the section on “Dervish Convents: A Way into the World of Books” in Suraiya Faroqhi, *Subjects of the Sultan*, pp. 188-191. For an example of a Bosnian Şūfī shaykh’s personal library, see: Zejnil Fajić, “Biblioteka šejha Abdurrahmana Sirije sa Oglavka: prilog istoriji bibliotekarstva BiH u XVIII i XIX stoljeću”. The library is registered as part of shaykh Sirri’s estate as recorded in Sarajevo the court registers (S82/83, 87).

<sup>578</sup> The collection class mark is Sign. OZ; HST-010. The Sarajevo Historical Archive has published two volumes of its Islamic manuscripts in cooperation with al-Furqan Islamic Heritage Foundation in London. Hopefully, this cooperation will be continued to include the publication of a catalogue of the Sinān *takka* manuscript collection.

single one on Sufism.<sup>579</sup> The library manuscripts bear a seal from 1248/1833 and notes of bequest from 1257/1841.<sup>580</sup> The library collection is now kept at the Gāzī Hüsrev-bey Library.

One, indirect indicator of the existence of *takka* libraries is the manuscripts copied in them.<sup>581</sup> At least some of this copying must have been done using exemplars from the *takka* libraries.

**4. Madrasa Libraries.** As we saw in the preceding chapter, before the 12<sup>th</sup>/18<sup>th</sup> century, Sarajevo had four *madrasas* (schools of higher learning): the Firuz-bey, the Kemal-bey, the Gāzī Hüsrev-bey, and the Meḥmed-bey Ishaković *madrasas*. With the exception of the Hüsrev-bey *madrasa*, they were all destroyed in 1109/1697, along with their books. Three more *madrasas* were constructed in the course of the 12<sup>th</sup>/18<sup>th</sup> century: the Atmeydan *Madrasa* (established cca 1123-24/1712), the Bendbeşe *Madrasa* (established 1180-81/1766-67), and the Sīnzāde *Madrasa* (established 1188/1775).

The founder of Sarajevo, Isa-bey Ishaković, also established a *madrasa* in the town of Skopje, Macedonia. For some reason, Isa-bey had his *madrasa* charter registered in 873/1469 at the Sarajevo *sharī'a* court.<sup>582</sup> The charter gives the titles of 395 codices bequeathed and classified according to the following fields: Qur'an commentary (*tafsīr*), Qur'an recitation (*qirā'a*), Prophetic sayings (*ḥadīth*), sermons (*maw'īza* or *wa'z*), principles of jurisprudence (*uṣūl al-fiqh*), jurisprudence (*fiqh*), legal pronouncements (*fatāwā*), speculative theology (*kalām*), semantics and rhetoric (*al-ma'ānī wa al-bayān*), philosophy (*ḥikma*), logic (*manṭiq*), grammar (*naḥw*), syntax (*ṣarf*), lexicography (*luġhat*), poetry (*dīwān*), and medicine (*ṭibb*).<sup>583</sup> Although this particular endowment of books belonged to a city outside Bosnia, it is still relevant, both because of Isa-bey's role in the establishment of Sarajevo and because it underscores the close link between religious foundations and book culture in the Ottoman Empire. The titles listed in the charter represent the core literature used for *madrasa* teaching in Bosnia for much of the Ottoman period.

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<sup>579</sup> Lavić, *Biblioteke u Bosni*, p. 118. Lavić describes it as more of a *madrasa* library, on account of its content.

<sup>580</sup> Lavić, *Biblioteke u Bosni*, pp. 117, 118.

<sup>581</sup> Ahmed Halilović, "Djela prepisana u Gazi Husrev-begovoj medresi i Hanikahu" in *450 godina Gazi Husrev-begove medrese u Sarajevu* (Sarajevo, 1988), pp. 201-224.

<sup>582</sup> Lavić, *Biblioteke u Bosni*, p. 32. For an annotated translation of the charter into Serbian, see: Gliša Elezović, *Turski spomenici I*, pp.79-125, especially pp. 98-106.

<sup>583</sup> Lavić, *Biblioteke u Bosni*, p. 32. The charter is dated the beginning of Safar 874/10 August 1469.

Of all the Sarajevo *madrasa* libraries, it was the Gāzī Hüsrev-bey *madrasa* library that eventually emerged as the most important, to the extent that it grew into a separate institution and the main home for Islamic manuscripts in Bosnia and the neighbouring countries. Even though it was originally established as part of a *madrasa*, some scholars take the view that at some point in time it became an independent library.<sup>584</sup> In his charter of 26 Rajab 943/8 January 1537, Gāzī Hüsrev-bey set aside an endowment of 700,000 silver *dirhams*, 400,000 of which were to be spent on the *madrasa*'s construction and 300,000 to be lent at profit (*ribh*) for its maintenance. The charter further specifies that “whatever may be left after the afore-mentioned construction is to be spent on considered books, which are to be used in the said *madrasa*, so that anyone from among the users who reads may benefit from them and anyone who copies from among those who acquire knowledge may copy them” (و ما يفضل من خرج البناء المزبور بيتاع به الكتب المعتبرة تستعمل في المدرسة المذكورة يستفيد بها من )<sup>585</sup> We know neither the titles, nor the amount spent on books. In contrast to Isa-bey's charter for his *madrasa* in Skopje, the books to be purchased are not specified by title. Nor does the charter mention a librarian. It is possible that this function was performed by the *madrasa* teachers.<sup>586</sup> According to Bursali Mehmet Tahir, one Muḥammad-afandī, the father of Ḥusayn-afandī Būsnavī (also known as Koca Mu'erriḥ, d. 1054/1644), served as a librarian at the Gāzī Hüsrev-bey mosque library.<sup>587</sup> Since the Gāzī Hüsrev-bey mosque is not known to have had a library of its own, it has been argued that this Muḥammad-afandī may have been the librarian at the Gāzī Hüsrev-bey *madrasa* library.<sup>588</sup> Whatever the case may be, the earliest firm evidence of a Gāzī Hüsrev-bey *madrasa* librarian comes from documents listing the expenses of the endowment in 1281/1864-5 which include two librarians (*ḥāfiẓ-i kutub*). They were calligrapher 'Abdallāh 'Aynī-afandī Hasagić and Šāliḥ Šidqī-afandī Hadžihusejnović, also known as Muwaqqit (the time-keeper).<sup>589</sup>

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<sup>584</sup> Lavić, *Biblioteke u Bosni*, p. 47.

<sup>585</sup> Spaho, “Gazi Husrev-begova knjižnica”, p. 20. The charter is dated 26 Rajab 943/8 January 1537.

<sup>586</sup> Mahmud Traljić, “Hafizi-kutubi Gazi Hüsrev-beyove biblioteke (prilog historiji Biblioteke)” [Librarians of The Gāzī Hüsrev-bey Library (a contribution to the Library history)], *Anali V-VI* (1978), pp. 45-54, reprinted in: *Gazi Husrev-begova biblioteka: pet stoljeća u misiji bošnjačke kulture*, pp. 116-123.

<sup>587</sup> 'OM III, p. 46.

<sup>588</sup> Lavić, *Biblioteke u Bosni*, p. 47, quoting Mehmed Handžić, *Književni rad bosansko-hercegovačkih muslimana* from the Sarajevo (1973 edition), p. 279.

<sup>589</sup> Mahmud Traljić, “Hafizi-kutubi Gazi Husrev-beyove biblioteke (Prilog historiji Biblioteke)”, pp. 46, 47.

In 1279/1863, the library holdings were moved out of the Gāzī Hüsrev-bey *madrasa* to a room beneath the Gāzī Hüsrev-bey mosque minaret. Several extant manuscripts contain notes which confirm they were part of the original book donation by Gāzī Hüsrev-bey. It is, however, difficult to establish with certainty whether these original notes were made during his lifetime or added later.<sup>590</sup>

One of the new 12<sup>th</sup>/18<sup>th</sup> century *madrasas* was the Simzāde *madrasa*. It was established in 1188/1775.<sup>591</sup> In 1207/1793, ‘Abd al-Qādir Muẓaffarizāde bequeathed a collection of 74 volumes to it.<sup>592</sup>

## 5. Independent Libraries.

### a) The ‘Uthmān Shahdī Library

In 1170/1757, a purpose-built library was constructed in the courtyard of the Careva Mosque, the oldest Sarajevo mosque, itself built by the city founder Isa-bey Ishaković. The library was endowed by ‘Uthmān Shahdī Aqovalı (1104-1180/1693-1767),<sup>593</sup> who ordered it built in memory of his only son, Aḥmad Khātām Aqovalızāde (d. 1167/1754).<sup>594</sup> Aḥmad Khātām was a kadi, a Naqshbandī shaykh, a Şūfī poet, and a lover of books.<sup>595</sup> It is not quite

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<sup>590</sup> Lavić mentions six codices bearing the following note: Hüsrev-bey son of Ferhād, may God prolong his fortune, bequeathed this book for the noble *madrasa* in the protected city of Sarajevo, may God accept his good deeds, Amen, o You Helper (=God)! (qad waqafa hādha al-kitāb Khusraw-bak ibn Farhād dāma iqbālul li al-*madrasa* al-sharīfa fī bilād Sarāy al-maḥrūsa taqabbala Allāh khayrātah wa ḥasanātah āmīn yā Mu‘īn), Lavić, *Biblioteke u Bosni*, p. 46.

<sup>591</sup> Hajrudin Ćurić, *Muslimansko školstvo*, p. 89.

<sup>592</sup> S33/210-211. The charter is dated 11 Jumādā al-Ākhir 1207/13 January 1793. Zejnil Fajić was the first to mention the charter, but he does not give the book titles: Zejnil Fajić, “Originali i prepisi vakufnama sačuvanih do danas” [Original and copied charters preserved to the present day], *Anali IX-X* (1983), p. 28.

<sup>593</sup> The currently accepted pronunciation of the name is Shahdī, though Kemura, who was the first to write about the library and who actually worked there as its last librarian, used the form Shuhdī. A native of Bijelo Polje (Turkish: *Akova*) in present-day Montenegro, ‘Uthmān Shahdī served as an Ottoman bureaucrat and diplomat and is best known for his *Sefaretnāme* (Book of Journey), an account of his diplomatic mission to Russia. The main source of information about ‘Uthmān Shahdī and his library is to be found in: Kemura šejh Sejfuddin Fehmi bin Ali, *U dvorištu Careve džamije merhum Osman Šuhdi ef. kjutubhana* [The Library of the late Osman-ef. Šuhdi in the Careva mosque courtyard], (Islamska dionička štamparija, Sarajevo, 1334.-1916). See also: Erünsal, *Osmanli vakıf kütüphaneleri*, p. 244.

<sup>594</sup> His year of birth is unknown.

<sup>595</sup> For Khātāmī’s life and literary work see: Sabaheta Gačanin, “Aḥmad Hatem Bjelopoljak – nakšibendijski šejh i pjesnik” [Aḥmad Khātām Bjelopoljak: a naqshbandī shaykh and a poet], *Anali XXXI* (2010), pp. 195-212. The

clear why ‘Uthmān Shahdī chose to build the library in Sarajevo. He did spend some time in the city, after he arrived in 1159/1746 as a member of the retinue of the new Ottoman governor, with the rank of chief secretary (*mektūbçu*).<sup>596</sup> By the time the library was constructed, he had already left the city, however. His library was the first purpose-built library in Ottoman Sarajevo.<sup>597</sup> The library plaque bore a Qur’anic verse, along with the year of establishment: *fihā kutub qayyima, sana 1173*<sup>598</sup> (herein [are] true Books,<sup>599</sup> the year 1173). The hexagonal library building was made of stone (about 8×8 meters in diameter), and roofed in wood, which was later replaced with lead.<sup>600</sup> ‘Uthmān Shahdī provided the initial library collection with 180 codices he sent from Istanbul, each stamped with a seal reading: وقف هذه النسخة عثمان شهدي عن خواجگان دیوان همایون فی مدینة سراى بویسنه بشرط ان لا تخرج عن خزانته خطوة و لا شبرا فی سنة ۱۱۷۳ (“this manuscript was bequeathed by ‘Uthmān Shahdī, a master-clerk of the Imperial chancery in the city of Saray Bosna on condition that it may not be taken out of the library, not a step or the span of a hand, in the year 1773”).<sup>601</sup>

Basheskī recorded the construction of the library in his chronicle:

*Aqovalı ‘Uthmān Shahdī Afandī, a reputable man in Istanbul, built a library in the Careva mahalla, in the year 1174.*<sup>602</sup>

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same issue of the journal has another article on Aḥmad Khātām’s poetry: Mīrza Sarajkić, “Osnovne teme gazela Ahmeda Hatema Bjelopoljaka na arapskom jeziku” [The main themes of Aḥmad Khātām Bjelopoljak’s Arabic ghazal], *Anali* XXXI (2010), pp. 213-225; Sabaheta Gačanin, *Lingvistička analiza perzijskog divana Aḥmada Hatema Bjelopoljaka* [A linguistic analysis of Aḥmad Khātām Bjelopoljak’s Persian *dīwān*], (unpublished doctoral thesis), (Sarajevo, 2009).

<sup>596</sup> Kemura, *U dvorištu Careve džamije*, p. 2.

<sup>597</sup> Kemura claims that ‘Uthmān Shahdī wanted to give Sarajevo its first public library, Kemura, *U dvorištu Careve džamije*, p. 3. Lavić disagrees, arguing that the much older Gāzī Hüsrev-bey library was public “in character”, even though it was housed inside a *madrasa*, Lavić, *Biblioteke u Bosni*, p. 68, n. 170.

<sup>598</sup> After demolition of the mosque, a plaque was placed on the wall of the building which housed the Ulema-i medžlis (i.e. the highest Islamic religious body at the time) and which replaced the library building, Lavić, *Biblioteke u Bosni*, p. 68. This Qur’anic verse is now the logo of the Gāzī Hüsrev-bey’s scholarly journal, *Anali*.

<sup>599</sup> Qur’an 98:3. This translation is quoted from: *The Koran Interpreted*, translated with an introduction by Arthur J. Arberry (Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 653.

<sup>600</sup> Kemura, *U dvorištu Careve džamije*, p. 3. Also quoted in Lavić, *Biblioteke u Bosni*, p. 68.

<sup>601</sup> Lavić, *Biblioteke u Bosni*, p. 68; Kemura, *U dvorištu Careve džamije*, pp. 4, 5. Kemura does not mention the inscription.

<sup>602</sup> “Aqovalı ‘Osman Şehdi Efendi İslambol’da ricāl iken Hümçariyyede (8a) kütüb-hâne binā eyledi, sene 1174”, *MMB*, fol. 7b; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 76.

‘Uthmān Shahdī does not appear to have left any property for the maintenance of the library. Several benefactors did so subsequently, however.<sup>603</sup> Based on Basheskī, Sejfudin Kemura has identified several librarians of this library. The first was a certain mullā Yaḥyā (d.1175/1762).<sup>604</sup> He was followed by mullā Aḥmad Foyniçeli<sup>605</sup> (d.1178/1764-65) and ḥāj Muḥammad-afandī Foynichawī. The latter had been mufti of Sarajevo and was described by Basheskī as “a former muftī, librarian, preacher, and professor, a burly man of dark complexion, with a large black beard, a somewhat angry fellow (*ḥerif*), who died during an imperial military campaign.”<sup>606</sup> He was succeeded by his son ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, who died five years later (1189/1775).<sup>607</sup>

The next librarian was ḥāfiẓ Maḥmūd-afandī. From 1180/1767, he worked as imam, Friday preacher (*khaṭīb*) and teacher in a Sarajevo mosque,<sup>608</sup> while at the same time running the library for an annual salary of 30 *guruş*.<sup>609</sup> Basheskī knew him well, dedicating a whole passage to him in the section on the learned men of the city.<sup>610</sup> In fact, Maḥmūd-afandī belonged to Basheskī’s circle of friends, who would meet every Wednesday night for the so-called *ḥelvā şoḥbeti*, a social gathering which consisted of praying, reading, conversing and eating sweets (*ḥelvā*).<sup>611</sup> Maḥmūd-afandī was succeeded by Ḥilmi-afandī Delalagić, also known as Goro (d. 1266/1850).<sup>612</sup>

<sup>603</sup> Kemura, *U dvorištu Careve džamije*, p. 5. Kemura gives a transcription and translation of the charter issued for the endowment in support of the library by Bosnian governor Muḥammad Khurshīd-pasha, *ibid*, pp. 5-10.

<sup>604</sup> Kemura, *U dvorištu Careve džamije*, pp. 10, 11. His death is recorded by Basheskī: *MMB*, fol. 64a; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 238.

<sup>605</sup> *MMB*, fol. 65a; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 240.

<sup>606</sup>“Foyniçevī Ḥācī Meḥmed Efendī, sâbık müftī, ḥāfiẓ-ı kütüb-ḥāne, vā’iz, müderris, iri ādem, kaba şaḳallı, ḳara şaḳallı, ḳara simālu, ‘ārsuzca ḥerif idi, ordı-yı hümāyūnda vefāt şod”, *MMB*, fol. 70a; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 251. This former mufti had the largest identifiable collection of books found in the Sarajevo court inheritance records, consisting of 237 volumes, S 11/104-105, dated 17 Shawwāl 1184/23 January 1771.

<sup>607</sup> *MMB*, fol. 76b; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 265.

<sup>608</sup> Kemura, *U dvorištu Careve džamije*, p. 11.

<sup>609</sup> Lavić, *Biblioteke u Bosni*, p. 70.

<sup>610</sup> *MMB*, fol. 36b; *Saraybosnalı*, pp. 146, 147.

<sup>611</sup> *MMB*, fol. 33b; *Saraybosnalı*, pp. 139, 140. Also quoted in: Kemura, *U dvorištu Careve džamije* p. 10. According to Kemura, the librarian Maḥmūd died in 1823, *U dvorištu Careve džamije*, p. 11. Maḥmūd-afandī the librarian appears in several court documents as a witness: S38/199 (ḥāfiẓ-i kütüb al-ḥāj Maḥmūd-afandī”, (2<sup>nd</sup> line from

In 1271/1855, the library got its own seal, with an inscription in Persian which reads: از موقوفات کتب خانه شهدی عثمان افندی است ۱۲۷۱ (“from the holdings of the ‘Uthmān Shahdī library 1271”).<sup>613</sup> The library received several book collections, including the entire collection of the Qanṭamīrīzāde Library, after the latter was pulled down in 1314/1897. By the end of its existence, the ‘Uthmān Shahdī library housed 458 manuscript codices and 82 *sijills* of the Sarajevo court. In 1328/1910 its building was demolished to make room for a larger one, which was only completed years later. In the meantime its holdings were moved to the Gāzī Hüsrev-bey Library, where they remain.<sup>614</sup>

#### b) *The Qanṭamīrīzāde Library*

This library was named after ‘Abdallāh Qanṭamīrīzāde (d. 1188/1774), whose death Basheskī records in his *Chronicle*:

‘Abdallāh-afandī Qanṭamīrī was a preacher, a professor, the main court scribe, very old, but a jester. He did not like anyone.<sup>615</sup>

Qanṭamīrīzāde bequeathed a collection of books, as evidenced by an extant manuscript now in the Gāzī Hüsrev-bey Library and by his charter (which, however, perished in the fire of the Oriental Institute in 1992). Until recently, the accepted view was that Qanṭamīrīzāde also built the library that housed his collection.<sup>616</sup> The building was demolished by the Austro-Hungarian authorities in 1897 to make room for another construction project. More recent scholarship suggests that that library building may, in fact, have been older, erected in 1119/1708 by Ismā‘īl Mišrī, the founder of a nearby *madrasa* (constructed some time

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below), S41/108 (“ḥāfīz-ī kütüb al-Maḥmūd-afandī”, line 14). There is also mention of a person who was probably his son (“mullā Muṣṭafā bin al-ḥāj Maḥmūd-afandī ḥāfīz-ī kütüb”), S42/142.

<sup>612</sup> After spending some time in exile, Maḥmūd-afandī returned to Sarajevo and resumed his job as librarian of the ‘Uthmān Shahdī library, where he would lecture students, Kemura, *U dvorištu Careve džamije*, p. 11. Lavić mentions this fact to note that “the library was not just a place for storing and borrowing books”, Lavić, *Biblioteke u Bosni*, p. 70, n. 180.

<sup>613</sup> Lavić, *Biblioteke u Bosni*, p. 69.

<sup>614</sup> Kemura, *U dvorištu Careve džamije*, p. 16. Curiously, Ždralović does not mention it among the important *waqf* libraries transferred to the Gāzī Hüsrev-bey Library. See: *World Survey*, vol. I, p. 100.

<sup>615</sup> “Ḳaṭmīr ‘Abdī Efendī, vā‘iz idi, müderris idi, maḥkemedede başkātib idi, pek iḥtiyār idi, ammā mizāḥcı idi ve kimesneyi begenmez idi”, *MMB*, fol. 74b; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 260.

<sup>616</sup> Kemura, *Sarajevske džamije*, pp. 173-184. This opinion has been uncritically repeated by other scholars, in Lavić’s view.

before 1126-27/1715),<sup>617</sup> and that the library only took its name from Qanṭamīrīzāde's book bequest.<sup>618</sup>

According to the charter, which is now lost and was dated 1 muḥarram 1176/23 June 1762, Qanṭamīrīzāde bequeathed his book collection and a house to the Ismā'īl Miṣrī *madrasa*, where he taught.<sup>619</sup> Other details of the bequest remain unknown. Later documents show that the librarian received a daily salary of 14 *akçe*, while the *madrasa* professor received 10 *akçe*.<sup>620</sup> The librarians included Aḥmad Khalīfa, his son Muḥammad Khalīfa, and 'Uthmān-afandī Khalīfa.<sup>621</sup> The last of the three was appointed librarian of the library and professor (*mudarris*) of the Ismā'īl Miṣrī *madrasa* by an official appointment (*berāt*) of 17 Safar 1215/ 9 June 1800, with a salary of seven healthy *akçe* per day.<sup>622</sup>

After the decision to demolish the library building, its holdings were transferred to the 'Uthmān Shahdī Library and later to the Gāzī Hüsrev-bey Library. The Qanṭamīrīzāde Library did not have its own seal, but it is possible to reconstruct its original holdings thanks to an ownership note in the form of a hand-drawn pentangle, which has been identified as the library marker.<sup>623</sup> According to a library inventory from 1280/1864, at that point the library had 109 codices.<sup>624</sup> Today, some 136 codices, comprising 218 works in Arabic, Ottoman Turkish and Persian, have been identified among the Gāzī Hüsrev-bey Library manuscript collections as having come from the original holdings of the Qanṭamīrīzāde library.<sup>625</sup> They consist mainly of works of jurisprudence (47), Arabic grammar (42) and literature (26), followed by hadith (Prophetic tradition) (25), Qur'an commentaries (21), ethics (20), and speculative theology (*kalām*) (18). The remaining titles

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<sup>617</sup> Hajrudin Ćurić, *Muslimansko školstvo*, p. 90.

<sup>618</sup> Lavić, *Biblioteke u Bosni*, p. 76. Lavić also quotes İsmail Erünsal, who refers to the library as being built by Misirli Husein, son of Ismail-āghā, in 1708: İsmail Erünsal, "Kütüphane," *İA*, 27, p. 27.

<sup>619</sup> Lavić, *Biblioteke u Bosni*, p. 77.

<sup>620</sup> Lavić, *Biblioteke u Bosni*, p. 77. A copy of the court decision (*hüccet*) dated 9 Sha'bān 1212/28 January 1798, is registered in S37/204.

<sup>621</sup> Lavić, *Biblioteke u Bosni*, p. 77.

<sup>622</sup> Lavić, *Biblioteke u Bosni*, p. 77. Lavić sees this as confirmation of his view that the Qanṭamīrī Library was closely linked to the *madrasa*.

<sup>623</sup> Lavić, *Biblioteke u Bosni*, p. 77.

<sup>624</sup> Lavić, *Biblioteke u Bosni*, p. 78.

<sup>625</sup> Lavić, *Biblioteke u Bosni*, p. 78.

are dictionaries, biographies, works on the art of disputation, astronomy and Sufism.<sup>626</sup> A relatively large number of works from the Qanṭamīrīzāde Library were copied by ‘Abdallah Qanṭamīrīzāde himself.<sup>627</sup> The vast majority of the titles are in Arabic (172), followed by Ottoman Turkish (35) and Persian (11).<sup>628</sup>

As one of the only two independent libraries, the Qanṭamīrīzāde Library was clearly an important library in Sarajevo in the late 12<sup>th</sup>/18<sup>th</sup> and early 13<sup>th</sup>/19<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>629</sup> Its founder, or at least the book donor (depending on how one views Qanṭamīrīzāde), did not come from among the high-ranking administrators, but was a scholar (*‘ālim*) and a court scribe.

**6. Family Libraries.** One further form of library bequest is the *waqf ahli* (Tur. *evladiyet vakfi*), whereby a donor specifies members of his own family as the principal beneficiaries.<sup>630</sup> One example of such a library is that of kadi Şāliḥ ‘Izzat-afandī Ḥromozāde, son of Ismā‘īl, who endowed one *Muṣḥaf* and 158 codices of various works at the Sarajevo court on 9 Muḥarram 1244/22 July 1828.<sup>631</sup> The library was clearly kadi Şāliḥ ‘Izzat Ḥromozāde’s own book collection before he decided to turn it into a *waqf ahli*. This type of endowment was a way to preserve the collection, with the additional merit and prestige the act confers on the donor, while at the same time retaining control over it in the hands of family as quasi-private property. Kadi Şāliḥ ‘Izzat Ḥromozāde’s book collection is dealt with in greater detail in the chapter dedicated to its donor.

## Conclusion

Based on surviving charters and ownership notes found in extant manuscripts, it is possible to reconstruct the origins and some of the original holdings of Sarajevo’s public and semi-public libraries from the 12<sup>th</sup>/18<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup>/19<sup>th</sup> centuries. Basheskī provides us with information on several Sarajevo librarians. His descriptions of their personalities are in some cases quite detailed, bringing to life people who played an important part in Sarajevo’s dusty book culture. He counted a librarian among his personal friends, a member of an inner circle of learned Sarajevans, who met weekly to read, chat, and pray.

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<sup>626</sup> Lavić, *Biblioteke u Bosni*, p. 79.

<sup>627</sup> Lavić has identified 30 codices, comprising 54 works, Lavić, *Biblioteke u Bosni*, p. 78.

<sup>628</sup> Lavić, *Biblioteke u Bosni*, p. 79.

<sup>629</sup> Ždralović mentions it first among the *waqf* libraries whose collections were transferred to The Gāzī Hüsrevbey Library, *World Survey*, I, p. 100.

<sup>630</sup> R. Peters, “Wakf”, *EI*<sup>2</sup> XI (1997), p. 60.

<sup>631</sup> The charter is recorded in S66/207, 208. For its facsimile and transcription, see the *Appendix*.

We have found several types of library in Sarajevo during the period under consideration. Like in other parts of the Ottoman Empire and the Muslim world, they all owe their origins and existence to *waqf*. Charters often prohibit or limit the borrowing of library books. In addition to reading, they served the important function of providing exemplars for copying works. We have even been able to postulate the existence of libraries that have not survived precisely on the basis of extant manuscripts copied within institutions (e.g. *takkas*) to which the libraries were attached. It stands to reason that at least some of the copying was carried out on the basis of what those libraries kept.

Inheritance records from the period and extant collections such as that belonging to kadi Şāliḥ ‘Izzat Ḥromozāde (endowed in 1244/1828) show that printed books were available in Sarajevo at the end of the 12<sup>th</sup>/18<sup>th</sup> and in the early 13<sup>th</sup>/19<sup>th</sup> century. This means that the public and semi-public libraries must have had them. However, in the absence of clear evidence, it is impossible to know how common they were.<sup>632</sup>

The libraries also differed not only in terms of their affiliation (or lack thereof, in the case of the independent libraries), but also in their varying degrees of organisation. They ranged from relatively modest mosque libraries to bigger, independent libraries. Even within a given group, like the mosque libraries, there were differences between those with a salaried librarian and those which existed more informally. The lack of institutional protection accorded to the latter clearly affected their survival rate, with many known to us only by a few copies out of what must have been larger collections. Whatever their type, size or affiliation, Sarajevo’s libraries were a vital part of the city’s book culture. Those who used these libraries, whether students, copyists, scholars or general readers, also owned books, as we shall see in the next chapter.

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<sup>632</sup> There is a strong bias among Bosnian scholars in favour of the manuscript book. For example, in his study on Bosnian libraries during the Ottoman age the author Osman Lavić does not even mention printed books. The Gāzī Hüsrev-bey Library has quite a sizeable collection of early printed books, which are yet to be catalogued.