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List of Abbreviations

Ahlwardt	Wilhelm Ahlwardt, <i>Die Verzeichniss der arabischen Handschriften der königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin</i> , I-X, 1887-1899 (<i>Die Handschriftverzeichnisse d.kgl.Bibliothek zu Berlin</i>)
AM	al-Baghdādī, Ismā‘īl pāshā, <i>Hadiyyat al-‘ārifīn asmā’ al-mu‘allifīn wa āthār al-muṣannifīn</i> , I, II, Istanbul, 1951-1955
Anali	<i>Anali Gazi Husrev-begove biblioteke</i>
GAL	Carl Brockelmann, <i>Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur</i> , G I-II, S I-III, Leiden, 1937-1949
EI ²	<i>Encyclopaedia of Islam</i> , 2 nd edition (Brill)
Flügel	Gustav Flügel, <i>Die arabischen, persischen und türkischen Handschriften der kaiserlich-königlichen Hofbibliothek zu Wien</i> , Band I-III, Wien, 1865-1867
GHL	<i>Gāzī Hüsrev-bey Library Catalogues</i> , I-XVIII, Sarajevo, 1963-2014
GZM	<i>Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja</i>
ḤKh	Muṣṭafā b. ‘Abdallāh Ḥāj Khalīfa Kātib Chalabī, <i>Kashf al-ẓunūn ‘an asāmī al-kutub wa al-funūn</i> , I, II, Istanbul 1360-1362/1941-1943
İA	<i>İslam Ansiklopedisi</i> , 48 vols., Istanbul 1988-2013
MMB	Ms.7340, the Chronicle of Mulla Muṣṭafā Basheskī manuscript, the Gāzī Hüsrev-bey Library
‘OM	Brusali Mehmed Tahir, <i>‘Osmanlı mü’ellifleri</i> , 3 vols., Istanbul 1334-43
POF	<i>Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju</i>

The Sarajevo inheritance inventories are quoted from the Sarajevo court registers (*sijills*), which are marked by “S”, followed by the pages of the entry, e.g. S22/141-3 denotes *sijill* no 22, pages 141 to 143.

Note on Transliteration and Dates

The dissertation text follows generally the system of transliteration used by the *International Journal of Middle East Studies*. The Arabic spelling is preferred to the Turkish or Persian. That goes for names, the *hijrī* months and for legal and institutional usages and terms pertaining to Muslim religious practice (for example, *waqf* not *vakıf*, *madrassa*, not *medrese*, *takka* not *tekke*, etc). Words of Arabic origin which acquired specific meaning in Ottoman administrative practice are given in Turkish transcription (for example, ‘*avārız*’ rather than ‘*awārıd*’, ‘*askeri*’ rather than ‘*askarī*’, *kadizādeli* not *Qāḏizādelī*, etc.), as are the court documents in the Appendix. Some words in common use in English are given in their traditional form, except where there is no longer standard practice, e.g. *kadi*, not *qāḏī*, but *afandī*, not *effendi*, *shaykh*, not *sheikh*.

In general, diacritical marks are used with proper names. High-ranking state officials and prominent personalities are rendered in Turkish transcription (for example, *Hüsrev-bey* not *Khusraw-bak*, *Evliya Çelebi*, not *Awliyā Chalabī*). When producing lists of terms of mixed (Arabic and Turkish) origin, such as in the list of book owners’ professions, Ottoman Turkish has been preferred in the interest of the lists’ uniformity. Both Common Era (CE) and *hijrī* dates are used, with dates in the *hijrī* calendar given first and separated from their Common Era equivalent by a slash.

	Arabic	Persian	Ottoman Turkish
ء	'	'	'
ا	', ā	', ā	', ā
ب	b	b	b
پ	-	p	p
ت	t	t	t
ث	th	ṡ	ṡ
ج	j	j	c
چ	-	ch	ç
ح	ḥ	ḥ	ḥ
خ	kh	kh	ḥ
خوا	kh ^{wā}	kh ^{wā}	ḥō
د	d	d	d
ذ	dh	z	z
ر	r	r	r
ز	z	z	z
ژ	-	zh	j
س	s	s	s
ش	sh	sh	ş
ص	ş	ş	ş

ض	ḍ	ẓ	ẓ
ط	ṭ	ṭ	ṭ
ظ	ẓ	ẓ	ẓ
ع	‘	‘	‘
غ	gh	gh	g, ġ
ف	f	f	f
ق	q	q	ḳ
ك	k	k, g	k, ŋ, y, ġ
گ	-	g	g
ل	l	l	l
م	m	m	m
ن	n	n	n
ه	h	h	h, a, e
و	ū, w	ū, v	o, ö, u, ū, ü, v
ي	y, ī	y, ī	y, ī
ى	ī, ā	ī, ā	ī, i, ı, ā

Introduction

The subject of this dissertation is books and their owners as registered in the inheritance inventories of the Sarajevo *sharī'a* court between 1118-1244/1707-1828. The dissertation seeks to answer three main questions: What kinds of books people were likely to own during that period, what kinds of people those book owners were, and, what the answers to these first two questions tell us about the place of the book in Bosnian culture, especially among Bosnian Muslims, who constitute the vast majority of book owners recorded in the inventories.

Answering these questions has required an examination of the wider social and cultural environment in which the Bosnian written culture of the Ottoman period developed and the related issues of literacy, education, the use of different scripts and languages, the role of scribes and book binders, the introduction of print and the place of the written word in a largely oral society. These broader issues have been addressed only to the extent that they help in answering the main questions.

Book ownership provides a window onto the social history of ideas. Although we cannot know with certainty whether the people who owned a book or a set of books actually read them, book ownership data are still useful to historians as indicators of the reading interests of the owners and of the intellectual climate of their society. Considered as a form of self-expression, book ownership can provide valuable insights into “history from below,” since many book owners were ordinary people, about whom historical sources are often silent.

The present study grew out of an interest in the book collection of a particular Sarajevo *kadi*, Šālih ‘Izzat Hromozāde, who registered it as an endowment in 1244/1828.¹ An initial attempt to identify the distinguishing features of the collection soon made clear that to do so in any meaningful way would require comparison with the records for other private book collections and book ownership findings in general. It turned out, however, that no systematic research had ever been conducted into book ownership in Sarajevo, or any other Bosnian town, for that matter.

¹ Asim Zubčević, “Doprinos porodice Hromić bosanskoj kulturi knjige u 19. st./The Contribution of the Hromić Family to the Culture of the Book in 19th Century Bosnia”, *Baština: godišnjak Komisije za očuvanje nacionalnih spomenika Bosne i Hercegovine/Heritage: Annual, The Commission to Preserve National Monuments of Bosnia and Herzegovina* V (2009), pp. 403-435.

01. The Present State of Research

This is not to say that the history of book ownership in Bosnia has not elicited scholarly interest. Aside from an article which presents some of the preliminary findings of the present study,² there are a number of articles which touch upon the topic of the private book collections, mostly of Sarajevans, registered in inheritance records or in endowment charters (Arabic: *waqfiyyas*; Turkish: *vakıfnāmes*). Some of the collections have even been physically preserved. These articles tend to contain only basic information about the books and their owners, with little attempt to explain the nature of the collections or relate them to other aspects of Bosnian written culture. Nearly all the owners considered came from the scholarly class (*‘ulamā’*) and, on the basis of these articles, one would never guess that women and artisans comprised a significant proportion of book owners, much less form a clear view of the range and variety of privately-owned books. At best, these articles offer illustrative examples of the book collections of *‘ulamā’*.³

Other works also shed a certain light on book ownership, without it being their main focus of interest. One such example would be Yuzo Nagata’s *Materials on the Bosnian Notables*, which comprises a transcription and translation of 20 entries from the Sarajevo court’s inheritance inventories.⁴ As the author himself says, his primary focus is on socio-economic conditions in Sarajevo and, as a result, he does not always provide full information on the

² Asim Zubčević, “Knjige i njihovi vlasnici prema kassam defterima Sarajevskog suda 1762-1787” [Books and their owners according to the Sarajevo court inheritance inventories 1762-1787], *POF* 60 (2010), pp. 431-450.

³ Mehmed Mujezinović, “Biblioteka Mehmed-Razi Velihodžića, šejha i muderisa Husrev-begova hanikaha u Sarajevu” [the Library of Mehmed-Razi Velihodžić, the shaykh and *mudarris* of the Hüsrev-bey *khānqāh*], *Anali* V-VI (1978), pp. 65-82; Zejnil Fajić, “Biblioteka šejha Abdurrahmana Sirije sa Oglavka: prilog istoriji bibliotekarstva BiH u XVIII i XIX stoljeću” [the Library of shaykh ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Sirrī of Oglavak: a contribution to the history of librarianship in Bosnia-Herzegovina in the 18th and 19th centuries], *Anali* XI-XII (1985), pp. 55-68; Hatidža Čar-Drnda, “Neki legati Osman-Šehdijine biblioteke” [Some bequests to the ‘Uthmān Shahdī Library], *Anali* XV-XVI (1990), pp. 243-252. The author presents briefly three charters whose texts are preserved in the Sarajevo court registers (*sijills*). These are: the charter of kadi Šālih ‘Izzat Ḥromozāde of 9 Muḥarram 1244/22 July 1828 (S66/207, 208), the charter of ‘Uthmān-afandī ibn Muḥammad bin ‘Abd al-Mu’min of Sarajevo dated 27 Rabī’ al-Ākhir 1247/5 October 1831 (S69/82), and the charter of Faḍlī Āgik al-ḥāj Ibrāhim-āghā of Travnik dated 19 Rabī’ al-Ākhir 1258/30 May 1842 (S75/103, 104).

⁴ Yuzo Nagata, *Materials on the Bosnian Notables* (Tokyo: Institute for the Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa, 1979).

books he came across.⁵ Similarly, a study of Ottoman Bosnian guilds includes a list of books owned by a Sarajevo merchant, without providing much further data.⁶ For another example, one can cite Bejtić's study of living standards in 12th/18th century Bosnia.⁷

There is valuable information on book owners to be found in other publications, too. In particular, a Bosnian translation of a late 12th/18th and an early 13th/19th century Bosnian chronicle, originally written in Ottoman Turkish, makes multiple references to individuals who also figure in the Sarajevo inheritance records, so that, whenever a person mentioned in the chronicle can be identified with a book owner from those records, the editor notes it in his footnotes.⁸

There are also studies on various aspects of Bosnian book culture in the Ottoman period. One example is Muhamed Ždralović's two-volume study of manuscript copyists,⁹ in which the author presents two private book collections by way of illustration.¹⁰ More importantly, the work offers a comprehensive examination of Bosnian Muslim manuscript culture. In a way, the present study on book ownership aims to complement Ždralović's work.

⁵ "It is beyond the scope of this small publication to introduce all the items recorded in each list. So, in this chapter, items not concerned with their economic activities are omitted, such as books...", Nagata, *Materials*, p. 8.

⁶ Hamdija Kreševljaković, "Dženetići" in *Izabrana djela, I* [Selected works] (Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša, 1991), p. 362.

⁷ Alija Bejtić, "Lični i kućni komfor u Bosni i Hercegovini XVIII vijeka" [Personal and domestic comfort in 18th century Bosnia and Herzegovina] *Jugoslovenski istorijski časopis* 3-4 (1974), pp. 147-167.

⁸ Mulla Mustafa Ševki Bašeskija, *Ljetopis (1746-1804)*, translation from the Turkish, introduction and notes by Mehmed Mujezinović, 2nd edition (Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša, 1987). Mehmed Mujezinović (1913-1981) appears to have been collecting this information in preparation for a study on book ownership in Sarajevo. The fate of his notes is unclear. According to his son Mustafa Mujezinović (the Bosnian ambassador to the UK at the time of this dissertation's writing), the notes are now lost. On the history of the term "the Bosnian language", see: Muhamed Hadžijahić, *Od tradicije do identiteta (geneza nacionalnog pitanja bosanskih Muslimana)* [From tradition to identity (the genesis of the Bosnian Muslim national question) (Zagreb: Islamska zajednica Zagreb, 1990), pp. 16-46.

⁹ Muhamed Ždralović, *Bosansko-hercegovački prepisivači djela u arabičkim rukopisima, I-II* [Bosnian-Herzegovinian copyists of works in Arabic script manuscripts] (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1988); also quoted in Adam Gacek, *The Arabic Manuscript Tradition: a Glossary of Technical Terms and Bibliography* (Leiden, Boston, Köln: Brill, 2001), p. 187.

¹⁰ Ždralović, *Bosansko-hercegovački prepisivači*, pp. 41-45. The record for one collection owned by Ismā'il-bey Dženetić (Jannatizāde) goes back to 1191/1777, while the other was owned by Aḥmad Munib Glodo, who died in exile in 1266/1850. Both were Sarajevans.

Mention has already been made of shorter articles on private book collections, which, however, do not go beyond providing basic information on them or their owners. One notable departure from this limited approach is a recent study of the life of a Sarajevo kadi, whose author uses the kadi's private book collection and especially the notes he left on the margins of his books to reconstruct the world of a low-ranking official in the Ottoman bureaucracy.¹¹ It is a work of microhistory, in which a private library becomes a window onto the world of its owner.

It goes without saying that Bosnian manuscript library catalogues also provide some information about book owners and book collections. This is especially true of the Gāzī Hüsrev-bey Library in Sarajevo and its manuscript collections, now almost fully catalogued.

Lastly, one comes across bits and pieces of information in unexpected places, for example in a study of the Bosnian border military governors (Turkish: *kapūdāns*):¹² “Although there is no doubt that there were completely illiterate governors, there were also those who were educated in the Oriental way. They were buying and reading books in Arabic, Turkish, and Persian. Among those rare exceptions were governors of Kozarac, Tuzla, and Gradačac and governor Suleyman of Ljubuški. There is a letter from 1819 which refers to book purchases by governor Murat of Gradačac. The library of our former Balkan Institute held a manuscript with notes by a Tuzla captain, including data on reading *siyāqa* (a type of script). The last captain of Počitelj had a fine library. We know that Sulejman, the captain of Ljubuški, bought books at an auction in Sarajevo. These were certainly not the only examples.”¹³

All these works and sources are valuable in their own right, but they do not provide a better or more nuanced understanding of the various dimensions of book ownership in Ottoman Bosnia, nor are they meant to.

¹¹ Tatjana Paić-Vukić, *The World of Mustafa Muhibbi, a Kadi From Sarajevo* (İstanbul: İsis Press, 2011).

¹² Hamdija Kreševljaković, *Kapetanije u Bosni i Hercegovini*, 2nd edition (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1980). British historian Noel Malcolm defines *kapetan* as follows: “Originally, a military administrator in a frontier zone. Normal meaning in Bosnian history: an administrator of a territorial division of Bosnia, with wide-ranging powers, whose office was hereditary”, Noel Malcolm, *Bosnia: a Short History* (London: Macmillan, 1996), p. 299.

¹³ Kreševljaković, *Kapetanije u Bosni i Hercegovini*, pp. 64, 65. The writer also draws attention to books kept at an inn (*khān*) in the town of Stolac in southern Bosnia.

02. The Main Sources

The lack of an in-depth study of book ownership is not for want of sources. Perhaps the most compelling reason for choosing Sarajevo for a case study in book ownership in Ottoman Bosnia is that, despite the destruction of some of the city libraries during the siege of 1992-95, sufficient documents have nonetheless survived to allow research to go ahead, in particular the Sarajevo court registers (*sijills*).

Sijills have long served as major sources of information for historians of the Ottoman Empire. Among the various types of document they contain, the inheritance inventories (also known as *qassām* or *tereke* or *mukhallafāt daftars*) are particularly valuable for shedding light on the material circumstances of Ottoman subjects. Their relevance for our study stems from the fact that, whenever an estate included books, they would be registered by title and value, making inheritance inventories a major source for studying book ownership. *Sijills* also occasionally include deeds issued with regard to a special bequest of books, as was the case with the collection mentioned earlier, or other interesting information, as in the case of one example included in the present study, details relating to litigation over a book. An additional benefit of researching the inventories is that the records generally refer to books which are now lost.

There are 88 surviving *sijills* in the Gāzī Hüsrev-bey Library today. Three date from the 10th/16th and the rest from the 12th/18th and 13th/19th centuries. The 12th/18th century *sijills* cover the years 1119-21/1707-09 and 1140-41/1727-28. There is then a gap until 1176/1762, from when they run continuously to 1268/1852. Systematic analysis of the inheritance inventories year by year over a long time span allows book ownership patterns to be established and a more rounded picture of the subject to be obtained than sampling would.

Inheritance inventories are not the only primary source of information on book ownership, of course. Ownership seals and notes found on extant manuscripts can also be used in reconstructing book ownership. Such sources have not, however, been used in preparing this study, partly because to do so systematically would have required the examination of thousands of manuscripts.¹⁴ Moreover, the mere fact that extant manuscripts have

¹⁴ On the manuscript notes as sources for understanding various aspects of book culture see: Adam Gacek, "Ownership Statements and Seals in Arabic Manuscripts", *Manuscripts of the Middle East* 2 (1987), pp. 88-95; Paić-Vukić, *The World of Mustafa Muhibbi*; Tülün Değrimenci, "Bir kitabı kaç kişi okur? Osmanlı'da okurlar ve okuma biçimleri üzerine bazı gözlemler", *Tarih ve Toplum: Yeni Yaklaşımlar* 13 (Güz, 2011), pp. 7-43; *Manuscript*

survived, which is almost certainly a matter of chance, does not necessarily tell us very much about the prevalence or rarity of particular works and genres at a particular time or place.

Extant book collections are another primary source for book ownership, but, again, their major shortcoming is that they are not representative of the “average” collection or book owner, in the way inheritance inventories are more likely to be.

This is not to suggest that inheritance inventories do not suffer from any drawbacks. These drawbacks are to do mainly with the people whose estates are registered in the inventories and the ways in which the books are entered. A detailed discussion on the limitations of inheritance inventories is given in Chapter Four (*Books and Their Owners According to Sarajevo Inheritance Inventories 1118-1244/1707-1828*).

It has already been mentioned that studying book ownership helps us to understand the intellectual milieu of a given society. Researchers of the late 12th/18th early 13th/19th century Sarajevo are fortunate to have at their disposal a major narrative source in the form of the chronicle of Muṣṭafā Basheskī.¹⁵ Its author was a minor ‘ālim (religious scholar), scribe and poet, who left us a record of the people and events he knew and witnessed between 1159/1746 and 1219/1804-05. His chronicle is peppered with personal observations on various subjects. Particularly useful are his descriptions of the learned men of the city, his comments on his friends and acquaintances and their varying degrees of linguistic competence, and his occasional references to other people’s intellectual and religious affinities. Basheskī usually refers to books and reading in general terms (“books in Arabic,” “Šūfī books,” etc.), but does sometimes mention books by title. Interestingly enough, the work he mentions most frequently is an astrological manual, which he appears to have consulted on a regular basis.

The value of the chronicle for us is not restricted to the picture it provides of the social and cultural milieu of late 12th/18th and early 13th/19th century Sarajevo in general. A good number of the people Basheskī mentions in his necrology also appear as book owners in the

Notes as Documentary Sources, Beirut Texts and Studies, Band 129, ed. by Andreas Görke and Konrad Hirschler (Ergon Verlag: Würzburg, Beirut, 2011).

¹⁵ For a transcription of the chronicle into modern Turkish see *Molla Muṣṭafā’nın Mecmuası*, ed. Kerima Filan (Sarajevo: Connectum, 2011). See also her very useful afterword: “Reading Molla Muṣṭafā Basheski’s Mecmua”. The *Chronicle* text (ms. 7340) is kept at the Gāzī Hüsrev-bey library in Sarajevo. For its catalogue description see: *GHL*, IV, p. 279.

inheritance inventories. By giving us additional information about book owners, some of it quite revealing and personal in nature, Basheskī brings to life some of the book owners in a way that the dry, uniform inheritance inventories cannot. The data collected from the inheritance inventories thus complements the descriptions of various individuals given by Basheskī, which is especially valuable given that a comprehensive study of 12th/18th century Sarajevo has yet to be written.¹⁶

Sarajevo also makes for an interesting case study of book ownership because of its central place in Bosnia's political, economic and cultural life, ever since the city first rose to prominence in the early 10th/16th century. Its leading position hardly diminished after the seat of the Ottoman governor was moved to Travnik in 1110/1699 (before being restored in 1266/1850). Given the general absence of book ownership studies for any Bosnian town, it seems fitting to concentrate on the capital city.

Bearing in mind the relativity of historical periodization, the time frame adopted for this study has been determined by the availability of primary sources, on the one hand, and by the fact that it coincides with a fairly distinct period in Bosnian history, on the other.¹⁷ The period in question may be said to have begun in 1110/1699 with the Treaty of Karlowitz, which confirmed major Ottoman territorial losses to the Habsburg Empire in the war of 1094-1110/1683-1699. Towards the end of the war, Sarajevo experienced a short, but traumatic siege at the hands of a Habsburg army, during which countless books were destroyed, a fact brought home by the rarity of *sijills* before the 12th/18th century. Following the treaty, Bosnia became a province of an empire in retreat, precariously wedged between stretches of Habsburg and Venetian-controlled territory. The Bosnian Muslim elite became increasingly discontented with the policies of the Porte. Two uprisings which erupted in

¹⁶ A number of studies are available on 9th/15th and 10th/16th century Sarajevo. For a discussion of the literature, see: *Ottoman Bosnia: a History in Peril*, ed. Markus Koller (Madison: University of Wisconsin, 2004), p. 20. This is similar to the state of affairs within wider Ottoman historiography, where, as Faroqhi says in a work which contributes to the shift: "The eighteenth century throws up particular difficulties, as very little research has been undertaken, even though documentation is quite abundant", Suraiya Faroqhi, *Subjects of the Sultan: Culture and Daily Life in the Ottoman Empire* (London, New York: I.B. Tauris, 2007), p. 18. A recently published study by Kerima Filan is more about the history of Sarajevo as depicted in Basheskī's *Chronicle* and the language of the *Chronicle* than about 18th century Sarajevo itself: Kerima Filan, *Sarajevo u doba Bašeskije: jezik kao stvarnost* [Sarajevo in the time of Basheskī: language as reality] (Sarajevo: Connectum, 2014).

¹⁷ This is the early modern period as defined in *The Early Modern Ottomans: Remapping the Empire*, edited by Virginia H. Aksan and Daniel Goffman (Cambridge University Press, 2007).

the early 13th/19th century were of such violence that the province had to be pacified by military means. The Bosnian Muslim feudal lords led opposition to reforming policies of the Porte because they feared loss of power. The Porte's willingness to cede Bosnian territory to a semi-autonomous and increasingly assertive Serbia to the east further eroded Bosnian Muslim faith in the central government in Istanbul. This mood of discontent among ordinary Bosnians is well-illustrated by the chronicler, Basheskī, who expressed admiration for Maḥmūd-pasha Bushati (d. 1210/1796) of Scutari, an Ottoman provincial notable who clashed with the Porte.

Sarajevo's Muslim elite was at the forefront in challenging the central authorities. In 1236/1821, the scholar 'Abd al-Wahhāb Ilhāmī was put to death for writing a poem that was openly critical of the Ottoman governor of Bosnia. At the time of the destruction of the Janissary corps in 1241/1826 in Istanbul, a Sarajevo mob murdered a local supporter of the new government policy. Some years later, a Bosnian feudal lord named Ḥusayn Gradašćević (d. 1250/1834) fought battles with the Imperial army (interestingly enough, the Sarajevo kadi whose bequest of his private library provided the incentive for this study appears to have been connected to these turbulent events). Thus, a circle was closed: from being loyal imperial footsoldiers willing to fight in distant war zones, Bosnian Muslims and their leaders gradually became violently opposed to what they came to see as the corrupt authority of the Ottoman sultan.¹⁸

This is not to suggest a necessary correlation between book ownership patterns and the wider social and political developments of the times. The choice of 1244/1828 as the end year for the present study is largely due to the fact that it is the year the Sarajevo kadi's collection was left as a bequest. It is the larger of only two book collections whose bequests are registered in the surviving *sijills* for the period under consideration and thus serves us as a case study, considered against the background of the book ownership patterns revealed by the inheritance inventories.

While it would have been possible to continue examining the Sarajevo inheritance inventories until 1268/1852, the time frame adopted and the number of court documents

¹⁸ This is well attested by a Bosnian Muslim folk poem about the battle between Ḥusayn Gradašćević's forces and the Sultan's armies near Peć (Albanian: Pejë) in Kosovo, in which Ḥusayn Gradašćević's side is described as "Turkish" i.e. Muslim, and the Sultan's army as "infidel" (*kaurska*), quoted in Hadžijahić, *Od tradicije do identiteta*, p. 71.

studied already were deemed sufficient to justify the reaching of general conclusions about book ownership.

0.3 Aims and Methods

The lack of research on book ownership in Bosnia is in glaring contrast to the growing interest in the topic internationally. There is now a number of studies on various aspects of book ownership for cities and towns across the Ottoman Empire,¹⁹ while more general studies in cultural history not infrequently include sections on book ownership.²⁰ Indeed, the interest in the topic seems to reflect a shift in the focus of the historiography of the

¹⁹ For an extensive bibliography of works on book ownership studies, book studies and studies into Ottoman cultural history on the basis of inheritance records see: Orlin Sabev, "Osmanlı toplumsal tarihi için değerli kaynak teşkil eden tereke ve muhallefet kayıtları" in *Osmanlı Coğrafyası Kültürel Arşiv Mirasının Yönetimi ve Tapu Arşivlerinin Rolü Uluslararası Kongresi/International Congress of 'The Ottoman Geopolitics Management of Cultural Archive Heritage and Role of Land Registry Archives*, 21-23 Kasım/November 2012 Istanbul, cild 1 (Ankara, 2013) pp. 259-272. For some of the most important works on the subject please see: Mihaila Stajnova, "Ottoman Libraries in Vidin", *Études Balkaniques* 2 (1979), pp. 54-69; Said Öztürk, *Askeri Kassama ait Onyedinci Asır İstanbul Tereke Defterleri (Sosyo-Ekonomik Tahlil)* (İstanbul: Osmanlı Araştırmaları Vakfı [OSAV], 1995); Fahri Sakal, "Osmanlı Ailesinde Kitap", *Osmanlı*, c. 11 (Ankara: Yeni Türkiye, 1999), pp. 732-738; Halil Sahillioğlu, "Ottoman Book Legacies" in Halil Sahillioğlu, ed., *Studies in Ottoman Economic and Social History* (Istanbul: Research Centre for Islamic History, Art and Culture, 1999), pp. 189-191; Meropi Anstasiadou, "Des défunts hours du comun: les possesseurs de livres dans les inventaires après décès musulmans de Salonique", *Turcica*, 32 (2000), pp. 197-152; Colette Establet et Jean-Paul Pascual, "Les livres des gens à Damas vers 1700", *Revue des mondes musulmans et de la Méditerranée*, 87-88 (1999), pp. 143-175; Кендерова, Стоянка, *Книги, библиотеки и читателски интереси сред самоковските мюсюлмани (XVIII пѣва половина на XIX век)* (София: Библиотека "Св. Св. Кирил и Методій", 2002); Orlin Sabev, "Private book collections in Ottoman Sofia, 1671-1833 (Preliminary Notes)", *Études Balkaniques* 1 (2003), pp. 34-82; Nelly Hanna, *In Praise of Books: a Cultural History of Cairo's Middle Class, Sixteenth to Eighteenth Century* (Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 2003); Henning Sievert, "Verlorene Schätze – Bücher von Bürokraten in den Muhallefāt-Registern" in Tobias Heinzelmann and Henning Sievert, *Buchkultur im Nahen Ostens des 17. Und 18. Jahrhunderts* (Bern: Peter Lang AG, Internationaler Verlag der Wissenschaften, 2010), pp. 199-263; Henning Sievert, "Eavsdropping on the Pasha's Salon: Usual and Unusual Readings of an Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Bureaucrat", *Osmanlı Araştırmaları/the Journal of Ottoman Studies* XLI (2013), pp. 159-195. It goes without saying that studying book ownership on the basis of inheritance inventories is not some sort of Ottoman peculiarity and that such studies have been conducted for cities in the West. See, for example: Roger Chartier, *Lectures et lecteurs dans la France d'ancien regime* (Paris: Seuil, 1989).

²⁰ M. Şükrü Hanioglu, *A Brief History of the Late Ottoman Empire* (Princeton, Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2008), pp. 38-40, 96; Faroqhi, *Subjects of the Sultan*, pp. 189-191, 264.

Ottoman Empire away from political, military and economic matters to social, cultural and provincial history.²¹ Some scholars have welcomed this development, as redressing a previous imbalance in the field.²²

Reflecting both wider developments in Ottoman studies and a realization of the need to explore sources available close at hand more extensively, interest has been rekindled in various aspects of Bosnia's cultural life under the Ottomans.²³ It is as if scholars are responding to a sense of urgency registered in the calls for new studies into a heritage that came perilously close to near complete obliteration.²⁴

Although historians of the book tend to focus on the printed book and its impact on society,²⁵ book history raises many questions which are equally pertinent for the manuscript book, such as the transmission of texts, the history of reading, the history of libraries, or the question of how the materiality of the book can affect its meaning. Not only do the printed and manuscript book both take the form of the codex, but the impact of print on society cannot be fully appreciated without understanding the manuscript culture which predates it.²⁶

Studies in book history often rely on detailed statistical evidence to detect patterns and arrive at conclusions. They enable the researcher to analyse the contents of private book-

²¹ Ch. K. Neumann, "Political and diplomatic developments" in S. Faroqhi (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Turkey*, vol. 3: *the Later Ottoman Empire, 1603-1839* (Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 45.

²² *Ottoman Bosnia: a History in Peril*, ed. Markus Koller, p. 8. For Ottoman cultural history of the early modern period in relation to the question of the Ottoman "decline," see also: Dana Sajdi, "Decline, its Discontents and Ottoman Cultural History: By Way of Introduction" in Dana Sajdi, ed., *Ottoman Tulips, Ottoman Coffee: Leisure and Lifestyle in the Eighteenth Century* (London, New York: I.B. Tauris, 2007), pp. 1-40.

²³ Koller specifically bemoans the underutilization of court records, *Ottoman Bosnia: a History in Peril*, p. 20. Unfortunately, many studies in Bosnian remain untranslated and inaccessible to most scholars.

²⁴ András Riedlmayer, "From the Ashes: the Past and Future of Bosnia's Cultural Heritage" in *Islam and Bosnia: Conflict Resolution and Foreign Policy in Multi-Ethnic States*, ed. Maya Shatzmiller (Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 2002), pp. 98-135.

²⁵ "The field can be extended and expanded in many ways; but *for the most part* [italics by Asim Zubčević], it concerns books since the time of Gutenberg", Robert Darnton, "What is the history of books?" in *The Book History Reader*, eds. by David Finkelstein and Alistair McCleery, 2nd edition (London and New York: Routledge, 2008), p. 9.

²⁶ D.F. McKenzie, "The sociology of a text: orality, literacy and print in early New Zealand" in *The Book History Reader*, eds. by David Finkelstein and Alistair McCleery, p. 205; Harold Love, "Early modern print culture: assessing the models" in *The Book History Reader*, eds. by David Finkelstein and Alistair McCleery, p. 74.

collections in terms of various categories (such as genre, value, and language) and to identify book owners by social background, wealth, profession, gender and religious identity, resulting in what have been termed “quantitative histories of the book.”²⁷ Such quantitative methods are applied in the present study, albeit not exclusively. Thus, the data collected from the Sarajevo inheritance inventories about book ownership are collected, examined and presented according to a number of categories. These results are then compared with book ownership studies for Sofia, Salonica, Damascus and Trabzon.²⁸ Finally, the case study of one particular book owner, a Sarajevo kadi who left his collection as bequest, is analysed in more detail against the backdrop of the book ownership findings in the inheritance inventories.

0.4 Terminology

An important issue that came up during research is that of nomenclature or how to name the book culture which developed in the Ottoman province of Bosnia. The most obvious term might seem to be “Ottoman,” with certain aspects of that book culture further qualified as “Islamic.” These terms have certain limitations, however, born of the fact that they can veil the differences between various parts of an Ottoman Empire such as the Balkans, Anatolia and the Levant, not to mention the ways in which they obscure varieties of cultural experiences even within a plural community, like the Bosnians, or even a subgroup, like the Bosnian Muslims.

In her study on Egyptian book culture in the Ottoman period, Nelly Hanna reminds us that “...within the regions of the Ottoman state, different centres could have their own dynamism.”²⁹ She also finds the term “Islamic” problematic with regard, for example, to education: “The blanket descriptions of ‘Islamic education’ overlooked regional differences

²⁷ Roger Chartier, “Labourers and voyagers: from the text to the reader” in *The Book History Reader*, eds. by David Finkelstein and Alistair McCleery, pp. 89, 90.

²⁸ Orlin Sabev, “Private book collections in Ottoman Sofia, 1671-1833 (Preliminary Notes)”, *Études Balkaniques* 1 (2003), pp. 34-82; Meropi Anstasiadou, “Des défunts hours du comun: les possesseurs de livres dans les inventaires après décès musulmans de Salonique”, *Turcica* 32 (2000), pp. 197-152; Colette Establet et Jean-Paul Pascual, “Les livres des gens à Damas vers 1700”, *Revue des mondes musulmans et de la Méditerranée* 87-88 (1999), pp. 143-175; Abdullah Saydam, “Trabzon’da halkın kitap olma düzeyi (1795-1846)”, *Millî Eğitim* 170 (2006), pp. 187-201.

²⁹ Nelly Hanna, *In Praise of Books: a Cultural History of Cairo’s Middle Class, Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century* (Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 2003), pp. 17-19. Hanna also warns against focusing too much on local peculiarities.

and tended to portray 'Islamic' societies as an undifferentiated mass, timeless and spaceless.”³⁰

This question is particularly relevant in approaching the cultural history of Bosnia, which has been deeply influenced, ever since the earliest recorded reference in the 10th century, by its geographic position at the intersection of civilizations. The culture of writing bears the imprint of influences from Dalmatia and Dubrovnik on the Adriatic coast, as well as of Serbian-Byzantine centres in the east.³¹ Indeed, medieval Bosnia made active use of no fewer than four alphabets: the Greek, the Latin (including the Gothic), the Glagolitic, and the Cyrillic.³² From the 13th century on, the Bosnian form of Cyrillic (*bosančica* or *bosanica*) became the dominant alphabet, the script of religious texts, administration, commerce, and epigraphy.³³ This was the script used by all three Christian denominations: the native Bosnian Church, Roman Catholicism, and Eastern Orthodoxy. Following the conversion of a section of the Bosnian population to Islam, new forms of written culture based on pre-existing Ottoman traditions were introduced. A knowledge of Arabic script became a prerequisite for reading the Qur'an and for mastering Ottoman, Arabic and Persian as the new languages of learning and administration. Bosnian Cyrillic continued in use, however, both for gravestone inscriptions and in diplomatic and private correspondence. Indeed, the use of Bosnian Cyrillic or *bosančica* for letters written by or for Muslims may be regarded as part of the continued development of a common South Slavic tradition into distinct traditions along the lines of confessional differentiation, after the Ottoman conquest. The *bosančica* letters thus represent one form of Bosnian Muslim vernacular literacy. One important consequence of the continued use of this script among Bosnian Muslims was that it established itself as an alternative to Arabic script, known locally as *arebica*, as a form for

³⁰ Hanna, *In Praise of Books*, p. 52.

³¹ Herta Kuna, *Srednjovjekovna bosanska književnost* [Medieval Bosnian Literature] (Sarajevo: Međunarodni forum Bosna, 2008), p. 44. From antiquity on, towns on the Adriatic coast exerted a major cultural influence on Bosnia.

³² *Pisana riječ u Bosni i Hercegovini od najstarijih vremena do 1918. godine* [The written word in Bosnia-Herzegovina from the earliest times until 1918], Lamiya Hadžiosmanović et al., (Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša, 1982), p. 9.

³³ Bogićević, Vojislav, *Pismenost u Bosni i Hercegovini od pojave slovenske pismenosti u IX v. do kraja Austrougarske vladavine 1918*. [Literacy in Bosnia-Herzegovina from the emergence of Slavic literacy in the 9th century until the end of the Austro-Hungarian rule in 1918] (Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša, 1975), pp. 32, 33.

writing in the vernacular.³⁴ It thus constitutes one of the four branches of the Bosnian Muslim literary tradition to develop under Ottoman rule, namely “divan [*dīwān*] literature in Ottoman Turkish, Arabic, and Persian, Alhamiado literary production, oral poetry, and epistolography using the *bosančica* or Bosnian Cyrillic script – the last of which preserved the most direct links with medieval literary forms.”³⁵ In the end, however, Cyrillic never became a script of Bosnian Muslim book culture.

Coming back to the question of nomenclature, therefore, while one could justifiably use the “Ottoman” label to refer to aspects of Bosnian Muslim book culture that clearly owe their origin to the cultural impact of Ottoman rule – such as the use of Arabic script even for the vernacular and the use of and contributions to literature in Ottoman, Arabic and Persian by educated Bosnian Muslims – it would be strange to describe Bosnian Muslim writings in Cyrillic as “Ottoman.”

The same goes for some Bosnian customs related to the use of the Qur’an. On the surface they might seem to belong to Ottoman or older Islamic traditions. But, this is not always necessarily the case. A case in point is a ritual whereby a copy of the Qur’an is held above the bride’s head during the marriage ceremony, a practice that some suggest is a remnant of “baptism by the book” among the Christians of the Bosnian Church.

For such reasons, the most appropriate term for the book culture discussed in this dissertation seems to be “Bosnian,” by virtue of the fact that those involved in it and who contributed to it were Bosnians by language, territory and history. This is not to suggest that the word “Ottoman” should be discarded, but simply that one should be alert to its limitations and to its multiple contexts.

Moreover, while the term “Bosnian” is, in my view, the most suitable for our purposes, it should not be seen as without its own complications. In discussing how common writings by Bosnian authors in the inheritance inventories really were, for example, we may well ask ourselves what is so particularly Bosnian about a scholar who wrote in Arabic, Ottoman

³⁴ Ivo Banac, “Foreword” in *Bosanska ćirilčna pisma* [Bosnian Cyrillic letters] edited and selected by Lejla Nakaš, *Forum Bosnae* 53-54 (2011), p. 7. The continuing use of the Cyrillic script, even though for limited purposes, may explain why abandoning Arabic script (Bosnian: *arebica*) in the early 20th century was less dramatic for Bosnian Muslims than for some other Muslim communities.

³⁵ Lejla Nakaš, “Introduction: the Cultural and Historical Significance of the Bosnian Cyrillic Epistolary Corpus” in *Bosanska ćirilčna pisma*, p. 34; Lejla Nakaš, *Jezik i grafija krajišničkih pisama* [The language and writing of letters from the borderlands] (Slavistički komitet: Sarajevo, 2010), p. 10.

Turkish or Persian and who spent most of his life outside Bosnia? Such was the case with Aḥmad Sūdī al-Būsnaẗī (d. after 1006/1598), the writer of important commentaries in Ottoman Turkish on Persian classical works. On the other hand, one of the most important Bosnian Muslim scholars of the Ottoman period, Ḥasan Kāfī al-Aqḥiṣārī (d. 1025/1616) returned to his native land after spending years acquiring education and travelling. The case of someone like the poet Qā'imī (d.1091/1680), who was representative of high Ottoman culture, but also wrote in Bosnian, raises other different issues. In the end, one has to look in each cases for the most suitable terms and expressions, while remaining alert to the possible limitations of one's own choices.

This dissertation consists of the following chapters:

Chapter One gives an overview of Sarajevo's history from its foundation as a new Ottoman settlement in 866/1462 through its growth into the provincial capital city of Ottoman Bosnia and the centre of local politics, economy and culture during the 10th/16th century, the golden age of the city's pre-modern period, when many of its classic buildings were erected through the patronage of prominent Ottoman officials, who commissioned the construction of major religious and educational institutions and established charitable foundations (*waqf*) to finance their maintenance. This period came to a close with the sack of 1109/1697, when Austrian forces looted and burned the city, one consequence of which was the destruction of many books and important documents. This limiting factor to our study of Sarajevan book culture serves as an important reminder that the study of book culture in a given historical context, known as *book history* or *the history of the book*, is always dependent on an understanding of the wider social and cultural circumstances in which that book culture developed.³⁶

Chapter Two describes the subsequent development of the city's book culture during the 12th/18th and early 13th/19th centuries and its role as a centre of learning. The chapter begins by addressing the role of religious and educational establishments, including primary schools (*maktabs*), Muslim schools of higher learning (*madrasas*) and dervish lodges (*takkas*), which together constitute the mainstays of the Ottoman educational system. This chapter also draws on the already mentioned 12th - 13th/18th - 19th century chronicle by Muṣṭafā

³⁶ For more on the scope of book history see: Robert Darnton, "What is the history of books?", pp. 9-26. For book history in the Islamic world see: *The Book in the Islamic World: the Written Word and Communication in the Middle East*, ed. by George N. Atiyeh (State University of New York Press and the Library of Congress, 1995).

Basheskī to consider aspects of questions of literacy, reading, writing and book copying in a manuscript culture. Basheskī's *Chronicle* conveys some of the flavour of the learned world of Sarajevo, through his descriptions of learned Sarajevans, their knowledge of various subjects and their mastery of various written and spoken languages. Many of those he describes belonged to his circle of friends, who met informally for prayer, readings, and discussion. Such literary salons act as an introduction to considering the more informal ways of acquiring knowledge and education characteristic of the age, not least the coffee-house culture. The chapter also addresses the role of bookbinders as an important facet of manuscript culture and the trade in paper and books. Particular attention is given to Basheskī's cursory reference to newspapers and the light it sheds on the reintroduction of printing in Bosnia. The final part of the chapter addresses the question of limits placed on the written (and spoken) word through censorship, culminating in some cases in the death sentence. Lastly, the chapter draws attention to examples of mutual borrowings between different traditions of book culture.

Chapter Three is devoted to the public and semi-public libraries of Sarajevo in the 12th/18th and 13th/19th centuries. Like mosques, *maktabs*, and *madrasas*, libraries were part of the city's cultural grid, places for reading and copying books and for scholarly exchange. This chapter describes the origins of the various types of libraries, based on their institutional affiliations and mode of establishment. The types covered include mosque libraries, *maktab* libraries, *takka* libraries, *madrasa* libraries, independent libraries, and family libraries. The chapter also draws attention to the fact that a number of new libraries were built in the 12th/18th century, no doubt to compensate for the destruction of previously existing educational institutions in 1109/1697.

Chapter Four presents the findings regarding book ownership from a review and analysis of more than 3,000 inheritance inventories from 59 *sijills* of the Sarajevo *sharī'a* court. This review identified 1,236 book owners, whose background is examined in terms of gender, religion, and profession. The data on their books are then broken down by subject, language and price. Finally, the findings are compared with similar studies for a number of other cities during their Ottoman era: Sofia, Salonica, Damascus and Trabzon.

Chapter Five examines the life of kadi Şālih 'Izzat Ḥromozāde as a case study in book ownership. His life is reconstructed from primary sources found in the Sarajevo *sijills* and documents kept at the Başbakanlık Arşivi in Istanbul. The endowment charter for his

collection of books is transliterated and the 159 volumes in it are analysed and compared with the book collections of other kadis in the inheritance inventories. The surviving books from his collection are described on the basis of autopsy and library catalogues.

Chapter Six raises questions of what it meant to own a book in a predominantly oral and illiterate society and how members of such a society might have viewed books and book-related activities such as reading and writing. The chapter seeks answers to these questions in the originally oral folk poetry, collected in the 13th/19th century, whose origins go back further in time and so coincide with the time frame of the present study. The chapter also describes several book-related customs in order to illustrate the range of different uses that were made of books and so remind us that books were not (and are not) used only for such cerebral activities as reading. The customs described are linked to life cycle events like birth, marriage, death and the marking of the seasons.

Chapter One: Sarajevo from its Foundation in 866/1462 until the Sack of 1109/1697³⁷

In the early summer of 867/1463, the Ottoman forces commanded by Sultan Mehmed II marched into Bosnia, captured the fortress of Jajce in the northern central part of the country and killed the last Bosnian king Stephen Tomašević, who had sought refuge there.³⁸ Although it would take the Ottomans several more decades to establish their authority over the whole country, the events of that summer marked a symbolic turning point: the fall of the medieval Christian kingdom and the beginning of Ottoman rule, which would last until 1295/1878.

The Ottomans had already conquered large parts of the country to the east and in the eastern central areas. The district (*župa*) of Vrhbosna (Bosnia Peak) had been in their hands since at least 851/1448.³⁹ Vrhbosna district was centred on the Miljacka river valley and surrounded by mountains on three sides. It comprised a number of villages and a small fortified town, to the west of which the Ottomans decided to establish their new city, which came to be known as *Sarajevo*. It took its name from the fact that it was the Ottoman governor's seat (*Saray* = court; *ovasi* = field), which provided the nucleus around which the cluster of early buildings sprang up. As indicated by its name and in contrast to other urban

³⁷ This chapter draws mainly on Robert J. Donia, *Sarajevo: a Biography* (London: Hurst & Company, 2006) and Malcolm, *Bosnia: a Short History*. Donia's study is the only English-language study on the history of Sarajevo to date, while Malcolm's is the fullest recent English language treatment of the history of the country as a whole. There is an important recent study of Sarajevo in German by Holm Sundhaussen, *Sarajevo: Die Geschichte einer Stadt* (Wien: Böhlau, 2014). For a full list of local historiography on Sarajevo see Donia, pp. 357, 358, n.1. Donia's list should be supplemented with Kerima Filan's *Sarajevo u Bašeskijino doba: jezik kao stvarnost*.

³⁸ Noel Malcolm, *Bosnia: a Short History*, pp. 23, 24.

³⁹ Vesna Mušeta-Aščerić, *Sarajevo i njegova okolina u XV stoljeću* [Sarajevo and its environs in the 15th century] (Sarajevo: Sarajevo Publishing, 2005), pp. 13, 14. According to another historian, the earliest Ottoman incursion into the area dates back to 818/1415 and its permanent capture to 838/1435. On this see: Ahmed S. Aličić, "Uloga Sarajeva u političkom životu Bosne i Hercegovine za vrijeme osmanske vlasti" [The role of Sarajevo in the political life of Bosnia-Herzegovina under Ottoman rule] in *Prilozi historiji Sarajeva, radovi sa znanstvenog simpozija Pola milenija Sarajeva, održanog 19. do 21. marta 1993. godine*, ed. Dževad Juzbašić (Sarajevo: Institut za istoriju, 1997), p. 70.

centres which grew out of pre-existing Slavic towns, Sarajevo was an essentially new settlement.⁴⁰

The new city was founded by Isa-bey Ishaković, the Ottoman military commander and administrator, who was appointed governor of the newly-created Ottoman province of Bosnia in the 1460s.⁴¹ During his term, Isa-bey built several mosques, including one of the city's main mosques (the Careva Mosque), a palace court (*sarāy*), a Mawlawī *takka* (dervish lodge), a public bathhouse (*hamām*), water-mills, a *karavān-sarāy* (roadside inn) and an inn for travellers (*khān*), as well as a number of shops, around which the business quarter (Turkish: *çarşı*; Bosnian: *čaršija*) developed.⁴² Isa-bey was the first in a series of Ottoman officials and administrators to contribute to the city's growth through new construction. By the early 10th/16th century, Sarajevo had six congregational mosques (known locally as *džamija*), twenty-three *masjids* (mosques without minarets in which no Friday prayers are conducted), two *madrasas* (schools of higher learning), six *takkas*, three public baths, two inns, several bridges, and numerous shops.⁴³

During this period the building activities of one particularly munificent Ottoman official stand out in both scale and significance. Hüsrev-bey or Gāzī Hüsrev-bey, as he is commonly known in Bosnia, was the son of a noble-born Bosnian Christian convert to Islam on his father's side and the grandson of Sultan Bayezid II on his mother's.⁴⁴ He became an Ottoman general and acquired huge wealth during successful military campaigns in

⁴⁰ Robert J. Donia, *Sarajevo*, pp. 9, 10; Behija Zlatar, *Zlatno doba Sarajeva (XVI stoljeće)* [The Golden Age of Sarajevo (16th century)] (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1996), pp. 12, 24-29; The oldest known reference to the city by its Ottoman name, variously *Bosna Serai* or *Serai Bosna*, dates from 859/1455, Donia, *Sarajevo*, pp. 8, 9. The earliest use of the Slavicized form "Sarajevo" appears in a document issued in 912/1507, Hazim Šabanović, *Bosanski pašaluk, postanak i upravna podjela* [The Bosnian Pashalik, its origins and administrative divisions] (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1959), p. 146.

⁴¹ Donia, *Sarajevo*, p. 17. Isa-bey's name as it appears in his charter of Jumādā al-Awwal 866/1 February-2 March 1462, written in Arabic, is Isa-bey son of the late Ishāq-bey (ʿĪsā-bak bin al-marḥūm Ishāq-bak), "Dvije najstarije vakufname u Bosni" [Two oldest charters in Bosnia], *POF* 2 (1951), p. 8.

⁴² Zlatar, *Zlatno doba*, pp. 32, 33.

⁴³ Zlatar mentions only one, *Zlatno doba*, p. 46. As she affirms repeatedly elsewhere, however, Sarajevo already had at least two other *madrasas* before the Gāzī Hüsrev-bey *madrasa* was constructed: one founded by Kemal-bey, the other by Muḥammad-bey Isabegović.

⁴⁴ A comprehensive account of Gāzī Hüsrev-bey's life and career is offered in Behija Zlatar's recent monograph, *Gazi Husrev-beg* (Sarajevo: Orijentalni institut u Sarajevu, 2010).

Dalmatia, Croatia and Hungary.⁴⁵ Gāzī Hüsrev-bey also served as the governor of Bosnia for most of the period between 927/1521 and 947/1541. The many endowments commissioned by him include Sarajevo's largest mosque, a *madrasa*, a library, a Şūfī lodge (*khānqāh*), some 200 shops, a *bedesten* (covered market), a *karavān-sarāy* and a public bathhouse.⁴⁶ In fact, Hüsrev-bey was the individual who did most to transform Sarajevo from a small town (*kaşaba*) into a city (*şehir*), ushering in the city's golden age, which would last until the end of the 10th/16th century.⁴⁷ This was the period during which the city reached the pinnacle of its economic strength and territorial expansion, becoming the centre of Bosnian political, commercial and cultural life.⁴⁸

1.1 The Role of the Charitable Foundations (*waqf*)

Within a century of its foundation, Sarajevo had grown from a small frontier town that served as the staging post for Ottoman military campaigns against the Habsburgs and Venetians into one of the leading cities in the Balkans. By 1008/1600, it had a population of some 23,500 inhabitants.⁴⁹ By this stage, the city boasted 20 mosques, 63 masjids, six *takkas*,

⁴⁵ Gāzī Hüsrev-bey also contributed to the Ottoman conquest of Belgrade in 927/1521 and the victory at Mohács in 932/1526, Zlatar, *Gazi Husrev-beg*, pp. 34-39. "The victory at Mohács and the conquest of Pannonia and Dalmatia, in which Gāzī Hüsrev-bey took part, directly influenced the development of Sarajevo", Zlatar, *Zlatno doba*, p. 51.

⁴⁶ Zlatar, *Zlatno doba*, pp. 52, 53. *Sarajevo*, Donia, p. 19. Donia emphasizes the mosque, the *madrasa* and the library as being the three institutions Gāzī Hüsrev-bey is "best remembered for". The library was originally part of the *madrasa* and only gradually became a separate institution. See further: *Chapter Three: Public and Semi-Public Libraries of Sarajevo 1118/1707-1243/1828*.

⁴⁷ Donia, *Sarajevo*, pp. 12, 13, 17; Zlatar, *Zlatno doba*, pp. 15, 46, 52. According to Malcolm, he built two inns (*khān*), *Bosnia: a Short History*, p. 68. For a detailed description of the property Gāzī Hüsrev-bey left to fund the maintenance of his *waqf*, see Zlatar, *Gazi Husrev-beg*, pp. 67-108.

⁴⁸ Zlatar, *Zlatno doba*, p. 38.

⁴⁹ Donia, *Sarajevo*, p. 20. As Donia explains, the figure is "at best an approximation", Donia, p. 359, n. 21. He asserts that this was the peak, from which the numbers declined to "about 20,000 inhabitants or fewer in the 1860s", Donia, p. 32. Another estimate puts the city population at 7,000-8,000 houses or 35,000-40,000 inhabitants: Enes Pelidija, "O privredi Sarajeva u 18. stoljeću" [On Sarajevo commerce in the 18th century], in *Prilozi historiji Sarajeva*, ed. Dževad Juzbašić, p. 94. İnalcık gives a figure of 40,000 in "Dubrovnik and the Balkans" in *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire, volume 1: 1300-1600*, eds. Halil İnalcık with Donald Quataert (Cambridge University Press, 1997) p. 265. According to Malcolm, Sarajevo had 60,000 inhabitants in 1807, a figure which he notes is less than that given by Evliya Çelebī during his visit in 1660, Malcolm, *Bosnia: a Short History*, pp. 96, 97. These different estimates reflect not simply fluctuations over time, but also the state of the sources. For our purposes it is enough to accept a population range of between 20,000

three *bedestens*, five *madrasas*, several libraries, six public bathhouses, several *khāns* and *karavān-sarāys* and more than 90 *maktabs*.⁵⁰ In addition to these structures, one should also mention a number of stone bridges over the Miljacka, more than 200 public fountains (*çeşme*), and a clock tower.⁵¹ This is the period when Sarajevo acquired the monumental Ottoman-era buildings that lend its skyline the aspect of the East in Europe.⁵² Halil İnalcik goes so far as to assert that “the spectacular rise of Sarajevo is the most important development in the region in the sixteenth century as a whole.”⁵³

Sarajevo is an excellent example of the vital role played by endowed charitable foundations (*waqf*) in the emergence and growth of towns in the Ottoman Balkans. While the Imperial authorities were concerned with the construction and maintenance of roads, bridges, embankments and roadside inns, other building activity took place primarily through these foundations. Charitable foundations were endowments of property, usually in the form of land and commercial buildings, set aside by wealthy individuals and leased out for the maintenance of religious, educational, and social institutions. They constituted a significant part of the economy, especially by providing cash loans at interest. They were even more indispensable for the work of cultural and educational institutions, insofar as they were all funded and so operated on the basis of such charitable foundations.⁵⁴ By 1012/1604, Sarajevo had over 100 *waqfs*.⁵⁵

and 40,000, with a likelihood that at any given time the population would be closer to the lower end of the range.

⁵⁰ Zlatar, *Zlatno doba*, p. 77. See also Malcolm, *Bosnia: a Short History*, p. 68. He mentions more than a hundred mosques. However, even if one counted mosques and *masjids* together, the total would still come to only 83.

⁵¹ Zlatar, *Zlatno doba*, p. 77.

⁵² Donia, *Sarajevo*, p. 8.

⁵³ Halil İnalcik, “Dubrovnik and the Balkans” p. 265. As such it resembled the cities of Skopje, Sofia, and Smederevo and the port of Avlona, *idem*, p. 267. According to Malcolm: “The speed of development was impressive”, Malcolm, *Bosnia: a Short History*, p. 67. He describes Sarajevo in the 17th century as “by far the most important inland city west of Salonica”. Zlatar ranks it after Istanbul, Salonica, Edirne and Athens in size and importance and considers it on a par with Nicopolis and Skopje, Zlatar, *Zlatno doba*, p. 16. According to Donia, it was surpassed only by Edirne and Salonica in Ottoman European lands, Donia, *Sarajevo*, p. 20.

⁵⁴ Zlatar, *Zlatno doba*, pp. 12, 13; Peter Sugar, *Southeastern Europe under Ottoman Rule 1354-1804* (Seattle and London; University of Washington Press, 1996), p. 19; Malcolm, *Bosnia: a Short History*, p. 68. Other important Balkan cities that developed out of religious foundations were Sofia, Plovdiv, Salonica, Skopje, and Bitola (Monastir). Several Bosnian towns still carry the local variant of the word *waqf* in their name: Skender Vakuf,

Standards accounts tend to focus on large *waqfs*, in the shape of mosques, *madrasas* and libraries established by wealthy officials, merchants and artisans. But it should not be forgotten that people of humble background and modest means contributed to *waqfs*. As we shall see, a *waqf* donation could consist of a single book. However small, these bequests all contributed to the cultural life of the city, like small streams that feed into a large river.

As Noel Malcolm puts it, the practice of *waqf* also “helped to interlock the institution of the town with those of Islam”⁵⁶ thereby facilitating the process of religious conversion.⁵⁷ Thus, for example, construction of a dervish hospice (*zāwiya*) often preceded the growth of an urban settlement. Since the land on which *zāwiyas* were built was exempt from taxes, they attracted settlement which led to the creation of new towns.⁵⁸

1.2 The Population

The Balkans had few cities before the Ottomans and urbanization was one of the key features of the new order.⁵⁹ According to Nikolai Todorov, the number of cities with more than 1,600 households rose from one in the 9th/15th century to eight in the second half of the 10th/16th. During the same period the number of cities with 801-1,600 households increased from two to eleven.⁶⁰ Tax exemptions conferred on the residents of important commercial cities such as Sarajevo encouraged the development of crafts and trade and attracted those who sought greater economic opportunities. The city dwellers were not

Gornji Vakuf, Donji Vakuf, Vrcar Vakuf (present day Mrkonjić Grad), attesting to their roots in charitable foundations.

⁵⁵ Zlatar, *Zlatno doba*, pp. 12, 13; Donia, *Sarajevo*, p. 22.

⁵⁶ Malcolm, *Bosnia: a Short History*, p. 68.

⁵⁷ By contrast, Islamization proceeded at a slower rate in old mining towns such as Srebrenica, etc. See Zlatar, *Zlatno doba*, p. 17.

⁵⁸ Adem Handžić, “O ulozi derviša u formiranju gradskih naselja u Bosni u XV stoljeću” [On the role of dervishes in the formation of city settlements in Bosnia in the 15th century], *POF* 31 (1981), pp. 169-179. As already noted, the Isa-bey *takka* was one of the first buildings erected under Isa-bey's endowment. According to Zlatar, however, this was not the earliest *takka* in Sarajevo. It was predated by the Ćaziler *takka*, which was probably located near the Ali-pasha mosque, in the city's western part. This *takka* has not been preserved. On this see: Zlatar, *Zlatno doba*, p. 32.

⁵⁹ Zlatar, *Zlatno doba*, p. 12.

⁶⁰ Николай Тодоров, *Балканският град XV-XIX век: социално-икономическо и демографско развитие* [The Balkan City: Socio-Economic and Demographic Development] (София, 1972), p. 30.

subjects to a feudal lord (*sipāhi*) and did not have to pay the land tax (*resm-i çift*). At the same time they were free from the usual taxes: '*avārız-ı divāniye* and *tekālīf-i 'örfiye*.'⁶¹

By the early 10th/16th century, Sarajevo's population consisted largely of local Slavic converts to Islam, most of whom were immigrants from the surrounding villages.⁶² Some were former prisoners of war and slaves who obtained freedom by conversion.⁶³ There were cases of Muslim officials, merchants, artisans and members of the scholarly class ('*ulamā*') from other parts of the empire who settled in Sarajevo, but their numbers were not significant.⁶⁴ The Muslim proportion of the urban population increased from 27 % in 1485 to about 97 % in 1530.⁶⁵ The new Ottoman urban centres developed faster as a rule, acquiring a Muslim majority population quicker than older urban centres.⁶⁶

The Christian population of Sarajevo comprised native Orthodox Christians and Roman Catholics. The Catholic population also included craftsmen and merchants from the Adriatic port city of Dubrovnik. By the mid-10th/16th century, there were 66 Catholic households in the so-called Latin Quarter, which had its own Catholic church.⁶⁷ According to a report by a Catholic bishop, the number had risen to 100 by 1082/1672.⁶⁸ Orthodox Sarajevans lived mainly in a quarter not far from the Old Orthodox Church, which was constructed sometime after 926/1520.⁶⁹ As for the heretical Bosnian Church of medieval

⁶¹ Zlatar, *Zlatno doba*, p. 20. '*Avārız-ı divāniye* were extraordinary taxes raised for special purposes such as war, while *tekālīf-i 'örfiye* were customary taxes levied by the state or its agents.

⁶² Donia, *Sarajevo*, p. 20. As we saw in the case of Hüsrev-bey and others, many Ottoman officials were actually native Bosnians or other Southern Slavs who rose in the Ottoman bureaucracy and were being sent back to govern their countrymen from as early as 1488, Malcolm, *Bosnia: a Short History*, p. 46.

⁶³ Freed slaves constituted almost 8% of the population of Sarajevo in 1528, Malcolm, *Bosnia: a Short History*, pp. 66, 67.

⁶⁴ Malcolm, *Bosnia: a Short History*, p. 54.

⁶⁵ Donia, *Sarajevo*, p. 21; Peter Sugar actually gives 100 percent: see Sugar, *Southeastern Europe*, pp. 51, 54.

⁶⁶ Zlatar, *Zlatno doba*, pp. 12, 13.

⁶⁷ Donia, *Sarajevo*, p. 14.

⁶⁸ Hatidža Čar, "Nemuslimansko stanovništvo Sarajeva u sedamnaestom stoljeću" [The non-Muslim population of Sarajevo in the seventeenth century], in *Prilozi historiji Sarajeva*, ed. Dževad Juzbašić, p. 86.

⁶⁹ Donia, *Sarajevo*, pp. 14, 15. According to Malcolm, the first Orthodox church in Sarajevo was built in the mid-16th century, Malcolm, *Bosnia: a Short History*, p. 71.

Bosnia, it had largely disappeared, due to conversion and the flight of its remaining members abroad on the eve of the Ottoman conquest.⁷⁰

The period of Sarajevo's flowering coincides with the coming of the Jews to the city. Their community was probably established shortly before 972/1565, the earliest year of their presence on record. These Spanish-speaking Jews lived in their own quarter, centred on the synagogue.⁷¹

The position of Ottoman subjects in society was defined by belonging to a particular religious community (*millet*). Each community enjoyed a degree of self-government headed by their religious leaders. In exchange for the protection of their lives, property and freedom of religious practice, Jews and Christians were required to pay a poll-tax (*cizye*).⁷² At the same time, public spaces (e.g. the market place) were common to all, making possible interaction and the formation of relationships between members of the different communities, as attested by documents found in the court registers.

In accordance with Ottoman urban planning practice, the city was divided into two parts. The first comprised the business area and major public buildings, which were usually surrounded by scores of shops, often grouped together by profession. Then there were the residential areas (*maḥallas*), often crystallized around a smaller mosque, church or synagogue. Between 866/1462 and 922/1516, the number of *maḥallas* increased five-fold, so that, by the end of the 10th/16th century, the city had about 100 of them.⁷³

The Ottoman population was broadly divided into two groups: the '*askerī* (the political class) and the *re'āya* (tax-paying subjects). Apart from soldiers and high-ranking officials, the political class also included kadis (judges), *muftis* (juriconsults), *madrasa* teachers, and mosque imams. They were exempted from taxation on account of the services they rendered. The second class consisted of merchants, artisans and peasants who paid taxes.⁷⁴ This division did not necessarily correspond to the religious divide between Muslims and non-Muslims. Some early cavalrymen (*sipāhis*) were Christians and there were Muslim

⁷⁰ Malcolm, *Bosnia: a Short History*, p. 41.

⁷¹ Donia, *Sarajevo*, p. 15.

⁷² Stanford J. Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey, vol. I: Empire of the Ghazis: the Rise and Decline of the Ottoman Empire, 1280-1808* (Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 58, 59, 61, 151-153.

⁷³ Zlatar, *Zlatno doba*, pp. 17, 18, 38, 41.

⁷⁴ Halil İnalcik, "The Ottoman State: Economy and Society, 1300-1600" in *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire, volume 1: 1300-1600*, eds. Halil İnalcik with Donald Quataert, p. 16.

peasants.⁷⁵ Christians who performed auxiliary military and public tasks such as manning the fortified guardhouses (*derbents*) set up for the protection of roads, bridges and road inns were exempt from taxes.⁷⁶ There were also some groups that did not belong to either class. One was the residents of towns like Sarajevo, whose tax-free status goes back to the time of Mehmed the Conqueror as a reward to its citizens for assisting in the Ottoman conquest of Bosna.⁷⁷ The tax-free status was extended to Christians and Jews who worked as artisans, though presumably they still had to pay the poll-tax (*cizye*).⁷⁸

1.3 A Centre of Politics, Commerce and Culture

On its foundation, Sarajevo immediately became the seat of the new territorial unit, the Bosnian *sanjak*. It was also the centre of the township (*kadılık*) of Sarajevo. The preeminent position of the Sarajevo kadi was later further enhanced, when he was granted the title of *mollā* (higher ranking judge).⁷⁹ In 987-88/1580, the various sanjaks on the territory of the medieval Bosnian kingdom, including the Bosnian sanjak centred on Sarajevo, were united into a single province (*eyālet*) of Bosnia under a governor (*beylerbey*). This territory included parts of present day Serbia, Montenegro, and Croatia.⁸⁰

From 960-1048/1553-1639, the Bosnian governor resided in the town of Banja Luka. The seat then returned to Sarajevo for a while, before being transferred in 1110/1699 to the town of Travnik, where it stayed until 1266/1850. The transfer of the provincial capital did not diminish Sarajevo's leading position, however, and its elite continued to exert a major

⁷⁵ In 1469, out of 135 sipahi *timars* in the Bosnian *sanjak*, 111 belonged to Christian sipahis. But by 1485, there were only 35 Christian feudal lords, as against 293 Muslim ones, Zlatar, *Zlatno doba*, p. 95.

⁷⁶ Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*, vol. I, pp. 128, 129.

⁷⁷ Zlatar, *Zlatno doba*, p.18; Malcolm, *Bosnia: a Short History*, p. 91.

⁷⁸ Zlatar, *Zlatno doba*, pp. 96, 97, where Zlatar also mentions a *mu'āfnāma*, a royal charter exempting the city inhabitants from taxes. One acquired the status of burgher of Sarajevo by birth or after 10 years of residence, Zlatar, *Zlatno doba*, p. 97. For more on the role of *mu'āfnāmas* in the development of towns in Ottoman Bosnia, see: Adem Handžić, "Značaj muafijeta u razvitku gradskih naselja u Bosni u XVI vijeku" [The significance of the muafijet in the development of urban settlements in Bosnia in the 16th century], *Jugoslavenski istorijski časopis* 1-2 (1974), pp. 60-69.

⁷⁹ According to Zlatar, the only other kadis in the Ottoman Balkans to receive the status of *mollā* were the kadis of Belgrade, Sofia and Edirne, Zlatar, *Zlatno doba*, p. 98. On the role of the Sarajevo *mollā* see: Azra Gadžo-Kasumović, "Mulla u Bosanskom ejaletu" [The Mollā in the Bosnian eyalet] *Analiz* XXVII-XXVIII (2008), pp. 5-67.

⁸⁰ Malcolm, *Bosnia: a Short History*, p. 50.

influence on the affairs of the province.⁸¹ Given its tax-free status and measure of autonomy, some historians have gone so far as to consider Ottoman-era Sarajevo a city-state.⁸²

The Bosnian governors had their own provincial court, made up of various officials. These included a personal secretary (*serkātibi*), the keeper of the seal (*mühürdār*), scribes (*divān kātibi*), translators and interpreters.⁸³ From the 10th/16th century, Sarajevo also hosted the keeper of the cadastral registers and archives (*defter-i emīn*).⁸⁴ Being the centre of regional administration, at least during some periods of its history, undoubtedly contributed to Sarajevo's growth.⁸⁵

Ottoman conquest unified the Balkans, bringing economic stability and creating a large market. Sarajevo's prosperity was facilitated by its role as a transit point on the major trade route that linked Bursa, Istanbul and Edirne with the Adriatic port-city of Dubrovnik (Ragusa).⁸⁶ In exchange for an annual tribute and acceptance of Ottoman suzerainty, Dubrovnik was guaranteed freedom of trade throughout the Empire. Between 802/1400 and 1008-09/1600, the mercantile city-state served as a vital trading channel between Ottoman Balkans and Europe, especially Italy. From the Balkans, Dubrovnik merchants exported leather, fats, wool, cheese, fish, honey, beeswax, furs and slaves, while importing textiles

⁸¹ Donia, *Sarajevo*, pp. 23, 25; Zlatar, *Zlatno doba*, p. 100. It seems to have been chosen as provincial capital for its proximity to Venetian Dalmatia, see: Halil İnalcik, "Dubrovnik and the Balkans", p. 265. The governor's seat was moved to Travnik after the devastation of Sarajevo during the Ottoman-Habsburg war of 1094-1110/1683-1699.

⁸² Sugar, *Southeastern Europe*, p. 87; Malcolm, *Bosnia: a Short History*, p. 68.

⁸³ Zlatar, *Zlatno doba*, p. 93.

⁸⁴ Zlatar, *Zlatno doba*, p. 100. A "council of notables" (*meclis-i āyan*) was formed in Sarajevo in 1565. Its members were influential individuals, who met to discuss matters of public interest. Ahmed S. Aličić, "Uloga Sarajeva u političkom životu Bosne i Hercegovine za vrijeme osmanske vlasti" p. 72. Aličić does not provide references for his claim, beyond stating that the memory of the council survives in oral literature and is "an institution well known today only to a limited number of experts", *ibid*.

⁸⁵ Zlatar, *Zlatno doba*, p. 34.

⁸⁶ For the development of Ottoman-Dubrovnik relations see: Ivan Božić, *Dubrovnik i Turska u XIV i XV veku* [Dubrovnik and Turkey in the 14th and 15th centuries] (Beograd: Srpska akademija nauka, 1952); Nicolaas H. Biegan, *The Turco-Ragusan Relationship According to the Firmans of Murad III (1575-1595) Extant in the State Archives of Dubrovnik* (The Hague-Paris: Mouton, 1967); Vuk Vinaver, *Dubrovnik i Turska u XVIII veku* [Dubrovnik and Turkey in the 18th century] (Beograd: Srpska akademija nauka, 1960).

and woollen cloth from Italy. They supplied Bosnia with salt and the key material for book culture - paper.⁸⁷

Sarajevo's dependence on Dubrovnik decreased after the opening of the port of Split in Venetian Dalmatia in 1000/1592. Consequently, its role as one of the leading regional commercial centres increased, so that "by this time, Sarajevo had become the main commercial centre of all the Western Balkans."⁸⁸ In addition to those from Dubrovnik, Sarajevo had colonies of merchants from Venice and Florence⁸⁹ and attracted merchants from Belgrade, Sofia and Skopje.⁹⁰

The heart of Sarajevo's economic life was its artisans and merchants, organized into guilds that regulated the training of novices and represented their members' interests. The largest guilds were those engaged in making the leather and metal products associated with the everyday needs of the populace: saddlers (*sarrāc*), tanners (*debbāġ*), shoe-merchants (*ħaffāf*), tailors (*terzi*), blacksmiths (*ķazancı*), etc.⁹¹ Guilds were also important in supplying the Ottoman army and cavalymen who acted as patrons of individual shops.⁹²

The guilds' role extended beyond their economic activities. Known as *Aḥī* brotherhoods, they acted as semi-Šūfī associations which sought to imbue their members with the ideals of chivalry (Arabic: *futuwwa*; Turkish: *fütüvvet*) and in that way strengthened social solidarity.⁹³ While some guilds were monopolized by Muslims, there were others, such as the goldsmiths (*ķuyuncu*), whose members came from all three communities, i.e. Muslim,

⁸⁷ Halil İnalçık, "Dubrovnik and the Balkans", pp. 256, 258-260, 264. For more on paper as a source of book-making, see the next chapter: *Sarajevo and Its Book Culture 1109-1244/1697-1828*.

⁸⁸ İnalçık, "Dubrovnik and the Balkans", p. 236, 265. "Bosnian merchants appeared as competitors of the Ragusans in the internal Balkan trade also. By the end of the sixteenth century, they had replaced the Ragusans in Serbia in such trade centres as Belgrade, Prokuplje and Novibazar. In the mid-seventeenth century Sarajevo almost completely replaced Dubrovnik in the export of skins and wax", *ibid.* p. 266. See also Zlatar, *Zlatno doba*, pp. 164-178.

⁸⁹ Zlatar, *Zlatno doba*, pp. 172, 173

⁹⁰ İnalçık, "Dubrovnik and the Balkans", p. 265.

⁹¹ Zlatar, *Zlatno doba*, pp. 149, 158.

⁹² Donia, *Sarajevo*, p. 22.

⁹³ Zlatar, *Zlatno doba*, pp. 146-148. For more on Bosnian guilds and *futuwwa* see: Ines Aščerić-Todd "The Noble Traders: the Islamic Tradition of 'Spiritual Chivalry' (*futuwwa*) in Bosnian Trade Guilds (16th-19th Centuries)" in *The Muslim World* 97/2 (2007), pp. 159-173.

Christian, and Jewish.⁹⁴ Remarkably enough, the majority of Sarajevo's male population were artisans and merchants.

Travel accounts from the 11th/17th century offer a picture of a flourishing city. Visiting in 1070/1660, Evliya Çelebi wrote that there are many cities in the world with the word *sarāy* in their name, but Sarajevo surpasses them all as the most advanced, beautiful and lively.⁹⁵ He adds: "As the climate is here fine, the people have a rosy complexion. There are mountain pastures on all four sides of the town, and much running water. Because of that, the population is strong and healthy. There are even more than a thousand elderly people...who have lived more than 70 years."⁹⁶ Similarly flattering reports were left by Western visitors.⁹⁷

1.4 The Reversal of Fortunes⁹⁸

Towards the end of the 10th/16th century, the Ottomans suffered their first military defeats at sea (Lepanto in 979/1571) and on land (Sisak in 1001/1593). For a city whose fortunes were linked to the Empire's military success, these were early harbingers of change.⁹⁹

The military setbacks were coupled with signs of internal weakness. In 997/1589, the Janissaries revolted because of being paid in debased coin. At the same time, a major social shift was under way. The Ottoman Empire was a feudal military polity based on the so-called *timar* system, in which feudal lords were granted tenure in exchange for military service. A process of deterioration of the old feudal system had, however, set in, with the gradual conversion of tenured land into hereditary property. The result was the emergence of a landed nobility which asserted its power by challenging the imperial centre, ushering in the "age of notables."¹⁰⁰

Changes in the nature of warfare made the once formidable Ottoman feudal cavalry increasingly redundant against the Porte's European adversaries whose armies were

⁹⁴ Zlatar, *Zlatno doba*, p. 152.

⁹⁵ Evlija Čelebi, *Putopis: odlomci o jugoslovenskim zemljama* [Book of travels: passages on Yugoslav lands] translated, edited and commented upon by Hazim Šabanović (Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša, 1979), p. 122. For a discussion of his account, see: Donia, *Sarajevo*, p. 14.

⁹⁶ Malcolm, *Bosnia: a Short History*, p. 96.

⁹⁷ Malcolm, *Bosnia: a Short History*, p. 96; Zlatar, *Zlatno doba*, p. 160.

⁹⁸ Donia uses the expression: "the Reversal of Ottoman Fortunes", *Sarajevo*, p. 23.

⁹⁹ Donia, *Sarajevo*, pp. 23, 25.

¹⁰⁰ Donia, *Sarajevo*, pp. 23, 24.

dominated by modern infantry and artillery.¹⁰¹ Bringing Ottoman forces up to date required the creation of a regular army, whose salary would be provided by raising revenues. Not surprisingly, new taxes caused bitterness and discontent.¹⁰²

In Bosnia itself, the Muslim peasants of the Sarajevo area rioted in protest against injustices and the abuse of power by officials. In 1045-46/1636, a group of them revolted over the introduction of taxes known as *bedel-i şeyka*, looted the courthouse and killed a court official (*muhzir*). In 1060/1650, several people died during a rebellion against an attempt to collect cash (*seymen akçesi*) by force from Sarajevans. A major social uprising took place in 1093/1682, when the Sarajevo courthouse was ransacked and the kadi and his deputy killed.¹⁰³

During the 11th/17th century, the Ottomans went to war against their European adversaries on a regular basis (against the Habsburgs in the Long War of 1001-1015/1593-1606 and the wars of 1073/1663 and 1094-1111/1683-1699) and against Venice in the War of Candia (Crete) 1055-1080/1645-1669. The war of 1001-1015/1593-1606 exacted a heavy financial and military toll on Bosnia. The loss of territory in Hungary, Slavonia and Dalmatia made Bosnia a militarily vulnerable frontier province and some 130,000 Muslims fled the lost territories and crossed into Bosnia.¹⁰⁴

It was the Great War of 1094-1111//1683-1699, however, that cast the longest shadow on the province, when the devastating siege and burning of Sarajevo in 1109/1697 by the Habsburg general, Prince Eugene of Savoy, brought the city to the lowest point in its history up to that point.

1.5 The Sack of 1697 and its Aftermath

On Şafar 24, 1109/September 11, 1697, in the final years of the war against the Habsburgs, the Ottomans suffered a crushing defeat at the battle of Zenta in southern Hungary.¹⁰⁵ The

¹⁰¹ Malcolm, *Bosnia: a Short History*, p. 82.

¹⁰² Malcolm, *Bosnia: a Short History*, p. 83.

¹⁰³ Avdo Sućeska, "Sarajevo u bunama 17. i 18. stoljeća" [Sarajevo during the uprisings of the 17th and 18th centuries] in *Prilozi historiji Sarajeva*, ed. Dževad Juzbašić, p. 78.

¹⁰⁴ Malcolm, *Bosnia: a Short History*, pp. 83, 84,

¹⁰⁵ Noel Malcolm, *Bosnia: a Short History*, p. 84; *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire*, vol. 2: 1600-1914, eds. Halil İnalcik with Donald Quataert, p. 429. The defeat was so devastating that, on hearing the news, the Bosnian governor Korça Gāzī Meḥmed-pasha is said to have died of sorrow. The casualties on the Ottoman side included the grand vizier Almas Meḥmed-pasha and as many as eighteen *beylerbeys* (vizier or governor),

defeat came in the wake of the disastrous siege of Vienna of 1094/1683 (also known as the second siege of Vienna), which turned into a rout of the Ottoman army. The victorious Habsburg forces were commanded by the newly-appointed general, Prince Eugene of Savoy, who then led about 6,000 of his soldiers into Bosnia, pushing deep into the province, until, about a month later, he reached the outskirts of Sarajevo.¹⁰⁶ The general sent messengers with three letters - one written in German, one in Turkish and one in Serbian (*raizisch*) - calling for peaceful surrender, but also threatening retribution for resistance.¹⁰⁷ When one messenger was killed and another so badly wounded that he barely escaped with his life, the general first let his soldiers plunder the city and then, on the night of the Rabi' al-Awwal 7, 1109/October 23, 1697, set fire to the city. The opening stanzas of a poem by an unknown Sarajevan composed in Ottoman Turkish describe the ensuing tragedy:

*Austrian infidels came with an army,
they came and burned the beautiful city of Sarajevo.
They drove away the people like sheep,
they came and burned the beautiful city of Sarajevo.*

*The Austrians burned a thousand muşhafs¹⁰⁸ and countless books,
they burned mosques, ravaged mihrabs,¹⁰⁹*

Muḥammad Handžić, "Sarajevo u turskoj pjesmi" [Sarajevo in Turkish poetry] in: *Izabrana djela, I* [Selected works], p. 478. Buda fell earlier (13 Shawwāl 1097/2 September 1686). The victorious Habsburgs plundered the city. Count Marsigli sought out the famous library of Mathias Corvinus and found many precious manuscripts which are now kept at the Bologna University Library. See: Hamdija Hajdarhodžić, "Lujigji Ferdinando Marsilji i jugoslavenske zemlje od 1679. do 1684. (Ulomak iz veće cjeline)" [Lujigji Ferdinando Marsilji and the Yugoslav lands from 1679 to 1684 (part of a larger unit)], *Anali VII-VIII*, pp. 241-251. On the life and career of Marsigli see: John Stoye, *Marsigli's Europe, 1680-1730: the Life and Times of Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli, Soldier and Virtuoso* (Yale University Press, 1993). For the Marsigli collection in Bologna see: Viktor Romanovich Rozen, *Remarques sur les manuscrits orientaux de la collection Marsigli à Bologne, suivies de la liste complète des manuscrits arabes de la meme collection* (Nabu Press, 2011). Stjepan Beigl "Spisi grofa Marsiljija (Marsigli) u sveučilišnoj biblioteci u Bolonji (Bologna)" [The documents of Count Marsigli in the Bologna University Library] *GZM knjiga 3* (1901), pp. 537-564.

¹⁰⁶ Malcolm, *Bosnia: a Short History*, p. 84.

¹⁰⁷ Vladislav Skarić, *Sarajevo i njegova okolina od najstarijih vremena do austro-ugarske okupacije* [Sarajevo and its environs from earliest times until the Austro-Hungarian occupation] (Sarajevo, 1937), pp. 110-112.

¹⁰⁸ *Muşhaf* = a written copy of the Qur'an. For more see: Harald Motzki, "Muşhaf", *Encyclopaedia of the Qur'an*, III, ed. by Jane Dammen McAuliffe (Brill: Leiden, Boston, 2003), pp. 463-466.

¹⁰⁹ *Mihrāb* = the central prayer niche in the mosque.

*They burned the whole city, from end to end,
they came and burned the beautiful city of Sarajevo.*¹¹⁰

Hundreds of Sarajevans were captured and taken away and many buildings destroyed.¹¹¹ Some were never restored, among them the city's oldest *madrasa*.¹¹² The lines quoted above are noteworthy for highlighting the loss of many books. The books kept in private homes must have fared particularly badly, given that houses were made of wood and plaster and very few buildings were constructed from stone. Not all books were necessarily claimed by fire, however, as some were taken as war booty for the libraries of Bologna and Vienna. The Sarajevo court registers for the preceding centuries are, however, thought to have perished in the burning of the city.¹¹³

Sarajevo had suffered a similar fate once before, in 884-85/1480, when Hungarian forces burned it down.¹¹⁴ But that was another age and Sarajevo still a small, newly-established settlement within a powerful, expanding empire. The sack of 1109/1697 took place towards the end of the Great War (1094-1111/1683-1699), with the Ottomans in retreat.

¹¹⁰ نمچه کافر عسکر ابله یوروبوب/کلدی یاقدی کوزل شهر سراپی/قیون کیی انساننی سورویوب/کلدی یاقدی کوزل شهر سراپی/نمچه بک
مصحفلر حسابتسز کتابی/یاقدی هم جامعلریبیقدی محرابی/هپ اوجدن اوجه شهری ایتدی خرابی/کلدی یاقدی کوزل شهر سراپی.
Mehmed H. Handžić, "Sarajevo u turskoj pjesmi", in *Izabrana djela, I*, p. 480; cf. Donia, *Sarajevo*, p. 24. For a very
similar text in verse, see: Amina Šiljak-Jesenković, "Motivi u pjesmama o Sarajevu na turskom jeziku"
[Sarajevo motifs in Turkish language poems], in *Pola Milenija Sarajeva* [Sarajevo's half-millennium], pp. 163-
164.

¹¹¹ The same poem continues: "They herded men like sheep, shedding bloody tears from their eyes. They imprisoned and ruined many a man, and even girls, heavenly beauties with faces that saw neither sun nor moon, were driven barefoot and bareheaded from their happy lives and sent as presents to the king". A Bosnian Franciscan chronicler puts it tersely, but chillingly: "1697: Prince Eugene plundered Bosnia and many other places along the Bosnia river. He took many slaves and untold booty. And he struck fear into everyone in Bosnia", Nikola Lašvanin, *Ljetopis*, ed. Ignacije Gavran (Sarajevo, Zagreb: Synopsis, 2003), p. 201. Many Bosnian Catholics left with the retreating Habsburg army, Ivan Lovrenović, *Bosnia: a Cultural History* (London: Saqi, 2001), p. 130.

¹¹² This was the case with the Firuz-bey *madrasa*. Its charter has not survived, but some information about it is still to be found in Šālih ḥāj Ḥusaynzāde Muwaqqit's *Tārīkh-i Bosna* (History of Bosnia). For Firuz-bey's charters for various buildings in Anatolia, Istanbul and Serbia and for his water supply system in Sarajevo, see: Klaus Schwarz and Hars Kurio, "Fīrūz beg. Sanğaqbeg von Bosnien im Lichte seiner Stiftungsurkunde", *POF* 32-33 (1984), pp. 115-127.

¹¹³ Mehmed H. Handžić, "Sarajevo u turskoj pjesmi", p. 200, n. 2.

¹¹⁴ Malcolm, *Bosnia: a Short History*, p. 67.

Ending in 1111/1699 with the Treaty of Karlowitz, this war resulted in major territorial gains for the Habsburgs (Hungary and Transylvania) and Venice (parts of Dalmatia and Greece),¹¹⁵ while the Ottoman province of Bosnia consequently shrank significantly.

The next Ottoman war against Venice and the Habsburgs was fought in 1126/1714 and it ended with the Treaty of Passarowitz in 1130/1718. The Ottomans were forced to give up Bosnian territory south of the Sava River, as well as ceding land to the southwest of the province in Dalmatia to Venice.¹¹⁶ While the border with Venice would subsequently remain unchanged, the land along the Sava was recovered after the battle of Banja Luka in 1150/1737, at which the largely Bosnian Ottoman forces routed a Habsburg army. The battle was decisive for the terms of the Treaty of Belgrade of 1152/1739, which brought a welcome respite from war with immediate neighbours that would last well into the 12th/18th century. Ottoman Bosnia's new borders with the Habsburg Empire would remain fixed right up to the end of Ottoman rule.¹¹⁷ Even as the borders stayed quiet, however, Bosnia's position remained precarious, as the western-most province of the Empire, perilously wedged between two hostile powers.

Peace with immediate neighbours did not mean an end to war for the Bosnian population, however. Thousands of men continued to die in distant campaigns (against Russia in 1123/1711 and Iran in 1135-1140/1723-1727).¹¹⁸ Moreover, during the 12th/18th century, the Bosnian population also suffered from frequent outbreaks of plague, claiming as many as 20,000 lives in the 1730s.¹¹⁹ But the overall Bosnian population increased, especially its

¹¹⁵ Malcolm, *Bosnia: a Short History*, p. 85. As he notes, at this point, the Ottomans also lost Transylvania to the Habsburgs and territories in Greece to Venice. For more on the effects of the treaty on the Ottoman Empire see Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*, vol. I, pp. 223-225.

¹¹⁶ During this war, Prince Eugène of Savoy waged another successful battle against the Ottomans in 1716 at Petrovaradin, in northern Serbia. See Malcolm, *Bosnia: a Short History*, pp. 85, 86. The person responsible for demarcating the border on the Habsburg side was the above-mentioned Count Marsigli.

¹¹⁷ Malcolm, *Bosnia: a Short History*, p. 86. For more on the battle see: Michael Robert Hickok, *Ottoman Military Administration in Eighteenth Century Bosnia* (Brill: Leiden, New York, Boston, 1997), pp. 1-36.

¹¹⁸ Malcolm, *Bosnia: a Short History*, p. 95.

¹¹⁹ Malcolm, *Bosnia: a Short History*, p. 86.

Christian component,¹²⁰ so that, by the end of the 13th/19th century, the population of Sarajevo was estimated at between 40 and 45,000 souls.¹²¹

As a consequence of the territorial losses, the Bosnian *pashalik* (a province governed by a pasha) was reorganized to comprise five *sanjaks* (districts).¹²² Each sanjak was in turn divided into *kadılıks* (townships), which were further subdivided into *nāhiyes* (subdistricts). The Sarajevo *kadılık* (sometimes also referred as the *mollalık*, since the chief kadi of Sarajevo also bore the title of *mollā*) incorporated the following *nāhiyes*: Saraj, Visoko, Fojnica, Kreševo, Vareš, Neretva, and Prozor.¹²³ Sarajevo remained the centre of the Sarajevo *nāhiye* and of the Sarajevo *kadılık*, but was no longer the provincial capital. As already mentioned, the seat of the Ottoman governor had been transferred to Travnik in central Bosnia around 1114/1703, where it remained until 1266/1850. The move hardly diminished the central political position of Sarajevo in the affairs of the province, however. This was symbolically acknowledged by the custom whereby the new governor had to ask for formal permission to enter the city, in which he could not stay for more than three days.¹²⁴

There is no doubt that the Sack of 1109/1697 cast a long shadow over the city. Sarajevo did not fully recover, either in terms of population or prosperity, until the end of the Ottoman

¹²⁰ Malcolm, *Bosnia: a Short History*, p. 95.

¹²¹ Bruce McGowan, "Population and Migration" in *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire*, II, eds. Halil İnalcik with Donald Quataert, p. 653. Malcolm, however, puts the figure at 60,000 in 1807. In any case, Sarajevo continued to be the largest town in South Slavic lands. In comparison, in 1816, Belgrade's population was 25-30,000 inhabitants. Population estimates for other major Balkan towns were: Sofia 70,000, Plovdiv (Filibe) 50,000, Ruse (Ruşçuk) 30,000, and Şumen 30,000. The figures for the Bulgarian towns may be somewhat exaggerated, *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire*, II, eds. Halil İnalcik with Donald Quataert, p. 653. By the end of the 18th century, Salonica had 60-70,000, Shkodra 60,000, Elbasan 30,000, *ibid*, pp. 653, 654. Donia puts the population figure for Sarajevo at around 21,000. According to Basheski's *Chronicle*, the non-Muslim *re'āya* constituted less than 1/15 of the population of Sarajevo and its *nāhiye* in 1202/1787-88; *MMB*, fol. 55b; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 187.

¹²² Šabanović, *Bosanski pašaluk*, pp. 229-231. The loss of territory is reflected in new names for two *kadılıks*: Beğiye-i Kostajnica and Beğiye-i Nova, *ibid*.

¹²³ Šabanović, *Bosanski pašaluk*, p. 229.

¹²⁴ Donia, *Sarajevo*, p. 23. Sarajevo usually spearheaded resistance to the Porte and the position it adopted influenced the reaction of other Bosnian towns, Malcolm, *Bosnia: a Short History*, pp. 91, 92. The city's continued pre-eminence may also be seen from the fact that "the Orthodox Metropolitan of Bosnia acquired an official residence in Sarajevo in 1699", Malcolm, *Bosnia: a Short History*, p. 98.

era.¹²⁵ It sought to rebuild itself as best it could, nonetheless, and one of the first measures was to build fortifications against future attacks.¹²⁶

The Treaty of Belgrade of 1152/1739 ushered in a period of peace which lasted until the so-called Dubica War in 1202/1788. The war broke out following the failed Austrian attempt on the little Bosnian town of Dubica in northern Bosnia. After a five month siege, the Austrians returned the following year and managed to break into Bosnia and even conquer most of it. But diplomatic pressure exerted by other great powers forced them to hand back their gains.¹²⁷ The Austrian military threat to Bosnia was temporarily removed in 1219/1805, when, during the Napoleonic wars, the French seized Dubrovnik and Austrian-held Dalmatia. In 1224/1809, the French expanded their border with Ottoman Bosnia, following their capture of parts of western Croatia. By 1228/1813, however, the French had left and the Austrians recovered lost territories.¹²⁸

Territorial losses to clearly superior European armies forced the Ottomans to reform their military. This meant replacing the Janissary corps with a standing army along European lines. Unsurprisingly, the new policy was met with stiff resistance. Among Bosnian Muslims, there was general dissatisfaction with the Ottoman authorities after a century of wars, increased taxation and insecurity. The Porte's inability to protect what they considered to be their way of life against increasingly restless *re'āya* (tax-paying population) deepened the sense of vulnerability. The great Serbian uprisings in 1218-1228/1804-1813 and 1231/1815 in the neighbouring Belgrade *pashalik* and the ensuing expulsion of Serbian Muslims created a sense of betrayal and only hardened resistance to

¹²⁵ Donia, *Sarajevo*, p. 47. Kreševljaković, *Esnafi i obrti*, p. 24 (quoted by Enes Pelidija); Pelidija, "O privredi Sarajeva u 18. stoljeću", pp. 94, 95. Vladislav Skarić is the only historian who argues that Sarajevo regained the same level of economic development within 10-15 years of the siege, Skarić, *Sarajevo*, p.134 (also quoted in Pelidija's "O privredi Sarajeva", pp. 94, 95). Pelidija claims to agree with Kreševljaković, but then on p. 96 writes about "a quick recovery of the Sarajevo economy" after 1699. It could still impress visitors. Thus, in 1839 a visiting Croat traveller from the Habsburg Empire wrote that "Sarajevo is an enormous city", Matija Mažuranić, *A Glance into Ottoman Bosnia, or A Short Journey into that Land by a Native in 1839-40*, translated by Branka Magaš (London: Saqi in association with The Bosnian Institute, 2007), p. 48.

¹²⁶ Donia, *Sarajevo*, p. 26.

¹²⁷ Malcolm, *Bosnia: a Short History*, p. 87.

¹²⁸ On several occasions the French crossed the border mainly to check the raiders coming from Bosnia, a regular feature of life on the frontier, and also to interfere in a power dispute between Muslim feudal lords in Herzegovina. On this see: Malcolm, *Bosnia: a Short History*, p. 88.

the Porte's new policies. Facing this rebellious attitude on the part of the Bosnian notables, the Porte sent a series of punitive expeditions with, however, limited success. The heavy-handed approach adopted by the governor, Jalāl al-dīn pasha, prompted the Bosnian 'ālim (scholar) 'Abd al-Wahhāb Ilhāmī (d. 1236/1821) to compose a poem of protest that would cost him his life.

In 1241/1826, Sultan Maḥmūd II announced the creation of a new military corps. The Janissaries revolted, but, thanks to the support of loyal soldiers, the sultan was able to defeat them. In Sarajevo, the conflict between the Janissaries and the Porte reached a new low point, when an angry mob killed a government supporter.¹²⁹

Opposition to the Porte's centralizing policies produced another, rather more effective rebellion, under the leadership of the charismatic Ḥusayn Gradaščević, a feudal lord and a military border governor (Turkish: *kapūdān*; Bosnian: *kapetan*) from northern Bosnia. The immediate cause of the uprising was the Treaty of Edirne in 1245/1829, under which the Porte ceded six Bosnian subdistricts (*nāḥīyes*) to the newly-autonomous Serbian principality. Gradaščević's main demands, however, were for autonomy for Bosnia, an end to reforms, and for future Bosnian governors to be appointed from among the Bosnian notables (starting with his own appointment to the post).¹³⁰ At first he met with some success, as his troops seized the provincial seat of the Ottoman governor in Travnik. Initially, the Porte appeared willing to accept his demands, but that was only a ploy for time intended to divide the Bosnian camp, in which it eventually succeeded.¹³¹ Ḥusayn Gradaščević was seriously weakened and by 1248/1832 had to flee the country. His rebellion came to an end, but it would be some decades before the resistance by the Bosnian notables would finally be crushed.

¹²⁹ Donia, *Sarajevo*, p. 28.

¹³⁰ Malcolm, *Bosnia: a Short History*, p. 121.

¹³¹ Malcolm, *Bosnia: a Short History*, p. 121. For a recent study of Ḥusayn Gradaščević's rebellion based on central government archives see: Fatma Sel Turhan, "The rebellious kapudan of Bosnia: Hüseyin Kapudan (1802-1834)", *Osmanlı araştırmaları: the Journal of Ottoman Studies* 44 (2014), pp. 457-474. The author challenges the prevailing view in Bosnian historiography, which generally sees his rebellion as a proto-nationalist movement. On this see the review paper on Aličić's *Pokret za autonomiju*, by Robert J. Donia, "The New Bosniak History", *Nationalities Papers* 28/2 (2000), pp. 351-358.

1.6 The Economy: from Crisis to Recovery and Back

As early as the end of the 10th/16th century the Ottoman Empire was undergoing a financial crisis due to sharp devaluation of the *akçe* in 992-994/1584-86, which provoked a Janissary rebellion.¹³² Moreover, from the 10th/16th century, warfare had ceased to benefit the Ottoman economy. Producers were forced to supply the cash-strapped army for little or no compensation. The policy suffocated the more successful producers, who were consequently no longer able to service the army, resulting in military defeats. The stagnating economy and demographic decline both influenced the outcome of the Great War of 1094-1110/1683-1699.¹³³ Nevertheless, Sarajevo's economy picked up during the relatively stable period following the suppression of the ten-year revolt from 1160/1747 to 1170/1757.¹³⁴ The change reflected improving Ottoman economic fortunes up until the second half of the 12th/18th century, when signs of economic decline again became noticeable and "the economic cycle moved from prosperity to depression in 1173-1183/1760-1770."¹³⁵

One of the main social changes to occur in 12th/18th century Bosnia was the increase in the number of Janissaries. Many city-dwellers from among the craftsmen and traders appropriated Janissary status, claiming the privileges which went along with it.¹³⁶ In 1221-22/1807, there were an estimated 78,000 Janissaries in Bosnia, but only 16,000 of them performed any military service.¹³⁷ Sarajevo alone had around 20,000 Janissaries, practically its entire Muslim population.¹³⁸ In Sarajevo, they appointed the chiefs of the city administration, also known as the *ayans*.¹³⁹ Drawing support from the guilds, *sipāhis* and other officials, these *ayans* led the resistance to the central authorities' attempts to curb the

¹³² Suraiya Faroqhi, "Making a Living: Economic Crisis and Partial Recovery", *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire*, vol. II, eds. Halil İnalcık with Donald Quataert, pp. 433, 434.

¹³³ Suraiya Faroqhi, "Making a Living", p. 467; Şevket Pamuk, "Money in the Ottoman Empire, 1326-1914", in *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire*, vol. II, eds. Halil İnalcık with Donald Quataert, pp. 961-966.

¹³⁴ Pelidija, "O privredi Sarajeva", p. 102.

¹³⁵ *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire*, vol. II, eds. Halil İnalcık with Donald Quataert, p. 553.

¹³⁶ As Andre Raymond shows, a similar development is observable in medieval Egypt. See also: Nelly Hanna, *In Praise of Books*, pp. 42, 43.

¹³⁷ Malcolm, *Bosnia: a Short History*, p. 91.

¹³⁸ Malcolm, *Bosnia: a Short History*, p. 91.

¹³⁹ Malcolm, *Bosnia: a Short History*, pp. 91, 92.

power of local notables. In the 12th/18th century, Sarajevo had 31 craft guilds, including the bookbinders, as well as around 10 merchant guilds.¹⁴⁰ It has been estimated that the craft guilds may have numbered as many as 2,000 members.¹⁴¹

After 1109/1697 the Dubrovnik merchants' colony in the city declined in importance. Bosnian merchants had long tried to circumvent Dubrovnik by establishing direct links with Italian cities,¹⁴² with Bosnians travelling to Venice already in the 11th/17th century.¹⁴³ Facing continued competition from its old commercial and shipping rival, Venice, as well as from the rising power of the Dutch, English and French merchants, Dubrovnik had largely lost its once important role in Sarajevo's economy by 1111/1700.¹⁴⁴

1.7 Revolts and Natural Disasters

While Bosnia's borders became peaceful after 1151/1739, internally the province was shaken by a series of revolts caused by tax increases between 1139/1727 and 1181/1768.¹⁴⁵ Muslim peasant revolts had already taken place in the 11th/17th century, three in the Sarajevo *kadılık* itself.¹⁴⁶ During the 12th/18th century, these revolts became bigger and more frequent.¹⁴⁷ The revolt of 1158/1745 even forced the Bosnian governor to flee the province for six months.¹⁴⁸ The Porte managed to regain control in 1181/1768 with the help of a large army.¹⁴⁹ Most of these revolts were launched by Muslims opposed to rising taxes and the loss of

¹⁴⁰ Pelidija, "O privredi Sarajeva", p. 96.

¹⁴¹ Pelidija, "O privredi Sarajeva", p. 96. Some guilds were practically controlled by the Orthodox. This includes the bread-makers (*ekemekçi*), fur-makers (*kürkçü*), saddle-makers (*semerci*), soap-makers (*sabuncu*), and builders (*dülger*). In others they played a significant role, e.g. the goldsmiths. For more on this, see: Pelidija, "O privredi Sarajeva", pp. 96, 97. This is reflected in the prevalence of surnames derived from these occupations among the Orthodox Serbs, e.g. *Ekmečić*, *Čurčić*, *Kujundžić*, etc.

¹⁴² Pelidija, "O privredi Sarajeva", p. 98.

¹⁴³ Faroqi, *Subjects*, p. 73.

¹⁴⁴ *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire*, vol. II, eds. Halil İnalcik with Donald Quataert, p. 513.

¹⁴⁵ Malcolm, *Bosnia: a Short History*, pp. 86, 87.

¹⁴⁶ Avdo Sućeska, "Sarajevo u bunama", p. 78.

¹⁴⁷ Avdo Sućeska, "Sarajevo u bunama", p. 78.

¹⁴⁸ Malcolm, *Bosnia: a Short History*, p. 86.

¹⁴⁹ Malcolm, *Bosnia: a Short History*, pp. 86, 87. The longest of these was the revolt 1158/1745-1170/1757. Avdo Sućeska, "Sarajevo u bunama", p. 79. One of the leaders of that revolt was a Bosnian kadi, 'Abd al-Raḥmān Muḥarramī, who was later killed. On the cultural aspects of the violence of the period, see: Markus Koller, *Bosnien an der Schwelle zur Neuzeit: eine Kulturgeschichte der Gewalt (1747-1798)* (München: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 2004).

tax privileges.¹⁵⁰ New taxes were intended to finance the Ottoman war effort, but plague and wars seriously depleted the tax-base, which made the tax-burden hard to bear.

Sarajevo also suffered from frequent fires. Basheskī notes that fire destroyed the *muṣḥafs* (copies of the Qur'an) kept inside a Sarajevo *maktab* on 25 Dhū'l-Ḥijja 1193/January 3, 1780.¹⁵¹ Altogether, there were twelve major fires during the 12th/18th century, with those on Rajab 4, 1180/December 6, 1766, and Shawwāl 25, 1202/July 29, 1788, particularly devastating.¹⁵²

As already noted, much of the 12th/18th century was marked by war, rebellion and a growing alienation of the Bosnian Muslim elite from Ottoman rule. Although at no point was the legitimacy of Ottoman rule questioned, opposition to the Porte became serious enough to invite heavy retribution. These events in Bosnia were part of a shift in centre-periphery relations in the Ottoman Empire, as local lords were becoming more assertive and powerful. It is for this reason that the 12th/18th century has come to be known as “the age of the ayans.”¹⁵³

Conclusion

Within a century of its foundation in 866/1462 as a new Ottoman frontier settlement, Sarajevo had grown into a major city in the Ottoman Balkans. Charitable foundations by wealthy Ottoman generals and administrators played a major role in its growth. Its position on the major regional trade route connecting the Adriatic coast with the Ottoman hinterland contributed to its development as a centre of crafts and trade. The city enjoyed tax-free status, attracting settlement from the surrounding countryside. Its position and institutions contributed to the Islamization of the local Slavic Christian population and the Muslim Bosnians became heirs to Ottoman traditions of learning and book culture in Arabic script and in the Arabic, Ottoman Turkish and Persian languages.

¹⁵⁰ Malcolm, *Bosnia: a Short History*, pp. 86, 87–92. Several uprisings took place in Mostar, which remained a hot-bed of opposition until the 1830s.

¹⁵¹ *MMB*, fol. 35b; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 144. In the Bosnian translation Mujezinović gives the date of the fire as 20 Dhū'l-Ḥijja and omits the Hijri year: “20 zilhidže (29.XII.1779)”, *Ljetopis*, p. 179.

¹⁵² Pelidija, “O privredi Sarajeva”, pp. 100, 101.

¹⁵³ Bruce McGowan, “The age of the ayans, 1699–1812” in *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire*, vol. II: 1600–1914, edited by Hali İnalcık with Donald Quataert, pp. 637–742.

During the second half of the 10th/16th century, the Ottoman Empire suffered major military setbacks. As its *timar* system weakened, increased taxation caused dissatisfaction, leading to uprisings against the representatives of the central government. In 1109/1697 Sarajevo was besieged and burnt down by a Habsburg Army, an event accompanied by the loss of many books. Although Sarajevo remained the most important city of Ottoman Bosnia, it had still not fully recovered by the end of the Ottoman era. Ottoman territorial losses caused the Ottoman province of Bosnia to shrink in size. It was now the western-most province of an empire in retreat. During the 12th/18th century, many artisans and traders of Sarajevo claimed Janissary status along with the associated privileges, but without performing military service. The Porte's decision to abolish the Janissary corps across the empire met with particularly stiff resistance in Bosnia. Indeed, the Porte's centralising policies provoked a full-scale uprising, which was finally suppressed in 1248/1832.

Chapter Two: Sarajevo and Its Book Culture, 1109-1244/1697-1828

The present chapter describes various aspects of the city's book culture in the 12th/18th and early 13th/19th century: literacy, reading, manuscript copying, the printed book, education, the informal channels of transmission of knowledge, the use of various languages and the question of censorship. It draws on two types of sources. A major primary source comes in the form of a chronicle written by a Sarajevo scholar and covering the period from 1159/1746 to 1219/1804-5 (discussed in more detail below). There is also the secondary literature on the written culture of Bosnian Muslims during the Ottoman period, which addresses the issues related to book culture rather unevenly, ranging in quality from, for example, an important (albeit somewhat outdated) study on the role of scribes in Bosnian Muslim manuscript culture, on the one hand, and the insufficient attention given to the question of literacy, on the other.

The present chapter is not meant to provide a comprehensive account of all the various aspects of Sarajevo book culture, but to place the findings on book ownership among Sarajevans in the 12th/18th and early 13th/19th centuries into context in the hope of avoiding the trap of generalizing simplification as discussed in the Introduction. It needs to be stressed that this chapter focuses on the book culture as it developed among Bosnian Muslims, both because the majority of book owners registered in the inheritance records were Muslims and because presenting the wider Bosnian book culture, across cultural and religious markers, would transcend the limits of this dissertation.¹⁵⁴ Having said this, I shall refer briefly to examples of overlapping strands in the book culture of the various Bosnian communities.

Periodization has been mentioned above. The time frame chosen represents a distinct period in the history of Sarajevo and Bosnia which lasted from the final years of the Ottoman-Habsburg War of 1094-1110/1683-1699 to the Porte's suppression of the Bosnian autonomist movement of Ĥusayn Gradaščević in 1248/1832. The year 1244/1828 is taken here as the end limit to reflect the importance of the book collection of kadi Šālih Ĥromozāde (bequeathed in 1244/1828) as a case study in book ownership. By that year, the

¹⁵⁴ It is worth noting that Bosnian Franciscan chronicles, most of them from the 18th century, offer a wealth of information about the book culture that flourished within this monastic order.

social and political developments which formed the background to Ĥusayn Gradaščević's movement were already at work.¹⁵⁵

2.1 Sarajevo as a Centre of Learning

The first Muslim South Slav to write poetry in Ottoman Turkish and Persian was Maĥmūd-pasha Anđelović, also known by his sobriquet, 'Adnī.¹⁵⁶ He was born in either Serbia or Macedonia around 822-23/1420 to a Serbian mother and a Greek father. As part of the boy-tribute, he became a member of the retinue of Prince Meĥmed, the future sultan Meĥmed II, participated in the conquest of Constantinople and served as Rumeli chief judge (*kaṣasker*), governor (*beylerbey*) and grand vizier. He also led an Ottoman advance party of 20,000 men against the last Bosnian king before negotiating the king's surrender.¹⁵⁷ The grand vizier Aĥmad-pasha Harsakzāde (d. 923/1517), the son of the powerful Bosnian lord Stjepan Vukčić Kosača and son in law of Bayezid II, was an early poet and statesman of Bosnian origin who wrote poetry in Ottoman Turkish.¹⁵⁸ His son 'Alī-bey Shīrī (d. in the middle of the 10th/16th century) wrote a poem of 2,886 distichs entitled *Tārīkh-i Faṭḥ-i Miṣr* (A History of the Conquest of Egypt), also in Ottoman Turkish.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁵ On the problems of periodization in Ottoman cultural history, see "Regarding Periodization" in Faroqhi, *Subjects of the Sultan*, pp. 16-20. Faroqhi notes that the 18th century remains an understudied period of Ottoman history in general. On the "long eighteenth century (1720-1840)", see: Faroqhi, *Subjects of the Sultan*, pp. 18, 19. It is remarkable that no history of Sarajevo in the 18th century has been written given the availability of sources. Filan's recent study, though not concerned with the history of Sarajevo in the 18th century as such, fills an important gap in. See: Kerima Filan, *Sarajevo u Bašeskijino doba*.

¹⁵⁶ For a comprehensive account on Maĥmūd pasha's life and career, see: Theoharis Stavrides, *The Sultan of Vezirs: the Life and Times of the Ottoman Grand Vezir Mahmud Pasha Angelovic (1453-1474)* (Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2001).

¹⁵⁷ For a copy of his letter in Cyrillic informing Sultan Meĥmed of the fall of the fortress in which the last Bosnian King Stephen Tomašević had sought refuge, see: Lamija Hadžiosmanović et al. *Pisana riječ u Bosni i Hercegovini*, p. 142. His correspondence includes letters in Bosnian Cyrillic to Dubrovnik. Maĥmūd-pasha is best known for his *Dīwān* in Persian. For more on him see: Hazim Šabanović, *Književnost Muslimana BiH na orijentalnim jezicima* (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1973), pp. 39-43.

¹⁵⁸ Adnan Kadrić, "Veliki vezir i pjesnik Ahmed-paša Hercegović u poetiziranim hronikama na osmanskome jeziku (prilog književnoj historiografiji)", *Analiz* XXIX-XXX (2009), pp. 187-204; Adnan Kadrić, "Ahmed-paša Hercegović (1456-1517)", in *Mostarski bulbuli: poezija mostarskih pjesnika na orijentalnim jezicima* [the Mostar nightingales: the poetry of the Mostar poets in Oriental languages] (Mostar, 2012), pp. 68-74.

¹⁵⁹ Kadrić, *Mostarski bulbuli*, pp. 75-85.

By the end of the 11th/17th century, many educated Muslim Bosnians were making their mark as poets, writers and scholars, as well as prominent statesmen and military commanders. Major contributions to literature and scholarship were made by the following:

- Aḥmad Sūdī Būsawī (d. after 1006/1598), whose commentaries on classical works of Persian literature are still in use,¹⁶⁰
- the poet Ḥasan Ḍiyā'ī (died c. 1008/1600),¹⁶¹
- Ḥasan Kāfī al-Aqḥṣārī al-Būsawī (d. 1025/1616), a scholar and kadi best known for his mirror for princes work,¹⁶²
- Darwīsh-pasha Bāyazīd Āghāzāde (d. 1012/1603), a poet and statesman,¹⁶³
- 'Abdallāh al-Būsawī (d. 1054/1644), a commentator on Ibn 'Arabi's *Fuṣuṣ al-ḥikam* (Bezzels of Wisdom),¹⁶⁴
- the historian Peçevī (d. 1601/1650-51),¹⁶⁵ the first Ottoman writer to use western sources in historiography,

¹⁶⁰ Hazim Šabanović, *Književnost muslimana Bosne i Hercegovine na orijentalnim jezicima*, pp. 89-95. Šabanović corrects the year of his death (1005/1596-97), as reported by Mehmed Tāhir in his *'Osmanlı mü'ellifleri, I* (İstānbūl: Maṭbe'e 'Āmire, 1333), p. 324, and Muḥammad Khānjī, in his *al-Jawhar al-asnā' fī tarājīm 'ulamā' wa shu'arā' Bosna* [the Most Precious Jewel of the Biographies of Scholars and Poets of Bosnia], ed. 'Abd al-Fattāh Muḥammad al-Ḥilw (Jīza; 1992/1413), p. 102.

¹⁶¹ Šabanović, *Književnost*, pp. 72-76; Khānjī, *al-Jawhar al-asnā'*, pp. 71-72. Muḥammad Khānjī writes that the year of Ḍiyā'ī's death is unknown.

¹⁶² GAL G II, 443; GAL S II, 659; Khānjī, *al-Jawhar al-asnā'*, pp. 61-71; Šabanović, *Književnost*, pp. 153-192; For Aqḥṣārī's biography see also: Jan Just Witkam, "Ḥasan Kāfī al-Aqḥṣārī and his Niẓām al-'Ulamā' ilā Kātam al-Anbiyā': a facsimile edition of MS Bratislava TF 136, presented, with an annotated index", *Manuscripts of the Middle East* 4 (1989), pp. 85-114.

¹⁶³ Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte der Osmanischen Dichtkunst bis auf unsere Zeit mit einer Blüthenlese aus zweytausend, zweyhundert Dichtern, III*, (Pesth: Conrad Adolph Hartleben's Verlag, 1836-1838), p. 130; Šabanović, *Književnost*, pp. 116-129; Mahmut Ak, "Derviş Paşa Bosnevi", *İA* 9, pp.196, 197.

¹⁶⁴ GAL S II, 793; *ḤKh* II, 1263. Al-Būsawī's commentary on *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam* is sometimes ascribed to Ismā'īl Ḥaqqī Burṣawī (d.1137/1725) as seen from the English translation of the commentary: *Ismail Haki Bursevi's Translation of and commentary on Fusus al-Hikam by Muhyiddin ibn 'Arabi, rendered into English by Bulent Rauf with the help of R. Brass and H. Tollemache, I-IV* (Oxford&Istanbul: Muhyiddin Ibn 'Arabi Society, 1986).

¹⁶⁵ Ibrāhīm Alāybegzāde Peçevī. For more on him see: Šabanović, *Književnost*, pp. 290-316, and Babinger, *Geschichte*, p.192; Erika Hancz, "Peçuylu İbrâhim", *İA* 34, pp. 216-218.

- Aḥmād Rushdī al-Mūstārī (d. 1110/1699-1700), a poet,¹⁶⁶ and
- Muṣṭafā Ayyūbīzāde al-Mūstārī, also known as shaykh Yūyō (d. 1119/1707) who wrote numerous works on Arabic logic and grammar.¹⁶⁷

Notable Sarajevans of the 10th/16th and 11th/17th centuries deserving of special mention include:

- the poet, writer and translator Narkasī (d. 1044/1635),¹⁶⁸
- the poet Nihādī (d. 996/1587-88),¹⁶⁹
- the scholar Muḥammad ‘Allāmak (d. 1046/1636),¹⁷⁰ and
- the Ṣūfī poet Qā’imī (d. 1091/1680).¹⁷¹

Other less famous poets and writers from Sarajevo include Aḥmad Chalabī Sarāylī (lived in the 11th/17th century),¹⁷² Kātibī (d. 1078/1667-68),¹⁷³ Sablatī (born 1073/1662-63),¹⁷⁴ Fawzī (d. 1084/ 1673),¹⁷⁵ Samī’i (d. 1096/1684-85),¹⁷⁶ Kadāyī (d. 1094/1683),¹⁷⁷ Sukkarī (d.

¹⁶⁶ Aḥmad Mūstārī Rushdī al-Ṣaḥḥāf. For more on him see: Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte*, III, p. 586, 587; Šabanović, *Književnost*, pp. 385-389.

¹⁶⁷ Muṣṭafā Yūyī b. Yūsuf b. Murād Ayyūbīzāde al-Mūstārī. For more on him see: Šabanović, *Književnost*, pp. 390-410; Malcolm, *Bosnia: a Short History*, pp. 102, 103.

¹⁶⁸ Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Narkaszāde al-Sarāyī Nargisī. For more on him see: Šabanović, *Književnost*, pp. 226-240; Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte*, III, pp. 229, 300.

¹⁶⁹ Muḥammad Qara Mūsāzāde Nihādī. For more on him see: Šabanović, *Književnost*, pp. 77-81; Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte*, II, pp. 549, 550.

¹⁷⁰ Muḥammad b. Mūsā ‘Allāmak al-Būsawī. For more on him see: Šabanović, *Književnost*, pp.131-151; GAL I, 417; GAL S, 740; HKh VI, 24; Khānjī, *al-Jawhar al-asnā’*, pp. 155-158.

¹⁷¹ Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte*, III, p. 524, 525; Šabanović, *Književnost*, pp. 353-357; Faruqi mentions Qā’imī (Kaimi) as an example that “already in the seventeenth century there were major poets in some Balkan towns writing in the Ottoman”, Faruqi, *Subjects of the Sultan*, p. 39. As we can see, such poets had already emerged.

¹⁷² Šabanović, *Književnost*, p. 220.

¹⁷³ Muṣṭafā Būsawī Kātibī. For more on him see: Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte*, III, p. 473; Šabanović, *Književnost*, pp. 327, 328.

¹⁷⁴ Šabanović, *Književnost*, p. 330.

¹⁷⁵ Muḥammad Fawzī. For more on him see: Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte*, III, p. 493; Šabanović, *Književnost*, pp. 338, 339.

¹⁷⁶ ‘Abd al-Karīm b. Aḥmad Būsawī. For more on him see: Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte*, III, pp. 534, 535; Šabanović, *Književnost*, pp. 358-360.

¹⁷⁷ Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte*, III, p. 529; Šabanović, *Književnost*, pp. 364, 365.

1097/1686),¹⁷⁸ Rashīd Muḥammad Būsnaẓī (died early 12th/18th century), and Muẓaffārī (d. 1155/1721).¹⁷⁹

There were others who were either from Sarajevo, but spent most of their life in Istanbul and other cities, or who came from other parts of Bosnia, but lived in Sarajevo for a while. These two groups include Fā'iz 'Abdallāh (d. 1099/1688-89), Rushdī Aḥmad al-Ṣaḥḥāf (d. 1111/1700), 'Aṣim Yūsuf Chalabī-afandī (d. 1121/1710), the preacher and Mawlawī Ṣūfī Naẓmī Dede (d. 1124/1713), Muḥammad Rifdī (d. 1133/1721), a poet, diplomat and traveller Muṣṭafā Mukhliṣi al-Būsnaẓī (d. after 1162/1749), Shahdī 'Uthmān Qāḍizāde Aqovalı (d. 1182/1769), and Muḥammad b. Yūsuf Chalabī (d. 1183/1770).

2.2 Mullā Muṣṭafā Basheskī and his "Book"

A great deal of what we know about life in Ottoman Sarajevo, particularly during the second half of the 12th/18th century, comes from a narrative source known as *the Chronicle of Mullā Muṣṭafā Basheskī*.¹⁸⁰ The fact that no comparable source for the early 12th/18th century has been preserved should be seen as a reflection of the high rate of the loss of books and documents to wars (such as the siege of Sarajevo of 1109/1697) and fires, rather than any inherent uniqueness of the work. The Sarajevo fires of 4 Rajab 1180/6 December 1766, and Shawwāl 25, 1202/July 29, 1788 were particularly devastating.¹⁸¹ *The Chronicle* manuscript is

¹⁷⁸ Zakariyyā Sukkarī. For more on him see: Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte*, III, p. 536; Šabanović, *Književnost*, p. 367.

¹⁷⁹ Al-ḥāj Ḥusayn Muẓaffārī al-Būsnaẓī al-Sarāyī. For more on him see: Šabanović, *Književnost*, pp. 431-434; Khānjī, *al-Jawhar al-asnā'*, pp. 82, 83.

¹⁸⁰ The standard editions to Basheskī's *Chronicle* have already been cited, namely Mula Muṣṭafā Ševki Bašeskija, *Ljetopis (1764-1804)*, translated from Turkish, introduction and commentary by Mehmed Mujezinović, 2nd supplemented edition (Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša, 1987); Kerima Filan, *Saraybosnalı Molla Muṣṭafā'nın Mecmuası*, ed. by Kerima Filan (Sarajevo: Connectum, 2011). Kerima Filan, a Bosnian scholar, has studied Basheskī's *Chronicle* extensively and has written a number of texts on him, the most comprehensive in English being: Kerima Filan, "Life in Sarajevo in the 18th Century (according to Molla Muṣṭafā's mecmua)" in *Living in the Ecumenical Community: Essays in Honour of Suraiya Faroqhi*, eds. by Vera Constantini and Markus Koller (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2008), pp. 317-345. That article is reproduced with some changes at the end of her transcription of the *Chronicle* manuscript into modern Turkish as "Reading Molla Muṣṭafā Basheskī's Mecmua", pp. 505-531. Basheskī uses the following terms for his *Chronicle*: book (*kitāb*), collection (*majmū'a*) and notebook (*daftar*). The note of the *Chronicle* manuscript's endowment from 1917, possibly written by Meḥmed Shawqī Alajbegović, refers to it as a work of history (*tārīkh*). It is not known who Meḥmed Shawqī Alajbegović was or how he acquired *the Chronicle* manuscript, Filan, "Life in Sarajevo in the 18th Century", pp. 318, 319.

¹⁸¹ Pelidija, "O privredi Sarajeva", pp. 100, 101.

an autograph kept at the Gāzī Hüsrev-bey library.¹⁸² It is a codex, measuring 19×27 cm and comprising 165 folio pages, with leather binding and a rosette on the cover, without a flap jack. The binding is partly separated from the spine. The manuscript paper is of medium thickness, of unclear provenance, generally in good condition, yellow of colour, with several pages having reddish hue (fol. 98b being completely red; fols. 68a, 68b green paper). It is written in black ink, with red ink used in writing years, mainly in the beginning of the ms. On many pages the words *waqf* (endowment) or *waqf mullā Muṣṭafā* (Mulla Muṣṭafā's endowment) are written on the margins in large script. In the beginning the handwriting is small and neat, but later on it becomes larger and less sharp. There are various notes in Ottoman Turkish inside the covers by three different hands, including an anonymous and undated bequest note written vertically in a large hand, that reads: "This history of strange events (*tevārīḥ-i ğarīb*) has been made an endowment (*waqf*) for both commoners and elite by the poor scribe (*kātib*), the late (*marḥūm*) Shawqī mullā Muṣṭafā Basheskī. Recite *al-Fātiḥa* for his soul and the pleasure of God," (fol. 1a).

Basheskī wrote his *Chronicle* in Ottoman Turkish using both *naskh* and *ta'liq* scripts. The writer inserts an occasional word, expression or sentence in Bosnian, or a proverb in Arabic, such as: *mā kutīb qarr wa ma ḥufiẓ farr*, i.e. "What is written remains, what is memorized fades."

The contents of *the Chronicle* are arranged as follows: fol.1a: a list of Ottoman sultans, with the years of accession and length of their reigns in red ink; a pale, illegible note in Ottoman Turkish to the left of the page; the old and barely visible imprint of the square seal of the Gāzī Hüsrev-bey library, in Latin script with the manuscript call number (7340) inscribed in ballpoint-pen; fol. 1b: a list of ancient rulers from around the world; fol. 2a-3b: a list of the four Rightly Guided Caliphs and of other Muslim rulers; an old, round Gāzī Hüsrev-bey library seal, with a centrally-placed Arabic inscription (*maktabat al-Ghāzī Khusraw-bak Sarāyifū*) surrounded by a Bosnian inscription in Latin characters and the same content; fol. 3b-4a, a list of Sarajevo neighbourhoods (*maḥallas*); fol. 4b: a list of municipalities (*jamā'ats*) around Sarajevo and a note dated 12 Şafar 1336/13 March 1917, recording Muḥammad Shawqī Alajbegović's donation of the manuscript to the Gāzī Hüsrev-bey library; another round Gāzī Hüsrev-bey library seal, reading: *kutubkhāna Ghāzī Khusraw Bak Bosna* (?); fol. 5a-44a: a chronicle of events and a list of Sarajevans who had died over the years; fol. 44b-45a:

¹⁸² Ms. 7340, *GHL*, IV, pp. 279, 280.

a list of major events in Islamic history and the names of famous, mainly Şūfī, authors; fol. 46b-48a: a list of major events in the history of the Ottoman Empire; fol. 48b-49b: a chronicle of events and a list of recently deceased Sarajevans; fol. 99a-116a: stories, legends, riddles and jokes; fol. 116b-120a: a chronicle of events and a list of recently deceased Sarajevans; fol. 120b-122a: poems composed by Basheskī (six in Turkish and one in Bosnian) under the sobriquet Shawqī; fol. 122b-150a: a chronicle of events and a list of recently deceased Sarajevans; fol. 150b-153a: a description of some of Basheskī's dreams and their interpretation; fol. 153b-155a: a chronicle of events and a list of deceased Sarajevans; fol. 156b: words written in the "language of the Jews", as well as others in the "Serbian", "Italian" and "Indian" languages, all written in Arabic script; fol. 157a: three Bosnian folk songs; fol. 157b-158a: a list of persons whose bodies Basheskī had washed in preparation for burial; fol. 158b-160a: riddles; fol. 161a: a list of vernacular names of plants; fol. 161b: short stories and anecdotes.

The Chronicle materials can be divided into three categories. The first is the narrative, in which Basheskī records various events chronologically, by year, interspersing comments and occasionally adding a chronogram or poem of his own.¹⁸³ The second category consists of the names of Sarajevans who had died during the course of a given year. Most entries are short and include little more than the deceased person's name, profession and a brief reference to a physical feature and/or personality trait. Sometimes the descriptions are longer, providing a miniature of the man (women are rarely mentioned and almost never by name),¹⁸⁴ including nicknames or manner of dress, gait, habits, wealth, manner of death, bravery in battle, piety (or lack thereof), knowledge, religious affinities, relations with other people, ideological affinities, and group loyalties. Quite a few of those Basheskī describes in detail belong to book-related professions (scholars, officials, scribes, calligraphers and bookbinders). Lastly, about one quarter of *the Chronicle* material is made up of miscellanea: a list of Ottoman sultans, a list of important dates, events and personalities in Islamic history, poems (some by him, others from folklore) in Turkish and in Bosnian, short stories (some lascivious) and anecdotes, riddles, short lists of words and

¹⁸³ For example, he composed a chronogram for the courthouse (*maḥkama*) after its reconstruction, following the fire on 8 Şafar 1187/1 May 1773. On this see: Filan, "Life in Sarajevo in the 18th Century (according to Molla Muşṭafā's mecmua)", p. 323.

¹⁸⁴ At the end of the list of the deceased for the year 1190/1776-1777, which does not include a single woman, he writes that eighty-one men died that year, but twice as many women, *MMB*, fol. 79a; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 271.

alphabets from various languages, his dreams and their interpretation, vernacular names of plants, etc. Mujezinović's Bosnian translation of *the Chronicle* follows this three-fold division of material. Filan's Turkish transcription reflects the manuscript text except that she leaves out the miscellaneous parts completely.

Throughout the *Chronicle*, Basheskī offers tidbits of information about various aspects of Sarajevo's book culture, of which the *Chronicle* is itself an example as a form of first person narrative which has received increasing attention in Ottoman studies in recent years.¹⁸⁵

The writer of *the Chronicle* - Mullā Muṣṭafā Shawqī Basheskī - was born in about 1142-43/1730 to a poor Sarajevo family.¹⁸⁶ Although he makes little reference to a formal education, he probably attended a local *maktab* (elementary school) followed by a *madrasa* (a school of higher learning) because in 1170/1757 he became a teacher of children (*mu'allim-i ṣibyān*).¹⁸⁷ Two years later, at the age of 25, he was made a prayer leader (*imām*) and a Friday preacher (*khaṭīb*) at a Sarajevo mosque, with a salary of 18 *guruş* per annum

¹⁸⁵ Cemal Kafadar, "Self and Others: The Diary of a Dervish in Seventeenth Century Istanbul and First-Person Narratives in Ottoman Literature", *Studia Islamica* 69 (1989), pp. 121-50; Dana Sajdi, *The Barber of Damascus: Nouveau Literacy in the Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Levant* (Stanford University Press, 2013); Derin Terzioğlu, "Autobiography in fragments: reading Ottoman personal miscellanies in the early modern era" in *Autobiographical Themes in Turkish Literature: Theoretical and Comparative Perspectives*, eds. by Olcay Akyıldız et al. (Würzburg, 2007), pp. 83-99. Kerima Filan does not classify Basheskī's *majmū'a* as a diary, "Reading Molla Muṣṭafā Basheskī's Mecmua", p. 507.

¹⁸⁶ Filan, "Life in Sarajevo in the 18th Century", p. 319; Filan, "Reading Molla Muṣṭafā Basheskī's Mecmua" in *Saraybosnalı*, p. 508. Mujezinović gives 1731 or 1732 as Basheskī's year of birth, *Ljetopis*, p. 5. Basheskī appears as a witness in several court cases recorded in the Sarajevo court registers in which his name is given variously as: Muṣṭafā-beşe Basheskī, Mullā Muṣṭafā the imam of the Būzajizāde mosque, and as Muṣṭafā-afandī the imam of the Būzajizāde mosque, *Ljetopis*, p. 5, n. 1, also quoted in Filan, "Reading Molla Muṣṭafā" p. 509, n. 15. Basheskī (Tur. *başeski*) denotes a person serving in the Jannisary forces.

¹⁸⁷ *MMB*, fol. 7b; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 76; *Ljetopis*, p. 40 n.1; The *maktab* was located near the Farhādiyya Mosque. As Filan argues, much of what we know about his education has to be inferred indirectly, Filan, "Reading Molla Muṣṭafā", p. 509. For example, Basheskī reports the death of Arnā'ūd Sulaymān-afandī who, he says, was "my teacher (*hoca*) for a while". The passage reads: *خواجہ اختیار یحیی پاشا جامع سندہ امام پاشا مکتبندہ صوختہ معلم صبیان* (Şūhte mu'allim-i ṣibyān hoca ihtiyār Yaḥyā-pāṣā cāmi'sinde imām Pāṣa mektebinde hoca idi şūfi ādem idi maşharaci bir vaḳit hoca idi Arnā'ūd Suleymān efendī", *MMB*, fol. 75a; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 261. We do not know which *madrasa* Basheskī attended, but as Filan argues, it was probably a Sarajevo one: Filan, "Life in Sarajevo in the 18th Century", p. 320; Filan, "Reading Molla Muṣṭafā", p. 509. For a photograph of his mosque today see: *Saraybosnalı*, p. 131.

received in advance (*ber-yıllık vazîfesi on sekiz gurus illerü aldum*).¹⁸⁸ Basheskî may also have received training to become a maker of silk garments (*qazzâz*), but he never practiced the trade.¹⁸⁹

In addition to being a mosque imam, Basheskî was also a professional scribe who wrote letters, complaints, wills, and other documents for a fee. He also drew up inheritance lists for the families of the deceased citizens of Sarajevo.¹⁹⁰ From 1176/1763, he worked from a rented shop located just below the Clock Tower near the Gâzî Hüsrev-bey mosque, Sarajevo's central mosque,¹⁹¹ and close to the two streets of bookbinders' shops (*Veliki mudželiti* and *Mali mudželiti*). He plied his trade right in the heart of the market (*çarşı*), the meeting place of religion, commerce and craftsmanship.¹⁹² His business thriving, five years

¹⁸⁸ MMB, fol. 7b; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 75. This appears a rather low salary. This may be due to the fact that the original endowment, possibly made a long time ago, stipulated an eighteen *guruş* salary which subsequently lost its value on account of inflation. According to İsmail Erünsal, in such cases the recipient would sometimes be given additional tasks, such as reciting the Qur'anic *sura* Yâsîn for the soul of the dead, to supplement their income (personal communication with İsmail Erünsal, 22 May 2015). Elsewhere, Basheskî mentions the annual salary of a *maktab* teacher as being around 130 *guruş*, MMB, fol. 29a; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 129. Lavić writes that ḥāfiẓ Maḥmūd-afandî earned 30 *guruş* per annum as a librarian of 'Uthmān Shahdî library, while at the same time working as an imam, Friday preacher (*khaṭīb*) and a teacher in a Sarajevo mosque, Lavić, *Biblioteke u Bosni*, p. 70.

¹⁸⁹ This is inferred on the basis of his report from 1198/1783-84 on the death of *qazzâz* (maker of silk garments) Maḥmūd Za'im-oghlū, who he refers to as "my master craftsman" (*benüm üstām*) and a *temeccüd-hân* (تمجدحون), a word whose meaning I have been unable to determine with any degree of certainty. Filan puts a question mark after the word indicating her own uncertainty about her reading. Mujezinović translates the relevant passage as: "He would recite songs of praise [hvalospjeve] in the Skenderija Mosque". The whole passage reads: محمود زعيم اوغلى قزاز اسکندريه ده تمجدحون بنم اوستام کزرکن صالنه رق يورردی (Maḥmūd Za'imōğlu *qazzâz* İskenderiyye'de temeccüd-hün benüm üstām gezerken şallānarak yürürdi), MMB, fol. 95a, *Saraybosnalı*, p. 311.

¹⁹⁰ *Ljetopis*, "Uvod", p. 5; Filan, "Reading Molla Muştafâ" p. 509. He seems to have seen himself as an imam first and scribe second: و حقير امام کاتب (*ve ḥaḳîr imām, kâtib*): "[I], the indignant person, imam and scribe," MMB, fol. 21b; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 115. Also quoted in: Filan, "Reading Molla Muştafâ" p. 509.

¹⁹¹ Filan, "Life in Sarajevo in the 18th century", p. 321. In 1190/1777 he reports renting the shop below the Clock Tower and near the public toilets for 10 *akçe* per day, MMB, fol. 26b; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 123. In the month of Dhū'l-Ḥijja of 1198/October-November 1784, he moved to a shop near the soup kitchen, MMB, fol. 44a; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 174.

¹⁹² MMB, fol. 26b; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 123. He would decorate the shop with cut-out pieces of paper in the shape of the moon, stars, flowers and so forth and would even add pictures, including the one depicting the Janissary Āghā leaving for war. There were other pictures which looked real enough to speak out, so that many came to marvel at his window.

later he expanded his office and, together with a business associate, took on two or three young apprentices.¹⁹³ Despite the financial setbacks (e.g. a fire tha burned down his shop), his notes on income show that he made a good living from his work as a scribe.

He combined the jobs of mosque imam and scribe for the rest of his life. At one point he gave up his mosque job in order “to have more freedom” and “as the duties are a great responsibility,” but returned to it a few years later for free.¹⁹⁴ Towards the end of his life, he also assumed the responsibility of *cuzhān* (Ottoman Turkish: جزحون) or one of a group tasked with reciting the Qur’an in full every day, in his case for the soul of Gāzī Hüsrev-bey.¹⁹⁵

Basheskī began to write his *Chronicle* in the year of 1756/1757 when he was about 25 years old. He decided “to record some events in the city of Sarajevo and the province (*eyālet*) of Bosnia by date, since what is recorded stays [remains], and what is memorised vanishes [waned].”¹⁹⁶ For more than 40 years Basheskī noted down everything he deemed important:

¹⁹³ Filan, “Reading Molla Muṣṭafā”, p. 510. Sometimes he was paid in kind. For example, the *mūy-tāfcılar* (spinners of goat-hair or makers of articles out of it) gave him four and half *riz’a* of broad-cloth (*çūka*) for his writing services, *MMB*, fol.30a; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 132.

¹⁹⁴ *MMB*, fol. 30a; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 131.

¹⁹⁵ *MMB*, fol. 142b; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 363; *MMB*, fol. 155a. The last reference is not transcribed in *Saraybosnalı*, but Filan refers to it in “Reading Molla Muṣṭafā” p. 510, n. 21. Basheskī uses the term *cuzhānlık* for this duty (جزحوانلق), *MMB*, fol.155a. For this service Basheskī was given a meal, presumably every day, from the Gāzī Hüsrev-bey endowment, another example of the many links between book culture and pious foundations. According to Škaljić, a *cuzhān* (Bosnian: *džuzhan*) is “a person who recites daily one *džuz* [Arabic: *juz*’; Turkish: *cuz*’ = portion] from the Qur’an for the soul of a benefactor, a bequeather or endowment founder. Even today, *džuzhans* recite in the Gāzī Hüsrev-bey Mosque in Sarajevo and that is, as far as I know, the only such case in the Balkan peninsula”, Abdullah Škaljić, *Turcizmi u srpskohrvatskom jeziku* (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1979) p. 245. Redhouse gives a different meaning for the word: “A schoolboy learning to read the Qur’an”, Redhouse, *A Turkish and English Lexicon*, p. 659. Elsewhere in the *Chronicle* Basheskī mentions several other persons who acted as *džuzhans*. The provision for reciting the Qur’an for the soul of the Prophet, his family, companions, Gāzī Hüsrev-bey and all Muslims was stipulated by Gāzī Hüsrev-bey’s charter, which also specifies certain other ceremonies to be held regularly such as the annual celebration of the Prophet’s birthday (*Mawlid*). For more on this see: Mahmud Traljić, “Forma i sadržaj ibadeta u Gazi Husrevbegovoj džamiji” [Form and content of worship in The Gāzī Hüsrev-bey Mosque], *Analı IX-X* (1983), pp. 315, 316.

¹⁹⁶ مدینهء شہری سرای ده و ایالت بوسنه ده بعضی وقایعی بنیان و تاریخینی بیا [ن] ادرم زیرا کل ما کتب قر و ما حفظ فر (Medīne-i Sarāy’da ve eyālet-i Bosna’da bazı vakayı beyān ve tāriḫini beya[n] ederim zīrā kull mā kutib qarr wa mā ḥufiz farr). The passage is also quoted in Filan, “Life in Sarajevo in the 18th century”, p. 326. While Filan takes

from events in his personal life, such as the births and deaths of children, to food prices and the vagaries of the weather, natural disasters like fires, floods and droughts, epidemics (especially the plague), public festivities (the *Chronicle* opens with records of the guild festivals), appointments of officials, the promulgation of official documents, wars, and uprisings.¹⁹⁷ As already mentioned, he also gives descriptions of his fellow Sarajevans. Most importantly for us, the *Chronicle* contains a wealth of information about Sarajevo book culture. Except for two brief sojourns, Basheskī appears to have spent his entire life in his native city.¹⁹⁸

In 1216/1801-02, Basheskī suffered a stroke and, although he continued writing, the chronicle entries grew thinner and more sporadic. His last entry is for the year 1219/1804-05), which suggests that he died then or soon afterwards. There is no entry for Basheskī in the inheritance inventories.¹⁹⁹

Referring to writers of first-person narratives from Istanbul, Suraiya Faroqhi notes that often they “were not prominent participants in the literary or political life of the capital.”²⁰⁰ That was the case with Basheskī, too. He was not a scholar who wrote original works or occupied a prominent position in the provincial administration. He describes

Muḥarram 1171 (14 September 1757) as the date of his first chronicle entry, Mujezinović dates it to 1756, *Ljetopis*, p. 7.

¹⁹⁷ It appears that his writing of *the Chronicle* was prompted by the events surrounding a tumultuous ten-year period in Sarajevo which Basheskī describes as disorder (*niḡāmsızlık*) casued by outlaws (*yaramazlar*), which the government finally suppressed in 1170/1757, when twenty men, including its chief protagonists, were executed, *MMB*, fol.6b; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 70; Filan, “Reading Molla Muṣṭafā”, p. 515.

¹⁹⁸ In 1173/1760 he travelled to Belgrade to attend to the property of an uncle who had just died, *MMB*, fol. 7b; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 75. On 10 Rajab 1195/2 July, 1781, he moved with his family to a village in central Bosnia to work as a teacher in a mosque, but returned to Sarajevo about six months later, *MMB*, fol. 40a. Mujezinović mentions February 30 as the date of Basheskī’s return to Sarajevo. He suggests Basheskī was not happy with village life.

¹⁹⁹ Filan, “Reading Molla Muṣṭafā”, p. 510. He is thought to have been survived by his son, Mullā Muṣṭafā Firāqī, who also wrote a handwritten notebook (*majmū’a*) now kept at the Sarajevo History Archive (ms. R 27). The manuscript runs to 33 folio pages and is significant in being written for the most part in the Bosnian vernacular. For more on it see: Rašid Hajdarović, “Medžmua Mulla Mustafe Firakije” [The *majmū’a* of Mullā Muṣṭafā Firāqī], *POF* 32-33 (1972-73), pp. 301-314; Mustafa Jahić, *Katalog arapskih, turskih, perzijskih i bosanskih rukopisa, I*, (London, Sarajevo: Al-Furqan Islamic Heritage Foundation and Historijski arhiv Sarajevo, 1431/2010), pp. 383-388.

²⁰⁰ Faroqhi, *Subjects of the Sultan*, p. 202.

himself as “quiet-spoken, peaceful and withdrawn,”²⁰¹ even though his knowledge was, as he puts it somewhat immodestly, superior to the professors (*mudarrises*) who lacked inner knowledge (*‘ilm-i bāṭin*). This was the reason, he claims, that he neither taught nor preached, except when students sought him out.²⁰²

As he puts it, his motives for writing the names of the dead are to remind the reader to pray for their souls and to render himself mindful of death. The experience of washing the bodies for burial may have shaped his outlook on life. He gives a list of all the dead he washed as the imam of the Buzājizāde Hāj Hasan Mosque. Many of them were small children.²⁰³ In more than one place in the *Chronicle* he writes about the fleeting nature of life. But, he was not a believer in fire-and-brimstone. He strongly disliked more puritan Sarajevans, whom he calls *ḳadizādelis* and zealots (*müte’aşşıbs*)²⁰⁴ and deniers (*münkirs*).²⁰⁵ In several passages of the *Chronicle* he reports on the conflict between the Şūfīs or dervishes and *ḳadizādelis*, such as the fight which broke over the right of the dervishes to hold their ceremonies in a Sarajevo mosque. “Finally, praise be to God, the dervishes won,” Basheskī

²⁰¹ This translation according to: Filan, “Life in Sarajevo in the 18th Century”, p. 325.

²⁰² MMB, fol. 36b; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 147.

²⁰³ He briefly reports the death of his one year old son Aḥmad, without showing emotion, MMB, fol. 18a; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 107; MMB, fol. 70b; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 253.

²⁰⁴ While *müte’aşşıb* can mean “strictly religiously observant” or even just “wearing a turban”, Basheskī invariably used the term as a negative label for fellow Sarajevans he describes as *ḳadizādelis* and so excessively religious (interview with Kerima Filan, 10 May 2015). I am grateful to Kerima Filan for sharing this insight with me. Furthermore, other Ottoman Sufi sources also refer to *ḳadizādelis* as “people of bigotry” (*ehl-i te’aşşub*), Evstatiev, “The Qāḏizādeli movement”, p. 4.

²⁰⁵ Kerima Filan, “Religious puritans in Sarajevo in the 18th century”, *OTAM* 33 (2013), pp. 43-62; Filan, “Reading Molla Muşṭafā”, pp. 522-523. *ḳadizādeli* is the name for a network of puritanical scholars and their supporters who were hostile to what they regarded as innovations in religion, especially to certain Şūfī practices such as pilgrimage to the tombs of saints, *dhikr* (a Sufi ceremony consisting of chanting God’s names), music, tobacco smoking and coffee drinking. The prominent leaders of the movement were: Birkawī Meḥmed-afandī (d. 981/1573); Qāḏizāde Meḥmed-afandī (d. 1045/1635) after whom they came to be known; and Wanī Meḥmed-afandī (d. 1096/1685) who became influential at court and in society. For more on the *ḳadizādelis* see: Zilfi, Madeline C., *The Politics of Piety, the Ottoman Ulema 1600-1800* (Chicago: Biblioteca Islamica, 1988) and, Zilfi, Madeline C., “The Kadizadelis: Discordant Revivalism in Seventeenth Century Istanbul,” *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 45/42 (1986), pp. 251-269. For a review of studies into *ḳadizādeli* movement and see: Simeon Evstatiev, “The Qāḏizādeli movement and the Spread of Islamic Revivalism in the Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Empire: Preliminary Notes”, *CAS Working Paper Series, issue 5, Advanced Academia Programme 2009-2012* (Sofia: Center for Advanced Study, 2013), pp. 1-34 (also available at www.cas.bg).

wrote with approval.²⁰⁶ When a band of performers arrived in the city to entertain the populace with their acrobatic skills, local *ḡadizādelis* prevented them from performing, so that they had to move to a nearby town, Basheskī was scathing: “Sarajevo is a city where there are *ḡadizādelis* who would not listen to the Prophet if He Himself allowed it, but would go on with their own spite.”²⁰⁷ Not only did Basheskī disapprove of the *ḡadizādelis*, he was a regular attendee of *dhikr* sessions at the Sinān *takka* and may well have been a member of the Qādiriyya Šūfī order to which the *takka* belonged.

Let us now turn to certain aspects of Bosnian Muslim book culture between 1118-1244/1707-1828.

2.3 Literacy

It is impossible to determine the levels of literacy amongst the Bosnian Muslim population during the Ottoman period due to a lack of relevant sources. This explains the paucity of writings on the subject and the often vague and general nature of statements about it.²⁰⁸ It is assumed that the process of conversion to Islam was accompanied by the construction of mosques and *maktabs* which introduced literacy, at least in the Arabic script. There is a well-known religious inducement for Muslims to master Arabic letters sufficiently well to at least be able “to read” the Qur’an and in that way partake of the blessings the act is believed to confer on the “reader.” The act of reciting the Qur’an from cover to cover (Bosnian: *hatma*) and holding the ceremony to mark its first completion was a rite of passage for Muslim children and their families.²⁰⁹ Equally important was reciting the Qur’an or portions from it (especially the 36th Qur’anic *sura*, *Yāsīn*) to honour and pray for the dead. In numerous Bosnian endowment charters, the benefactor stipulates that a *hatma* or a section of the Qur’an be recited for his or her soul. As we have seen, Basheskī became a

²⁰⁶ MMB, fol. 16b; also quoted in Kerima Filan, “Religious puritans in Sarajevo in the 18th century”, pp. 47, 48.

²⁰⁷ MMB, fol. 35a; also quoted in Filan, “Reading Molla Muṣṭafā” p. 522; See also: Filan, “Religious puritans in Sarajevo in the 18th century”, p. 57.

²⁰⁸ Bosnian Muslim scholars generally claim a high literacy rate, without offering evidence, e.g.: “This book presents the *maktabs* in a particularly thorough and well-documented way as the foundation of the broadest education, on the basis of which one can rightly speak [*s pravom*] of a high level of literacy in these parts under Ottoman rule in Bosnia”, Fehim Nametak, “Iz recenzije” [From the review] in: Kasumović, *Školstvo*, p. 5.

²⁰⁹ This is evidenced by studies into Bosnian Muslim customs from the late 19th century, e.g.: Antun Hangi, *Život i običaji muslimana u Bosni i Hercegovini* [Life and customs of Muslims in Bosnia-Herzegovina], (Sarajevo: Dobra knjiga, 2009), pp. 124-126.

cuzhān or someone who participated in the daily recitation of a portion (*cuz'*) of the Qur'an for the soul of Gāzī Hüsrev-bey.

The most basic level of literacy, defined as the ability to pronounce, but not necessarily understand and write Arabic, may be called *maktab* literacy, in so far as it was transmitted through the *maktab*. An individual with *maktab* literacy was able to "read" the Qur'an and nothing more. In the context of 12th/18th century Sarajevo, however, reading literature required a knowledge of other languages, which were mastered by few. It is reasonable to assume that *maktab* literacy was probably widespread, on religious grounds, but we cannot know how widely.

There is no way of knowing whether the children of both town-folk and villagers and of both sexes attended *maktabs* in equal measure. Indeed, Faroqhi argues that because of the scarcity of sources "a cultural history of the rural population can, in general, really begin only in the nineteenth century."²¹⁰ She adds: "In cultural terms, though, the divide between town and country was clearer than it was in economic matters. Written culture....was largely confined to the towns and was accessible only to a small section of rural society. Mosques were not built in large numbers in Anatolian villages until the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Most villagers who could read and write had probably learned to do so in the nearest town or in a dervish convent. Registers of pious foundations of the second half of the sixteenth century, which also list the existing schools, only record a very few such establishments in the countryside. Moreover, there is no evidence that large numbers of schools were founded in villages between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries, although this did happen in many small towns."²¹¹

According to an Egyptian in 1173/1759 quoted by Nelly Hanna in her study of Cairene literacy, "husbands should teach their wives to read, so that they might learn their religious obligations, but they need not learn to write."²¹²

It seems safe to assume that levels of *maktab* literacy were higher in cities than in the countryside, both because literacy tends to be higher in urban centres²¹³ and because trade and commerce promote literacy generally.

²¹⁰ Faroqhi, *Subjects of the Sultan*, p. 59.

²¹¹ Faroqhi, *Subjects of the Sultan*, p. 59.

²¹² Hanna, *In Praise of Books*, p. 53.

²¹³ C.M. Cipolla, *Literacy in the West* (London, 1969), pp. 45, 46.

Commerce is intimately allied to literacy and the fact that Sarajevo served as a regional centre of craftsmanship and trade along the Salonica-Dubrovnik route was an added reason for some Sarajevans to acquire some form of literacy. The inheritance records remind us of the need to record business transactions, loans, and debts. Notebooks with debts are mentioned as part of property settlements. Basheskī mentions the death of a man from Visoko subdistrict (*nāḥiye*) near Sarajevo whose notebook had entries for 900 persons who owed him money.²¹⁴ He also refers to a Sarajevo maker or seller of copper caldrons (*ḳazancı*), who at the same time worked as an imam and who used to fill in notebooks and certificates for other *ḳazancı*s (*ḳazancılar ba‘z-i defter ve iktizā eden temessükāt yazdurular idi*).²¹⁵

Literacy was also necessary for **correspondence**. Basheskī wrote letters (*mektūplar*) for “the poor women of Sarajevo” (*Saraylūlara zavallı ḳarılar*) whose husbands and sons were at war in northern Bosnia.²¹⁶ Presumably, the letters were written in the vernacular using the Arabic script, in the same manner as he wrote certain expressions and several poems in his *Chronicle*. One should not, however, exclude entirely the possibility that the letters were written in *bosančica*.²¹⁷

Literacy for **administrative purposes** may be defined as the ability to read official documents such as *berāts* (documents granting an imperial title, privilege or property), *fermāns* (imperial edicts), *buyruldu*s (imperial decrees), etc. Basheskī often refers to this type of document when reporting political developments. This type of literacy must have been much more limited, since it required a knowledge of Ottoman Turkish. Those with a *madrassa* education would have some Ottoman Turkish. The ability to read Ottoman Turkish was not necessarily confined to scholars and officials, as Basheskī reports merchants and craftsmen with a knowledge of Turkish, even though it is not clear whether they could read official documents in high Ottoman. The ability to write down or take dictation of texts in

²¹⁴ MMB, fol. 139b; *Saraybosnalı*, pp. 358, 359.

²¹⁵ MMB, fol. 91a; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 298. The entry belongs to the year 1196/1781-82. Hanna links the remarkable spread of literacy in 18th century Egypt to the growth of trade and abundance of cheap European-imported paper, Hanna, *In Praise of Books*, pp. 16, 86, 87. Cheap paper also brought down the cost of books, p. 17. On the links between trade and literacy in general see: Hanna, “Trade and Literacy” in *In Praise of Books*, pp. 57-64.

²¹⁶ MMB, fol. 56b; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 189. The entry belongs to the year 1202/1787-88. The Dubica War lasted 1788-91.

²¹⁷ As far as I am aware, no private letters written in Arabic script from the period covered by this study have been preserved. There are letters in Cyrillic that have been preserved, mainly as part of official correspondence. For more on this see: *Bosanska ćirilčna pisma*, ed. Lejla Nakaš.

Ottoman Turkish varied. Whether out of jealousy or a sense of competition, Basheskī lampoons a person he considered truly ignorant (*cāhil*) and possessed of limited writing skills, but who nonetheless managed to become a Janissary Āghā's scribe.²¹⁸

Writing **amulets** is another practical use of writing for which there was a strong demand.²¹⁹ Basheskī gives a short formula for an amulet for a fretful child.²²⁰ In fact, writing amulets was part of his job as a scribe.²²¹ He also reports having learned this skill from the shaykh of the Sinān *takka* in order to cure the sick and having restored many to health in this way.²²²

Basheskī also reports on a number of professional amulet writers.²²³ He criticizes a tailor who engaged in the practice, but was, unlike his father, ignorant.²²⁴ Even more extreme was the case of a cleric (*hoca*) who pretended to know how to write amulets. Although he was a famous writer of amulets (*nüshacı*), he did not actually know how to write (*hiç yazı bilmezdi*). Nonetheless, he succeeded in living off the ignorance of the peasantry and women, who could not distinguish knowledge from ignorance.²²⁵

Basheskī sometimes describes people as being *muvesvis* (Arabic: *muwaswis*; suffering anxiety from satanic suggestions), including a merchant who, in the end, committed suicide on account of satanic suggestion (*vesvese*).²²⁶ He also refers to an unnamed old woman who engaged in sorcery (*sihir*) and sought to separate lovers.²²⁷ Belief in various supernatural beings was clearly part and parcel of the Sarajevan worldview. ‘Abd al-Fattāh-āghā, who

²¹⁸ MMB, fol. 129a; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 336.

²¹⁹ In Bosnian these written talismans are known as *zapis*, literally “written down texts”. The word *hamajlije* (from Turkish *hamaylı*) is also used.

²²⁰ It consists of two Qur'anic verses: “Voices will be hushed to the All-merciful so that thou hearest nought but a murmuring” (20: 108) and: “And We appointed your sleep for a rest” (78: 9) and: “O, Muhammad!”, *Ljetopis*, p. 445.

²²¹ MMB, fol. 34b; *Yazdugum temessükāt ve mekātib ve ğayrı nüshalar ve tezkireleri*, *Saraybosnalı*, p. 142.

²²² MMB, fol. 27b; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 124. He notes that the shaykh expressed his displeasure over Basheskī's practicing the skill. Basheskī responded to the shaykh, who he says was “a bit of an angry man” (*tarğın idi*), that he understood that being taught the skill amounted to the permission to practice it.

²²³ MMB, fol. 92b; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 304; MMB, fol. 125b; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 328.

²²⁴ MMB, fol. 98a; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 319.

²²⁵ MMB, fol. 132b; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 344.

²²⁶ MMB, fol. 125b; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 328. He also reports the death of Kurbegöglü, a *hāj* (person who went to Mecca for pilgrimage) and imam who became affected by satanic suggestion (*vesvese*) and went to Austria to seek cure, MMB, fol. 92b; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 302.

²²⁷ MMB, fol. 84a; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 281. The entry belongs to the year 1193/1779-80.

was literate (*oğur yazar idi*), claimed that fairies (*periler*) were gathering in his courtyard.²²⁸ Basheskī even reports seeing the Devil himself in the flesh on one occasion.²²⁹

In inheritance inventories, amulets (*hamaylı*) are often placed together with books. They are not books in the conventional sense, but they share one feature with them: being revered as specimens of writing (not necessarily with Qur'anic content) in addition to being invested with power.

Basheskī informs us of people who were skilled in *fa'l* or divination. A person who engaged in this activity was known as *falcı* and Basheskī uses the term for five people, including the silly, but always smiling (*tevekkeli ammā gülegen*) Mullā Şāliḥ, who divined for women (*karılara gūyā fāl açar*).²³⁰ *Fa'l* was apparently used to uncover murderers.²³¹ In *Tabshir al-ghuzāt* (Bringing good tidings to fighters),²³² a work written in 1150/1738 by an Ottoman Bosnian scholar, Muṣṭafā b. Muḥammad al-Aqḥiṣārī (d. 1169/1755), the author argues that the practice of *fa'l*, including *fa'l* with the Qur'an, is both impermissible and unworthy of belief, given its similarity to throwing arrows, which is prohibited in the Qur'an (*lā fa'l al-Qur'ān wa fa'l al-abjad wa gayrihimā lā yajūz isti'māluhā wa lā i'tiqāduhā ḥaqqan li-annhā min qabīl al-istiqsām bi al-azlām kayf wa anna fihā al-khabar 'an al-ghayb...*). Muṣṭafā al-Aqḥiṣārī supports his argument by quoting the Qur'anic verse: "None knows the Unseen in the heavens and earth except God" (27:65). He condemns the practice on the grounds that it implies that evil

²²⁸ MMB, fol. 127a; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 331.

²²⁹ MMB, fol. 147b; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 214.

²³⁰ MMB, fol. 143b; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 367. *Tevekkeli* seems to have acquired the connotation of "silly" in Bosnia, as it is not to be found in the standard dictionaries of Ottoman Turkish. Abdullah Škaljić's Bosnian dictionary of Turkish loan-words glosses the adverb *tevećeli* as meaning "emptily, aimlessly" (*naprazno, besciljno*) and defines the noun *tevećelija* as "a naive person, a silly man, a foolish man" (*naivčina; luckast čovjek, subudalast čovjek*), Škaljić, *Turcizmi*, p. 615. This explains why Mujezinović translated the above line as: "The silly mullā Şāliḥ..." (*Luckasti mula Salih...*), *Ljetopis*, p. 353.

²³¹ MMB, fol. 136b; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 354.

²³² *Tabshir al-ghuzāt li al-qāḍī al-muḥaddith Muḥammad bin Muṣṭafā al-Aqḥiṣārī al-Būsawī, dirāsa wa taḥqīq Kan'ān Mūsītsh* (supplement to MA dissertation) Sarajevo, n.a. alif 102-bā 102. The editor notes that he found no references to the incident in other sources. For the published edition of Kenan Musić's dissertation, but without the Arabic text of the treatise, see: Kenan Musić, *Mustafa Pruščak, kadija i muhadis, život i djelo (dodatak)* [Muṣṭafā of Prusac, a kadi and a hadith scholar: life and work (supplement)] (Sarajevo: Makinvest, 2010). Muṣṭafā al-Aqḥiṣārī dedicated this work to Ḥekīmōḡlū 'Alī-pasha, the Bosnian governor who defeated the Habsburg army at the battle of Banja Luka in 1787. For more on Muṣṭafā al-Aqḥiṣārī see also: Hazim Šabanović, *Književnost* pp. 470-479; Khānjī, *Jawhar al-asnā'*, pp. 183, 184.

can be augured from the Qur'an (*wa inna fihā taṭayyur bi al-Qur'ān na'ūdḥ billāh*). Muṣṭafā al-Aqḥiṣārī goes on to cite the curious example of the Umayyad caliph al-Walīd ibn 'Abd al-Malik (d. 96/715) who reportedly engaged in *fa'l*. When he came upon the verse "They sought a judgment; then was disappointed every froward tyrant" (Qur'an, 14:15), he placed a copy of the Qur'an in a piece of cloth and launched it with a catapult uttering the following verses: *Aturhib kull jabbār 'anīd*/Do you think to frighten every froward tyrant, *fahā ana dhāk jabbār 'anīd*/I am a froward tyrant, *idhā mā ji't Rabbakum yawm ḥaṣhr*/when you come to your Lord on the day of Assembly, *fa-qul yā Rabb mazzaqtanī bi al-Walīd*/say: you tore me with Walīd."

Although no copy of the *Tabshīr al-ghuzāt* appears in the Sarajevo inheritance records for the period of this study, the passage is interesting in showing an 12th/18th century Bosnian scholar's views on *fa'l*.²³³

In the *Chronicle*, we find references to various book-related professions and activities: librarian (*ḥāfiẓ-ı kütüb*), scribe (*kātib*, *yazıcı*), court scribe (*kātib-i meḥkeme*), judge (*ḳadı*), judge apprentice (*mülāzım*), imam, shaykh, juriconsult (*müfti*), preacher (*vā'iz*), a scribe who prepares petitions (*'arzuḥālcı*), cleric (*ḥoca*), *madrasa* teacher (*müderri*), elementary school teacher (*şibyān-ı mu'allim* or *mu'allim*), book binder (*mücellit*), calligrapher (*ḥaṭṭāt*), copyist and/or writer of amulets (*nüshacı*), one who knows the Qur'an by heart (*ḥāfiẓ*), reciter of a portion of the Qur'an (*cuzḥān*), *madrasa* student (*sūḥte*, *softa*), etc. Basheskī mentions one scribe by his nickname: the "one dot scribe" (*birnoktaḡlı kātib*). Surnames derived from some of the above-mentioned professions are still used in Bosnia today.²³⁴

In some cases Basheskī comments on other people's literacy. Thus, we learn that the former Sarajevo regional administrator (*mütesellim*) Kürkizāde Pasho was "somewhat educated and literate" (*bir parça okumağa ve yazmağa meyl idi*);²³⁵ Qız Aḥmad was a merchant (*bāzergān*) and

²³³ The fact that its author was a native of Aqḥiṣār (Bosnian: *Prusac*) has only added to the fame the place has acquired in the cultural history of Bosnian Muslims, starting with Ḥasan Kāfī al-Aqḥiṣārī (d. 1025/1616). As Šabanović writes in his entry on Muṣṭafā Aqḥiṣārī: "The little [town of] Prusac produced several highly significant personalities in the history of Muslim literature in Bosnia, even in the 18th century", Šabanović, *Književnost*, p. 470.

²³⁴ Hodžić (*ḥoca*), Imamović (*imām*), Softić (*sūḥte*, *softa*), Mulić (*mollā*) Muderizović (*müderri*), Mudželitović (*mücellit*), Čato/Čatić (*kātib*), Teftedarević (*defterdār*), Muzurović (*muḥzir*), Kadić (*ḳadı*), Teskeredžić (*teskereci*), etc.

²³⁵ MMB, fol. 70b; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 252. The entry belongs to the year 1185/1771-72.

a mosque imam who “could read and write a little” (*bir parça okur yazar idi*);²³⁶ Muṣṭafā Bey, a provincial cavalryman (*sipāhi*), was “literate to some degree” (*bir parça okur yazar*);²³⁷ Ghazno-oghlū was a dyer (*boyacı*), who had some knowledge (*okumağ bir parça [sic] bilürdi*);²³⁸ Hāj Ibrāhīm-afandī was a maker of coarse woollen cloth (*abacı*), a dervish with some knowledge of astronomy and literate (*nücūmdan medhal okudı hem yazdı*);²³⁹ a young man, by name Bego-oghlū, who was both intelligent (*çelebi‘ağıllı*) and literate (*okur yazar*);²⁴⁰ Pekara Şālīḥ-afandī was a legal representative (*vekil*) and a mosque imam who knew how to write (*yazı bilürdi*);²⁴¹ the afore-mentioned ‘Abd al-Fattāḥ-āghā, who claimed to have seen fairies in his courtyard, could read and write (*okur yazar idi*);²⁴² an unnamed man of good reputation from Travnik was also knowledgeable (*pür-ma’rifet*) and had a skilled hand (*kitābet muṣṭalah*).²⁴³ By the same token, Basheskī can describe as uneducated (*cāhil*), a man called Şūjūqa, who, in spite of his ignorance, was well-versed in the affairs of the world which he discussed with skill (*ve gāyet umūr-ı vākıf idi cāhil idi, ammā vekil-i kâ’inatlık ederdi, māhir idi*);²⁴⁴ Aḥmad-afandī was a maker of silk garments (*kazzaz*) who also served as kadi, but was nonetheless uneducated (*ammā okumağ bilmezdi*);²⁴⁵ Mullā Ibrāhīm was an imam who knew little Arabic and would preach to ignorant and illiterate people (*cāhil ve ümmī ādemcikler*).²⁴⁶ In one case he describes a man as supposedly literate (*gūyā okumuş*).²⁴⁷

²³⁶ MMB, fol. 73b; *Saraybosnali*, p. 259. Mujezinović thinks this person is listed in the inheritance records as hāj Aḥmad son of Ibrāhīm from Iplicik *maḥala*. His estate is listed in S15/64 (13 Muḥarram 1188/26 March 1774) and included 45 volumes of books, *Ljetopis*, p. 130.

²³⁷ MMB, fol. 83a; *Saraybosnali*, p. 171.

²³⁸ MMB, fol. 85b; *Saraybosnali*, p. 284.

²³⁹ MMB, fol. 92a; *Saraybosnali*, p. 302. He died in Cairo. His estate included 27 volumes of books, S22/170 (22 Jumādā al-Ākhir 1197/25 May 1783).

²⁴⁰ MMB, fol. 94a; *Saraybosnali*, p. 308. His property was recorded in S22/46.

²⁴¹ MMB, fol. 125a; *Saraybosnali*, p. 327.

²⁴² MMB, fol. 127a; *Saraybosnali*, p. 331.

²⁴³ MMB, fol. 142a; *Saraybosnali*, p. 363.

²⁴⁴ MMB, fol. 80a; *Saraybosnali*, p. 273.

²⁴⁵ MMB, fol. 86b; *Saraybosnali*, p. 286.

²⁴⁶ MMB, fol. 80a; *Saraybosnali*, p. 272. He also taught children (*uşakları okudurdu*), *ibid*.

²⁴⁷ MMB, fol. 133a; *Saraybosnali*, p. 345.

Sometimes Basheskī specifies the type of document a given individual has written, as in the case of a man who was a professional washer of corpses (*ḡassāl*), but who wrote capitulations (*‘ahdnāmes*) for Basheskī (*‘ahde-nāmeleri baḡa yazdururđı*).²⁴⁸

Basheskī mentions dervish Meho (short for Meḡmed), a native of the town of Foča and friend of his, who would place papers in front of the worshippers during the Friday hutba, with the following Arabic sentence written on them: *Al-ṣadaqa tarudd al-balā’ wa tazīd al-‘umr* (Charity repels calamity and extends life). He would then ask for charity.²⁴⁹

What is remarkable about the men Basheskī describes as lettered is that they include not just scholars (*ulamā’*), but craftsmen and tradesmen, too. As we shall see, the division between the scholarly class (*‘ilmiye*) and guild members (*eṣnāf*) was not always clear, as people sometimes moved between the two types of profession or held two jobs, i.e. as imam and craftsman. Nelly Hanna has drawn attention to “a category of people who were educated without necessarily being scholarly.”²⁵⁰ Some of these people “moved between religious professions and trades, sometimes keeping two jobs in order to make ends meet; sometimes too people with some college training subsequently moved into an economic or commercial activity.”²⁵¹ Nevertheless, those who could read and write must have been a minority among Bosnian Muslims.

²⁴⁸ MMB, fol. 73a; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 257. An *‘ahdnāme* was “a written pledge under oath by the sultan granting a privilege, immunities or authority to a community, ruler or person,” *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire, vol. 2: 1600-1914*, eds. Halil İnalcık with Donald Quataert, p. 986.

²⁴⁹ MMB, fol. 83b; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 280. It is possible that these sayings and proverbs were learned as part of learning Arabic. As we have seen, Basheskī inserts them in the *Chronicle*, e.g. “Qul al-ḡaqq wa law kān murrān” (Speak the truth even if it be bitter), MMB, fol. 31a; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 134.

²⁵⁰ Nelly Hanna. *In Praise of Books*, pp. 3, 4.

²⁵¹ The examples she gives include: “Husayn al-Mahallı (d.1171/1756-57), a scholar of Shafi’i jurisprudence, who had a shop near the Azhar where he sold books”, or “Ahmad al-Sanablawi, a professor of jurisprudence (d. 1180/1766), who had a shop in Sūq al-Kutubiyyīn (the Book market). Many others held secondary professions that were completely unrelated to their primary activity, like a certain Shaykh Muṣṭafā al-Falaki (d.1203/1788), an expert in astronomy and in composing calendars who also worked as a tailor. He cut and sewed clothes, surrounded on one side by other tailors working on garments and on the other side by students discussing learned matters with him. Al-Muhibbi shows that the same thing was taking place in Damascus. He tells us about Muhammad al-Hariri, a scholar and a poet who earned his money as a silk weaver; many of his students came to his shop for their lesson”, pp. 41, 42. See also: Hanna, *In Praise of Books*, p. 72.

2.4 Scribes, Copyists and Calligraphers

The book culture of 12th/18th and even early 13th/19th century Sarajevo still belonged to the manuscript age, even though the first Arabic-type Ottoman printing press was launched by İbrāhīm Müteferriķa (d.1158/1745) in Istanbul.²⁵² Basheskī's *Chronicle* is representative of that culture. Its author was a professional scribe who lived in the world of hand-written books and documents. There is no mention of printed books, beyond a brief reference to what are generally taken to be newspapers ("Newspapers have appeared.").²⁵³

In his study of Bosnian copyists, Ždralović distinguishes three main terms for them in Ottoman Bosnia: *kātīb* designates someone who worked as a scribe in the Ottoman administration, but is also a general term for scribe (as in the case of Basheskī) and copyist; *nāsikh* or *mustansikh* means copyist; while *khattāt* or calligrapher, in contrast to the previous two, usually designates someone with a diploma from a master.²⁵⁴ Basheskī also uses the term *nūshacı* in the sense of someone who knew how to write amulets.

As a professional scribe and a scholar (*ālīm*), Basheskī obviously knew many scribes and copyists personally. Overall, he mentions 29 scribes (about half of them court scribes) and fifteen calligraphers. In mentioning such people, Basheskī often comments on the quality of their handwriting, the types of script they have mastered, and their skill in composing documents. Thus, there was a scribe who knew *dīvānī* script, which he would write slowly, and who also knew by heart many titles and phrases and where to put them when writing letters.²⁵⁵ There was a scribe who knew all three scripts (*ta'lik*, *dīvānī*, and *nesḥ*), but wrote a particularly beautiful *ta'lik*. He worked from a shop and was respected for his skill. In writing "he liked to use many words." Moreover, "He read and wrote for me many

²⁵² Niyazi Berkes, "İbrāhīm Müteferriķa", *EI*² III, p. 997; Günay Alpay Kut, "Maṭba'a", *EI*² VI, p. 801.

²⁵³ *MMB*, fol. 12a; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 84. For more on the subject see the subsection: 2.12 *Newspapers*, in the present chapter.

²⁵⁴ Muhamed Ždralović, *Bosansko-hercegovački prepisivači*, I, pp. 236-238. Ždralović also mentions a rarely used term *rāqim* as a synonym for *nāsikh*. Ždralović covered the period 1463-1940, focusing mainly on copyists from the Bosnian pashalik. He analysed around 2,300 manuscripts, copied by over 1,100 copyists, all listed separately in vol. II.

²⁵⁵ *MMB*, fol. 91b; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 301. One of the scribes worked at the court for free, *MMB*, fol.142a; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 364. However, while Mujezinović uses the term "free court scribe" (*besplatan pisar mehkeme*), Filan inserts a lacunae where this expression stands. Perhaps a young scribe was having hard times finding a job and was prepared to do some voluntary work in order to gain work experience and improve his job prospects for the future.

things.”²⁵⁶ Others appear to have specialised in one script, such as ḥāj Ismā‘īl-oghlū Ćato (Bosnian for *kātib*) who wrote *dīvānī* script and knew many *berāts* (documents granting an imperial title, privilege or property) and *fermāns* (imperial edicts) by heart. He also used to carry a silver ink-case (*divit*).²⁵⁷ Shaikh Sulaymān was a *qādirī* Ṣūfī, a *basheskī*, and a *kātib* of the ‘Alī pasha Mosque and keeper of the ‘Alī pasha mausoleum (*türbe*), who knew *dīvānī*,²⁵⁸ as did Aḥmad-afandī Takhmīsī.²⁵⁹ Şoqo Kūrt ‘Alī-oghlū knew how to write *nesḥ*.²⁶⁰ Others were not so skilled. Muşṭafā Qlādno-oghlū was an ignoramus (*cāhil*) who “reportedly knew some *dīvānī* script” and would write letters for people. Apparently, this did not stop him from rising to the position of Janissary Āghā’s scribe.²⁶¹ Similarly, Ḥirshūm (Bosnian: *Hršum*) Mullā Ibrāhīm was a public scribe who “knew something like *nesḥ*,” but his hand was untrained.²⁶² This may have been because he had previously worked as a maker of coarse woollen cloth (*abacı*). There was also the case of an old cap-maker (*araçacı*), ‘Abd al-Karīm, who began to engage in writing (*kitābete sulūk emişdür*).²⁶³ Perhaps the worst of all was the case of the *Mrav ḥoca* (*Ant Ḥoca*) we have already met, who did not know any script, but nonetheless became a famous amulet writer (*nüşhacı*), popular with women and villagers unable to recognise his ignorance.²⁶⁴ Another man who struggled even to write a petition (*maḥzar*) finally became a scribe.²⁶⁵ Clearly, there were people who aspired to become scribes.

Some people copied books, as well as holding down jobs related to book culture, probably to supplement their income, but also to earn merit (Turkish: *sevāb*). Basheskī reports the death of Muşṭafā-beşe, a poor man, who was both scribe and bookbinder.²⁶⁶ Other copyists he mentions include a young person who knew the Qur’an by heart (*ḥāfız*) and who copied

²⁵⁶ “Ḥaḳīrden çok yazdı ve okudu ve büyüdi”, *MMB*, fol. 93b; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 307.

²⁵⁷ *MMB*, fol. 94a; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 307.

²⁵⁸ *MMB*, fol. 75b; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 262.

²⁵⁹ *MMB*, fol. 91a; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 299.

²⁶⁰ *MMB*, fol. 94a; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 308.

²⁶¹ *MMB*, fol. 129a; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 336.

²⁶² *MMB*, fol. 128b; *Saraybosnalı*, pp. 334, 335.

²⁶³ *MMB*, fol. 141a; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 361.

²⁶⁴ *MMB*, fol. 132b; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 344.

²⁶⁵ The same individual managed to give the sultan (*Pādişāh*) a petition about salaries during Friday prayers in Istanbul, *MMB*, fol. 132a; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 343.

²⁶⁶ *MMB*, fol. 59b; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 229.

Qur'an (*muṣḥaf*)²⁶⁷ and a court scribe who copied several fatwas by 'Alī-afandī.²⁶⁸ One of the Sarajevo 'ulamā' whom Basheskī held in highest regard was Walī Kh^waja-oghlū who copied out a *Wānqūlī*.²⁶⁹ The fact that this scholar copied this dictionary, the very first work to come out of Mūteferriḳa's printing press in Istanbul, shows the strength of manuscript culture in Ottoman Sarajevo.²⁷⁰

Basheskī commends the handwriting of some people who were not necessarily professional scribes or calligraphers. This includes a *madrasa* student who wrote a fine *ta'lik*,²⁷¹ the poet Maylī who "wrote beautiful *ta'lik*" and was an artist (*muṣavvir*).²⁷² Similarly, Bakrī Muṣṭafā made and sold pieces of calligraphy, but was better at drawing.²⁷³ At least one Sarajevo calligrapher in the 12th/18th century was probably an Egyptian merchant.²⁷⁴ In a number of cases, we learn that copyists also engaged in professions unrelated to books. Basheskī mentions a blacksmith (*ḥaddād*) and a grocer (*baḳḳāl*) who copied *muṣḥafs*.²⁷⁵ Basheskī does not specify the occupation of the man who copied a collection of verses (*dīwān*) by the Bosnian poet Qā'imī (d. 1091/1680), but says that he died on returning home from Egypt, to which he had accompanied his father on a business trip, suggesting that he was a merchant or at least from a family of merchants.²⁷⁶ Interestingly enough, Basheskī acknowledges learning from an officer (*odobaşı*) and saddle-maker (*sarrāc*), who helped him compose letters requesting army salaries.²⁷⁷ In his study Muhamed Ždralović registered the following professions among Bosnian copyists: calligrapher (*ḥaṭṭāt*), scribe (*kātib*, *mustansih*, *rāḳim*), *madrasa* student (*sūḥte*), dervish, judge (*kadi*), juriconsult (*muftī*), imam, cleric (*ḥoca*),

²⁶⁷ MMB, fol. 138b; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 357.

²⁶⁸ MMB, fol. 95b; *Saraybosnalı*, pp. 311, 312. Basheskī adds that this scribe was thrown out of the courthouse, together with his writing board (*peṣtahta*).

²⁶⁹ "Vanḳoli luḡatını ḳalemile yazdı," MMB, fol. 36a; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 145. His full name is Muḥammad Rāzī Walī Kh^waja-oghlū, in Bosnian sources known as Mehmed Razi Velihodžić.

²⁷⁰ *EI*² VI, p. 801. The printed copy of this dictionary was probably expensive, too.

²⁷¹ MMB, fol. 64b; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 238.

²⁷² MMB, fol. 36b; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 146. Mujezinović translates *muṣavvir* as "painter" (*slikar*).

²⁷³ "Acāyub güzel naḳş eder idi", MMB, fol. 140b; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 360.

²⁷⁴ MMB, fol. 69a; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 249. Basheskī reports that this person brought two ostriches and two strange rams to Sarajevo and was charging people to look at the animals, MMB, fol. 7b; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 76. His inheritance inventory is listed in S11/24-26, also S11/57, 58.

²⁷⁵ MMB, fol. 64a; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 238; MMB, fol. 76a; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 264.

²⁷⁶ MMB, fol. 131a; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 340. Filan's transcription indicates these were two different persons.

²⁷⁷ MMB, fol. 91b; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 300.

teacher (*mu'allim*), preacher (*vā'iz*) caller to prayer (*mu'ezzīn*), a person who knows the Qur'an by heart (*ḥāfiẓ*), a religious scholar (*mollā*). Apart from these, there were also persons with military ranks: *za'im* (*feudal knight*), *sipāhi* (provincial cavalryman), *çeribeşe* (a troop commander), *muḥāfiẓ* (fortress governor), *odobaşı* (Jannissary commander), fortress *āghā* (commander), fortress *kethudā* (warden), captain (*kapudan*), and *miralāy* (regiment commander).²⁷⁸ He also mentions the following professions: cook (*aşçı*), merchant (*tācīr*), and *madrasa* doorman (*bevvāb*). Basheskī clearly shows that book-copying was not confined to the scholarly ('*ulamā*') class and that people could move from being artisans to becoming scribes.²⁷⁹

Those who engaged in book-copying were not necessarily professional scribes – as there could be varying degrees of literacy. This also suggests that the line between '*ulamā*' and non-'*ulamā*' was not always clear. An imam could be a tailor and vice versa. Basheskī himself may have received training in haberdashery and, had he not found work as a scribe (in addition to being imam and Friday preacher), might well have had to practice his other trade.

Manuscripts were sometimes copied by groups of people for greater speed and where books were commissioned by a patron. This was the case with a 10th/16th century copy of *Sharḥ al-Wiqāya* (Commentary on the Safeguard), which was copied by a group of 25 persons.²⁸⁰ According to Muhamed Ždralović, copyists did not have their own guild in Sarajevo,²⁸¹ possibly because there were very few professional practitioners. Being a

²⁷⁸ Ždralović, *Bosansko-hercegovački prepisivači*, pp. 234-270.

²⁷⁹ Ždralović also gives biographies of the ten most prominent copyists in Ottoman Bosnia, including that of 'Abdallāh Hromić, a native of Stolac, who taught at a Mostar *madrasa*. The only Sarajevan among the ten copyists is Muṣṭafā b. ḥāj Muḥammad Zarkarī Sarāyī. See: Ždralović, *Bosansko-hercegovački prepisivači*, pp. 271-297. Overall, one of the most prolific copyists was ḥāfiẓ Ibrāhīm b. ḥāj Muḥammad al-Sarāyī (Sarajevan), who copied at least 66 copies of the Quran, the 32nd copy dating from 1194/1780, the 33rd from 1781 and the 66th from 1226/1811. For more on him see: *GHL I*, pp. 25, 26. Also quoted in: Rusmir Mahmutćehajić, *The Praised and the Virgin*, (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2014), p. 556.

²⁸⁰ Kasim Dobrača, "Skriptorij u Foči" [the Scriptorium in Foča], *Analī I* (1972), pp. 67-74. The work is listed under its short title as *Ṣadr al-sharī'a*. This is a commentary by Ṣadr al-sharī'a al-thānī (al-Aṣghar) 'Ubaydallāh b. Mas'ūd (d. 747/1346) on *Wiqāyat al-riwāya fī masā'il al-hidāya* 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), *GAL G I*, 377.

²⁸¹ Ždralović, *Bosansko-hercegovački prepisivači*, p. 243.

calligrapher or copyist did not necessarily imply a solid knowledge of the languages of the texts copied.²⁸²

Lastly, it is worth mentioning the only known case of a women copyist from Sarajevo, Āmina, the daughter of Muṣṭafā Chalabī, who completed a copy of the Qur'an in 1178/1764.²⁸³

2.5 Reading

One of the main sources of information on reading in the Ottoman Empire are the *majmū'as*, “personal collections of quotations, scribbles and other inscriptions, somewhat comparable to medieval European florilegia,”²⁸⁴ which often contain quotations from other works, whether in prose or verse, and notes about books read or borrowed. The term *majmū'a* also denotes a number of different works bound into a single volume. Some *majmu'as* are collections of copies of official letters or individual correspondence, while some are formal chancery manuals (Arabic: *inshā', munsha'āt*; Turkish: *inşā, münşe'āt*).²⁸⁵

Since there are no studies on reading in Ottoman Bosnia, we shall confine ourselves to a review of references to reading in Basheskī's *Chronicle*, which he usually refers to as a *majmū'a*, less commonly as book (*kitāb*) and notebook (*daftar*).²⁸⁶

Basheskī specifically mentions his own reading and that of others in several places: “Of great pleasure to me were talks with the shaykh of the al-hāj Sinān *takka* and reading books on taṣawwuf...”²⁸⁷ He adds that the shaykh loved him dearly and would give him “books in

²⁸² Ždralović gives some examples of scribal errors in *Bosansko-hercegovački prepisivači*, pp. 238, 239.

²⁸³ At the end, she wrote “Transcribed by the poor and humble Āmina, daughter of Muṣṭafā Chalabī, of the Žabljak *maḥalla* [quarter] in the city of Sarajevo, in the holy month of Rajab 1178. May the Chosen One on the Day of Assembly defend all those who pray for this scribe”. Quoted from Mahmutćehajić, *The Praised and the Virgin*, pp. 553, 554. For the original source see: *GHL* XI, pp. 30, 31.

²⁸⁴ Paić-Vukić, *The World of Mustafa Muhibbi*, p. 83. See especially the section on “Marginalia and Majmu'as”, pp. 83-87.

²⁸⁵ András Riedlmayer, “Ottoman copybooks of correspondence and miscellanies as a source for political and cultural history”, *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 61/1-2 (2008), pp. 201-214.

²⁸⁶ As with the question of literacy, one comes across generalizations and inaccuracies. For example, it has been claimed that reading clubs (*ķirā'ethāne*; Bosnian: *kiraethana*) already existed in Ottoman Bosnia, though they only started to appear in the Austro-Hungarian period. See: Ćurić, *Muslimansko školstvo*, p. 28. According to an issue of the *Bošnjak* newspaper from 1891, the Sarajevo reading club (Sarajevska čitaonica) was established three years earlier, i.e. 1888. *Bošnjak: list za politiku, pouku i zabavu* no. 2, year I (1308/1891), p. 1.

²⁸⁷ „...teşavvuf kitābları müṭāla'a...“, *MMB*, fol. 36b; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 147.

Arabic, as well as other books.”²⁸⁸ The expression “other” books presumably suggests books in languages other than Arabic, probably Turkish and possibly Persian.²⁸⁹

It comes as little surprise that Basheskī mentions reading when talking about the purpose behind writing his *Chronicle*: “In this 1174 [1760-61] year, I will record the names of the deceased, so that any who look upon this notebook (*daftar*) may invoke God’s mercy for me, just as I, a poor sinner, while looking at this notebook, think and ever recall how we must leave this world.”²⁹⁰

Basheskī took part in get-togethers known as *ḥelvā ṣoḥbeti*. After performing the early night prayer (*yatsı*), *dhikr*,²⁹¹ recitation from the Qur’an and invoking blessings on the Prophet (*ṣalavāt*) for half an hour, the group would spend another half an hour reading a book (*kitābdan bir yarım sā’at geceyi geçürürdük*). It is clear that reading during these gatherings was communal and probably aloud.

Basheskī’s description of the *ḥelvā ṣoḥbeti* reminds us of the fact that reading is only one of several ways in which readers engage with texts. While the books were read, the Qur’an or collections of prayers such as *Dalā’il al-khayrāt* (Proofs of Blessings)²⁹² were chanted.²⁹³ This

²⁸⁸ Filan, “Molla Muṣṭafā Basheskī’s Mecmua”, p. 513; „‘Arebī kitābları ve ğayrı...“, *MMB*, fol. 81a; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 274.

²⁸⁹ Basheskī does not claim any knowledge of Persian. The *Chronicle* is peppered with sayings in Arabic, but there are none in Persian.

²⁹⁰ “Şurū’ edelim işbu biy yüz yetmiş dört senesinde kime ecel gelürse kayd olunsun. Bu defterde ismine nazır olduğda rahmet okusunun için ve nazır eylediğümde bu ‘āṣī mücrim ve müznib ğāfil uyanup kendüne tedārik ve yolculık ve ölümü sözinde çuta,” *MMB*, fol. 61a; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 232.

²⁹¹ *Dhikr* (Arabic: remembrance), a Sufi ceremony consisting of chanting God’s name and various religious formulae.

²⁹² *Dalā’il al-khayrāt wa shawāriq al-anwār fī dhikr al-ṣalāt ‘alā al-nabiyy al-mukhtār* (Proofs of Blessings and Rays of Lights in Remembering the Prayer on the Chosen Prophet) is a collection of prayers and blessings (*ṣalawāt*) invoked on the Prophet and composed by Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Jazūlī (d.870/1465), *GAL G II*, 252, 253

²⁹³ “Reading, *tilāwah*, in fact, is different from a psalmody, *qirā’ah*, and, a fortiori, from intonation, *taghannī*, and from chanting, *tartīl*. Reading calls for exegesis and for tradition, and it seeks an intellectual, in-depth grasp of the text, by meditating on it, and pursuing the analysis of its contents through the appropriate methods of exegesis or hermeneutics”, Jacques Berque, “The Koranic Text: From Revelation to Compilation” in *The Book in the Islamic World: the Written Word and Communication in the Middle East*, ed. by George N. Atiyeh, p. 27.

distinction is made in the Bosnian language.²⁹⁴ Although Basheskī does not mention it specifically, it stands to reason that these gatherings also facilitated circulation of books among friends and scholars.

This group included, apart from ‘ulamā’, three tanners (one of who hosted the gatherings), a tanners’ guild master (*kalfa-beşe*), a barber, a grocer, a librarian, a scribe (Basheskī), a mosque imam, and two person of unspecified profession. Two men were *hāfiẓes* (one of the tanners and the librarian). Of the three persons whose profession is not mentioned, one bore the title of *mullā* (a religious teacher or a higher ranked judge) and one of *hāj* (one who has made a pilgrimage to Mecca).²⁹⁵

Basheskī also provides bits of information about other people’s reading. Aḥmad Qız was a merchant (*bāzergān*), a pilgrim (*hācī*) and a mosque imam who could read and write a bit (*bir parça okur yazar idi*). His estate included about 45 works.²⁹⁶

Several people stand out as having been voracious readers. Basheskī’s shaykh “could not tear his eyes away from the books.”²⁹⁷ Muḥammad Rāzī did not read anything slowly or with difficulty. When someone gave him a work (*yazı*), he would read it fluently (literally:

²⁹⁴ The Croat traveller Matija Mažuranić noted this difference in his travel account, using an archaic verb (*čatati*) to express it: “But the *hodža* [Arabic: *kh“āja*; Turkish: *hoca*] alone recites [*čati*], while the others merely [sic] say: ‘Amin! Amin!’” Mažuranić, *A Glance into Ottoman Bosnia*, p. 70. Mažuranić adds an explanation in a footnote: “*Čatiti* is what the Bosniaks call reciting by heart, preaching. And while we talk about reading a book, they study a book. They say ‘book’ even when speaking of nothing but a piece of paper. The *hodža* on the minaret calls out without reference to a book; but they never say that the *hodža* recites the *saba* [morning prayer] but that the *hodža* studies the *saba*, the *hodža* studies the *podana* [noon-prayer], the *hodža* studies the *ićindiu* [the afternoon prayer], studies the *akşam* [the sunset prayer], studies the *jacia* [the late evening prayer], etc. And when the time comes for him to make his call, he comes in front of his house (if there is no mosque), climbs up on a fence and starts to cry: *ićberila alah ilalah*, etc, *Alah ilalah* means dear God”. Mažuranić, *A Glance into Ottoman Bosnia*, p.70, n. Interestingly, Mažuranić compares the hands outstretched in Muslim supplication (*du‘ā*) with reading from a book, *ibid.* p. 93.

²⁹⁵ MMB, fol. 33b; *Saraybosnalı*, pp. 139, 140.

²⁹⁶ MMB, fol. 73b; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 259; His estate is registered in S15/64.

²⁹⁷ MMB, fol. 81a; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 274.

like water = *su gibi*). After his return from Istanbul, the librarian Maḥmūd-afandī would “take books on loan” (*ve geldikde ‘āriyyeten kitābları alup*).²⁹⁸

Then, there were those who had some level of reading skills: mullā Ismā‘īl Ghazno-oghlū, a dyer (*boyacı*) who “know how to read a bit” (*oğumağ bir parça bilürdi*).²⁹⁹ İbrāhīm Pūḥīk (Bosnian: Puhic) was a maker of jewels from gold and silver (*ķuyumcu*) who could read books in Turkish (*Türkiyāt kitābları oğurdi*).³⁰⁰ Aḥmad-afandī Mosto was a teacher (*mu‘allim-i şibyān*) who read Persian books (*Fārsī kitāb oğur idi*).³⁰¹ Others were not so competent. Another Aḥmad-afandī was a haberdasher (*ķazzāz*) and a former kadi who did not know how to read (*oğumağ bilmezdi*).³⁰² Basheskī probably means to say that the former kadi was not as strong a reader as he should have been or that he was not sufficiently learned, and not that he was completely illiterate.

The fact that Basheskī stressed the ability of some to read indicates that reading was still a skill mastered by only a minority of Sarajevans. At the same time, reading capabilities varied between those who read effortlessly and others who read a bit or who struggled to read even if they were expected to (as in the case of the former kadi-turned-haberdasher). Lastly, reading was not confined to scribes and teachers, but included artisans, too.

2.6 Books in Basheskī’s Chronicle

Overall, Basheskī mentions several works by title or indirectly (some of which we have already referred to):

Al-Kitāb (the Qur’an): Basheskī mentions the Qur’an when criticizing those who ill-treat *re‘āya* (tax-paying subjects): “Many in our town have no reason and are crazy if they think it is their duty to cause grief to *re‘āya*. As far as I know, such doings are contrary to the

²⁹⁸ MMB, fol. 36b; *Saraybosnali*, p. 146. Mujezinović translates the passage as follows: “Upon his return to Sarajevo he would borrow books and read them a lot”. (“Po dolasku u Sarajevo posuđivao bi i mnogo čitao knjige.”), *Ljetopis*, p. 187.

²⁹⁹ MMB, fol. 85b; *Saraybosnali*, p. 284.

³⁰⁰ MMB, fol. 86a; *Saraybosnali*, p. 285. Basheskī writes his surname in its Slavic form, as he does occasionally elsewhere in his *Chronicle*.

³⁰¹ MMB, fol. 129a; *Saraybosnali*, p. 336.

³⁰² MMB, fol. 86b; *Saraybosnali*, p. 286.

Qur'an (*kitāba muḥālif*)."³⁰³ He also used the word in the more general sense of the written corpus of key religious texts, especially the Qur'an and Hadith.

Dīwān-i Qā'imī: Ḥasan Qā'imī (d.1091/1680) was a Ṣūfī poet from Sarajevo who was forced to leave town after taking part in protests by the city poor.³⁰⁴ His tomb in Zvornik, the town in eastern Bosnia to which he was forced to move, later became a place of pilgrimage. Qā'imī wrote poetry in Turkish and Bosnian, but his most important work is a collection of poetry (*dīvān*) in Turkish. He is the only Bosnian writer whose work Basheskī mentions.³⁰⁵

Anwār al-tanzīl wa asrār al-ta'wīl (Lights of Revelation and Secrets of Interpretation) by Abū Sa'īd 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar b. Muḥammad al-Shirāzī al-Bayḍāwī (d.685/1286 or 692/1292).³⁰⁶ This popular Qur'an commentary was taught by a scholar for seven to eight years in one of Sarajevo's mosques.³⁰⁷

Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān (Life of Animals), an encyclopaedia of fauna by Abū al-Baqā' Kamāl al-dīn Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Damīrī (d. 808/1405). Basheskī reproduces briefly some interesting bits of information about strange lands and creatures, which he says he took from this work. At the end he adds that he found these "curiosities on pages belonging to a person by name of Sunbul-imam, but he does not show them to everyone."³⁰⁸ According to Mujezinović, the "Sunbul-imam" was the imam of a Sarajevo mosque known as the Sunbul Mosque.³⁰⁹

Malḥama (Armageddon); Turkish: *Melḥame* or *Melheme*):³¹⁰ Basheskī mentions this work seven times, more than any other. The first reference appears in an entry on the death of "crazy Muyo" (*mecnūn, divāne*)...who would always carry works like the *Malḥama*" (*ve da'ima*

³⁰³ MMB, fol. 31a; *Saraybosnali*, p. 134.

³⁰⁴ Jasna Šamić, *Dīwān de Qā'imī: vie et œuvre d'un poète bosniaque du XVII siècle* (Institut français d'études anatoliennes: Paris, 1986).

³⁰⁵ Basheskī reports the arrival in Sarajevo of the keeper (*türbedār*) of Qā'imī's mausoleum in Zvornik, MMB, fol. 144b; *Saraybosnali*, p. 206.

³⁰⁶ GAL G I, 416.

³⁰⁷ "Ḥāfız Tokatlı, vā'iz, tertibile va'z ederken yedi-sekiz yılda Beyzāvi'yi ḥatm eyledi, sene 1170", MMB, fol. 6a; *Saraybosnali*, p. 69.

³⁰⁸ *Ljetopis*, p. 402. I was unable to identify this passage in the manuscripts.

³⁰⁹ *Ljetopis*, p. 402, n. 73.

³¹⁰ *Malḥama* is the title of several divinatory works on the basis of meteorological phenomena. See: T.Fahd, "Malḥama", *El² VI* (1991), p. 247.

Mehleme gibi nüshalara meyl ve ders alurdi). He learned many things by heart, even though he was crazy (*divānelikle*). And he would carry around a big ink-case as though he were a great *nüshacı*.”³¹¹

It is clear that Basheskī regularly consulted this astrological work. In an entry for the year 1191/1777-8, he writes that, according to the *Malḥama*, whenever the first day of the New Year falls on a Monday, it is an omen of plague.³¹² Noting a red night sky while returning from a *ḥelvā şöbeti*, Basheskī interpreted it, on the basis of the *Malḥama*, as a sign of plague and wars. Afterwards, he saw redness in the sky for two or three nights and wrote that, according to the *Malḥama*, it foretold a “departure, that is, the death of a great ruler, but God knows best!”³¹³ On another occasion, Basheskī interpreted hail and thunders as harbingers of plague.³¹⁴ A very red sky was an indication of war against the Franks.³¹⁵ Lastly, on the basis of the *Malḥama*, he interprets an eclipse of the Sun as a sign of rain.³¹⁶

Multaqā al-abḥur (The Meeting Place of the Seas): this was a work of positive law much used in Ottoman *madrāsas* and courts. The author was Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥalabī (d.956/1549).³¹⁷ Basheskī mentions it in the following passage: “Walī Kh^waja-oghlū al-ḥāj Muḥammad-afandī taught *Multaqā* and astronomy (*‘ilm-i nūcūm*) at the Hüsrev-bey *maktab*.” He names several persons who attended these lectures, adding: “My humble self also attended the lectures.”³¹⁸ The person who taught the work was a scholar whom Basheskī includes in his crop of learned Sarajevans.

Mawlid (or *Mawlid al-Nabiyy* = the birthday of the Prophet): this is a generic term for a poem about the life of the Prophet which is usually recited to mark his birthday. The first *mawlid* to be written in Bosnian was composed and published in 1878.³¹⁹ It was a loose translation

³¹¹ MMB, fol. 75a; *Saraybosnali*, p. 261. Mujezinović translates *nüshalar* as “books” (*knjige*). The year of the entry is 1188/1774-45. Basheskī always spells *Malḥama* as *Mahlama*.

³¹² MMB, fol. 79b; *Saraybosnali*, p. 271.

³¹³ MMB, fol. 33b; *Saraybosnali*, p. 140. The entry belongs to year 1193/1779-80.

³¹⁴ MMB, fol. 32a; *Saraybosnali*, p. 166.

³¹⁵ MMB, fol. 38b; *Saraybosnali*, p. 151.

³¹⁶ MMB, fol. 144a; *Saraybosnali*, p. 204.

³¹⁷ GAL G II, 432; GAL S II, 642.

³¹⁸ MMB, fol. 16a; *Saraybosnali*, p. 101.

³¹⁹ Fehim Nametak, “Tradicija mevluda u Bosni i Hercegovini” [The Mawlid tradition in Bosnia-Herzegovina] in *Mevlud u životu i kulturi Bošnjaka* [The Mawlid in the life and culture of Bosniaks], (Sarajevo: Bošnjačka zajednica kulture Preporod; Institut za bošnjačke studije, 2000), p. 45.

of the celebrated *mawlid* by Süleyman Çelebî in Turkish. Bosnian Turcologist Fehim Nametak has noted the prevalence of Çelebî's *mawlid* in Bosnian libraries' manuscript collections. It is more than likely that the word *mawlid* in Basheskî's Chronicle refers to the *mawlid* by Çelebî: "Zeher Muşţafâ knew the language of the Jews, a broker (*tellâl*), a joker, he knew *mawlid* by heart (*hıfz-ı mevlid-i şerîf ezber okurdu*)."³²⁰ There was also a certain 'Abd al-'Azîz-afandî, who would recite *mawlid* in the Bey's mosque, where he served as muezzin.³²¹

Taqwîm al-tawârîkh (Chronological Tables): in a section of *the Chronicle* miscellanea, Basheskî gives a list of the most important events to have taken place in the Ottoman Balkans (Rumeli) since the establishment of Ottoman rule. He mentions – without giving the year – the death of "ḥāj Muşţafâ Khalîfa, known as Kâtib Chalabî, the author of *Taqwîm al-tawârîkh*, may God's mercy be upon him!"³²²

Uştuwânî (Ottoman Turkish: *Üşüvânî*): the popular religious primer entitled *Risāla-i Uştuwânî* or *Uştuwânî risālesi* (the Epistle of Uştuwânî) was written by Uştuwânî Muḥammad (d.1072/1661), a preacher from Damascus and a leader of *ḳadizādeli* movement. Reporting the death of a saddler-maker (*sarrāc*), Basheskî describes him as *Üşüvânî ḥocası*, i.e. "He taught [the book of] *Uştuwânî*..."³²³

The miscellanea in the Chronicle include a list of prominent scholars arranged by year of death. In some cases, the titles of their works are also given. Basheskî does not refer to any sources for the list.³²⁴

2.7 Education

*Maktab*s

The mainstay of Muslim education in Ottoman Sarajevo was the *maktab* (elementary school). *Maktab*s were usually founded as endowments next to mosques on private initiatives.³²⁵ Some were specifically for boys or girls, while others were co-educational.

³²⁰ MMB, fol. 73a; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 257.

³²¹ MMB, fol. 77a; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 265. The Bey's Mosque is the Gāzî Hüsrev-bey Mosque.

³²² MMB, fol. 47b.

³²³ MMB, fol. 74a; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 259.

³²⁴ MMB, fol. 44b, 45a.

³²⁵ Ćurić, *Muslimansko školstvo*, pp. 25, 34.

Sometimes, female *maktabs* were run by female teachers (*bula*, *hōdža*, or *hodžinica* in the local variants).³²⁶

Hajrudin Ćurić distinguishes two types of *maktab*: those founded and/or supported by endowment and those founded and supported by the congregation, who also paid the *khwājja* (Turkish: *hōca*). The latter was a less secure form of employment, as the pay was often symbolic.³²⁷

The earliest written reference to a *maktab* dates back to 11 Rabī' al-Awwal 882/23 June 1477, and is found in a charter issued in the name of the Bosnian Sanjak-bey Ayās-bey son of 'Abd al-Ḥayy, but there must have been *maktabs* before his.³²⁸ Each quarter (*maḥalla*) usually had its own *maktab*.³²⁹ In 1109/1697, 32 of them were destroyed.³³⁰ According to Ćurić, Sarajevo had around 50 *maktabs* in 1214/1800-1295/1878.³³¹

It is difficult to establish with certainty which books were used for teaching in Bosnian *maktabs*. Hajrudin Ćurić's study, the main academic work on the subject of Bosnian Muslim education during the Ottoman period, does not provide any sources for his section on the *maktab* textbooks, which is why it has been omitted here.³³²

It is equally difficult to know what proportion of children attended *maktab*, but given the religious value attached to attending them, it is hard to imagine the majority of children being left out.

³²⁶ Ćurić, *Muslimansko školstvo*, p. 44.

³²⁷ Ćurić, *Muslimansko školstvo*, pp. 34, 35. Basheski mentions the annual salary of a *maktab* teacher to be around 130 *guruş*, *MMB*, fol. 29a; *Saraybosnali*, p. 129.

³²⁸ Fehim Spaho, "Počeci kulturno-prosvjetnog rada u Sarajevu" in *Prilozi historiji Sarajeva*, ed. Dževad Juzbašić, p. 108; Ćurić, *Muslimansko školstvo*, p. 34 citing Šabanović, "Dvije najstarije vakufname u Bosni", *POF* 2 (1951), pp. 29-37.

³²⁹ Fehim Spaho, "Počeci kulturno-prosvjetnog rada u Sarajevu" in *Prilozi historiji Sarajeva*, ed. Dževad Juzbašić, p. 108.

³³⁰ Ćurić, *Muslimansko školstvo*, p. 25.

³³¹ The other sources Ćurić quotes give the following figures: 75 *maktabs* for 1463-1878, according to Seid M. Traljić, with 35 *maktabs* attended by 1,223 boys and 304 girls based on data for the year 1856; 49 *maktabs* according to the *majmū'a* of Sayfallāh-afandi Hadžihusejnović, which the author began writing in 1878. Ćurić gives a list of *maktabs* based on these two lists (Table 1, pp. 49-54 and Table II, pp. 55-59). Similarly, the number of *maktabs* for the whole of Bosnia-Herzegovina is equally hard to establish with certainty, Ćurić, *Muslimansko školstvo*, p. 45.

³³² Ćurić, *Muslimansko školstvo*, pp. 39-42.

Sarajevo court registers contain copies of numerous charters issued for the endowment of *maktabs*. Thus, Khadija, daughter of Aḥmad, bequeathed a shop and a warehouse (*mağaza*), stipulating that 12 *guruş* should be reserved from the profit for the *maktab* teacher (23 Muḥarram 1205/ 2 October 1790). Similarly, according to the charter of ḥāj Aḥmad son of ḥāj ‘Alī, who bequeathed two shops and a warehouse in the beginning of Muḥarram 1218/ 23 April 1803, nine *guruş* were to be given each year to the teacher of the *maktab* located next to the Ferhad-bey Mosque; army officer (*ḥaseki*) and ḥāj Muḥammad Memish-āghā, son of ḥāj ‘Abdallāh, erected a *maktab* in his *maḥalla*. His charter of 11 Rabi’ al-Ākhir 1230/23 March 1815 shows that he left two shops and a plot of land out of which the salary of the *maktab* teacher, as well as to a *maktab* teacher in another *maḥalla*.³³³

Hajrudin Ćurić mentions two *maktabs* created specifically for teaching guild journeymen.³³⁴ Since the young journeymen had to receive their training in their master’s shop during the day, their *maktab* started early in the morning and finished around 9 a.m. Similarly, there was a *maktab* for girls who worked as servants in well-to do Sarajevo households.³³⁵

Ćurić claims that teaching in Bosnian *maktabs* was conducted in Turkish: “There were also difficulties in teaching because it was conducted in Turkish, which the children did not understand.”³³⁶ It is impossible to know for sure whether this was really the case. All we have in support of the claim are the religious primers and prayer manuals written in Turkish or translated from Arabic into Turkish by Bosnian scholars. An early example of the former is the primer entitled *Majma’ al-jawāhir* (the Collection of Jewels) by Ḥasan ibn Nāṣūḥ al-Dumnawī (i.e. from Duvno in western Bosnia) who lived in the second half of the 11th/17th century.³³⁷ ‘Uthmān Shughlī (d. 1127/1715), who lived and worked in Sarajevo, translated *Shurūṭ al-ṣalāt* (the Conditions for Prayer) from Arabic into Turkish.³³⁸ Even if

³³³ Ćurić, *Muslimansko školstvo*, p. 60.

³³⁴ Ćurić, *Muslimansko školstvo*, p. 66. As Ćurić adds in the footnote, quoting Seid M. Traljić, that it goes without saying that the journeymen and servant girls attended regular *maktabs*. There were two *maktabs* intended to cater specifically to those who could not attend normal classes due to work.

³³⁵ Ćurić, *Muslimansko školstvo*, p. 66.

³³⁶ Ćurić, *Muslimansko školstvo*, p. 25.

³³⁷ Ms. 2049, *GHL* II, pp. 657, 658; Khānjī, *Jawhar al-asnā’*, p. 72.

³³⁸ The manuscript (ms.456) is kept at the Sarajevo Historical Archive. For more see *Katalog arapskih, turskih i perzijskih i bosanskih rukopisa, II*, edited by Haso Popara (London and Sarajevo: Al-Furqan Islamic Heritage Foundation and Sarajevo Historical Archive, 1433/2011) p. 446-447. For more on ‘Uthman Shughlī and his other works see: Haso Popara, “Nekoliko novih podataka o Visočaninu Osman-ef. Šugliji: prilog izučavanju

textbooks were in Turkish and Arabic, it is hard to imagine that teaching itself would be carried out in any language other than the vernacular.³³⁹ Translations of religious primers into Bosnian (in Arabic script) were known as early as 1119/1708, as a description of a manuscript copy of the *Sharḥ-i Waṣiyyatnāma-i Birkawī* (the Commentary on the Testament of Birkawī) shows.³⁴⁰ A poem from north west Bosnia teaches children to recall the shapes of letters by comparing them to various objects.³⁴¹ One of the early works in Bosnian is a poem in which a young *madrassa* student (*sūḥte*) chats up a girl, comparing her beautiful face to various letters of the Arabic alphabet.³⁴²

According to the Bosnian scholar Mehmed Handžić (d. 1944), the first Bosnian to try writing religious texts in the vernacular was Muḥammad Rāzī Walī Kh^wāja-oghlū (d.1200/1786). His other writings in the vernacular include a short work on acquiring good morals,³⁴³ a text on the causes of dying without faith and a text about God, the Prophet and eschatological themes.³⁴⁴ His translations into Bosnian include a supplication (*du‘ā’i kunūt*) translated from

književnosti Bošnjaka na orijentalnim jezicima”, [Some new information about Osman-ef. Šugli of Visoko: a contribution to the study of Bosniacs’ literature in Oriental languages], *Anali* XXXII (2011), pp. 7-34.

³³⁹ According to Hadžijahić, the vernacular was introduced as part of the school curriculum only in 1884 in the case of *ruždijas*, against strong opposition by some who thought primers should be published in Arabic and Turkish only. Turkish-language textbooks continued to be used as late as 1912. See Hadžijahić, *Od tradicije do identiteta*, pp. 107, 127, 130.

³⁴⁰ This main text of the work and the commentary by shaykh Ṣadr al-dīn al-Qūnawī were in Turkish while the Bosnian translation is given interlinearly by an unknown person. The copying was completed on 29 Dhū’l-Qa’da 1119/21 February, 1708. Neither the name of the copyist nor the place are known. The manuscript was acquired from a Sarajevan in 1959 and deposited in the Oriental Institute in Sarajevo (no.4609), where it perished in the shelling of 17 May, 1992. Salih Trako, “Šerhi Wasiyyetname-i Bergiwi sa prevodom na srpskohrvatskom jeziku” [Sharḥ-i Waṣiyyatnāma-i Birkawī with a translation into Serbo-Croat language], *Anali* V-VI (1978), pp.117-126. On the literature in the Slavic vernacular in the Arabic script see the following two works: Sejfidin Kemura and Vladimir Ćorović, *Serbokroatische Dichtungen Bosnischer Moslems dem XVII, XVIII und XIX Jahrhundert* (Sarajevo, 1912); Muhamed Huković, *Alhamijado književnost i njeni stvaraoci* [The Alhamiado literature and its creators], (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1986).

³⁴¹ Ćurić gives an example from a little town of Kulen-Vakuf in north west Bosnia, *Muslimansko školstvo*, p. 40.

³⁴² For this poem entitled *Ašiklijski elif-bê* (a Lover’s Alphabet), see: Abdurahman Nametak, *Hrestomatija bosanske alhamijado književnosti* [An Anthology of Bosnian alhamijado Literature], (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1981), pp. 65-72.

³⁴³ Mehmed Handžić, “Rad bosanskohercegovačkih muslimana na književnom polju” [The work of Bosnian-Herzegovinian Muslims in literary field], in *Izabrana djela, I*, pp. 418, 419. Handžić says the text was published in a calendar entitled *Maktab* in 1326/1908, but does not give any details about the manuscript.

³⁴⁴ Mehmed Handžić, “Rad bosanskohercegovačkih muslimana,” p. 419.

Arabic, as well as possibly a translation of a Turkish work called the *Shayṭān-nāme* (Book of Devil), which describes a dialogue between the Prophet and the Devil.³⁴⁵

Another prominent writer of poetry in the vernacular written in the Arabic script was ‘Abd al-Wahhāb Ilhāmī (d. 1186-1236/1773-1821). In one of his poems he urges young people to study:

Pisati je veliki siklet (To write is a great discomfort),
I pisanje jeste zahmet (And writing is a major inconvenience),
od hajra ima rahmet (there is mercy in good),
molim vam se učite! (I beg of you, study!).

In the same poem he writes:

Daim kašljem i kišem (I keep coughing and sneezing),
sakat rukom sve pišem (and writing with my wounded hand),
zaif hasta jedva dišem (Weak and sick, I can barely breathe),
molim vas se, učite! (I beg of you, study!).

Later on he continues:

Uči svatko ko može (Let everyone learn who is able),
za života svak može (in life everyone is able),
a kad umre ne može (but not when he dies),
jedan nam Bog pomože! (May the One God help us)!

³⁴⁵ Mehmed Handžić, “Rad bosanskohercegovačkih muslimana”, p. 432; Nametak, *Hrestomatija*, pp. 304-315. Nametak gives a transcription of the text on the basis of a manuscript kept at the Gāzī Hüsrev-bey library (Ms.1154). Another copy of the work in Bosnian is kept at the Sarajevo Historical Archives (Ms. R-604/3), *Catalogue of the Arabic, Turkish, Persian and Bosnian Manuscripts in the Historical Archives Sarajevo*, vol. II, edited by Haso Popara (Al-Furqan Islamic Heritage Foundation and the Historical Archive Sarajevo, 1433/2011), pp. 714, 715. That copy was made in Jumādā al-Ākhir 1328/June-July 1910.

It is interesting to note that he clearly felt a need to justify writing in the vernacular, leading him to add the following verses:

Ne smijte se, naš je jezik (Do not laugh, it is our language),

Kalem piše svaki jezik (the pen writes in any language),

Božiji rahmet sasma velik (God's mercy is truly great),

molim vam se, učite! (I beg of you, study!).³⁴⁶

In another poem in the vernacular he writes:

Hajde sinak ti uči (Come on, son, learn),

Po sokaku ne trči (do not run in the street),

Ko je džahil i neznan (whoever is an ignorant and unknowledgeable),

Sam je po sebi nesretan (is unhappy in himself),

Kod Boga je grehotan (and sinful before God),

I kod svita sramotan (and ashamed before the people),

Uči sinak i piši... (learn, son, and write...).³⁴⁷

For those who would not study, teachers did not hesitate to use physical punishment. Basheskī refers to a ten year old boy who was beaten by his religious teacher (*hoca*), prompting Basheskī to condemn “malicious and stupid *hocas*.”³⁴⁸

Madrasas

It is not clear how many *madrasas* Sarajevo had prior to 1109/1697. As we have seen in the previous chapter, the earliest Sarajevo *madrasas* to be established were the Firuz-bey Madrasa (established between 910-18/1505-12), the Gāzī Hüsrev-bey Madrasa (established 943/1537), and the Kemal-bey *madrasa* (established 944/1538). Several other smaller *madrasas* operated in Sarajevo, but none of them appear to have survived into the 12th/18th

³⁴⁶ Muhamed Ždralović, “Abdulvehab ibni Abdulvehab Žepčevi-Bosnevi (Ilhamija)”, *Anali* V-VI (1978), pp. 129, 132.

³⁴⁷ Muhamed Hadžijamaković, *Ilhamija, život i djelo* [Ilhamija, Life and Work], (Sarajevo: El-Kalem, 1990), p. 73.

³⁴⁸ *MMB*, fol. 130a; *Saraybosnalı*, pp. 337, 338.

century.³⁴⁹ They included: the Muḥammad-bey Isabegović Madrasa (established around 926/1520), the ‘Ulamā-pasha Madrasa (established between 947-958/1541-1551), the Ḥāj Muṣṭafā Madrasa, the Ḥāj Bashārat Madrasa (established early 11th/17th century), and the Ḥāj Ḥasan Madrasa (established early 11th/17th century).³⁵⁰ What is certain is that two of the three early ones were destroyed in 1109/1697: the Firuz-bey and the Kemal-bey Madrasas. Neither was ever rebuilt, because the foundations which supported them were also destroyed. The only *madrasa* to survive the sack of 1109/1697 was the Hüsrev-bey Madrasa.³⁵¹

The loss of these *madrasa* must have been at least one of the reasons for the establishment of new ones over the course of the 12th/18th century:³⁵² the Ḥāj Ismā‘īl-āghā Miṣrī Madrasa (established around 1124/1712), the Madrasa-i Jadīd, also known as the ‘Inādiyya (established 1179/1766-67), and the Sīnzāde Madrasa (established 1188/1775).

The standard accounts of the history of Sarajevo’s *madrasas* are based on articles written during the later Austro-Hungarian period and tend to be overly critical of *madrasa* education. Studies since, and especially those conducted during Socialist times, are particularly keen to draw attention to their seemingly endless shortcomings.

Teaching in Bosnian *madrasas* must have been conducted on the basis of textbooks used in other Ottoman *madrasas*. No proper study of the Bosnian *madrasa* textbooks has been made so far.³⁵³

As with the *maktabs*, Hajrudin Ćurić states that *madrasa* education was conducted in Turkish, but offers no evidence.³⁵⁴ It is true that the surviving *madrasa* textbooks are all in

³⁴⁹ Sejfullah Hadžihusejnović does not list them in his *majmū‘a*. At the same time he does mention the Firuz-bey and Kemal-bey *madrasas*, of which he says that their “foundations have long been unknown”, *ibid*, pp. 87, 88.

³⁵⁰ Kasumović, *Školstvo*, pp. 157, 158.

³⁵¹ Ćurić, *Muslimansko školstvo*, pp. 87, 88.

³⁵² Faroqhi quotes Zilfi as arguing that new *madrasas* were built in the 18th century in order to counter the divisive theological tendencies of the *kaḍilzādelis* and their followers. See Faroqhi, *Subjects of the Sultan*, p. 66.

³⁵³ As with the *maktabs*, the only work to treat the *madrasa* textbooks in Ottoman Bosnia is the afore-mentioned study by Hajrudin Ćurić. Again, the author does not give sources for his lists of book titles and it is hard to dispell the impression that it is arbitrarily compiled. On this see: Ćurić, *Muslimansko školstvo*, pp. 119-125. Before producing his list, the author writes, without elaborating any further: “Not all *madrasas* used all the textbooks mentioned in this book“ („U svim medresama nisu se služili svim udžbenicima koji se navode u ovoj knjizi.“), *ibid*, 119.

Arabic and Turkish. On the other hand, most Bosnian *madrasas* belonged to the lower grade and must have had Bosnian professors who were teaching Bosnian students making it more likely that exposition of the texts was in the vernacular.

Mosques

In spite of the emergence of *madrasas* and *maktabs* as primary foci of education in the later period of Muslim civilization, mosques never lost their role as the original places of instruction and education. Unlike *madrasas*, mosques offered religious instruction to the wider public, through sermons and study circles, as indicated by Basheskī's reference to ḥāfiẓ ẖoḡatlı's teaching of the *Anwār al-tanzīl wa asrār al-ta'wīl* (Lights of Revelation and Secrets of Interpretation), a Qur'an commentary by Abū Sa'īd 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar b. Muḥammad al-Shirāzī al-Bayḡdāwī (d.685/1286 or 692/1292).³⁵⁵ Although he does not give any details, it is quite possible that such activities took place in a mosque (though the likelihood of its being taught in private gatherings at home should not be excluded either), especially given that the scholar in question was also a preacher (*wā'iz*).

Mosques also served as places where women could receive instruction in religion. Basheskī mentions a mosque imam by name of 'Uthmān-kh^wāja who taught women in the city quarters or *maḥallas* (*maḥallelerde zenneleri okudurdi*).³⁵⁶ It is difficult to imagine a male stranger, even if he was a religious scholar, having access to women in the privacy of their homes. When Basheskī refers to *maḥallas* as places of teaching, he probably means by this the mosques in the *maḥallas*. Basheskī also mentions one Amīr Aḡmad, who would "give sermons to women" (*'avretlere va'z edermiş*).³⁵⁷

The Khānqāh

Before founding his *madrasa* in 943/1537, Gāzī Hüsrev-bey had already built a Ṣūfī convent or lodge known as the *Khānqāh* in 937/1531. Most scholars argue that this establishment was neither a *madrasa* nor a *takka*, but a school for advanced Ṣūfī training and education.³⁵⁸ Some scholars consider the *Khānqāh* just another type of *madrasa*. As Ćurić points out,

³⁵⁴ Ćurić, *Muslimansko školstvo*, p. 119.

³⁵⁵ GAL G I, 416.

³⁵⁶ MMB, fol. 126b; *Saraybosnali*, p. 330.

³⁵⁷ MMB, fol. 141a; *Saraybosnali*, p. 361.

³⁵⁸ Ćurić quotes Kreševaljaković and Handžić. See further Džemal Ćehajić, "Gazi Husrevbegov hanekah u Sarajevu" [The Gāzī Hüsrev-bey Khānqāh in Sarajevo], *Anali* IV (1976), pp. 3-8.

however, it makes no sense for a patron to build two *madrasas* next to each other, so this was probably an institution with a different scope.³⁵⁹ In the early 20th century, the *Khānqāh* was merged with the Gāzī Hüsrev-bey Madrasa.³⁶⁰

Judging by the type of works copied there, its curriculum was not confined to just *Ṣūfī* works. Ahmed Halilović lists the following manuscripts as having been copied at the *Khānqāh*:³⁶¹ *Humāyūn-nāme* (the Book of *Humāyūn*, literature),³⁶² *Sharḥ al-Kāfiya* (A commentary on *al-Kāfiya*, Arabic grammar),³⁶³ *Sharḥ Dībāja al-Miṣbāḥ* (a commentary on introduction to *al-Miṣbāḥ*, Arabic grammar),³⁶⁴ *al-Iftitāḥ* (the Opening, Arabic grammar),³⁶⁵ *al-Wāfiya fī Sharḥ al-Kāfiya* (the Sufficient for the Commentary on *al-Kāfiya*),³⁶⁶ *Majmū‘ al-abyāt* (a collection of poetry),³⁶⁷ *Lughat-i ‘arabī-türki*³⁶⁸ (Arabic-Turkish dictionary), *Aḥādīth* (Sayings of the Prophet),³⁶⁹

³⁵⁹ Ćurić, *Muslimansko školstvo*, pp. 127, 128.

³⁶⁰ The merger happened in the 1920/21 school year, Ćurić, *Muslimansko školstvo*, p. 135.

³⁶¹ Ahmed Halilović, “Djela prepisana u Gazi Husrev-begovoj medresi i Hanikahu” [Works copied in the Gāzī Hüsrev-bey madrasa and the *Khānqāh*] in *450 godina Gazi Husrev-begove medrese u Sarajevu* [450 years of the Gāzī Hüsrev-bey madrasa in Sarajevo], (Sarajevo, 1988), pp. 201-224. The author collected the data from Muhamed Ždralović’s study on book copyists and from the Gāzī Hüsrev-bey library catalogues.

³⁶² A Turkish translation of *Kelila and Dimna* by ‘Alī Chalabī Kınālīzāde (d.950/1543), *Flügel* III, 1867; Ms. 171, Ždralović, *Bosansko-hercegovački prepisivači*, II, p. 40. The manuscript is kept at the Croatian Academy of Arts and Sciences (ms. OZJA 22).

³⁶³ A commentary by Sa’d al-dīn Mas’ūd b. ‘Umar al-Taftazānī (d.791/1389) on the introduction to *al-Miṣbāḥ*, a work of Arabic grammar, by al-Muṭarrizī, *Ahlwardt* VI, 6545, 6546; *HKh*, 1709; Ms. 425, Ždralović, *Bosansko-hercegovački prepisivači*, II, p. 78. This manuscript was part of Sarajevo’s Oriental Institute collection (ms. OIS 94/1) which was destroyed during the bombardment of the city on 17 May 1992.

³⁶⁴ This is a work of Arabic syntax; Ms. 426, Ždralović, *Bosansko-hercegovački prepisivači*, II, p. 78. This manuscript was part of Sarajevo’s Oriental Institute collection (ms. OIS 1377/3).

³⁶⁵ *Al-Iftitāḥ fī sharḥ al-Miṣbāḥ*, by Ḥasan-bāshā b. ‘Alā’ al-dīn al-Aswad (d. 1025/1616), a commentary on *al-Miṣbāḥ* by al-Muṭarrizī, *HKh*, 1708. According to *Ahlwardt*, the author died 800/1397, *Ahlwardt* VI, 6538; Ms. 427, Ždralović, *Bosansko-hercegovački prepisivači*, II, p. 78. This manuscript was part of Sarajevo’s Oriental Institute collection (ms. OIS 94/3).

³⁶⁶ Ms. 5778, *GHL* VI, p. 360.

³⁶⁷ Ms. 673, Ždralović, *Bosansko-hercegovački prepisivači*, II, p. 115. This manuscript was part of Sarajevo’s Oriental Institute collection (ms. OIS 1377/2).

³⁶⁸ Ms. 674, Ždralović, *Bosansko-hercegovački prepisivači*, II, p.115. This manuscript was part of Sarajevo’s Oriental Institute collection (ms. OIS 94/3).

³⁶⁹ Ms. 675, Ždralović, *Bosansko-hercegovački prepisivači*, II, p. 208. The manuscript was part of Sarajevo’s Oriental Institute collection (ms. OIS 1377/5).

Lughat-i Firishta-oghlū (Dictionary of Firishta-oghlū),³⁷⁰ *Ayyuhā al-walad* (O, my son, a book of religious advice),³⁷¹ *Raf' al-khafā' 'an dhāt al-shifā' sharḥ al-Shifā' li 'Alī al-Qārī* (Lifting the Hidden from the Essence of the Cure, a commentary on the Cure by -'Alī al-Qārī, a work of hadith),³⁷² *Multaqā al-abḥur* (the Meeting-place of the Oceans, law)³⁷³ *Khayr al-qala'id sharḥ Jawāhir al-'aqā'id* (the Best of Necklaces, a Commentary on the Jewels of Beliefs, theology),³⁷⁴ *Ḥāshiya 'alā Tawḍīḥ Nukhbat al-fikr* (a Supercommentary on the Explication of the Most Select Thought, hadith),³⁷⁵ *al-'Arūḍ al-andalūsī* (Andalusian Metrics, Arabic metrics).³⁷⁶

Basheskī refers to the *Khānqāh* in several places in his *Chronicle*, mainly in relation to the death of some *Khānqāh* students (one of whom was also a student of his)³⁷⁷ and to shaykh

³⁷⁰ An Arabic-Turkish dictionary in verse by 'Abd al-Laṭīf b. 'Abd al-Majīd Firishta-oghlū (d. before 879/1474); Ms. 676, Ždralović, *Bosansko-hercegovački prepisivači, II*, p. 115. The manuscript was part of Sarajevo's Oriental Institute collection (ms. OIS 1377/5).

³⁷¹ 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; Ms. no. DOB 61c/2, Ždralović, *Bosansko-hercegovački prepisivači, II*, p. 209. The call mark given by the author is unclear. It may refer to a manuscript which is not described in the Gāzī Hüsrev-bey library catalogues.

³⁷² A commentary by 'Alī b. Sulṭān Muḥammad al-Qārī (d. 1014/1605) on the hadith collection entitled *al-Shifā' bi ta'rīf ḥuqūq al-Muṣṭafā* (Healing by Recognising the Rights of the Chosen One) by Abū al-Faḍl 'Iyāḍ b. Mūsā al-Yaḥṣubī al-Sabtī (d.544/1149), *GAL G I*, 369/1; *GHL I*, pp. 303, 304.

³⁷³ *The Meeting Place of the Seas*, a work of positive law by Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥalabī (d. 956/1549), *GAL G II*, 432; Ms.1094, *GHL II*, p. 487.

³⁷⁴ A commentary by Ṣāliḥ 'Uthmān al-'Uryānī (d. 1168/1754) on a theological poem entitled *al-Qaṣīda al-nūniyya*, *GAL G II*, 229. Ždralović, *Bosansko-hercegovački prepisivači, II*, p. 215. The manuscript was part of the Oriental Institute collection (ms. no. OIS 4382/2).

³⁷⁵ A supercommentary by 'Alī b. Sulṭān Muḥammad al-Hirawī al-Qārī (d. 1014/1605) on *Nuzhat al-naẓar sharḥ Nukhbat al-fikr*, a short treatise on ḥadīth with commentary, both written by Shihāb al-dīn Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī (d.852/1448), *GAL G II*, 395/16; *GAL S II*, 540/16; Ms. 324, *GHL I*, p. 243.

³⁷⁶ *'Arūḍ andalūsī* or *'Arūḍ Abī al-Jaysh* (L.48-52), a short treatise on Arabic metre by Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn Abū al-Jaysh al-Anṣārī al-Andalūsī (d. 626/1229), *S I*, 544/1; Ždralović, *Bosansko-hercegovački prepisivači, II*, p. 223. The manuscript was part of the Oriental Institute collection (ms. OIS 3426). In his list of works copied at the Gāzī Hüsrev-bey *khānqāh* the author has included *Risāla fī sujūd al-sahw*, a short treatise by Aḥmad b. Sulaymān Ibn Kamāl-pāshā (d. 940/1533) on the prostration performed during the daily prayer in order to correct mistakes which invalidate the prayer; Ms. 552, *GHL II*, p. 450. However, this manuscript was copied in 1296/1878.

³⁷⁷ Basheskī reports the death of a *Khānqāh* student who was killed by other students in a violent brawl, *MMB*, fol. 75b; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 262; *MMB*, fol. 88b; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 290. Elsewhere he reports the death of a young friend who came from outside Sarajevo and joined the dervishes under Basheskī's influence, *MMB*, fol. 90a; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 296.

Muḥammad-afandī Walī Kh^wāja-oghlū, the shaykh of the *Khānqāh* whose knowledge Basheskī praises.³⁷⁸

Takkas

The centre of every *takka* is its shaykh who provides spiritual training and counsel to his disciples and leads *dhikr* sessions. As a Ṣūfī, Basheskī spoke highly of his master, the shaykh of Sinan's *takka*. Perhaps the longest entry in the *Chronicle* is dedicated to him on the date of his death, in the year 1191/1777-78. The shaykh, who died at the ripe age of 80 years,³⁷⁹ “loved me, this poor man, very much and would give me to read books in Arabic and other books. He wrote nicely and could never keep away from a book and was never sated with reading. He was knowledgeable, skilled in astronomy, the construction of magic squares (*vefk*) and geomancy (*reml*) and knew by heart many supplications (*du'ās*) and prayers (*munācāt*). He was skilled in Arabic and Persian. He was strict with his subordinates, which the ignorant took for anger, but he was only keeping things in order. He was thin and quick. He was widely travelled and was once even on an Indian boat. He was a true shaykh, but did not reveal secrets to the ignorant....”³⁸⁰

The Mawlawī *takka* on the banks of the Miljacka River probably played a role in the cultivation of Jalāl al-dīn Rūmī's works such as his *Mathnawī*.³⁸¹

The *takkas* and those who frequented them (whether as initiates or those whom Basheskī describes as “sympathizers of dervishes” or *muḥibb-i dervīṣān*) often found themselves at odds with the *ḳadizādelis* of Sarajevo. Their informal leader, the preacher Amīr from Amasya, would rant against the *takkas* and dervishes, but, in the end, he left Sarajevo. On his return, he joined the Sufis, but kept a low-profile out of embarrassment.

Basheskī also refers to a Shaykh ‘Alī *takka*, whose history is otherwise unknown.³⁸²

³⁷⁸ MMB, fol. 30b; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 133; MMB, fol. 35b; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 145; MMB, fol. 96b; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 314. Basheskī reports that at one point the same scholar sold his post as *maktab* teacher, for which he had been receiving a salary of 60 *akçe*, for 750 *guruş* to another person. MMB, fol. 30b; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 133.

³⁷⁹ Basheskī often gives a round figure for the age of the deceased and many of them are supposed to have died at the age of 80. This figure should clearly be taken as an approximation.

³⁸⁰ MMB, fol. 81a; *Saraybosnalı*, pp. 274, 275.

³⁸¹ Kerima Filan quotes Suraiya Faruqi about *takkas* playing a “great role in making written culture accessible to anyone interested in books” and calls them “doors to the world of books”. For the tradition of studying Rūmī in Sarajevo see: Emir Lelic, *Reading Rumi in Sarajevo: the Mevlevi Tradition in the Balkans* (Lulu Press, 2006).

2.8 Learned Men³⁸³

In addition to his references to other people's education, when recording their deaths, Basheskī dedicates several pages to the learned men of the city in an entry for the year 1194/1780:

“Let me say something about the men of learning in our city at this time, so that those who come after me, at other times, and view (use) this *mecmū'a*, may satisfy their curiosity and enjoy their leisure.”³⁸⁴

He goes on to introduce about a half-a-dozen people, starting with the 55 year-old Kasrī Aḥmad-afandī, who came from a family of kadis (*kādızāde*) and was himself a courthouse scribe who had proved skilful at his job (*maḥkemedē kitābetde māhir idi*). He also preached on Fridays at the [Gāzī-Hüsrev] Bey mosque and excelled in the science of stylistics (*‘ilm-i ma’an*), while being by no means ignorant in other fields of learning either.³⁸⁵

In another passage, Basheskī refers to Aḥmad-afandī Dubnichelī (Dubničanin), professor at the Gāzī Hüsrev-bey *madrassa*, who “could not be said to be ignorant of any science (*her ‘ilm-den bilmem demezdi*), but excelled in the knowledge of grammar (*naḥv*) and logic (*mantık*).”³⁸⁶

As we have already noted, Basheskī reserves his longest passage on learned Sarajevans for (Muḥammad Rāzī) Walī Kh^wāja-oghlū: “He was muderris at the *Khānqāh*. A native [of the city]. Skilled at inheritance law (*ferā’iz*). In fact, we could say that he was perfect, a perfect master (*pehlivān*) of inheritance law. He was a scribe at the courthouse. Like the aforementioned Aḥmad-afandī, he was skilful in writing (*kitābetde māhir idi*), and was knowledgeable (*‘ārif*) on questions of jurisprudence. He wrote poetry and chronograms under the sobriquet of Rāzī. He did not read anything slowly or with difficulty. When someone gave him a work (*yazı*), he would read it fluently (literally: like water = *su gibi*). Everyone considered him knowledgeable (*ma’rifetli*). He was fast and precise in calculus (*ḥesāb*) and each year he made astronomical calendars (*taḳvīm-i zīc*). There was no

³⁸² MMB, fol. 19a; *Saraybosnalı*, pp. 112, 113; MMB, fol. 85a; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 283.

³⁸³ Kerima Filan has sections on the lerned men of the city according to Basheski's *Chronicle* in: Filan, “Life in Sarajevo in the 18th Century”, pp. 331-335; Filan, “Reading Molla Mustafa Basheski's mecmua”, pp. 518-521. I have sought to include more names and material from *the Chronicle* in this dissertation.

³⁸⁴ “Reading Molla Muṣṭafā Basheski's Mecmua” in *Saraybosnalı*, p. 518.

³⁸⁵ MMB, fol. 35b; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 145.

³⁸⁶ MMB, fol. 35b; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 145.

astronomer (*müneccim*) like him in Bosnia. He had studied under Begimam whom he surpassed because he knew Persian. He had a sweet hand (*ṭatlı yazısı*) and he copied Wanqūlī's dictionary. Like the two previous *khwājās*, he was over 50 years of age. He used to be an apprentice (*mülāzim*). His name is al-ḥāj Muḥammad-afandī. He taught students and boys.³⁸⁷ He did not frequent mosques or act like a hypocrite. He went on pilgrimage to Mecca twice.”³⁸⁸ Basheskī makes no reference to Muḥammad Rāzī Walī Khwāja-oghlū's texts or translations into the vernacular.

While he praises some individuals, Basheskī criticizes others, like Amīr Amāsyālī, the *madrasa* preacher we met above. As his *madrasa* was located in a remote spot, Basheskī writes, this man would climb the mosque pulpits in search of fame. His sermons were delivered in beautiful Turkish, but he kept ranting against “shaykhs, dervishes, *takkas*, dervish hats (*kulāhs*), kadis and Sufi orders.” With the help of ignorant people from the market, he was appointed mufti, but his fatwas turned out all topsy-turvy (*yanğur yunğur*) and he was demoted. He went to Istanbul, where he reportedly joined the *naqshbandī* order. As we noted above, on his return to Sarajevo, he kept a low profile out of embarrassment.³⁸⁹

As someone from the countryside, Chaynichelī ḥāj Muḥammad-afandī, professor at the Gümüşzāde *madrasa* (which is another name for the Simzāde *madrasa*), lacked the polite manners of a city person. He distinguished himself in logic (*mantıq*), *teşvürāt* and belles lettres (*ādāb*). While he was not ignorant in other sciences, he knew neither Turkish nor Persian (*Türkiyāt ve Fars*), neither poetry (*nāt*), nor prose (*naẓm*). In this regard he was like Amīr Amasyālī. “His conversation centred on what he had seen in Arabia” (*Ve bunun şoḥbeti dahī ‘Arabistān’da gördüğü şeyleri söylemekdür*).³⁹⁰

Other learned Sarajevans included:

³⁸⁷ “Sühtelere ve şıbyāna ders verürdi”, *MMB*, fol. 145; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 145. Mujezinović translates this sentence: “He taught the boys and students of the Hanikah [*Khānqāh*]” (“Predavao je dječacima i učenicima Hanikaha.”), *Ljetopis*, p. 185.

³⁸⁸ *MMB*, fol. 35b, 36a; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 145. For the books in his estate, see: Mehmed Mujezinović, “Biblioteka Mehmed-Razi Velihodžića, šejha i muderisa Hüsrev-beyova hanikaha u Sarajevu”. Basheskī notes that Muḥammad Rāzī died during pilgrimage to Mecca. According to Mujezinović, Muḥammad Rāzī was born around 1135/1722.

³⁸⁹ *MMB*, fol. 36a; *Saraybosnalı*, pp. 145, 146.

³⁹⁰ *MMB*, fol. 36a; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 146.

- Svṛāqo-oghlū al-Sayyid Muḥammad-afandī, who was “our mufti,” old in years, but his fatwas were dependable (*mü‘temed ‘aleyh*).³⁹¹
- Gharībī al-ḥāj Aḥmad-afandī had a lot of books (*çok kitābı vardır*). He taught syntax (*şarf*) and grammar (*naḥv*) and also gave sermons. He was always writing (*dā’im yazı yazardı*).³⁹²
- Kurānī, also known by his sobriquet Maylī, was a hairy dervish from a renowned family (*kışızāde*). He was knowledgeable (*‘ārif*), witty (*zarīf*), and not just a poet (*şā’ir*), but a good one (*şā’ir-i kāmīl*), in fact, without peer in the whole of Bosnia. In addition to his intelligence and good manners, he distinguished himself by his knowledge of syntax (*şarf*) and grammar (*naḥv*), but less so of Arabic. He was also an artist (*muşavvir*) and wrote beautiful *ta’līk*.³⁹³

Basheskī’s crop of learned Sarajevans includes a librarian whom he calls “our kh^wāja” (*hacamuz*) Mullā Maḥmūd³⁹⁴ a librarian (*kütübḥāne ḥāfızı*), a teacher (*mu’allim-ı şıbyān*), and an imam. His father was a peasant. He knew the Qur’an by heart (*ḥāfız*) and spent some time in Istanbul. On his return to Sarajevo he would lend and borrow books a lot, and even though without a teacher, his intelligence enabled him to surpass all the above-mentioned. Still, he was poor, shy and looked like a peasant. But in all sciences he would solve the most difficult problems and was especially good at astronomy (*felekiyāt ‘ilminde ve nücūmda sihr*), in which he could be described as a second Ptolemy. His handwriting was not good, but he had many manuscripts (*nüshaları*) in calculus (*ilm-i ḥesābı*), multiplication (*ḍarb*), extracting (*iḥrac*), division (*taḳsīm*). He liked dervishes.³⁹⁵

Basheskī then writes about himself: “As for myself, this sinful poor man, I was quite shy and withdrawn. That is why I did not give lectures or sermons. I only taught *madrasa* students who would come to me. Of great pleasure to me were my talks with the Ḥāj Sinān takka’s shaykh and reading books about *taṣawwuf* (...) I would be thinking and working day and night until the knowledge revealed itself to me and I understood the essence of *tasawwuf* science and I did not find it difficult or boring. I comprehended everything, all things clear

³⁹¹ MMB, fol. 36a; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 146.

³⁹² MMB, fol. 36a, 36b; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 146.

³⁹³ MMB, fol. 36b; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 146.

³⁹⁴ Basheskī does not state this man’s name, but his identity is inferred from information he gives elsewhere.

³⁹⁵ MMB, fol. 36b; *Saraybosnalı*, pp. 146, 147.

and unclear became known to me.”³⁹⁶ Basheskī clearly considered himself a learned man who kept a low profile out of shyness of disposition, a claim which may, however, be more a literary device than anything else. He associated with scholars (*‘ulamā’*) and would be invited with other *‘ulamā’* to guild festivals (*kuşname-teferrüc*).³⁹⁷ Nevertheless, he considered himself a true scholar and one of those who knew the inner meaning of things (*‘ulamā-i bâṭin*), as opposed to those who knew external appearances only.

The last of the learned men Basheskī writes about is Niqshichali Mullā Ḥasan, a native of Nikšić (present day Montenegro, but then part of the Bosnian eyalet) who married a Sarajevan woman, and was a zealot (*mute‘assib*). His sermons were delivered in a language that was half-Turkish, half-Bosnian (*yarı Türçe yarı Bosnaca va‘z ederdi*).³⁹⁸

For Basheskī, knowledge of Arabic was the precondition for being a proper scholar and he gives short descriptions of five more men who were literate (*yazarlarından*) and knew Arabic. These were:

- ‘Aṭṭār Mullā Muḥammad, a tailor (*terzi*), a *ḳadizādeli*, but a good man, who could not, however, speak Turkish (*Türçesi kıt*);
- Mullā Ibrāhīm, a maker of coarse woollen cloth (*abacı*) who was also literate (*oḳur yazar*), bright and sagacious and knew how to make astrolabes.
- His father al-ḥāj Muşṭafā, also an *abacı* and also educated.
- His brother Mullā Aḥmad. All three of them wore *kh^wājas’* turbans. (*hocalar saruḡı*).

He concludes: “There are many more lettered (*oḳur yazar*) people, so I don’t know who to start with. I am not going, however, to speak about those who can’t speak Arabic, so as not to make this book of mine too lengthy. There are *ḥāfiẓes* and *kadis*, some of whom can speak Arabic and some of whom can’t.”³⁹⁹

As we can see, the five people he considered learned enough to list included artisans like tailors and makers of coarse woollen cloth (*abacı*).

³⁹⁶ MMB, fol. 36b, 37a; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 147; “Reading Molla Muşṭafā Basheskī’s Mecnua” p. 512. Except for the first three sentences, the translation is taken from “Reading Molla Muşṭafā Basheskī’s Mecnua”.

³⁹⁷ MMB, fol. 15b; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 97.

³⁹⁸ MMB, fol. 37a; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 147.

³⁹⁹ “Reading Molla Muşṭafā Basheskī’s Mecnua”, p. 519; MMB, fol. 37a; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 148.

His mention of Ptolemy is not the only case in which he compares someone with a great scholar from the past. Reporting the death of mullā Ṣāliḥ Ṣākārāt, a knife-maker (*biçaqçı*) and a mosque imam, Basheskī says he imagined himself to be “kh^wāja Birkawī.”⁴⁰⁰ He also calls a talented student of Muḥammad Rāzī “another Sībawayh”.⁴⁰¹

2.9 and Women

Women rarely figure in his *Chronicle*, but are not absent altogether. Often they are nameless. Basheskī mentions his own wife as the “their (i.e. his children’s) mother”, without giving her name.⁴⁰² However, he records the passing away of several women, who by their titles appear to have been learned. These titles are *bula*, *hoca* or *hoca kadın* and *bacı*. In Bosna *bula* designates “a female Muslim religious teacher” or “a religiously educated Muslim woman, which performs certain clerical duties for women.”⁴⁰³ *Hoca* or *hoca kadın* (Bosnian: *hōdža*, as opposed to *hodža* in the sense of Muslim clergyman) is the vernacularized title for a religiously learned woman. Lastly, *bacı* (Bosnian: *bādža* or *badžijanija*) is the term for a female Ṣūfī master which, according to historian Muhamed Hadžijahić, formed something of a movement from the mid 11th/17th until the mid 12th/18th century.⁴⁰⁴

These titles are used in the following cases: *Bula han(ım) Maçkar begüm dīvāne* (died in 1170/1756-7);⁴⁰⁵ *Bacı kadın*, the wife of Ibrāhīm-āghā, who was famous (*meşhūr*) (died 1172/1758-9);⁴⁰⁶ and Rajab-dedo’s wife (*bacı hoca kadın*), who was also well-known (*meşhūr*) (died 1181/1767-8);⁴⁰⁷ Basheskī here combines the terms *bacı* and *hoca*, perhaps to stress the woman’s learning. Reporting the disappearance of a certain Hasan-beşe Suşa in the year 1207/1793, he describes him as the husband of a *hoca-kadın*.⁴⁰⁸ Basheskī also reports an event that appears to have shaken the people of Sarajevo. When body parts of a murdered

⁴⁰⁰ MMB, fol. 79b; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 271.

⁴⁰¹ MMB, fol. 66b; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 242.

⁴⁰² MMB, fol. 17b; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 106.

⁴⁰³ “Muslimanska vjeroučiteljica; vjerski obrazovana muslimanaka, koja za žene vrši izvjesne sveštenečke dužnosti”, Škaljić, *Turcizmi*, p. 153. Škaljić additionally defines it as a form of address by an apprentice to his master’s wife as the term’s secondary meaning.

⁴⁰⁴ Muhamed Hadžijahić, “Badžijanije u Bosni” [Badžijanis in Bosnia], *Anali VII-VIII* (1982), pp. 109-133.

⁴⁰⁵ MMB, fol. 59a; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 226.

⁴⁰⁶ MMB, fol. 60a; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 230.

⁴⁰⁷ Basheskī writes this man’s name as follows: رجب دءادو , MMB, fol. 66b; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 242.

⁴⁰⁸ MMB, fol. 131a; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 340. His property is listed in the inheritance records: S34/24.

prostitute were found under a bridge, several women were accused and put to death, including Mollā Kadın Pīroka, who was a learned woman (*oğur yazar bir hātūnı*) and in Basheskī's view, innocent.⁴⁰⁹

During the Ottoman period, three out of 104 Sarajevo residential quarters (*maḥallas*) bore the names of women: the Sinān Voyvoda hātūnı maḥallesi,⁴¹⁰ the Dūdī-būla maḥallesi,⁴¹¹ and the Ḥašekī hātūnı maḥallesi.⁴¹² It appears that these neighbourhoods were named after the mosques they grew up around and which were established by these women benefactors.

2.10 Knowledge of languages

With the notable exception of its Spanish-speaking Jews, Sarajevo's population in the 12th/18th century was entirely Slavic-speaking in terms of their mother-tongue. Foreigners came as merchants, bureaucrats and religious officials, and occasionally some of them settled there, but their numbers were too small to change the Slavophone character of the city.⁴¹³ From early on Ottoman officials posted to the province also tended to be native Bosnians who rose through Ottoman administrative system. Foreign visitors regularly commented on the fact that many Ottoman officials at the Porte (including thirteen grand

⁴⁰⁹ MMB, fol. 55a; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 195.

⁴¹⁰ According to Bejtić, she was the wife of Sinān Voyvoda, who died in war in Croatia, and a former slave of Gāzī Hüsrev-bey's sister. The *maḥalla* was named after her mosque and the endowment she left in 1552. Alija Bejtić, *Ulice i trgovi Sarajeva* [The streets and squares of Sarajevo], (Sarajevo, 1973), p. 306. In the list of old *maḥallas* (p. 17), Bejtić gives the *maḥalla* name as *Sinān Vojvod maḥallesi*, but in most cases the inheritance records refer to *Sinān Voyvoda hātunı maḥallesi*.

⁴¹¹ Bejtić, *Ulice i trgovi*, pp. 17, 250. The *maḥalla* was named after the Dudi-bula mosque.

⁴¹² Bejtić states that the *maḥalla* and its mosque were founded by Gāzī Hüsrev-bey's wife Šahidar [Shāhidār], *Ulice i trgovi*, pp. 17, 415.

⁴¹³ Hadžijahić, *Od tradicije do identiteta*, pp. 85, 94. These included Ottoman officials from outside Slavic lands, Greek-speaking Orthodox bishops, merchants from Egypt and from Italian cities. Basheskī mentions several Arabs: a man called Yasīr from Malta, an Arab from Khalīl al-Raḥmān (a Friend of the Compassionate, the Arabic name for Hebron), calligrapher Ḥasan Mişrī (the Egyptian), Amīr Amasyālī (from Amasya, Anatolia), Ḥāfiẓ Khalīl-afandī Gümülcinelī (from Gümülcine/Komotini, in present-day Greece), etc.

viziers, according to one count) were Slavic-speaking.⁴¹⁴ The Porte had a Cyrillic department in its diplomatic chancery.⁴¹⁵

Basheskī calls his mother tongue “Bosnian” (*Bosnālī, Boşnakça*) and, in a famous passage of the *Chronicle*, he compares it favourably with Arabic and Turkish, claiming that Bosnian is much richer than either of the other two.⁴¹⁶

During the Ottoman period Bosnian became suffused with Turkish loan-words, especially words from every day life and religion. Most of the borrowings were originally Arabic and Persian mediated via Turkish. Writing around 1255-56/1840, the Austrian Croat traveller Matija Mažuranić notes: “In Bosnia the Illyrian language is spoken intermixed with Turkish words...If one wished to write down all the Turkish words that the Bosniaks use, it would make a whole fat book.”⁴¹⁷ He also adds: “They could express all their thoughts also in the pure Illyrian language [i.e. Slavic vernacular], but one is simply unable to persuade them that [these words] are not ours but Ottoman.”⁴¹⁸

But, as his *Chronicle* shows, the knowledge of other languages, especially of Arabic, Ottoman Turkish and Persian, was part and parcel of what was considered desirable education and cultural refinement.

Ottoman Turkish

Turkish was introduced to Bosnia by the ruling elite which consisted of the ethnically Turkish element and which came to incorporate Slavic converts like the previously-mentioned poet and statesman ‘Adnī. With time the ruling class also recruited the local

⁴¹⁴ M. Kostić, *Srpski jezik kao diplomatski jezik jugoistočne Evrope od XV-XVIII veka* [Serbian as the language of diplomacy from the 15th to the 18th century], (Skopje, 1924), pp. 9, 10. On language and the existence of ethnic cliques at the Porte see, Faroqhi, *Subjects of the Sultan*, p. 40.

⁴¹⁵ The chancery is treated in some detail in M. Kostić, *Srpski jezik kao diplomatski jezik jugoistočne Evrope od XV-XVIII veka*.

⁴¹⁶ *MMB*, fol. 155b. For a linguistic analysis of this passage see Mevlida Karadža, “Zabilješka Mula-Mustafe Bašeskije o odnosu prema jeziku [Mullā Muşţafā Basheskī’s note about attitudes to language], in *Prilozi historiji Sarajeva*, ed. Dževad Juzbašić, pp. 191-195. As Hadžijahić argues, those “most prominent for their greater Oriental learning” were probably the main transmitters of Turkish loan-words into Bosnian, Hadžijahić, *Od tradicije do identiteta*, p. 85.

⁴¹⁷ Mažuranić, *A Glance into Ottoman Bosnia*, p. 87.

⁴¹⁸ Mažuranić, *A Glance into Ottoman Bosnia*, p. 87.

Bosnian Slavic-speaking population through *devşirme* (the boy tribute), which in Bosnia also included the already Islamicized Bosnians.

As early as the early 10th/16th century native Bosnians were appointed to administrative and military posts in the province. By virtue of their training and education, these Bosnians spoke Turkish and became the transmitters of loan words into the vernacular. As the numbers of fluent speakers of Turkish in Bosnia declined, so did exposure to spoken Turkish for the would-be learners.⁴¹⁹

At the same time, the vast majority of the Bosnian Muslim population remained Slavic-speaking as there was no mass settlement of Turkish-speaking people into Bosnia.⁴²⁰ The dominance of the vernacular was further reinforced by the influx of Muslim Slavic-speaking refugees from the regions of Lika, Slavonia, Dalmatia and Serbia in the 18th and early 19th centuries.⁴²¹

According to Ekrem Čaušević, there were two types of Turkish used in Ottoman Bosnia. There was the official Ottoman language with its literary (*faşîh türkçe*) and middle varieties (*orta türkçe*). This official language, of both varieties, was used in administration, law, the military, education and high culture. There was also the Bosnian variety of Turkish, which was “a lingua franca” for local Muslims communicating with native speakers of Turkish and members of other ethnicities (Albanian, Greek, etc) who came to Bosnia. It was also a language of prestige and a symbol of religious and cultural identification with the Ottoman Turks.⁴²²

It used to be argued that the Bosnian variety of Turkish was a dialect of West Rumelian Turkish. Recent scholarship has shown it to have been a “grammatically simplified and ‘corrupted’ form of Turkish,” strongly shaped by the linguistic patterns of the Slavic

⁴¹⁹ Ekrem Čaušević, *The Turkish Language in Ottoman Bosnia*, (İstanbul, İsis Press, 2014), p. 11.

⁴²⁰ Individual cases seen in *the Chronicle* include the afore-mentioned preacher Amîr Amaysâlî.

⁴²¹ Hadžijahić, *Od tradicije do identiteta*, p. 94. Hadžijahić notes widespread claims of non-Slavic origins for many Bosnian Muslim families (usually supposed to be from Anatolia or the Levant), which he sees as attempts to cover up “infidel” ancestry, *ibid.* It is grossly inaccurate to state, as the Serbian historian Milorad Ekmečić (d. 2015) does in writing about Ottoman Balkan towns, that “With time, all the towns acquired a Muslim Turkish-speaking majority”, Milorad Ekmečić, *Dugo kretanje između klanja i oranja: istorija Srba u Novom veku (1492-1992)* [A long move between slaughter and plowing: a history of Serbs in the New Age (1492-1992)], drugo, dopunjeno izdanje (Beograd: Zavod za udžbenike, 2008), p. 65.

⁴²² Čaušević, *The Turkish Language*, p. 11.

mother-tongue of its speakers.⁴²³ The main channel through which it was introduced and spread was the schools (*maktabs* and *madrasas*).⁴²⁴

Bosnian scholar Kerima Filan distinguishes the following walks of life as ones in which Ottoman Turkish was most used in Bosnia: *administration, law, education, religion, and poetry*.⁴²⁵ An important role was performed by Bosnians who learned Turkish and served as mediators between the administrators and the people, especially at the courts. Basheskī belonged to that group, since he wrote wills and compiled lists of property. In addition to Arabic, Turkish was indispensable for anyone who hoped to join the ranks of the ‘*ulamā*’. Books were written and read mainly in Arabic and Turkish and both languages were taught at Bosnian *madrasas*. Many works, originally composed in Arabic and Persian, were available via Turkish translations and this includes works of Arabic grammar. Spoken Turkish also had a niche as a language of religion. We have already seen Basheskī’s comment regarding Amīr Amasyālī, a scholar and native speaker of Turkish, who would deliver sermons in Turkish.⁴²⁶ As Kerima Filan observes, his sermons were probably meant for the narrow circle of those with a sufficient mastery of the language to understand him.⁴²⁷

Ekrem Čaušević has commented on the paucity of Turkish grammars as further evidence of the greater prestige Islamicised Slavs attached to the knowledge of Arabic and Persian, the languages of theology and poetry respectively, as against the perceived uncouthness and less aesthetic qualities of Turkish.⁴²⁸ As a result, there are few writings to suggest a

⁴²³ Čaušević, *The Turkish Language*, pp. 9, 11.

⁴²⁴ Čaušević, *The Turkish Language*, p. 25.

⁴²⁵ Kerima Filan, “Turski jezik u Bosni u osmansko doba” [Turkish language in Bosnia in the Ottoman period] *Anali XXXV* (2014), pp. 151-178. The author also mentions the use of Turkish for business purposes, *ibid.* pp. 168, 169.

⁴²⁶ *MMB*, fol. 36a; *Saraybosnah*, p. 145.

⁴²⁷ Filan, “Turski jezik u Bosni u osmansko doba”, p. 160. Filan mentions the role of *takkas* in the spread of Turkish, quoting Faroqhi on *takkas* playing a “great role in making written culture accessible to anyone interested in books”, and calls them “doors to the world of books”. If this was the case, then Arabic and Persian would have spread at least as much as Turkish, since the *takkas* also had books in those languages (for more on this, see *Chapter III*). One should also not forget the role of Bosnian Sufis such as Qā’imī in popularizing religious poetry in the vernacular.

⁴²⁸ Ekrem Čaušević, “Tri katolička teksta na turskome jeziku iz Bosne i Hercegovine” [Three Catholic texts from Bosnia-Herzegovina in Turkish language] in *Trava od srca Hrvatske Indije, II* (Zagreb: Sekcija za orijentalistiku Hrvatskoga filološkog društva i Filozofski fakultet Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, 2000), pp.145, 146.

“philological interest in the Turkish language,” in contrast to the rich literature on Arabic and Persian. The situation was reversed when it came to the value attached to Turkish socially, since Turkish was seen as “above all a socially prestigious language, so that the degree of one’s knowledge of it was an indicator of an individual’s incorporation into the new order and new economic, cultural, and religious conditions.”⁴²⁹

The fact that Bosnian Muslims often referred to themselves (and were described by others) as “Turks” might have added an element of prestige to the language as part of their religious identity. This is well-illustrated by a hand-written notebook (*daftar*) with a dictionary, which, in addition to words and phrases, includes the following sentences advocating the learning of Turkish:

“After this, let us learn Turkish, God willing, so that we may not stay downtrodden and be ashamed in front of those who know Turkish. That we may know what those who know how to speak it are saying. That we may not be ashamed like the tongue-tied, and that we may not be called Poturs [half-Turks]. So that they [who speak the language] may say: ‘These, too, know Turkish.’ That will make us glad.”⁴³⁰ But, the prestige attached to Turkish should not be overstated, insofar as we have already seen the pride Basheskī takes in his native tongue in comparison to both Arabic and Turkish. Nevertheless, he includes several humorous stories in the *Chronicle* about Bosnians who landed themselves in all sorts of awkward situations because of their poor command of Turkish.⁴³¹

Turkish elicited little interest among Bosnian Christians, with the exception of Franciscans who learned it for missionary purposes and in order to communicate with the Ottoman

⁴²⁹ Čaušević, “Tri katolička teksta”, p. 146; Filan, “Turski jezik u Bosni u osmansko doba”, pp.169, 170.

⁴³⁰ *Ve bundan sonra inşaallah Türçe öğrenelüm/Poslije ovoga ako Bog da turski učimo/ayak altında kalmayalım, Türçe bilenden utanmayalım/da pod nogam ne ostajemo, ko turski z(i)na da ga se ne sdidimo/Söyleme bilenler söyledüklerinde, bilelüm ne soyleorlar/Koji umiju govorit kad govore da znamo š(o)to govore/Dilsuz gibi oturmayalım, ne poturlar demesünler bize/Kao brez jezika da ne sidimo, vala, ti su poturice nek nam ne reku/Bunlar da Türçe bilür desünler. Öyle olup hazz ederüz/Ijovi turski z(e)naju nek reku. Tako budev d(i)rago će nam bit.* Quoted in: Kerima Filan, “Turski jezik na Balkanu: jučer, danas?” [Turkish in the Balkans: Yesterday and Today?] (an unpublished paper, kindly provided by the author), p. 10. On the basis of the ink and paper, Filan dates the dictionary broadly to the 19th century. On *Potur* as a term for Bosnian Muslim peasants, see Malcolm, *Bosnia: a Short History*, pp. 60-63.

⁴³¹ MMB, fol. 99a-116a.

administration.⁴³² Several Franciscan monasteries have preserved small numbers of manuscripts in Arabic script, most of them in Ottoman Turkish.⁴³³

Basheskī regularly comments on the linguistic proficiency of his fellow Sarajevans, pointing out whether they spoke the language well or not. Among those who knew Turkish were the head of the boot-makers guild, the head of the bookbinders guild (*mücellidler kethüdāsi*), who loved speaking Turkish (*Türkçe söylemek severdi*),⁴³⁴ a standard-bearer (*‘alemdār*),⁴³⁵ and an army officer (*haseki*).⁴³⁶ On the other hand, there was the aforementioned mullā Hasan, whose sermons were half-Turkish, half-Bosnian, or an old tailor who was a good man, but who reportedly did not know Turkish.⁴³⁷

Arabic

It is usually said that for Muslims in Ottoman Bosnia, Arabic was the language of worship and scholarship. We have seen how Basheskī refers to the knowledge of Arabic among Sarajevans:

⁴³² Čaušević, “Tri katolička teksta”, pp. 146, 147. Čaušević quotes Jelenić as saying: “Already in 1665, Brother Nikola Požežanin asked Vjeroplođnica to send him two Illyrian and two Turkish dictionaries, because some monasteries have asked for them to teach the young the Turkish language, so as to be able to distribute holy sacraments in Turkish provinces”, Julijan Jelenić, *Kultura i bosanski franjevci, I* [Culture and Bosnian Franciscans], (Sarajevo: “Prva hrvatska tiskara” Kramarić i M. Raguž, 1912), p. 233, quoted in: Čaušević, “Tri katolička teksta”, p. 146. Čaušević’s article presents a manuscript containing three Catholic texts in Turkish, but written in Roman script. The manuscript comprises a Turkish-Italian dictionary, a grammar of Turkish in Latin, and what Čaušević calls a reader: a collection of short texts in the form of conversation exercises, proverbs, a Catholic catechism, etc. The manuscript is undated, but Čaušević argues that the dictionary at least was written after 1857, Čaušević, “Tri katolička teksta”, p. 150. Towards the end of Ottoman rule, the Bosnian Franciscans also set up so-called agencies in Sarajevo and Istanbul, which were tasked with safeguarding the interests of the order and the flock in front of Ottoman administration in Bosnia and at the Porte, Čaušević, “Tri katolička teksta”, p. 147.

⁴³³ Vančo Boškov, *Katalog turskih rukopisa franjevačkih samostana u Bosni i Hercegovini* [A Catalogue of Turkish Manuscripts in Franciscan monasteries in Bosnia-Herzegovina], (Sarajevo, 1985).

⁴³⁴ MMB, fol. 92a; *Saraybosnali*, p. 301. He was also a “lover of the ‘ulamā’, pious and *ḳadizādeli*” (*muḥibb-i ‘ulemā, ṣōfi, ḳāḏizādeli*).

⁴³⁵ MMB, fol. 90b; *Saraybosnali*, p. 297. He also loved the ‘ulamā’ (*‘ulemāyi severdi*). Mujezinović points out that this was probably the same person whose estate was given in S21/155.

⁴³⁶ MMB, fol. 95a; *Saraybosnali*, p. 311.

⁴³⁷ MMB, fol. 90b; *Saraybosnali*, p. 297.

“There are many more literate (*oğur yazar*) people, so I don’t know who I should start with. I am not going, however, to speak about those who can’t speak Arabic not to make this book of mine too comprehensive. There are *hafizes* and *qadis*. Some of them can speak Arabic, some can’t.”⁴³⁸ For Basheskī, the true mark of the scholar is the knowledge of Arabic. This suggests that knowledge of Turkish was more common than of Arabic, mastery of which was usually passive (some reading knowledge). Those who could speak it were certainly in a minority.

Persian

In addition to Ottoman Turkish and Arabic, a well-rounded Ottoman scholar (*‘ālim*) was expected to learn Persian. The mastery of these three languages was also the hallmark of a cultivated Ottoman gentleman (*afandī*). The study of Persian is closely related to Persian literature and the works of Sa’dī, ‘Aṭṭār, Jāmī, Ḥāfiẓ Shirāzī and Rūmī. The Mawlawi order, whose *takka* was one of the first buildings to be constructed in Ottoman Sarajevo, is particularly associated with the cultivation of Persian.⁴³⁹

Among those who knew Persian, Basheskī mentions his own shaykh from the Sinān *takka*, who “was learned in Arabic and Persian”. Ḥāfiẓ Khalīl-afandī from Gümülcine (present day Komotini in Greece) knew some Arabic and Persian, but belonged to the *‘ulamā’* who only had the outer knowledge and was ignorant of *taṣawwuf*.⁴⁴⁰ Mullā ‘Abdī, who learned *ta’līq* and *dīvānī* script during a military campaign, was a lover of dervishes and would sometimes come to the *takka*. He had studied some grammar, syntax and Persian.⁴⁴¹ Here the association between *takkas* and Persian is clear. Aḥmad-afandī Mosto was a teacher of children (*mu’allim-i ṣibyān*) who read Persian books (*Fārsī kitāb oğur idi*).⁴⁴² Among those who had a great desire to learn and made good progress in Persian was Ḥusayn, a slave from Montenegro.⁴⁴³

⁴³⁸ “Reading Molla Muṣṭafā Basheskī’s Mecmua”, p. 519; *MMB*, fol. 37a; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 148.

⁴³⁹ Faroqhi, *Subjects*, p. 26. On the history of Persian language and literature in Bosnia, see: Hamid Algar, “Persian Literature in Bosnia-Herzegovina,” *Journal of Islamic Studies* 5/2 (1994), pp. 254-267.

⁴⁴⁰ “...ẓāhir ‘ulemāsından idi, ‘ilm bāṭında ve teṣavvufda bir şey bilmez idi...”, *MMB*, fol. 86b; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 286.

⁴⁴¹ *MMB*, fol. 93b; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 306.

⁴⁴² *MMB*, fol. 129a; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 336.

⁴⁴³ *MMB*, fol. 82b; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 278.

Overall, Persian appears to be the least commonly known of the three languages (Arabic, Persian, Ottoman Turkish). Basheskī does not mention whether he himself knew it, nor does his *Chronicle* indicate that he did.

Other Languages

In his entry for the year 1209/1794-95, Basheskī reports the death of a deaf slipper-maker (*yemenīci*) by name Şālīḥ who was taken prisoner during the war against Russia in 1150/1737 and “who knew Russian” (*Moskov dilince bilür idi*).⁴⁴⁴ On 16 Jumādā al-Awwal 1204/1 February 1790, a girl died in a fire. She was a sister-in-law of Şārenda, a handsome, young, non-Muslim “who knew the Greek language” (*Rūm lisān bilürdi*).⁴⁴⁵ In the year 1187/1773-74 Basheskī reports the death of Muştafā Zeher, a broker (*tellāl*) who could speak “the language of the Jews,”⁴⁴⁶ by which he probably means Judaeo-Spanish (Ladino).⁴⁴⁷ In his miscellanea, Basheskī produces a list of 38 words in the “Indian language,” in addition to the numbers from 1 to 30 and the number 40. Each word is given its meaning in Turkish. Since Basheskī never travelled beyond Belgrade, he must have collected these words from someone else, possibly his shaykh Muḥammad, head of Sinan’s takka, “who was even on an Indian boat once.”⁴⁴⁸ In the miscellanea Basheskī also reproduces the Greek alphabet (*Rūmi lisān elif-ba*), “the alphabet of the language of Jews” (*elif bi-lisān-i Yehūdiyān*),⁴⁴⁹ “the Serbian language alphabet” (*elif bi-lisān-i Şırpça*),⁴⁵⁰ and the Italian alphabet (*elif bi-lisān-i Tālyānca*).⁴⁵¹ But, he writes the letters of these alphabets and the words in Arabic script

⁴⁴⁴ MMB, fol. 133b; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 348.

⁴⁴⁵ MMB, fol. 119a; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 201.

⁴⁴⁶ “Zeher Muştafā, Yahūd lisānı bilür idi, dellāl, maşaracı, hıfz-ı mevlid-i şerif ezber okurdu, mācū idi, zeyrek, her ne ezberlerse unutmazdı, ak şakallı idi. r.h”, MMB, fol. 73a; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 257. See also: “Reading Molla Muştafā Basheskī's Mecmua”, p. 520.

⁴⁴⁷ Mujezinović translates this expression rather freely as “he knew Hebrew” (*znao je hebrejski jezik*), *Ljetopis*, p. 126.

⁴⁴⁸ MMB, fol. 81a; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 275.

⁴⁴⁹ MMB, fol. 157.

⁴⁵⁰ MMB, fol. 157.

⁴⁵¹ MMB, fol. 157. In a footnote on the same page, Mujezinović explains that he was unable to reproduce the “Serbian” and “Italian” alphabets because of damage to the page, *Ljetopis*, p. 440. This section of the *Chronicle* is not included in Filan’s transcription in *Saraybosnalı*.

2.11 Informal Channels for the Transmission of Learning: *helvā şoḥbeti*, Coffee Houses, Shops and Warfare

We have seen that Basheskī was part of a circle of friends who would meet once a week to pray, talk and read. He calls these gatherings *helvā şoḥbeti*, named after the sweet (*helvā*) provided by the host. He writes about a group of young kadis who organized their own *helvā şoḥbeti* twice a week.⁴⁵² These social gatherings, which could be as entertaining as they could be educational and devotional in character, did not have a single format and depended on the interests of the participants. But, it cannot be a coincidence that Basheskī reserves some of the longest passages in his descriptions of learned Sarajevans for his companions in the *helvā şoḥbeti* where reading and discussion took place. This gatherings must have also facilitated circulation of books among the participants.⁴⁵³

Another informal setting for learning and scholarly exchange was provided by the coffee house.⁴⁵⁴ Basheskī writes of a deaf calligrapher who “always wrote in coffee houses.”⁴⁵⁵ For the year 1185/1771-1772 he reports the death of a certain Ismā‘īl Āghāzāde who left his coffee house as an endowment (*kahveyi vakfeyledi*).⁴⁵⁶

Majāzī was the sobriquet of a Mostar poet who praises Sarajevo and its coffee houses in the following verses: “The coffee houses are perched high up/they quicken the heart and cheer

⁴⁵² MMB, fol. 37a; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 148. He gives the surnames of most of the young kadis and describes their gatherings as involving music played on flute (*nay*). However, he criticizes their opulence (*azginlik*), writing that they had spent 40-50 *guruşes* on these get-togethers, which he considers an omen of plague. Basheskī reports the death of ‘Abdi-beşe who “knew how to host an excellent *helvā şoḥbeti*”, MMB, fol. 93a; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 304.

⁴⁵³ Helen Pfeifer, “Encounter after the conquest: scholarly gatherings in 16th-century Ottoman Damascus”, *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 47 (2015), pp. 228-230.

⁴⁵⁴ For the role of coffee houses in the Middle East and Ottoman Empire, see: Ralph Hattox, *Coffee and Coffeehouses: The Origin of a Social Beverage in the Medieval Middle East* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1985); Dana Sajdi, ed., *Ottoman Tulips, Ottoman Coffee: Leisure and Lifestyle in the Eighteenth Century*, especially Ali Çaksu, “Jannisary Coffee Houses in Late Eighteenth-Century Istanbul”, pp. 117-132, and Alan Mikhail, “The Heart’s Desire: Gender, Urban Space and the Ottoman Coffee House”, pp. 133-170.

⁴⁵⁵ “Kahve-ḥānelerde dā‘im yazardı”, MMB, fol. 96b; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 314.

⁴⁵⁶ MMB, fol. 71a; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 253.

the soul/knowledge, research and conversation: (*‘ilm ve bahs ve kâle ve kîle*)/all are manifest (*beyân*) there.”⁴⁵⁷

A Bosnian historian notes that in the coffee houses the “people learned in the Arabic, Turkish and Persian languages would ‘tell tavarîh’ [*tawārîkh*]. This is how they called various collections of Arabic and Turkish stories, which they read and translated. In this way many eastern stories entered our literature, because the listeners would tell them to members of their household and they would pass them on and, in that way, they were passed from generation to generation, until the collectors of our folk heritage noted them down. The owners of coffee houses would pay people to ‘tell tavarîh’. The then coffee-houses were a forerunner of today’s reading clubs.”⁴⁵⁸

Nelly Hanna argues that coffee houses have not been accorded sufficient credit as a public space, because they are places of orality and, by association, of illiteracy and ignorance. They were also not taken seriously because of certain forms of behaviour linked to them, such as music performances and drug consumption. It is, however, precisely their orality that makes them interesting for the social and cultural historian: they contributed to the cultivation of story-telling and poetry. If coffee houses were platforms for entertainment, sometimes of a dubious nature, they could also be places for discussing more weighty matters, from religion to current affairs. They were places where ideas and opinions were exchanged.⁴⁵⁹

⁴⁵⁷ Omer Mušić, “Dvije turske pjesme o Sarajevu” [Two Turkish poems about Sarajevo], *Glasnik Vrhovnog Islamskog Starješinstva* VI (1962), p. 368. Regarding this expression, Alan Mikhail notes: “We also have the expression *qîl ü qâl*. Whereas Redhouse translates this as ‘tittle-tattle’, the late seventeenth-century lexicographer Franciszek Meninski defines it as ‘much conversation’ or ‘loquaciousness, garrulity’. Şemseddin Sami includes *qîl ü qâl* under his entry for the word *dedikodu*, the most common word in modern Turkish for gossip”, Mikhail, “The Heart’s Desire”, p. 158.

⁴⁵⁸ Kreševljaković, *Izabrana djela*, p. 198. Clear evidence is lacking, but it would appear that the term *tawārîkh* (Bosnian: *tavarîh*) did not designate just any story - for which the more general Bosnian word *hikaja* (Arabic: *ḥikāya*) would have been used - but a story about a historical event. The authoritative dictionary of Turkish words in Serbo-Croat by Abdulah Škaljić does not have an entry either for *tarih* or *tavarîh* in that sense. Nelly Hanna argues that coffee houses in Cairo were frequented particularly by the middle classes, whose culture influenced literary forms. She also notes that coffee houses hired story tellers, who had their own guild, and staged comic shows there, Hanna, *In Praise of Books*, pp. 66, 67.

⁴⁵⁹ Nelly Hanna, *In Praise of Books*, pp. 66-68.

In his study on the Janissary coffee house, Ali Çaksu describes its multiple functions, including its role in transmitting Bektashi education and culture.⁴⁶⁰ Alan Mikhail has also moved away from the standard accounts which describe coffee house as a place of sedition to highlight in particular the urban neighbourhood coffee house “as a cultural space”. Along with public baths and barber shops, he sees coffee houses as spaces of “overlapping functions and multiple identities”, which are seemingly incompatible (*heterotopia*).⁴⁶¹ This includes their function in the socialization of various classes, including the poor or “subaltern” in general, whose voice could be heard there.⁴⁶²

Under the influence of *kādızādelis* who considered coffee an impermissible drink, the increasing popularity of coffee as a beverage provoked ambivalent responses from the Ottoman government. It tried to control coffee houses as places for plotting conspiracies⁴⁶³ and under Murad IV they were temporarily closed.⁴⁶⁴

In his *Risāla fī ḥukm al-qahwa wa al-dukhān wa al-ashriba* (A Treatise on the Decree on Coffee, Tobacco and Drinks), Bosnian scholar Muṣṭafā ibn Muḥammad al-Aqḥiṣārī (d. 1169/1755) argues that Muslims are allowed to drink coffee partly because it facilitates reading: “I have seen many learned and pious people who have ruled coffee permissible and have themselves drunk it. I myself have found it helpful in reading books and performing supererogatory nightly prayers,⁴⁶⁵ because it lifts torpor and drowsiness.”⁴⁶⁶ Interestingly,

⁴⁶⁰ Ali Çaksu, „Janissary Coffee House in Late Eighteenth-Century Istanbul“ in Dana Sajdi, ed., *Ottoman Tulips, Ottoman Coffee*, p. 126.

⁴⁶¹ Alan Mikhail, “The Heart’s Desire“, pp. 133, 137, 170.

⁴⁶² Alan Mikhail, “The Heart’s Desire“, pp. 154-160. Mikhail also sees the importance of coffee houses in challenging „our traditional notions of space and gender“ in the Ottoman society, *ibid*, p.163.

⁴⁶³ Faroqhi, *Subjects*, pp. 215-217.

⁴⁶⁴ *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire: 1600-1914*, vol. 2, eds. Halil İnalcik with Donald Quataert, p. 508; Faroqhi, *Subjects*. Basheskī reports that a good-for-nothing person (*yaramaz*), by name İspis Qaşşāb-oghlū, declared his intention of going on ḥāj and that several people followed his example by making the commitment to go on pilgrimage to Mecca in coffee houses, *MMB*, fol. 30a; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 130.

⁴⁶⁵ In her translation referred to in the next footnote, Nevena Krstić translates *qiyām al-layl* as “staying up during the night” (...i da noću ostanem budan).

⁴⁶⁶ قد رايت كثيرا من العلماء العاملين انهم يحكمون بحلها و يشربونها و وجدت في نفسي في شرايها معونتنا على مطالعة الكتب و قيام الليل لكونها برافعة الكسل و النوم R-761, 16v, 17r. See also: Nevena Krstić, “Muṣṭafā ibn Muḥammad al-Aqḥiṣārī (Prušćanin): Rasprava o kafi, duvanu i pićima”, [Muṣṭafā ibn Muḥammad al-Aqḥiṣārī (Prušćanin): a debate about coffee, tobacco and drinks], *POF* 20-21 (1974), pp. 77, 78. Pruščak condemns consumption of tobacco and (alcoholic) drinks. Basheskī reports that on 14 Dhū’l-Ḥijja 1191/13 January 1778 a large quantity of gun-powder arrived in the city and the public crier (*tellāl*) pronounced a ban on smoking in the streets, clearly out of fear of fire, *MMB*, fol. 31a; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 134.

Basheskī includes a short note about the “appearance of tobacco smoking” (*zuhūr-u şerb-i duḥān*) in the year 1012/1603-04 in his list of major historical events, along with the years of battles and the ascendancy of various Ottoman sultans to the throne.⁴⁶⁷

Shops offered another venue for informal learning and scholarly exchange.⁴⁶⁸ Qarabash Mullā ‘Alī Kh^wāja used to teach children in the shops (*dükkānlarda uşaqları oğutdurudu*).⁴⁶⁹ Perhaps his pupils were children attached to craftsmen as apprentices, who would receive elementary religious education in the place of work. The scribe mullā Yashar, whom Basheskī mentions as someone who taught him various scripts, may have given private lessons in his shop.⁴⁷⁰ Basheskī refers to his disciples and, as we know he did not teach in a *madrasa*, these were probably young men who visited him for free tuition.⁴⁷¹

He refers to students, suggesting that he used his shop for teaching in general and not only for passing on his scribal skills.⁴⁷²

There was barber Muyo who died young. Basheskī calls him “my disciple” (*şāgirdüm*) with whom he spent a lot of time discussing speculative theology (*‘ilm-i kelām*), Sufism (*‘ilm-i teşavvuf*) and the soul (*cān*).⁴⁷³ Another person he describes as his disciple is a *madrasa* student (*sūḥte*) who was wounded by a mace in a brawl and died.⁴⁷⁴ The young court scribe (*maḥkeme kātibi*) Yaḥyā-afandī learned inheritance law from Basheskī.⁴⁷⁵ Basheskī also claims that one of the scribes whom he commends for knowing three scripts (*ta’līk, dīvānī,*

⁴⁶⁷ MMB, fol. 47b.

⁴⁶⁸ The poet Ahmad al-Kiwani hosted literary sessions with the Damascene literati in his shop, Hanna, *In Praise of Books*, p. 68.

⁴⁶⁹ MMB, fol. 73b; *Saraybosnali*, p. 259.

⁴⁷⁰ MMB, fol. 93b; *Saraybosnali*, p. 307.

⁴⁷¹ They seem unlikely to have been his pupils in a *maktab*, given that they had already received training in various crafts and that the subjects Basheskī mentions (theology, inheritance law, etc) were too advanced for pupils of the elementary school.

⁴⁷² One of his students (*sūḥte*), from Trebinje (*Trebinelī*), was injured in a coffee house brawl and died some years later. Basheskī calls him “my pupil” (*şāgirdüm*), MMB, fol. 75b; *Saraybosnali*, p. 262. In 1190/1776-77 he reports the death of Dūshīcha-oghlū Mullā Muyo, a 30 year-old barber who was also his student. He also refers to a maker of seller of copper caldrons (*kazancı*) and a convert (*poturčenik*, ie. a Turkified person).

⁴⁷³ MMB, fol. 78b; *Saraybosnali*, p. 268.

⁴⁷⁴ MMB, fol. 75b; *Saraybosnali*, p. 262.

⁴⁷⁵ MMB, fol. 92b; *Saraybosnali*, p. 303.

nes̥hī) learned much from Basheskī by way of writing and reading and, as a result, advanced in knowledge.⁴⁷⁶

In the year 1176/1762-63, three of his students died: an unnamed mosque imam who was also a maker of silk garments (*ḳazzāz*), the tailor Bekir, and the tanner Muṣṭafā.⁴⁷⁷ It seems that all these young men received informal instruction from Basheskī, perhaps in his shop. Located in the bookbinders' street, it must have attracted regular visits from *madrassa* students and artisans willing to learn.

In closing, we may note that war and imprisonment could sometimes present an opportunity for learning and the acquisition of knowledge. Basheskī refers to a man who became literate while at war, away from home,⁴⁷⁸ and to a Sarajevan who learned Russian as a prisoner of war.⁴⁷⁹ As already mentioned, wars can lead to the destruction of books, but they could also be captured as booty, as in the Habsburg wars against the Ottoman Empire. Ottomans, too, sought to get hold of books from their foe in the east, the Safavids.⁴⁸⁰ At the very least, going on distant military campaigns was a chance to see foreign places, as was the case with a man who “travelled much, especially during the Persian campaign.”⁴⁸¹ The aforementioned Mullā ‘Abdī, who learned *ta’līk* and *dīvānī* scripts during a military campaign, was a lover of dervishes and would sometimes come to the *takka*. He studied some grammar, syntax and Persian.⁴⁸²

⁴⁷⁶ MMB, fol. 93b; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 307. The passage reads: “Şatioğlu Mollā Yaşar ḥaḳīrden çok yazdı ve okudu ve büyüdi.” Mujezinović translates this passage as if the afore-mentioned Mollā Yaşar is the subject, i.e. the one who taught Basheskī: “[Şatioğlu Mollā Yaşar] who wrote and read a lot of things for me, the poor man.” He also omits the verb *büyüdi*, which Filan includes in her transcription. I take the view that Basheskī here refers to himself by the word *ḥaḳīrden*, the expression he uses elsewhere in the Chronicle.

⁴⁷⁷ MMB, fol. 63b; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 236. a

⁴⁷⁸ MMB, fol. 93b; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 306.

⁴⁷⁹ MMB, fol. 133b; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 348

⁴⁸⁰ On Persian classical works as war booty, see: Laie Uluç, “Ottoman Book Collectors and Illustrated Sixteenth Century Shiraz Manuscripts”, *Revue des mondes musulmans et de la Méditerranée* 87-88 (1999), pp. 85-107.

⁴⁸¹ “...çok gezmiş bā-ḥuşūş ‘Acem seferinde”, MMB, fol. 70a; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 251. The year of death of the unnamed Sarajevan who participated in the campaign is 1184/1770-71. Ottomans fought several wars against Persia, Stanford J. Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*, vol. I, pp. 238, 239, 243, 245, 246. Basheskī probably meant the latter campaigns of 1743-46, Shaw, *ibid.*, p. 246. The campaign of 1723-27 claimed a particularly high toll among Bosnian Muslim forces, Malcolm, *Bosnia: a Short History*, p. 95.

⁴⁸² MMB, fol. 93b; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 306.

All these venues and occasions – literary salons, coffee houses, shops, and wars – served as informal channels for the transmission of knowledge, both oral and written.⁴⁸³

2.12 “Newspapers”

As already noted, Basheskī reports the “appearance of newspapers in the year 1179 [1765/1766]”.⁴⁸⁴ In a footnote to this passage, Mehmed Mujezinović, the first editor and translator of *the Chronicle*, wrote that the property inventory of the bookbinder al-ḥāj Ṣāliḥ-afandī bin ‘Abd al-Mu’min ibn Sulaymān included a newspaper called the *Ṣavt-ı İslambol* (Voice of Istanbul).⁴⁸⁵ Elsewhere, Mujezinović refers to this publication as a book, which shows that he was not quite sure whether it was a book or a newspaper. The title is clearly written in the manuscript and it does sound like a title of a newspaper, but there is no other evidence a newspaper of that name ever existed. It antecedes what are traditionally considered the earliest newspapers in Ottoman lands, the *Veḳāyi-i Mıṣriye* (Events of Egypt) started in Muḥamad ‘Alī’s Egypt in 1244-45/1829 and the first official Ottoman newspaper *Taḳvīm-i veḳāyi* (Calendar of Events) in 1246-47/1831.⁴⁸⁶

⁴⁸³ Some skill and forms of knowledge were always transmitted informally, like writing amulets. Hanna draws attention to the fact that education did not always take place within institutions, which makes it important to consider the role of oral culture in the transmission of knowledge, Hanna, *In Praise of Books*, p. 54. She gives the example of blind Egyptian scholars who received their education orally only, reminding us of the strong element of orality in traditional Muslim education, Hanna, *In Praise of Books*, pp. 64, 65.

⁴⁸⁴ “Tārīḥ-i zuhūr-i ḳāzete fi sene 1179”, *MMB*, fol. 12 a; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 84.

⁴⁸⁵ *Ljetopis*, p. 69, n. 2. S31/201-203. He left about a dozen books, mixed up with various types of paper and the tools of his craft. The estate was registered on 27 Shawwāl 1204/July 10, 1790. The inheritance inventory page with this title is given in the Appendix.

⁴⁸⁶ Stanford J. Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*, vol. II: *Reform, Revolution and Republic: The Rise of Modern Turkey, 1808-1975* (Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 35, 128. No newspaper under such name appears in: Hasan Duman, *Başlangıcından harf devrimine kadar Osmanlı-Türk süreli yayınlar ve gazeteler bibliyografyası ve toplu kataloğu, 1828-1928 I-III/A Bibliografya and Union Catalogue of Ottoman-Turkish Serials and Newspapers From Beginning to the Introduction of Modern Turkish Alphabet, 1828-1928/al-Bībliyūghrāfiyā wa al-fihris al-muwahḥid li al-ṣaḥḥāfat al-‘uthmāniyya – al-turkiyya (al-dawrāt wa al-ṣuḥuf) min al-bidāya ilā thawrat taghyir al-aḥruf* (١٨٢٨-١٩٢٨) (Ankara, 2010).

2.13 Bookbinders ⁴⁸⁷

The first known reference to the craft of bookbinding in Ottoman Sarajevo is from 964/1557 and involves the case of bookbinder Ḥasan, the son of Muṣṭafā, who was taken to court for failing to repay a debt.⁴⁸⁸ Bookbinding must have become a well-established craft much earlier than this, however, given that by that time Sarajevo already had at least four *madrasas* (Firuz-bey, Hüsrev-bey, Kemal-bey, Meḥmed-bey), as well as several *takkas* and many *maktabs*.⁴⁸⁹ A poem in Ottoman Turkish by an unknown Sarajevan, composed no later than 1043-44/1634, glorifies the city and its prominent citizens, including the head of the bookbinders guild (*mücellidler seri*), whose name was Memi-halifa [Mamī Khalifa].⁴⁹⁰ Another bookbinder, by name Kurt Čelebija [Qurd Chalabī], appears in a contract as the seller of some land. The contract was issued in 1684 and mentions five bookbinders as witnesses.⁴⁹¹

We have considerably more information about guild members from the 12th/18th and early 13th/19th centuries. Out of 20 bookbinders mentioned in the *Chronicle*, five were guild masters (*kethüda*) and six had property listed in the inheritance records.⁴⁹²

⁴⁸⁷ This section draws mainly from: Hamdija Kreševljaković, “Esnafi i obrti u Bosni i Hercegovini” [Guilds and crafts in Bosnia-Herzegovina] in *Izabrana djela, II*, pp. 7-381.

⁴⁸⁸ Kreševljaković, “Esnafi i obrti”, p. 225. Zlatar lists the names of various guilds from the *daftar* for 1489, but does not mention bookbinders, Zlatar, *Zlatno doba*, p. 145.

⁴⁸⁹ Having said this, the *daftar* for 1528-1530 makes no mention of bookbinders, as Kreševljaković himself notes.

⁴⁹⁰ Kreševljaković, “Esnafi i obrti”, p. 225.

⁴⁹¹ Kreševljaković, “Esnafi i obrti”, p. 225.

⁴⁹² Bookbinder (*mücellit*) Muṣṭafā-beşe son of Ḥasan left several types of paper and ink, but no books (S15/81); Şöfö Mullā Muṣṭafā, son of Sulaymān (21 Jumādā al-Awwal 1197/24 April 1783), had about 50 volumes, in addition to unspecified bookbinding tools (*ālāt-ı mücellidān*) and materials like paper and ink (S22/140); bookbinder ‘Uthmān-beşe, son of Muṣṭafā (21 Şafar 1194/27 February 1780), left some manuscripts (*perişān nüshā*) worth 242 *akçe*. He owned a shop in the Bookbinders Street (S29/65); the afore-mentioned bookbinder al-ḥāj Şāliḥ-afandī bin ‘Abd al-Mu‘min, son of Sulaymān, from the village of Jagrić (Žagrić) (S31/201-203), who had bookbinding tools, but also about ten volumes of books, including what Kreševljaković also describes, following Mujezinović, as a newspaper, Hamdija Kreševljaković, “Esnafi i obrti”, p. 227; bookbinder Ismā‘il-beşe son of ‘Uthmān who had only two copies of the Qur'an (S35/119, dated 10 Ramaḍān 1209/31 March 1795); bookbinder mullā ‘Abdallāh son of Ismā‘il-beşe was a Sarajevan who died in the town of Zvornik in eastern Bosnia and who owned more than a dozen notebooks (*daftars*), S35/138 (7 Dhū'l-Qa‘da 1209/26 May 1795); Kreševljaković, “Esnafi i obrti”, p. 138.

Particular families sometimes distinguished themselves in certain crafts and the Džino family were famous bookbinders.⁴⁹³ We also come across the surname *Mujallid-oghlū* (Bosnian: *Mudželetović* or *Mudželitović*), which is derived from the word for bookbinder. While it is well-known that some guilds were religiously homogenous, others were mixed. We do not know whether the bookbinding guild members were all Muslim.⁴⁹⁴ The inheritance records do occasionally reveal the names of bookbinders who appear among the witnesses and some of them bear honorifics like *ḥāj*, *ḥāfiẓ* and *afandī*. Finally, Basheskī maintained his scribe's shop close to the bookbinders' streets near the Gāzī Hüsrev-bey mosque: the Great Bookbinders' Street (Veliki mudželeti) and the Small Bookbinders Street (Mali mudželeti). All this may indicate little more than the link between book making and religious learning, however. In any case, it was not uncommon for bookbinders to combine their craft with manuscript copying and we find that lists of property belonging to bookbinders often include pens, ink, etc.⁴⁹⁵ Hamdija Kreševljaković thinks that, as well as bookbinders, the two Bookbinders' Streets also housed professional copyists and amulet writers.⁴⁹⁶ In his view, given the size of the streets, they could have accommodated up to 35 shops.⁴⁹⁷ Since the old town acquired its final shape well-before the 12th/18th century, these numbers were likely to have remained stable throughout the Ottoman period.⁴⁹⁸

We know the names of four guild chiefs for the fourteen years from 1188/1775 to 1203/1789.⁴⁹⁹ Bookbinders probably also acted as sellers of second-hand books (*ṣaḥḥāfs*), which explains why Sarajevo did not have *ṣaḥḥāfs* of the sort found in Istanbul⁵⁰⁰ or Damascus. The books recorded in the bookbinders' estates may have been meant for sale as much as for personal reading. Inheritance entries are replete with references to books in

⁴⁹³ Enes Pelidija, "O privredi Sarajeva", p. 97. The Džino family is also mentioned among those who exported merchandise from Sarajevo abroad, *ibid.* p. 99.

⁴⁹⁴ Kreševljaković notes that the last traditional bookbinder in the town of Mostar was a Catholic, who closed his shop shortly before the First World War, Kreševljaković, "Esnafi i obrti", p. 291.

⁴⁹⁵ Kreševljaković, "Esnafi i obrti", p. 224.

⁴⁹⁶ Kreševljaković, "Esnafi i obrti", p. 228.

⁴⁹⁷ Kreševljaković, "Esnafi i obrti", p. 228.

⁴⁹⁸ As we have seen, the first modern bookbinding workshop opened in 1876. The old-style craft must have lived on for some time. In fact, the last traditional bookbinder was Sulejman Harba, who is said to have closed down his shop towards the end of the 19th century, Kreševljaković, "Esnafi i obrti", p. 228.

⁴⁹⁹ Kreševljaković, "Esnafi i obrti", p. 227.

⁵⁰⁰ İsmail E. Erünsal, *Osmanlılarda sahaflık ve sahaflar* (İstanbul: Timaş Yayınları, 2013).

need of repair, usually described as *parīshān* (loose, unbound) or *nuqṣān/nāqīṣ* (damaged),⁵⁰¹ and therefore in need of bookbinders' services.

2.14 Paper and the Book Trade

Ottoman Bosnia purchased paper from the Italian cities, usually through Dubrovnik.⁵⁰² Basheskī reports the death of a bookbinder, Muṣṭafā Ishqūcha, who traded in paper (*kāḡidile kār ederdī*).⁵⁰³ Another bookbinder who worked with paper (*kāḡitla kār ederdī*) was called Ismail-beṣe.⁵⁰⁴ In the entry for the year 1180/1766-67, Basheskī reports using up 564 sheets of paper for writing.⁵⁰⁵

It is worth mentioning that paper was also used for covering window panes. Describing his journey through Bosnia during 1254-55/1839-1840, the above-mentioned Matija Mažuranić noted that the windows on Bosnian Muslim houses "rarely have glass, but are usually stuck over with paper."⁵⁰⁶ The paper mentioned in the various inventories must have also included the type used for windows. In at least one instance it is specified as window paper (*pencere kāḡidī*).⁵⁰⁷

Letters kept at the Dubrovnik State Archive indicate the scarcity of paper in Ottoman Bosnia and the role of Dubrovnik in supplying this important commodity. The letters are

⁵⁰¹ It is interesting that, in contrast to other household items, books are almost never described as old (*köhne*).

⁵⁰² Hamdija Hajdarhodžić, "Dva podatka o prometu i prodaji papira u Bosanskom pašaluku" [Two facts about the exchange and sale of paper in the Bosnian pashalik], *Analī* II-III (1974), pp. 159-160. Hajdarhodžić writes that the Dubrovnik Archive contains reports on sending paper to officials in the Ottoman Bosnian administration as a way of winning their favour. Maps were also sought after and a Dubrovnik envoy in Travnik was sent maps of America and Africa at one point (the Dubrovnik Archive document is dated October 13, 1702). Another report concerns the sending of paper to the same envoy, so that he may lobby the Ottoman authorities against pressures against Venice, Dubrovnik's old commercial and political rival. Finally, the author cites a letter from the Bosnian captain of Klobuk (his surname is Begović) to a local lord in Konavli (part of the Dubrovnik Republic) pleading with him to send paper (the term used is *knjige*). The letter is dated June 22, 1711.

⁵⁰³ MMB, fol. 73b; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 259.

⁵⁰⁴ MMB, fol. 133b; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 348.

⁵⁰⁵ MMB, fol. 12a; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 83.

⁵⁰⁶ Mažuranić, *A Glance into Ottoman Bosnia*, p. 84.

⁵⁰⁷ The property of Vāṣil, son of Mārḳo, from the town of Trebinje in southern Bosnia, who died in Sarajevo and whose property was recorded on 15 Dhū'l-Qa'da 1217/9 March 1803, included window paper (*pencerī kāḡidī me'a yeçed* (?)) worth 114 *para* (S42/69, 70).

written in the Slavic vernacular and in Latin script. In letter dated the 3rd of May, 1747/22 Rabī' al-Awwal 1160, addressed to “the beys of Dubrovnik,” an Ottoman Bosnian official serving the Bosnian pasha (*the Ali-ćehaja del basssa di Bosna*) informs them that the Bosnian governor has arrived in Travnik. After complaining of the lack of “books for writing in” and the great need for them, he asks for books worth 50 *guruş* to be sent to him. He stresses that the book should have large sheets and be of good quality.⁵⁰⁸ A letter by a chief merchant by the name of Yaqūb-beşe (*Jakub-baša Bazardžan-baši*) addressed to the office of the interpreter (*dragomano*) Michele Zarini asks for “30 quires from a large book, that is to say Carti Imperiale” and promises payment as soon as the shipment arrives.⁵⁰⁹ Yet another letter of 19 August, 1764/20 Şafar 1178 written by an official “del ćehaja del Bassa di Bosna” expresses “great satisfaction” at receiving a box of carti imperiale.⁵¹⁰

As for the book trade, Bosnian merchants (*bāzergān*) who dealt in other types of goods would also import books from other parts of the Empire and sell them locally.⁵¹¹

2.15 Printing

The first Bosnian printing press was established in 925/1519 in the town of Goražde near Sarajevo by Božidar Goraždanin. After printing three Eastern Orthodox texts (a psalter, a book of service and a book of prayer),⁵¹² it closed down in 929/1523 and was transferred to Wallachia in present-day Romania. Franciscans printed books, both in Latin and in the vernacular, but abroad. The publication of *Nauk karstianski za narod slovinski* (Christian teaching for the Slav people) in Venice represented a landmark, as the first book printed in the Bosnian vernacular (and in Latin script).⁵¹³ In 1282/1866 Bosnia had another printing press, this time introduced by the Ottoman administration.⁵¹⁴ The first religious primer to be printed in the Bosnian language and Arabic script was *Od virovanja kitab* (the Book of Faith) by Muḥammad Za‘īm-afandī Agić, which appeared as a lithograph in 1284/1868 in

⁵⁰⁸ B VI 22/51 2l, Dubrovnik State Archive.

⁵⁰⁹ B VI 22/52 2l, Dubrovnik State Archive.

⁵¹⁰ B VI 22/53 2l, Dubrovnik State Archive.

⁵¹¹ *The Written Word*, p. 90.

⁵¹² Their titles are listed as: Псалтир, Служабник, and Молитвеник (Требник), Bogićević, *Pismenost u Bosni i Hercegovini*, p. 129. Lovrenović mentions the publication of three books without giving the titles, *Bosnia: a Cultural History*, pp. 123, 124.

⁵¹³ Lovrenović, *Bosnia: a Cultural History*, pp. 134-136.

⁵¹⁴ Lovrenović, *Bosnia: a Cultural History*, p. 123.

Istanbul. It was followed in 1292/1875 by another religious primer in Arabic script, entitled *Sahlat al-Wuṣūl* (Easiness of Arrival), by a Mostar professor (*mudarris*) by name ‘Umar-afandī Humo.⁵¹⁵ Both these works were used as *maktab* textbooks. Basheskī does not mention printed books. However, Bosnian libraries, and especially the Gāzī Hüsrev-bey library, do house a large number of early printed books, some of which were printed by Müteferriḳa’s press in Istanbul, the first one in the Ottoman Empire.

A form of printing that predates modern moveable type is block printing. The first scholarly description of a text produced in Bosnia in this manner involves a circular wooden seal with the names of the Prophet and the twelve imams carved in Arabic. The seal has been kept for generations by a family in the village in western Bosnia where people would take prints to carry around as talismans.⁵¹⁶ This form of printing must have been more common in Ottoman Bosnia than this solitary example suggests, but the subject awaits scholarly treatment.

2.16 Social Protest, Censorship and Death: the Case of Ḥasan Qā’imī and ‘Abd al-Wahhāb Ilhāmī

From the late 11th/17th century on, certain members of the ‘*ulamā*’ class acted as vocal critics of prevailing social and economic conditions. A Sarajevo kadi was killed for leading an anti-government uprising in the mid-12th/18th century. Ḥasan Qā’imī, also known as Qā’imī-baba (d. 1091/1680), was a Sarajevo Ṣūfī poet whose support for the demands of the city’s poor led to his exile. His mausoleum in Zvornik in eastern Bosnia became a site of veneration and pilgrimage.⁵¹⁷ Basheskī reports the death of a person who copied Qā’imī’s collection of poetry (*Dīwān*) in Ottoman Turkish.⁵¹⁸ Basheskī himself uses strong words to criticize the perceived injustices and excesses of Ottoman rule, but his opinion remains confined to the pages of his *Chronicle*.⁵¹⁹

⁵¹⁵ Ćurić, *Muslimansko školstvo*, p. 42.

⁵¹⁶ Kosta Hörmann, “Stari drveni muhur” [An old wooden seal], *GZM V* (1893), pp. 669-671. The article includes a photograph of the seal. For more on wooden block printing see: Karl R. Schaefer, *Enigmatic Charms: Medieval Arabic Block Printed Amulets in American and European Libraries and Museums* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2006).

⁵¹⁷ Basheskī mentions the keeper of the mausoleum: *MMB*, fol. 144b; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 206.

⁵¹⁸ For more on Qā’imī see: Jasna Šamić, *Dīwān de Qā’imī*.

⁵¹⁹ He rebukes Ḥāfiẓ Toḳatlū-oghlū for treating re‘āya roughly and even killing two, *MMB*, fol. 31a; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 134. This is probably the same person whom Basheskī mentions as teaching Bayḍāwī’s tafsir. For more, see the section on the mosque as a place of learning in Chapter Two.

‘Abd al-Wahhāb Ilhāmī (d. 1186-1236/1773-1821) was a scholar and poet from the town of Žepče in northern Bosnia who wrote verses denouncing the perceived cruelty of the Ottoman regime. When he was summoned by the governor, Ilhāmī refused to recant and was put to death. He wrote poetry mainly in Ottoman Turkish, but also some in Arabic. However, his religious poems in Bosnian were popular and he wrote a short religious primer (*‘ilm-i ḥāl*) for children in Bosnian, as well as a short treatise in Ottoman Turkish entitled the *Tuḥfetü’l-muṣallīn ve zübdetü’l-ḥāṣi’in* (the Gift of Worshippers and the Cream of the Humble).⁵²⁰ The work discusses the religious duties of Muslims.

What is common to both Qā’imī and Ilhāmī is that they also wrote poetry in the Slavic vernacular. Their dissenting voices reached a wider public, beyond those lettered in Arabic, Turkish and Persian, and so posed a threat to the political order. This probably accounts for the harsh treatment they received. Their examples demonstrate the close relationship between learning, religion, books and the everyday concerns of the people of Sarajevo and Bosnia.

2.17 Crosspollination in Book Culture

The static view of the Ottoman period in Bosnian history implies a world of closed communities, defined by their religious affiliations and communal loyalties. But, there are also cases of cross-cultural contacts and mutual borrowing and influences.

The major examples of this are the continued use of Cyrillic script by Bosnian Muslims in their letter writing and the Bosnian Franciscan religious texts in Turkish. One should also mention two interesting examples on a smaller scale of crosspollination in the realm of the written word. One comes in the form of a song composed by Nikola Balić, son of Matko, in 999/1590-91). The poem is unusual for being written in Turkish language, but in the Bosnian Cyrillic script.⁵²¹ An undated anonymous Bosnian manuscript offers a rare example

⁵²⁰ For more on Ilhāmī see: Muhamed Ždralović, “Abdulvehab ibni Abdulvehab Žepčevi-Bosnevi (Ilhamija)”, *Anali* V-VI (1978), pp. 127-144.

⁵²¹ The pages of the poem bear the imprint a seal, repeated nine times and reading: Nīqōla ibn Mātqō Bālīk. The document comes from Poljice, a region in Dalmatia bordering Bosnia. Ćiro Truhelka, “Bosanicom pisani turski tekstovi” [Turkish texts written in bosančica] *GZM, knjiga 3* (1914), pp. 551-553. This type of work is reminiscent of the writings of the Karamanlis, the Turcophone Christians of Anatolia who wrote in Turkish using the Greek alphabet.

of a Bosnian Cyrillic text (passages from the Gospels), with an Arabic text of the Qur'an alongside it on the same page.⁵²²

There is also a poem from the Ottoman period written in the Bosnian vernacular, but in Hebrew (*rāshī*) script, and describing the conflict between Bosnian Muslim feudal lords in the manner of folk songs.⁵²³

However modest, such examples of mutual influence testify to the fact that the various book cultures were not completely separate.

Conclusion

By the early 12th/18th century Sarajevo was already the largest Ottoman Bosnian city and the centre of the province's politics, economy and culture. Neither the sack of 1109/1697 during the Great Ottoman-Habsburg War (1094-1110/1683-1699), nor the subsequent transfer of the governor's seat to the central Bosnian town of Travnik brought about a decline in Sarajevo's importance. While the war resulted in a loss of territories that had once been part of the Ottoman province of Bosnia and an inpouring of refugees from them into Bosnia, the major trauma for Sarajevo was the immediate loss of life and the destruction of books and many of the endowments that supported book culture.

As in other parts of the Ottoman Emire, Muslim written culture was transmitted through mosques, *maktabs* (elementary schools), *madrasas* (higher schools), libraries, *takkas* (Sufi lodges) and the *Khanqāh*. All these places served as venues for acquiring literacy and knowledge, for book copying, and calligraphy.

Sarajevo produced its share of poets and writers and its world of books and learning is perhaps best-illustrated by the *Chronicle* of Mullā Muṣṭafā Basheskī, one of those authors. Basheskī was a minor Sarajevo 'ālim (scholar) and a professional scribe. His *Chronicle* enables us to reconstruct Sarajevo's book culture of the period. Given the lack of systematic studies on key aspects of Bosnian written and book culture under the Ottoman rule, such as literacy and transmission of knowledge, Basheskī has a certain usefulness as a source of anecdotal evidence, complementing the other sources used in the present study: inheritance inventories, endowment charters, court documents and an extant book

⁵²² Mahmutćehajić, *The Praised and the Virgin*, pp. 549-551. For the illustrations of these manuscripts, see: *ibid.*, pp. 579, 581, 582.

⁵²³ Jasna Šamić, "Qu'est ce que 'notre heritage' plus particulièrement sur un manuscrit conserve au siege de la communaute juive ("Jevrejska opština") de Sarajevo", *Anali XVII-XVIII* (1996), pp. 91-96.

collection. Basheskī's *Chronicle* is in itself a representative specimen of the Ottoman Bosnian book culture, since he wrote it by hand in Ottoman Turkish, the language of learning and administration, and includes some words, expressions and material (poems that are probably rooted in orality) Bosnian in language, but Arabic in script.

Basheskī provides us with descriptions of learned Sarajevans, their expertise in various fields, and fluency in languages. Equally important are his descriptions of ordinary people, some of them participants in the city's book culture as students, teachers, readers, scribes, and copyists, or simply people with a thirst for knowledge. Basheskī shows us that knowledge and learning were not confined to a scribal or religious class, but were open and accessible to all, at least in principle. He mentions three learned women and a slave-boy student. In reality, knowledge of Arabic, Ottoman Turkish and Persian was a prerequisite for partaking fully in Bosnian Muslim book culture, which was consequently limited to a minority. Basheskī shows that there were many among the lower ranking '*ulamā'*' who combined their religious functions as mosque imams and Friday prayer leaders with the pursuit of crafts and trade. As both a professional scribe and a mosque imam, Basheskī was one of them (there is also a hypothesis that he may have trained as a maker of silk products, but probably never practiced the craft).

Basheskī mentions few works by title. This might have to do with the fact that, as a *Ṣūfī* who considered himself one of the '*ulamā'-i bāṭin*' (the knowers of the pith), as opposed to the '*ulamā'-i zāhir*' (the knowers of the kernel), he was part of a tradition in which knowledge was mainly transmitted orally and as part of spiritual training provided by a *Ṣūfī* master. Insofar as scholarly and literary works were available mainly in Arabic, Ottoman Turkish and Persian, and therefore accessible to the minority with a good enough knowledge of those languages, the process of cultivating, passing on and receiving this literature and these books often took place necessarily by way of oral exposition, translation, and interpretation. In any case, for Basheskī, writing and reading were regular, probably daily activities.

It is interesting to note that Basheskī makes no mention of printing. He does, however, make comments suggestive of the presence of newspapers or something that he seems to call a newspaper.

It is clear that Bosnian Muslim book culture of the 12th/18th and early 13th/19th centuries was still a manuscript culture, whose texts were written, copied, and read in Arabic, Ottoman

Turkish and Persian, but rarely in Bosnian. Although rich in information, the *Chronicle* cannot answer some of the key questions about Bosnian written culture, such as how widespread literacy was. At the same time, it gives information which is not easily obtained from the standard accounts of the history of education, such as the role of informal ways of acquiring literacy and knowledge in general. The *Chronicle* is particularly useful in revealing the role of informal means for the transmission of learning: literary salons, coffee houses, travel, and even the experience of being prisoner of war.

According to views of some scholars, such as the Bosnian writer and cultural historian Ivan Lovrenović, cultural exchange between the Bosnians of the four different religious communities took place during Ottoman rule almost exclusively at the level of oral, popular culture: “It is essential to remember that, unlike the three spheres of high culture in their isolation from one another, in folk cultures there is a high degree of mutuality among all three entities.”⁵²⁴ However, the history of Bosnian book culture shows us examples of an interest in and an impact of the literary and book traditions of “the other”. We have encountered a Muslim Sarajevan who had mastered the “language of the Jews” and both Bosnian Franciscans who write Turkish and Bosnian Muslims who keep writing in Cyrillic, while Basheskī himself made note of words in the “Indian language”. These are just some examples that testify to a curiosity, exchange, borrowing, appropriation and continuity between the different traditions of book culture in Ottoman Sarajevo.

⁵²⁴ Lovrenović, *Bosnia: a Cultural History*, p. 223.

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.⁵²⁵ 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. *madrasa* students in the case of *madrasa* libraries. In Ottoman Sarajevo, most libraries were attached to other institutions such as mosques and *madrasas* 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.⁵²⁶ One of the greatest losses to Bosnian cultural heritage occurred during the siege of Sarajevo during

⁵²⁵ 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.

⁵²⁶ Basheski notes that on 8 Şafar 1187/1 May 1173 the city courthouse (*mahkeme*) caught fire, destroying all the writing boards (*peş-tahtalar*) and some court registers (*sicillâtdan bir miqdâr*), while the chief Sarajevo judge (*mollâ*) was at a picnic (*teferrûc*) in a village near Sarajevo, *MMB*, fol. 21a, 21b; *Saraybosnalı*, pp. 114, 115. About seven years later (25 Dhū'l-hijja 1193/3 January 1780) he writes that the Pasha *maktab* burned down along with the *muşhafs* (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.⁵²⁷

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 12th/18th century.⁵²⁸ On the other hand, a number of new endowments were created during that very same

⁵²⁷ 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.

⁵²⁸ 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.

12th/18th century, including several *madrasas* 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 10th/16th 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) *madrasa* libraries,
- 5) independent libraries, and
- 6) family libraries.⁵²⁹

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.⁵³⁰ The mosque charter lists the following 22 works:

⁵²⁹ 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 ahlî*) libraries, and private and personal libraries, as well as by the type of institution to which they were affiliated, namely *madrasa*, mosque and *takka* libraries, see Lavić, *Biblioteke u Bosni*, pp. 33, 34.

⁵³⁰ 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 *şjills* (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-ī '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;⁵³¹ 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*;⁵³² 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-Zamakhsharī (d. 538/114), a Qur’an commentary, *GAL G I*, 290/1.
- 3) a complete Qur’an commentary by Baghawī;⁵³³ 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*);⁵³⁴ a commentary on *al-Mashāriq* by Akmal al-dīn. This work could not be identified.
- 5) *Hidāya fī al-fiqh*;⁵³⁵ *al-Hidāya fī al-fiqh al-ḥanafī* (Guidance to Ḥanafī jurisprudence) by Burhān al-dīn b. ‘Alī b. Abū Bakr al-Marghīnānī al-Ḥanafī (d. 593/1196), jurisprudence, *GAL G I*, 376; *GAL S I*, 644.
- 6) A commentary on *Hidāya* by Jawharzāde;⁵³⁶ This work could not be identified.
- 7) A commentary on *Majma‘ al-baḥrayn* by the author of the work;⁵³⁷ full title: *Majma‘ al-baḥrayn wa multaqā al-nahrayn* (the Gathering of the Two Seas and the Confluence of the Two Rivers) by Muẓaffar 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;⁵³⁸ This work could not be identified.

⁵³¹ “Комплет “Саххах” од Џевхери-а”, *ibid.*, p.18.

⁵³² “Комплетан ‘Кјешшаф’”, *ibid.*, p.19.

⁵³³ “Комплет коментара курана од Багавије”, *ibid.*

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

⁵³⁵ “Хидаје фил фикх”, *ibid.*

⁵³⁶ “Коментар на ‘Хидаје’ од Џевхер заде”, *ibid.*

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

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

- 9) *Jawāhir min shurūḥ al-manzūma*:⁵³⁹ This work could not be identified.
- 10) *Ṣadr al-sharī'a*,⁵⁴⁰ 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),⁵⁴¹ 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 *Kadihan*,⁵⁴² by Fakhr al-dīn Ḥasan b. Maṣṣūr b. al-Ūzjandī al-Farghānī Qāḍihān (d.592/1196), a collection of fatwas, *GAL G I*, 376.
- 13) *Teshīl-ul-lataif-ul-isharat*:⁵⁴³ 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*:⁵⁴⁴ This work could not be identified.
- 15) A commentary on *Miftaḥ* by Seyid-i-Sherif,⁵⁴⁵ This work could not be identified.
- 16) *Telviḥ*,⁵⁴⁶ 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*:⁵⁴⁷ This work could not be identified.

⁵³⁹ “Цевахир мин шурух-ил-манзуме”, *ibid*.

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

⁵⁴¹ “Куњет-ул-фетава”, *ibid*.

⁵⁴² “Фетава’ од Кадихана”, *ibid*.

⁵⁴³ “Тесхил-ул-летиаиф-ул-ишарат”, *ibid*. Two *idāfas* are probably a transcription error.

⁵⁴⁴ “Фетава-и-цами-ел-усул”, *ibid*.

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

⁵⁴⁶ “Телвих”, *ibid*.

⁵⁴⁷ 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*;⁵⁴⁸ an unspecified commentary on *Kitāb al-‘umda fī uṣūl al-kalām* (see preceding ms. no. 18)
- 20) *Metn-i-kjafi dunye*:⁵⁴⁹ 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).⁵⁵⁰
- 21) *A supra-commentary on Keshshaf by mevlana Sad*:⁵⁵¹ 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).⁵⁵²
- 22) *A commentary on Mevakif by Seid Sherif*:⁵⁵³ 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.

⁵⁴⁸ “Коментар на ‘Умде’”, *ibid.*

⁵⁴⁹ “Метн-и-кјафи дуње”, *ibid.*

⁵⁵⁰ *AM II*, 379.

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

⁵⁵² *AM II*, 568.

⁵⁵³ “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).⁵⁵⁴ Towards the end of the 10th/16th 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):⁵⁵⁵

- 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'ān 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

⁵⁵⁴ 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.

⁵⁵⁵ 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 ḥashr al-aḥsād*, also known as *Risāla fī al-ma'ād al-jismānī*, a treatise on the bodily resurrection, *GAL G II*, 450/34.

2) *Ḥāshiya 'alā sharḥ Dībāja al-Ḍaw'*,⁵⁵⁶ 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.⁵⁵⁷

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.⁵⁵⁸

5) *Wiqāyat al-riwāya fī masā'il al-Hidāya* (Safeguard of Narration on Questions of Guidance)⁵⁵⁹ 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); *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 Ṣadr 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*, 647.⁵⁶⁰

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:⁵⁶¹

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.

⁵⁵⁶ Ms. 4456, *GHL VIII*, p. 387.

⁵⁵⁷ Ms. 4458, *GHL XVI*, pp. 480, 481.

⁵⁵⁸ Ms. 4459, *GHL XVI*, p. 433.

⁵⁵⁹ Ms. 4461, *GHL X*, pp. 44, 45.

⁵⁶⁰ Ms. 4455, *GHL X*, pp. 51, 52.

⁵⁶¹ *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 Ḥājib, *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-muṣallī*: its full title is *Munyat al-muṣallī 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'lim 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 İsāghūjī*. The full title: *İsāghūjī 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-Isāghūjī 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 türki*. 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 Qādmīr*: 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).⁵⁶²

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

⁵⁶² 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.⁵⁶³ 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*).⁵⁶⁴ 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 20th century, this library has increasingly served as the central repository for Islamic manuscripts in Bosnia.⁵⁶⁵ The tendency to move

⁵⁶³ 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) Mehmed Pasha (d. 897/1579). This 10th/16th 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. Mehmed Pasha Şoqollū left numerous endowments, including *madrasas* 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.

⁵⁶⁴ Osman Lavić, *Biblioteke u Bosni*, p. 35. An interesting example involves a copy of the *Tāj al-tarājīm 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 Shāhfüb Abū al-Muẓaffar Ṭāhir b. Muḥammad al-Isfarā'inī (d. 471/1078), *HKH* 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.

⁵⁶⁵ Describing the Gāzī Hüsrev-bey Library, Muhamed Ždravlović 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.⁵⁶⁶ 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.⁵⁶⁷

2. *Maktab* Libraries. As with mosque libraries, the history of *maktab* (primary school) libraries in the 12th/18th and early 13th/19th 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 13th/19th 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.⁵⁶⁸

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.

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

⁵⁶⁷ 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), the Husejnija Mosque holds a Qur'an manuscript from the 16th 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.

⁵⁶⁸ 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.⁵⁶⁹ 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),⁵⁷⁰ with several more bequests made after 1241/1826.⁵⁷¹ 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.⁵⁷²

The ‘Aynī-bey *maktab* fell into disrepair and was restored in 1266-67/1850-51.⁵⁷³ 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).⁵⁷⁴ 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 1244/1828.⁵⁷⁵

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

⁵⁷⁰ 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.

⁵⁷¹ 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?

⁵⁷² Lavić, *Biblioteke u Bosni*, p. 84.

⁵⁷³ Lavić, *Biblioteke u Bosni*, p. 83.

⁵⁷⁴ Lavić, *Biblioteke u Bosni*, p. 87.

⁵⁷⁵ 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 10th/16th century, Sarajevo already had seven *takkas* or dervish lodges: the ‘Isa-bey *takka*, the Gāzī Hüsrev-bey *Khānqāh* (Šūfī convent), the Iskandar-pasha *takka*, the Gaziler *takka* (also known as the Hasan-bey *takka*), the Turna-dervish *takka*, the Janju-ghaza *takka*, and the Dervish Hājī-dede *takka*. Two more were added in the 11th/17th century: the Qā’imī *takka* (in 1074/1664)⁵⁷⁶ 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.⁵⁷⁷

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.⁵⁷⁸

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

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

⁵⁷⁶ 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.

⁵⁷⁷ 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 Šūfī 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).

⁵⁷⁸ 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.⁵⁷⁹ The library manuscripts bear a seal from 1248/1833 and notes of bequest from 1257/1841.⁵⁸⁰ 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.⁵⁸¹ 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 12th/18th century, Sarajevo had four *madrasas* (schools of higher learning): the Firuz-bey, the Kemal-bey, the Gāzī Hüsrev-bey, and the Mehmed-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 12th/18th century: the Atmeydan *Madrasa* (established cca 1123-24/1712), the Bendbeşe *Madrasa* (established 1180-81/1766-67), and the Sîmzāde *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.⁵⁸² 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 (*luḡhat*), poetry (*dīwān*), and medicine (*ṭibb*).⁵⁸³ 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.

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

⁵⁸⁰ Lavić, *Biblioteke u Bosni*, pp. 117, 118.

⁵⁸¹ 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.

⁵⁸² 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.

⁵⁸³ 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.⁵⁸⁴ 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 المعتمدة تستعمل في المدرسة المذكورة يستفيد بها من)⁵⁸⁵ (يطالعها من المستفيدين و يستنسخ من يستنسخها من المحصلين). 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.⁵⁸⁶ According to Bursalı Mehmet Tahir, one Muḥammad-afandī, the father of Ḥusayn-afandī Būsnaḡwī (also known as Koca Mu'erriḡ, d. 1054/1644), served as a librarian at the Gāzī Hüsrev-bey mosque library.⁵⁸⁷ 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.⁵⁸⁸ 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 (*ḡāfiḡ-i kutub*). They were calligrapher 'Abdallāḡ 'Aynī-afandī Hasagić and Ṣāliḡ Ṣidqī-afandī Hadḡihusejnović, also known as Muwaqqit (the time-keeper).⁵⁸⁹

⁵⁸⁴ Lavić, *Biblioteke u Bosni*, p. 47.

⁵⁸⁵ Spaho, "Gazi Husrev-begova knjižnica", p. 20. The charter is dated 26 Rajab 943/8 January 1537.

⁵⁸⁶ 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.

⁵⁸⁷ 'OM III, p. 46.

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

⁵⁸⁹ 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.⁵⁹⁰

One of the new 12th/18th century *madrasas* was the Simzāde *madrasa*. It was established in 1188/1775.⁵⁹¹ In 1207/1793, ‘Abd al-Qādir Muẓaffarizāde bequeathed a collection of 74 volumes to it.⁵⁹²

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),⁵⁹³ who ordered it built in memory of his only son, Aḥmad Khātām Aqovalızāde (d. 1167/1754).⁵⁹⁴ Aḥmad Khātām was a kadi, a Naqshbandī shaykh, a Şūfī poet, and a lover of books.⁵⁹⁵ It is not quite

⁵⁹⁰ 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 āmin yā Mu‘īn), Lavić, *Biblioteke u Bosni*, p. 46.

⁵⁹¹ Hajrudin Ćurić, *Muslimansko školstvo*, p. 89.

⁵⁹² 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], *Analī* IX-X (1983), p. 28.

⁵⁹³ 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, *Osmanlı vakıf kütüphaneleri*, p. 244.

⁵⁹⁴ His year of birth is unknown.

⁵⁹⁵ 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], *Analī* 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*).⁵⁹⁶ 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.⁵⁹⁷ The library plaque bore a Qur’anic verse, along with the year of establishment: *fihā kutub qayyima, sana 1173*⁵⁹⁸ (herein [are] true Books,⁵⁹⁹ 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.⁶⁰⁰ ‘Uthmān Shahdī provided the initial library collection with 180 codices he sent from Istanbul, each stamped with a seal reading: وقف هذه النسخة عثمان شهدى عن خواجگان دیوان همایون فی مدینة سراى بویسنه بشرط ان لا تخرج عن خزانتہ 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”).⁶⁰¹

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.*⁶⁰²

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

⁵⁹⁶ Kemura, *U dvorištu Careve džamije*, p. 2.

⁵⁹⁷ 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 *madrassa*, Lavić, *Biblioteke u Bosni*, p. 68, n. 170.

⁵⁹⁸ 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*.

⁵⁹⁹ 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.

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

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

⁶⁰² “Aqovalı ‘Osman Şehdī Efendī İslāmbol’da ricāl iken Hümçāriyyede (8a) kütüb-hāne 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.⁶⁰³ Based on Basheskī, Sejfudin Kemura has identified several librarians of this library. The first was a certain mullā Yaḥyā (d.1175/1762).⁶⁰⁴ He was followed by mullā Aḥmad Foyniçeli⁶⁰⁵ (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 (*herif*), who died during an imperial military campaign.”⁶⁰⁶ He was succeeded by his son ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, who died five years later (1189/1775).⁶⁰⁷

The next librarian was ḥāfiẓ Maḥmūd-afandī. From 1180/1767, he worked as imam, Friday preacher (*khaṭīb*) and teacher in a Sarajevo mosque,⁶⁰⁸ while at the same time running the library for an annual salary of 30 *guruş*.⁶⁰⁹ Basheskī knew him well, dedicating a whole passage to him in the section on the learned men of the city.⁶¹⁰ 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*).⁶¹¹ Maḥmūd-afandī was succeeded by Ḥilmi-afandī Delalagić, also known as Goro (d. 1266/1850).⁶¹²

⁶⁰³ 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.

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

⁶⁰⁵ *MMB*, fol. 65a; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 240.

⁶⁰⁶ “Foyniçevī Ḥācī Meḥmed Efendī, sābık müftī, ḥāfiẓ-ı kütüb-ḥāne, vā’iz, müderris, iri ādem, kaba şaḥallı, ḳara şaḥallı, ḳara sīmālu, ‘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.

⁶⁰⁷ *MMB*, fol. 76b; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 265.

⁶⁰⁸ Kemura, *U dvorištu Careve džamije*, p. 11.

⁶⁰⁹ Lavić, *Biblioteke u Bosni*, p. 70.

⁶¹⁰ *MMB*, fol. 36b; *Saraybosnalı*, pp. 146, 147.

⁶¹¹ *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”, (2nd 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”).⁶¹³ 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.⁶¹⁴

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.⁶¹⁵

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.⁶¹⁶ 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 Mişrī, the founder of a nearby *madrasa* (constructed some time

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

⁶¹² 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.

⁶¹³ Lavić, *Biblioteke u Bosni*, p. 69.

⁶¹⁴ 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.

⁶¹⁵ “Ḳaṭmīr ‘Abdī Efendī, vā‘iz idi, müderris idi, maḥkemedede başkātib idi, pek ihtiyār idi, ammā mizāḥcı idi ve kimesneyi beğenmez idi”, *MMB*, fol. 74b; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 260.

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

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

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

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 Qanṭamīrīzade 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.⁶²³ According to a library inventory from 1280/1864, at that point the library had 109 codices.⁶²⁴ 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 Qanṭamīrīzade library.⁶²⁵ 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

⁶¹⁷ Hajrudin Ćurić, *Muslimansko školstvo*, p. 90.

⁶¹⁸ 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.

⁶¹⁹ Lavić, *Biblioteke u Bosni*, p. 77.

⁶²⁰ 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.

⁶²¹ Lavić, *Biblioteke u Bosni*, p. 77.

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

⁶²³ Lavić, *Biblioteke u Bosni*, p. 77.

⁶²⁴ Lavić, *Biblioteke u Bosni*, p. 78.

⁶²⁵ Lavić, *Biblioteke u Bosni*, p. 78.

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

As one of the only two independent libraries, the Qanṭamīrīzāde Library was clearly an important library in Sarajevo in the late 12th/18th and early 13th/19th centuries.⁶²⁹ 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.⁶³⁰ One example of such a library is that of kadi Šālih ‘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 1828.⁶³¹ The library was clearly kadi Šālih ‘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 Šālih ‘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 12th/18th and 13th/19th 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.

⁶²⁶ Lavić, *Biblioteke u Bosni*, p. 79.

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

⁶²⁸ Lavić, *Biblioteke u Bosni*, p. 79.

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

⁶³⁰ R. Peters, “Wakf”, *IE² XI* (1997), p. 60.

⁶³¹ 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 Şālih ‘Izzat Hromozāde (endowed in 1244/1828) show that printed books were available in Sarajevo at the end of the 12th/18th and in the early 13th/19th 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.⁶³²

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.

⁶³² 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.

Chapter Four: Books and Their Owners According to Sarajevo

Inheritance Inventories 1118-1244/1707-1828

This chapter begins by introducing inheritance inventories, with their strengths and limitations, as our main source for studying book ownership. This is followed by a presentation of Sarajevo book owners in terms of their backgrounds. Certain categories of book owners are accorded special attention (e.g. women and Roma). Lastly, data on books are presented and analysed in terms of genre, language, and value. At that point, a number of additional questions is raised about the prevalence of printed works and rare works, the most commonly-owned books, works by Bosnian authors and works with Bosnian themes.

4.1 Inheritance Inventories as a Source for Studying Book Ownership

In the preface to his translation of ‘Umar Khayyām’s *Rubā‘īyyāt* (the Quatrains), the Bosnian scholar Safvet Bašagić (1870-1934) describes buying a particularly valuable manuscript of the work at an auction in Sarajevo.⁶³³ The purchase was made in 1915, in what turned out to be the final years of Austro-Hungarian rule in Bosnia (1878-1918). The anecdote well illustrates how the Ottoman-era practice of auctioning off estates lasted well into modern times thanks to the continued application of Muslim personal law. It also underlines the vital role of auctions for the circulation of books, a role which must have been even greater during the age of the manuscript book and no bookshops.⁶³⁴ Notes about book purchases written inside the covers of extant manuscripts sometimes reveal that they were purchased from estates (*mukhallafāt*).

⁶³³ Omer Hajjam, *Rubaije* (Sarajevo: Tugra, 2009), pp. 5, 6. Ghiyāth al-dīn Abū al-Faṭḥ ‘Umar ibn Ibrāhīm al-Nīsābūrī also known as ‘Umar Khayyām (d. 517/1123). In the English-speaking world his *Quatrains* became popular thanks to Edward FitzGerald’s translation published in 1859 as *the Rubáiyát of Omar Khayyám*. The street in which Bašagić purchased the manuscript is still known as *Telali* (Arabic: *dallāl*; Turkish: *tellāl*), though it no longer serves as a venue for auctions. During the Socialist period, the street hosted a flea market. *Sharī’a* courts continued to operate under the Yugoslav Kingdom (1918-1945) and very briefly under Communist rule before being closed down in 1946.

⁶³⁴ So far as can be gleaned from the sources, Sarajevo did not have specialised booksellers (*ṣaḥḥāfs*) of the type found in large Ottoman cities. On Istanbul booksellers see: Erünsal, *Osmanlılarda sahaflık*. Damascus had a book market near the Kallāsa *madrassa* just north of the Umayyad mosque with a broker whose job was the evaluation and sale of books from the inheritance inventories, Colette Establet et Jean-Paul Pascual, “Les livres des gens à Damas vers 1700”, *Revue des mondes musulmans et de la Méditerranée* 87-88 (1999), p. 145.

Known variously as *mukhallafāt daftars*, *qassām daftars*, or *taraka daftars*, Ottoman inheritance inventories are lists of “goods left by the deceased, including both movable property and real estate, but not state-owned agricultural land (*mīrī*).”⁶³⁵ They were usually entered into court registers (*sijills*), which were themselves kept at the local courts.⁶³⁶

The Sarajevo court registers are elongated codices with thick brown paper and written in black ink. They can range in size from less than one hundred to well-over 300 hundred pages of hand-written text in Ottoman Turkish. The registers are records of the various documents transcribed by court scribes: marriages, divorces, disputes, sales, loans, agreements and transcripts of official documents sent by the Imperial Council to local kadis and governors. Each court register has two sections: the beginning and the end pages are taken up by entries of marriages, while the pages in the middle are reserved for other documents, including the inheritance inventories.

The inheritance inventories are particularly valuable for the light they shed on everyday life, living standards, family structure, etc. An important question, to which we shall return when examining what moved some people to register their family members’ estates with the court, is how representative they are of the overall population. For our purposes here, the important fact is that, given that such estates sometimes included books, the inventories are a major source for studying book ownership in the Ottoman Empire.⁶³⁷

The vast majority of the surviving Sarajevo court registers contain inheritance inventories. Of a total of 88, three belong to the 10th/16th and 11th/17th centuries, with the remainder covering the second half of the 12th/18th and the first half of the 13th/19th century.⁶³⁸ Furthermore, the registers for 1176-1268/1762-1852 run continuously, year on year,

⁶³⁵ Suraiya Faruqi, “Sidjill”, *EF* IX, p. 540.

⁶³⁶ Suraiya Faruqi, “Sidjill”, *EF* IX, p. 540. Apparently, some of the more populous cities, like Cairo and Bursa, had separate registers for inheritance inventories, while Istanbul and Edirne kept separate inheritance inventories for the ‘*askerī*’ class. See further: Suraiya Faruqi, *Approaching Ottoman History: an Introduction to the Sources* (Cambridge; Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 56.

⁶³⁷ For studies into book ownership for various Ottoman cities, please see the bibliography compiled by Orlin Sabev, “Osmanlı toplumsal tarihi için değerli kaynak teşkil eden tereke ve muhalefat kayıtları”.

⁶³⁸ For a general description of the Sarajevo *sijills* and their content, see: Azra Gadžo-Kasumović, “O sidžilima u Gazi Hüseyin-beyovoj biblioteci” [On the *sijills* in the Gāzī Hüseyin-bey Library], *Anali* XXI-XXII (2003), pp. 41-83. For a review of the Bosnia-wide *sijills*, see: Hatidža Čar-Drnda, “Šerijatski sidžili i njihova zastupljenost u Bosni i Hercegovini” [*Shari‘a sijills* and their prevalence in Bosnia-Herzegovina], *Anali* XIII-XIV (1987), pp. 53-67.

without interruption, and all contain inheritance inventories.⁶³⁹ The key advantage of studying inventories over such an extensive period of time is that it provides a wide net for capturing book ownership. Consequently, the inheritance inventories enable us to reconstruct various aspects of book ownership, whether in terms of the owners or their books.

Reflecting the division of society into a political class (*‘askerī*) and the non-political, tax-paying mass of the population (*re‘āya*), the Ottoman administration in principle kept separate registers for them. In practice, this does not seem always to have been strictly observed. While the Sarajevo court registers are all labelled *‘askerī*, they often include inheritance inventories for categories of the population that would not usually be considered members of the political class, including Roma and peasants (both Muslim and non-Muslim). This might have to do with the fact that the inhabitants of Sarajevo had been granted tax-privileges because of the services they, and especially the artisans, rendered the Ottoman military. Such people became a category that was not strictly speaking *‘askerī*, but was practically treated as such.

Entries in the inventories follow a pattern. They begin with the place of residence and name of the deceased.⁶⁴⁰ The cause of death may be stated (e.g. plague, drowning, murder, but not if the person in question died of natural causes or illness). If a person died away from home, the place of death is usually mentioned. This information on the deceased is followed by the names of the legal heirs and their degree of relation to the deceased. At the end of the introductory part, the date of entry in the inventory is normally given, but not the date of death. The second part of the entry consists of a list of the movable/personal and immovable/real property in the estate and of assigned values based on sale or assessment. If the deceased person had books, they tended to be listed first, with copies of the Qur’an coming top of the list. This rule was not always followed strictly and one has to read carefully through the whole list to make sure that a book is not missed, in case it appears elsewhere in the list, mixed up with other movable items. In some cases, books even come at the end of the list. Thus, Khadija bint ‘Umar’s copy of the Qur’an was listed,

⁶³⁹ The court registers were discontinued in 1268/1852 following administrative reforms.

⁶⁴⁰ Where surnames are mentioned at all, they usually have a Turkish ending (*oğlu*). In rare cases the Slavic surname ending “-ić” (written “-ik”) is used. It is not uncommon for the name to be preceded by a nickname, indicated by the statement *demekle ma‘rūf*, which corresponds to the English expression “also known as”.

along with prayer beads (*tasbīḥ*), at the end of her estate list.⁶⁴¹ The same was true for Muḥammad-beşe bin Muştafā.⁶⁴² A gross value for the inheritance is given in the third section. Once outstanding debts, court expenses and discretionary disposal or bequests (which could not amount to more than one third of the property) had been subtracted, a net value was given for the estate and the shares of the individual heirs recorded. Should new facts about the deceased or his property come to light later (e.g. proof of a debt or claim against the deceased), the new division would be recorded in a separate entry.⁶⁴³

The registers were kept at a court-house (*maḥkama*) headed by a kadi, who was assisted by scribes. The scribes copied the inheritance inventories into the registers. Sometimes the services of independent professional scribes, like Basheskī, were used in writing down the property lists.⁶⁴⁴ There would normally be at least two more people involved in winding up an estate. The first was the assessor responsible for establishing its value. Basheskī reports the death of one such man.⁶⁴⁵ The second was the broker or executor (Arabic: *dallāl*; Turkish: *tellāl*), that is the official responsible for managing the public sale of the estate, before the proceeds could be divided up among the heirs. The broker thus played an important role in facilitating the trade in second-hand books.⁶⁴⁶ In Istanbul, the *dallāl* would

⁶⁴¹ S60/138-139 (27 Shawwāl 1236/28 July 1821).

⁶⁴² S18/25 (18 Dhū'l-Ḥijja 1190/28 January 1777). According to İsmail Erünsal, in 11th/17th century inventories, books could be listed anywhere (the beginning, the middle or the end) and were sometimes mixed with other items. In the 12th/18th and 13th/19th centuries, they were usually listed at the beginning of the inventory. At the end of the 13th/19th and in the early 14th/20th century, there were again inconsistencies in the ways books were listed, Erünsal, *Osmanlılarda Sahafılık*, p. 317.

⁶⁴³ Such entries are usually short and begin with: *ba'de ḥitāmi'd-defter...* i.e. "after the closure of the inventory..."

⁶⁴⁴ MMB, fol. 73b; *Saraybosnali*, p. 259.

⁶⁴⁵ MMB, fol. 69a; *Saraybosnali*, p. 249. The sentence appears incomplete. With regard to the process of property division, Ždralović notes as one benefit of the inheritance inventories the fact that they reveal the principal heir (*prvi nasljednik*) which enables us to register the new owner of the book collection or the private library, Ždralović, *Bosansko-hercegovački prepisivači*, p. 12. It is not clear to me why Ždralović thought so. The heirs were usually apportioned the sum they received after the property was sold. There are cases of family members who bought up books or other items from the estate at auction, but as far as I am aware, there is nothing to suggest that the "first heir" had some sort of a privileged right to receive his or her inheritance in goods.

⁶⁴⁶ Erünsal, *Osmanlılarda Sahafılık*, p. 220.

sometimes go from shop to shop offering the books for sale.⁶⁴⁷ His fee (*dallāliyya*) would be included in the court expenses to be paid out of the estate. The broker's commission was 1-2% of the amount realised for the books sold.⁶⁴⁸

4.2 Basheskī's Observations on the Property and Inheritance of Sarajevans

As a scribe who sometimes drew up the property lists for estates, Basheskī was naturally curious about other people's property and inheritance. In his entry for the year 1207/1792-93, he writes of an unnamed person's estate: "I came across some interesting and valuable data in a *qassām daftar* from Brestovsko [a village near Sarajevo] written in 1088 [1677], which I am reporting here."⁶⁴⁹ He goes on to produce a rather short and unremarkable list of items which, however, contained no books. Elsewhere, Basheskī writes that the money used to rebuild two damaged minarets (one of them cost 500 *guruş*) came from the estate of the calligrapher ḥāj Ḥasan.⁶⁵⁰ Reporting deaths, Basheskī occasionally relates how the deceased had themselves previously received large inheritances:

"...old man Chorbich-oghlū inherited property from the rich kadi Gümüşzāde. He was generous, but he liked a drink."⁶⁵¹

"The brother of Sulaymān-afandī...he inherited a good deal of wealth from his brother Muştafā."⁶⁵²

Basheskī also notes cases of people supposed to have married for money. There was the case of a man who married a rich widow. She died a few days after the wedding, so that he inherited her fortune: "He was greedy and for a full 40 years never missed a fair."⁶⁵³ Similarly, shaykh mullā 'Alī Gorājdelī, also known as Ucha, lived inside the *Khānqāh* (the Šūfī convent built by Gāzī Hüsrev-bey) and became rich by marrying a wealthy widow.⁶⁵⁴ In

⁶⁴⁷ Erünsal, *Osmanlılarda Sahaflık*, p. 220.

⁶⁴⁸ Erünsal, *Osmanlılarda Sahaflık*, pp. 221-223.

⁶⁴⁹ MMB, fol. 146b; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 212. According to Basheskī, the list was compiled by Aḥmad, he chief judge (*kāzasker*) in the town of Kreševo, near Sarajevo.

⁶⁵⁰ One was the minaret of the Sagraqçı mosque (MMB, fol. 15a; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 97) and the other was the mosque in the 'İsā-bey *maḥalla*. I was unable to identify the 'İsā-bey *maḥalla* passage in *Saraybosnalı*.

⁶⁵¹ MMB, fol. 78a; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 267.

⁶⁵² MMB, fol. 77a; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 266.

⁶⁵³ MMB, fol. 92b; *Saraybosnalı*, pp. 303, 304.

⁶⁵⁴ *Ucha* is here probably short for *uçitelj* (teacher) in Bosnian. MMB, fol. 93b; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 307. Basheskī often mentions the Bosnian nicknames of the deceased Sarajevans.

another example, “Ḥasan-beşe the cap-maker (*araçacı*)....married a widow, the daughter of Dahi ḥāj Ibrāhīm, with the intention of inheriting her wealth.”⁶⁵⁵

If wealth could affect choice of spouse, it could also lead people to crime and, in one case, Basheskī implies that a woman was murdered for her inheritance.⁶⁵⁶

In another case, he complains about people getting into the habit of giving false testimony out of greed for wealth before reporting about a group of people who claimed that the wealthy ḥāj Ṣāliḥ left them one third of his property by will. Following litigation, their claim was rejected and they sought pardon from the rightful heirs.⁶⁵⁷

A running theme in the several of his references to people’s inheritance is the fleeting nature of material riches:

“Pāzār-beşe, with sick eyes. He received a legacy (*mīrāth*), but died soon afterwards.”⁶⁵⁸

“Aḥmad Qurbagh-oghlū, he drank a lot and so squandered his inheritance from his father.”⁶⁵⁹

“Ḥāj Mūlo, young, inherited a great fortune, but did not live long.”⁶⁶⁰

The same thing happened to a man called Vīlā, who died suddenly, less than a year after inheriting great wealth.⁶⁶¹

Basheskī narrates the case of one Mullā-afandī who set out on a journey from Sarajevo to Istanbul. Having decided against travelling by land for fear of robbers, he set off for the coastal city of Dubrovnik instead, with the intention of continuing his voyage by sea: “But, given that the roads near Dubrovnik are rocky and steep, his horse tripped, brought him down and killed him. The kadi recorded the property of the late Mullā-afandī, including the more than 40 purses of coin found on him.”⁶⁶²

⁶⁵⁵ MMB, fol. 78b; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 268.

⁶⁵⁶ MMB, fol. 13b; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 89.

⁶⁵⁷ MMB, fol. 41a; *Saraybosnalı*, pp. 161, 164.

⁶⁵⁸ MMB, fol. 97a; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 315.

⁶⁵⁹ MMB, fol. 127a; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 332.

⁶⁶⁰ MMB, fol. 129a; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 336.

⁶⁶¹ MMB, fol. 141a; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 361.

⁶⁶² MMB, fol. 147a; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 213.

Basheskī does on occasion mention books as forming part of legacies. Reporting on the death of Gharibī al-ḥāj Aḥmad-afandī, one of the Sarajevans he includes in his set of learned people, he notes that his estate contained many books (*çok kitāb kaldı*).⁶⁶³

4.3 Reasons for Seeking a Division of Property through the Courts

There was no legal requirement to register an estate with the court, even when a person died intestate. So long as the family could agree a mutually satisfactory division of property, they did not have to go to a kadi. In certain cases, however, the kadi could intervene without having to be asked by family members. Were a member of the political (*askeri*) class to die without issue, the kadi had to ensure the estate was sold and proceeds transferred to the treasury (*Beytül-māl*). The kadi could also intervene to ensure that the rights of minors to inheritance were not violated.

There were various reasons why family members and other individuals might seek a court division of property. Perhaps one of the most common was to settle debts.⁶⁶⁴ Debts figure prominently in many inheritance inventories, whether as claims against the deceased by his or her creditors or by the family against people who had borrowed money from the deceased during his or her lifetime. Sometimes creditors were close family members.⁶⁶⁵

Basheskī reports on people he knew who died in debt:

“Darwīsh-bey, who died drowning in debt.”⁶⁶⁶

“The yellow-moustached Yūwājī-oghlū, who died in debt (*medyūnen*), even though he owned farmland and gardens.”⁶⁶⁷

⁶⁶³ MMB, fol. 87b; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 289. According to Basheskī, Aḥmad-afandī used to be a fanatic (*müte’aşşib*), the term he applies to *kadizādelis*, but then became a Sufi. For more on Gharibī al-ḥāj Aḥmad-afandī see the section on *Learned Men* in *Chapter Two*. His estate does not figure in the inheritance inventories.

⁶⁶⁴ There seem to be two different groups of cases: one involving smaller debts, the other where debts are so great that there is nothing left for the heirs. In the latter case, the formula “bundan terekesinden ez yed olduḡu” is inserted in the introduction.

⁶⁶⁵ In a few cases, the creditors were the wives of the deceased.

⁶⁶⁶ MMB, fol. 128b; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 334. Mujezinović points out in a footnote that the man’s full name was Darwīsh Muşṭafā-bey, son of Ismā’il-bey, who died in the town of Sorguç on the way back from Vidin and whose estate was recorded in S22/125, *Ljetopis*, p. 300, n. 7.

⁶⁶⁷ MMB, fol. 131b; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 341. Mujezinović identifies him as Şālih-beşe son of İbrāhīm, S34/95 *Ljetopis*, p. 316, n. 9.

Basheskī also writes of two cases of a debtor’s property being sold off to pay his debts. One was the case of the “handsome *dellāk* (shampooer in a public bath) Muṣṭafā” who robbed two shops. On being caught, at first he accused another person of the crime, but eventually confessed. To recoup what he had stolen, his property was auctioned, “as though he were dead” (*māl-ı meyyit gibi*).⁶⁶⁸ In another case, a group of *āghās*, ‘*alemdārs* and *yamaks* realized that their salaries had not been paid in full and so sent a representative to Istanbul to collect on their claims. The man fell sick on the way and had to return to Sarajevo. A second individual was then dispatched, but he, too, returned from Istanbul without having completed his task. It was then decided that his property should be sold off to settle the claims of the group.⁶⁶⁹

Another motive for demanding a division of property was to ensure an unborn child or a minor would receive their share of the wealth. Non-Muslims seem to have resorted to court on occasion, possibly to secure a better deal for their daughters.⁶⁷⁰

Under Islamic law, up to one third of the estate can be set aside for charitable purposes at the testator’s discretion. In such cases, it was necessary to register and divide up the estate. Several deaths occurring close together within a family (perhaps especially during epidemics and war) could also prompt demands by potential heirs for a division of the estate.⁶⁷¹

Another common reason for seeking formal division of the estate was prolonged absence by a family member (usually the husband), expressed by the phrase “out of station” (*ğā’ib ‘anī’d-diyār*). This was especially so in cases where the person in question had disappeared or gone missing (*mefkūd*) on a business trip or a war campaign or similar misadventure.

Lastly, court division of an estate could be required in cases of shared ownership, when one of the owners had died.

⁶⁶⁸ MMB, fol. 44a; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 174.

⁶⁶⁹ MMB, fol. 153b; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 219.

⁶⁷⁰ Based on the inheritance inventories, one could argue that female heirs are overrepresented in entries for the non-Muslim deceased.

⁶⁷¹ Every now and then we come across entries for a given individual, where we read in the introductory material: *ḳable’l-ḳismetī’l-mezbūre Fāṭima daḥī fevt olup* (“before the afore-mentioned division Fatima also died”) (S30/39). In other cases, we read: *ba’de ḥitāmi’d-defter so-and-so daḥī fevt olup* (“after the closure of the inventory so-and-so also died”). In cases like these one wonders whether the death of the second person may not already have been known at the time the first was registered.

4.4 Limitations to Inheritance Inventories

Inheritance inventories pose two sets of limitations for the researcher. One concerns the deceased and the other the books.

Regarding the deceased, the main problem with inheritance inventories is that they may not be representative of the population in the place or area involved. Since there was no legal requirement to resort to courts for the division of property, there is no telling what proportion of the residents of the Sarajevo subdistrict (*nāḥiye*), including some book owners, remained outside of records and unknown to us. Even those whose property did come up for division before the court may have owned books which they had sold or donated beforehand. The book collection of kadi Ṣāliḥ 'Izzat Ḥromozāde is a case in point. It is, in any case, hard to estimate what percentage of the population resorted to the courts to settle such issues. Suraiya Faroqhi thinks it was no more than a small percentage of all those who died.⁶⁷² Others, however, take the view that such recourse to the courts was by no means so rare.⁶⁷³

Certain social strata are probably overrepresented. These would include merchants, especially those who died on business trips,⁶⁷⁴ people in polygamous marriages,⁶⁷⁵ and people who either owed or were owed debts which would prompt their legal heirs to approach the court. On the other hand, women and poor people would have had less incentive to go to court, since any inheritance due to them would be further diminished by court fees. Lastly, some people may also have avoided the courts because they wanted to deprive minors of their rightful inheritance.

⁶⁷² Suraiya Faroqhi, "Sidjill", *EP* IX, p. 540.

⁶⁷³ For example, Professor Fikret Karčić of the University of Sarajevo, the leading scholar on the history of *sharī'a* law in Bosnia, is of the view that the complexity of Muslim laws of inheritance was an inducement for people to turn to the courts and that the number of such cases was not as low as sometimes thought (personal communication with Professor Karčić, 25 April 2011).

⁶⁷⁴ Suraiya Faroqhi, "Sidjill", *EP* IX, p. 540.

⁶⁷⁵ According to Muhamed Hadžijahić, polygamy was rare among Bosnian Muslims in Ottoman times. The exceptions were found amongst the higher nobility (*beys*) and Muslims of the Cazin border area in northwest Bosnia. Fikret Karčić refers to European travellers in the first half of the 19th century in support of this view. See: Fikret Karčić, *Šerijatski sudovi u Jugoslaviji 1918-1941* [*Sharī'a Courts in Yugoslavia 1918-1941*] 2nd edition (Sarajevo: Fakultet islamskih nauka and El-Kalem, 2005), p. 138.

The other set of limitations concerns the books themselves, which are almost never listed by full title, short or popular titles being preferred. Thus, *Dalā'il al-khayrāt wa shawāriq al-anwār fī dhikr al-ṣalāt 'alā al-nabiyy al-mukhtār* (Proofs of Blessings and Rays of Lights in Remembering the Prayer on the Chosen Prophet) is usually listed as *Dalā'il al-khayrāt* or *Dalā'il al-sharīf* (The Noble Proofs).⁶⁷⁶ Works are also sometimes listed under just the author's name. We have seen how Basheskī refers to a book called *Bayḍāwī*, by which he means the Qur'anic commentary by Abū Sa'īd 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Shirāzī al-Bayḍāwī entitled *Anwār al-tanzīl wa asrār al-ta'wīl* (Lights of Revelation and Secrets of Interpretation).⁶⁷⁷ Bayḍāwī's commentary can also serve as an example of a work that appears under an alternative title, in this case *Tafsīr-i Qāḍī* (The Kadi's Commentary).⁶⁷⁸ Different texts can also share the same title. Is the *'Ajā'ib al-makhlūqāt* (the Wonders of Creation) in the inventories the work by al-Qazwīnī or the one by Aḥmad Bijān Yazījī-oghlū?⁶⁷⁹ Similarly, how are we to tell whether a given *Iskandarnāme* (The Book of Alexander) in the inventories is the one by the Ottoman poet Aḥmadī or that by the Persian poet Nizāmī? Nonetheless, it is possible in most cases to identify the work in question, mainly because they were well-known works.

Another limitation in evaluating book ownership on the basis of inheritance inventories is due to books not always being listed by title at all, but just placed under one of the following generic terms:

Kitāb (pl. *kutub*; Turkish: *kitāb*; pl. *kitaplar, kütüb*) – book. This is the most common generic label found in the inventories, with 1,371 volumes listed under this label. They range from one book to dozens and even hundreds of them. The largest book collection to come under this label comes from an estate whose owner had 408 books (*kutub*).⁶⁸⁰ Another estate

⁶⁷⁶ A collection of prayers and blessings invoked on the Prophet and composed by Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Jazūlī (d. 870/1465), *GAL G*, II, 252.

⁶⁷⁷ *GAL G* I, 416.

⁶⁷⁸ S25/99, 100. This title appears twice in the legacy of Muḥammad Rāzī Walī Khwāja-oghlū. Similarly, there is a reference to *Fātiḥa-i sharīfīla sūrat-i Baqara tafsīr li al-Qāḍī*, S11/104, 105.

⁶⁷⁹ *'Ajā'ib al-makhlūqāt wa gharā'ib al-mawjūdāt* (Wonders of Creation and Peculiarities of the Existent Things) by Zakariyyā al-Qazwīnī (d. 681/1283).

⁶⁸⁰ S55/193-194 (5 Jumādā al-Awwal 1230/15 April 1815). The owner was kadi Chōqajizāde Muḥammad Jūdī-afandī ibn Muṣṭafā-bey and, as the inheritance entry shows, 162 of his books were found in Travnik and 246 more in Sarajevo. Along with two copies of the Qur'an listed separately, his books were worth a small fortune of 2,548 *guruş* in total,

contained 141 unspecified book (*kitāb jild 141*).⁶⁸¹ One wonders whether these collections were sold at auctions for a lump sum. In these cases, at least, we have information about the owner and the total value of the book collection, but there is no way of knowing any further details about the books themselves. It is worth noting that such generic terms as *kitāb/kutub* are regularly used to describe books belonging to non-Muslims, eg, a Jewish book (*kitāb yahūdī*), books of Christians (*kütüb-ü naşārā*). A singular exception is the books of Rufā'il Yahūd, whose estate included an unspecified number of "doctor's books" (*ḥekīm kitapları*).⁶⁸²

In addition to knowing nothing about their contents or genre, using the blanket term *kitāb* or *kutub* to refer to a whole lot means that we do not know the value of each volume.⁶⁸³ According to İsmail Erünsal, court scribes tended to use the terms *books* or *Turkish books* for works of history, geography and literature, with which they were less familiar than with the religious titles they knew well.⁶⁸⁴

Risāla, pl. **rasā'il** (Turkish: *risāle*, pl. *risāleler*) - epistle, treatise. Shorter, less well-known works seem to have been more readily labelled *risāla* or *rasā'il*. Sometimes the label was qualified by subject, e.g. *Risāla min al-aḥādīth*⁶⁸⁵ (Treatise of ḥadīth) or *Risāla min mūsīqā*⁶⁸⁶ (Treatise on music), or by language, e.g. *Farsī risāla*⁶⁸⁷ (Persian treatise) or *Türkī risāle*⁶⁸⁸ (Turkish treatise). İbrāhīm Khwāja had a book collection of respectable size, comprising 50

⁶⁸¹ S33/56, 57 (21 Şafar 1207/8 October 1792). The collection belonged to Mūstārī Aḥmad-afandī ibn 'Umar.

⁶⁸² S22/235. Apparently he died in the Ćurčića inn (*ḥān*), where he was staying as a traveller. The proceeds from his modest belongings went to the treasury (*Beytü'l-māl*).

⁶⁸³ Erünsal notes the use of the term *alayı*, for "multitudes of" books, in Istanbul inheritance inventories, Erünsal, *Osmanlılarda Sahafılık*, p. 174. I have not come across this term in the Sarajevo inheritance inventories.

⁶⁸⁴ Erünsal, *Osmanlılarda Sahafılık*, p. 318.

⁶⁸⁵ S11/104, 105 (17 Shawwāl 1184/3 February 1771).

⁶⁸⁶ S25/99-101 (25 Jumādā al-Awwal 1200/26 March 1786). This is the same Muḥammad Rāzī Walī Khwāja-oghlū whom Basheski praises for his erudition and includes among the learned Sarajevans.

⁶⁸⁷ I have counted ten instances of *fārsī risāla* (Persian treatise) in the Sarajevo inventories during the period covered by this study.

⁶⁸⁸ I have counted twenty-three instances of *türkī risāla* (Turkish treatise) in the Sarajevo inventories during the period covered by this study.

volumes, with 15 *risālas*, worth 744 *akçe* in total.⁶⁸⁹ The estate of Muḥammad Rāzī Walī Kh^wāja-oghlū included 36 *risālas* worth 1,200 *akçe*.⁶⁹⁰

Nuskha (Turkish: *nüşha*) - a piece of writing, a manuscript. While sometimes used for a known text (e.g. *Sherḥ-i Merāḥ nüşhası*⁶⁹¹), this term was more commonly applied to unidentified works. For example, a Janissary officer (*serṭurnā'i*) al-ḥāj Ja'far-āghā bin Dhū al-Fiqr had nine works labelled as an “unbound manuscript” (*perīṣān nüşha*).⁶⁹² As with *kitāb* or *risāla*, the subject is sometimes indicated, e.g. *Fıkh-i mute'allik 'arebī nüşha* (an Arabic manuscript on jurisprudence)⁶⁹³ or *Şarf nüşhası* (a manuscript on syntax),⁶⁹⁴ or *Namazlık nüşha*⁶⁹⁵ (a manuscript on daily prayers). The term is also one of the generic terms for Christian scriptures. For example, *nüşha-i neşārā* (a manuscript of the Christians) is listed in the inheritance of the fur-maker Petre, son of Vāşil-oghlū.⁶⁹⁶ “One volume of a manuscript of the Christians” (*neşārā nüşhası cild 1*) is registered as part of the inheritance of Vāsīl, son of Mārḡo, originally from the southern Bosnian town of Trebinje.⁶⁹⁷ Qūrnīch Petre, son of Yovān, had four “manuscripts of the Christians” (*nüşha-i neşārā*).⁶⁹⁸ Abū Bakr b. Ḥasan had 17 manuscripts, including five pieces of black manuscripts (*siyāh nüşha*).⁶⁹⁹ There is also a unique case of manuscripts belonging to the estate of Ḥāmida, the daughter of kadi Khayrīzāde Darwīsh 'Alī, and listed as follows: “writings in the possession of Naẓīf-afandī” (*nüşhalar der yed-i Naẓīf efendī: 1,420 para*); “writings in the possession of Şālīḥ-afandī”

⁶⁸⁹ S9/83 (10 Ramaḍān 1182/18 January 1769).

⁶⁹⁰ S25/99-101 (25 Jumādā al-Awwal 1200/26 March 1786).

⁶⁹¹ S55/137. This was the only book in the possession of Kātik [Ćatić] 'Abdallāh-beşe ibn al-ḥāj Şālīḥ.

⁶⁹² S62/45-51 (25 Muḥarram 1238/12 October 1822).

⁶⁹³ S48/58, 59 (9 Jumādā al-Awwal 1223/3 July 1808). Its owner, Bālīzāde Muṣṭafā-bey ibn Aḥmad-bey, had four more *nuskhas*, out of the total of 26 works in his estate.

⁶⁹⁴ S22/123 (6 Jumādā al-Awwal 1197/9 April 1783). This unspecified work of Arabic syntax is listed along with *Pand-i 'Atṭār* (written Etār, with “elif” and “ta”) *nuskhası*, which is an illustrative example of a scribal error in writing book titles and is indicative of the modest educational level of some scribes.

⁶⁹⁵ S10/49, 48 (19 Şafar 1177/29 August 1763), the estate of mullā Ḥasan ibn Ḥayḍar, who had five works in total.

⁶⁹⁶ S62/92, 93 (27 Dhū'l-Qa'da 1238/5 August 1823). It was the only book in the possession of this fur-maker.

⁶⁹⁷ S42/69, 70 (15 Dhū'l-Qa'da 1217/9 March 1803). He also had various types of paper including paper for covering window panes (*penceri kâğıdı*). As he had no known heirs, his belongings went to state treasury.

⁶⁹⁸ S14/18 (13 Şafar 1186/16 May 1772).

⁶⁹⁹ S18/157 (15 Jumādā al-Awwal 1191/21 June 1777). Their owner was from the town of Visoko. He died in the village of Lipljan, in the Priština *każā'* (district) in Kosovo, while returning from pilgrimage to Mecca.

(*nüşhalar der yed-i Salih efendî: 2,800 para*); and “writings in the possession of ‘Ā’isha” (*nüşhalar der yed-i ‘Āyisha: 2,400 para*).⁷⁰⁰ Presumably, all these writings were books belonging to Ḥāmida but borrowed by the others to read or copy and registered as being in their possession at the time of her death. In at least one case the word *nüşha* is used for an inscribed amulet: *ḥamāyli nüşha*.⁷⁰¹

Majmū’a or **majmū’** (Turkish: *mecmū’a*, *mecmū’*) - a miscellany or a collection of texts. This term usually designates either several texts bound into a single volume or a collection of personal notes and observations. Some *majmū’as* consist largely of stories and anecdotes, while others are collections of poetry. As collections of personal notes, *majmū’as* were often interspersed with prose and poetry from various sources, as was the case with the *majmū’a* written by Basheskī. The term can also be used for collections of fatwas, usually referred to as *mecmū’a-yı fetāvā*, or for collections of chancery manuals (also known as *inşā’*). The *majmū’as* are sometimes qualified with reference to the main subject matter of their contents, e.g. *Fıkh mecmū’ası*.⁷⁰² Altogether, 287 works are listed simply as *majmū’as* in the Sarajevo inheritance records.

Daftar (Turkish: *defter*) notebook. Occasionally one comes across notebooks listed in the inventories. Sometimes, they are labelled as *beyāz defter* (blank notebook), as with bookbinders who probably used to make them for sale.⁷⁰³ Basheskī refers to his *Chronicle* as *daftar/defter* at one point. Other uses of the term, including the expression *defter-i mufredāt*, appear occasionally in the inventories with reference to the deceased’s debts: *zīm-i nās ber müceb defter-i mufredāt* or *zīm der dükkān bā-defter* (debts in the shop as per the

⁷⁰⁰ S49/66, 67 (25 Dhū’l-Qa’da 1224/1 January 1810). This Ḥāmida was the sister of another kadi, Khayrīzāde Muḥammad Sa’īd-afandī, who left a large book collection, including some of the most expensive books among Sarajevo book owners (S50/78-82).

⁷⁰¹ S32/95 (11 Rajab 1206/5 March 1792). No books are recorded in this inheritance entry.

⁷⁰² S41/62, 63 (3 Rajab 1216/9 November 1801), the estate of al-Sayyid Ishāq-afandī b. al-Sayyid Muḥammad-afandī who had 45 text in his estate.

⁷⁰³ S21/147, 148 (17 Shawwāl 1196/25 September 1782). The owner (al-Sayyid Aḥmad ibn Muṣṭafā) is not explicitly referred to as a bookbinder, but the content of his property indicates this and he had dozens of *defters*; S22/140 (21 Jumādā al-Awwal 1197/24 April 1783) the owner was Şöfö Mullā Muṣṭafā bin Sulaymān/Salmān who had over 50 volumes, including several *defters*, one described as big (*kebīr defter*), as well as the following two items: *Luḡat me’a beyāz* (dictionary with blanks); S35/138, 139 (7 Dhū’l-Qa’da 1209/21 May 1795) the owner, bookbinder mullā ‘Abdallāh ibn Ismā’īl-beşe, had several *defters*, various kinds of paper and writing implements, but no books.

notebook). A term used at least once is *defter-i ferādā*.⁷⁰⁴ Sometimes, there is a marginal note in the inventory, e.g. *ḥabbāz Aḥmed-beşe'nin defterdir* (the [inheritance] inventory of baker Aḥmad-beşe). The word is also used in the sense of inheritance inventory when new circumstances come to light, requiring a new redistribution of property: *ba'de ḥitāmi'd-defter...* (after the closing of inventory...). In one particular case, a copy of the Qur'an came to light as part of the property of Şalqūna daughter of Ḥasan, the sole book in her estate.⁷⁰⁵ Also, *ḥarc-ı defter* or *ḳaydıye-i defter* are referred to in the expenses. The largest book collection in the inventories relates to books listed not by title, but collectively as *Trāvnik'te mevcūd būlunān envā'-ı kütüb bā-defter cild a. 162* (162 volumes of various kinds of books in [the town of] Travnik, according to the notebook) and *Envā'-ı kütüb bā-defter cild a. 246* (246 volumes of various books, according to the notebook). Along with two copies of the Qur'an, these 408 books were worth a small fortune of 2,548 *guruş*.⁷⁰⁶ A person by the name of Mullā Muşṭafā had an estate containing 30 books, in addition to a copy of the Qur'an and a *daftar* co-owned with his brother Muḥammad.⁷⁰⁷ In addition to twenty books, al-Sayyid Muḥammad-bey also had two paper notebooks (*kāğıd defter*).⁷⁰⁸ The listing for Mīchō, son of Bōjō, included a sword together with a notebook (*kıld me'a defter*).⁷⁰⁹ The tailor (*terzī*) al-ḥāj Hasan-āghā ibn Maḥmūd, who died at sea during voyage to Mecca, had two blank notebooks (*beyāz defter*).⁷¹⁰ Similarly, Mullā Ibrāhīm ibn al-ḥāj Mūsā had a plain notebook

⁷⁰⁴ S55/46 (25 Dhū'l-Ḥijja 1229/8 December 1814).

⁷⁰⁵ S11/111. The first entry bears the date of 17 Dhū'l-Ḥijja 1184/3 April 1771, while the second, which includes a copy of the Qur'an (*Muşḥaf-i sharīf*) is dated 18 Dhū'l-Ḥijja 1184/4 April 1771.

⁷⁰⁶ S55/193, 194 (5 Jumādā al-Awwal 1230/15 April 1815).

⁷⁰⁷ S40/136, 137 (8 Dhū'l-Qa'da 1215/23 Mar 1815). The value of the *daftar* was quite high (720 *akçe*) when compared to some of his other books, eg: *An'ām-i sharīf* (720), *Tafsīr Yāsīn-i sharīf* (234), *Ḥamza-afandī risālasī* (192), *Pand-i 'Aṭṭār* (434). But, it was well behind the most expensive books: *Kalām-ı qadīm* (8,400), *Ibn Malik* (4,500), *Multaqā al-abḥur* (2,328), etc.

⁷⁰⁸ S4/74-77 (fī gurrat Shawwāl 1240/19 May 1825).

⁷⁰⁹ S26/25 (14 Muḥarram 1201/6 November 1786). This Christian maker of military caps (*ḳalpāḳçı*) had no other books.

⁷¹⁰ S18/88, 89 (21 Sha'bān 1190/5 October 1776). He also had five books, in addition to "papers" (*evrāk*) and "unbound papers" (*evrāk-i perişān*); S39/ 119, 120 (25 Shawwāl 1214/22 March 1800), the owner, Ğavrīl veled-i 'ācī 'Aleksa, had a new blank notebook (*cedīd beyāz defter*), but no books and was in debt; S62/31, 32 (19 Şafar 1238/5 November 1822). The owner was Cānpō (?) mullā Ismā'il who had eleven other books.

(*sāde defter*).⁷¹¹ In another case, there is a *defter* listed alongside other books: *inṣā' ve mevlūd ve namazlık ve defter* (an epistolography manual, a poem about the Prophet, a religious primer and a notebook).⁷¹²

Jild (Turkish: *cild*) - volume. The numbers of books in a given inventory is often expressed using the word *jild*. Sometimes the related term *mujallad* or bound (Turkish: *mücellet*) is used as in *Zād al-masīr fī al-tafsīr mujallad 3* (Provisions for the Journey into Exegesis bound in three).⁷¹³

Jarīda (Turkish: *cerīde*) - notebook, journal. This term is used rarely in the inventories and its meaning is not entirely clear, but it seems to refer to a kind of notebook. It should not be confused with the modern meaning of the word *journal* in English. The term appears twice in the inventories.⁷¹⁴ In at least one case, it is used for what appears to be a work on inheritance (*ferā'iz cerīdesi*).⁷¹⁵

Safar, pl. **asfār** (Turkish: *sefer*, pl. *esfār*) - scroll, scripture. This term is generally employed to refer to Christian and Jewish scriptures. For example, Selāḳ ācī Yovān, son of Tōdor, had 34 *sefer-i neṣārā* and *esfār-i neṣārā* along with over 50 icons.⁷¹⁶ In another case, a Jewish man

⁷¹¹ S22/154,155 (3 Jumādā al-Ākhir 1197/6 May 1783). He did not have other books, but he did have an expensive silver talisman (*sīm ḥamāyli*, 6,000).

⁷¹² S21/130 (3 Rajab 1196/14 June 1782). The deceased was Muḥammad-āghā ibn Maḥmūd, “the fortress commander in the mentioned fort” (*medīne-i mezbūre-i ḳal'ası dīzdār*) whose estate included eight books.

⁷¹³ S11/140, 141 (7 Jumādā al-Ākhir 1184/28 September 1770). The full title of the work is *Zād al-masīr fī 'ilm al-tafsīr* (Provisions of for the Journey into the Science of Exegesis), which was written by Abū al-Faraj 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Jawzī (d.597/1200).

⁷¹⁴ S12/54, 55 (14 Dhū'-Qa'da 1183/11 March 1770), the owner was Bolozāde al-ḥāj Ḥusayn ibn al-ḥāj Aḥmad b. Ismā'īl, who had over 21 texts, including three *majmū'as*; S13/74 (2 Dhū' al-Qa'da 1185/6 February 1772), the owner was Nu'mān-afandī ibn al-ḥāj Sulaymān-afandī, who had more than 40 works.

⁷¹⁵ S41/44, 45 (27 Rabī' al-Ākhir 1216/6 September 1801). The work is listed together with a work of astrology or astronomy (*ferā'iz cerīdesi me'a devr-i dā'im nucūm*). It belonged to Qurawīzāde Muḥammad Sā'id-afandī ibn 'Abd al-Karīm-afandī, who shared (*munāṣafeten*) several books with his brother 'Abdallāh-afandī.

⁷¹⁶ S50/64-66 (11 Rajab 1225/12 August 1810).

had *esfār-i Yahūd* (the scriptures of the Jews).⁷¹⁷ There were exceptions: *Kitāb al-asfār* (Book of Scrolls) is the title of a book owned by a Muslim Sarajevan.⁷¹⁸

Şahā'if (Turkish: *şahāyif*) – pages, scrolls. Again, used for Christian scriptures: *şahāyif-i neşārā cild 1* (one volume of the scrolls of Christians).⁷¹⁹

Matn (Turkish: *metn*) – text. For example: *matn-i Manār* (the text of the Lighthouse),⁷²⁰ *matn-i Majma' al-baḥrayn* (the text of the Meeting of the Seas),⁷²¹ or *matn-i Birkawī* (the text of Birkawī).⁷²² It is also used to distinguish the main text from a commentary: *sharḥ-i Birkawī ma' matn-i Birkawī* (the commentary of Birkawī with the text of Birkawī),⁷²³ or *matn ma' sharḥ-i 'aqā'id jild 1* (text with a commentary on the doctrines volume one).⁷²⁴

Yazılı – writing. This Turkish expression occurs several times. *Yazılı kıt'a 2* (writing, two pieces)⁷²⁵; *Yazılı kıt'a 4* (writing, four pieces)⁷²⁶; *Yazılı kıt'alar* (pieces of writing);⁷²⁷ two copies of

⁷¹⁷ S58/26, 27 (fi gurrat Rabī' al-Awwal 1233/9 January 1818) the deceased Sunbul-oghlu Solomon. There are exceptions, as was the case with the book entitled *Kitāb-i esfār* in the legacy of blacksmith (*tīmūrcī*) al-ḥāj Ḥasan ibn Rustam, who had over 30 works.

⁷¹⁸ S21/150, 151 (fi yawm salḥ min Shawwāl 1196/8 October 1782).

⁷¹⁹ S22/241 (9 Ramaḍān 1197/8 August 1783). The owner, 'Aleksa son of Jīvko, had two of these *şahā'if*, along with several icons (*taşvīr* and *taşvīr-i neşāra*) and a monk's gown (*rāhib kaftānı*), but he was probably not a monk himself since he had a wife. Al-ḥāj 'Abdallāh-afandī ibn al-ḥāj Ibrāhīm-afandī's book collection of over 200 works included one entitled *Şahā'if al-ḥasanāt* (Pages of Good Deeds), S35/69-73 (10 Jumādā al-Awwal 1209/3 December 1794).

⁷²⁰ S48/72-75 (11 Jumādā al-Awwal 1223/5 July 1808). The work appears twice in the estate of 'Umar Zuhdī-afandī, who had one of the largest book collections in Sarajevo during the period covered by this study. The term *matn* is used for as many as six different works in the estate of a maker of coarse woollen cloth (*abacı*) 'Abdallāh-afandī ibn Aḥmad-afandī: *Matn-i Talkhīş*, *Matn-i Şadr al-sharī'a*, *Matn 'arabī*, *Matn-i Niqāya*, *Matn-i Shāfiya*, *Matn-i sirājiyya*, S66/82, 83 (11 Rabī' al-Awwal 1243/2 October 1827). See also the estate of former Sarajevo mufti Foynichawī al-ḥāj Muḥammad-afandī ibn Yūsuf where it is used for seven different works S11/104, 105 (17 Shawwāl 1184/3 February 1771).

⁷²¹ S25/99-101 (25 Jumādā al-Awwal 1200/26 March 1786).

⁷²² S39/188-192 (5 Muḥarram 1215/29 May 1800), the owner was Mūstārizāde Mullā Muṣṭafā b. Aḥmad-afandī.

⁷²³ S57/85-86 (27 Dhū'l-Qa'da 1232/8 October 1817), the owner was Rāghibzāde *serserdengeçti* Ibrahim-āghā ibn 'Abdallāh, who also had a copy of the Qur'an.

⁷²⁴ S23/113 (21 Shawwāl 1198/7 September 1784), the owner was Durriya-qadın bint al-ḥāj Ḥusayn-afandī, the wife of Ibrāhīm-afandī ibn al-ḥāj Şāliḥ, whose estate included the single largest book collection for a woman. For more on this, see subsection: 4.5 Book Owners by Gender.

⁷²⁵ S41/44, 45 (27 Rabī' al-Ākhir 1216/6 September 1801).

Çetîn yâzılı Kelâm-ı kadîm⁷²⁸; yâzılı kıt'a 23 (23 pieces of writing)⁷²⁹; The word kıt'a can also denote a calligraphic text, as in hüsn-ü hatt kıt'a (a piece of calligraphy).

Several other terms for some form of written text appear in the inheritance inventories, but only once, e.g. hatt-i şerif (Ottoman imperial decree; literally: noble script),⁷³⁰ 'ahdnâme (capitulation),⁷³¹ sicill (court protocol)⁷³² and mekâtib (letters).⁷³³

Sharh (Turkish: *şerh*) - commentary: Many works in the inheritance inventories are commentaries on other texts. This is indicated by titles which include the word *sharh* (commentary), e.g. *Sharh-i hadîth al-arba'in*, an unspecified commentary on a collection of 40 hadiths,⁷³⁴ or *Sirâjiyya ma' sharh*, a work on Islamic inheritance with a commentary.⁷³⁵ Sometimes the commentary is clearly attributed, as in the case of *Sharh-i Shamsiyya li Yûyî Mûstârî* (A commentary on the Sunny One by Yûyo of Mostar) or *Sharh-i Manâr li Ibn Farashta* (A commentary on the Lighthouse by Ibn Farashta). As we know from extant manuscripts, the main text and the commentary usually come together in a single volume, with the commentary inserted into the body of the main text or written interlinearly.

Hâshiya (Turkish: *hâşiye*) - supercommentary. Some works are listed as supercommentaries, i.e. commentaries on commentaries, e.g. *Hâshiya-i 'Azmî 'alâ Ibn Malik* (A commentary by 'Azmî on Ibn Malik),⁷³⁶ or *Hâshiya-i Yâ'qûb Pâshâ 'alâ Şadr al-sharî'a* (A

⁷²⁶ S40/36-38 (5 Jumādā al-Ākhir 1215/24 October 1800), the owner's name was 'Alî b. 'Abdallāh, who was a standard bearer ('*alamdār*).

⁷²⁷ S41/62, 63 (3 Rajab 1216/9 November 1801).

⁷²⁸ S64/33, 34 (25 Jumādā al-Awwal 1240/15 January 1825) 'Abdallāh-āghā ibn Muşţafā-sipāhî.

⁷²⁹ S39/188-192 (5 Muḥarram 1215/29 May 1800) Mûstârîzâde mullâ Muşţafâ b. Aḥmad-afandî.

⁷³⁰ S16/137 (15 Dhū'l-Ḥijja 1188/16 February 1775), the owner of the document referred to as *Khatt-ı sharîf-i Sulţân Aḥmad* was Mullâ Muşţafâ ibn İbrâhîm.

⁷³¹ S39/188-192 (5 Muḥarram 1215/29 May 1800), the estate of Mûstârîzâde mullâ Muşţafâ bin Aḥmad-afandî. This was part of a collection of 151 works worth 157,020 *akçe* or 654 *guruş* and 8 *para*. The Gâzî Hüsrev-bey Library catalogues refer to at least two '*ahdnâmas*: Ms. 3003/11, *GHL* IV, p. 283; Ms. 9689/6, *GHL*, p. 369. Both these '*ahdnâmas* are texts of the Habsburg-Ottoman peace treaty of 1739.

⁷³² S22/156, 157 (2 Jumādā al-Ākhir 1197/5 May 1783). The term comes at the end of the list of books in the estate of kadi al-ḥāj 'Alî-afandî ibn Qâsim-bey: *funûn nev'î me'a sicill ve hikâyât*.

⁷³³ S25/99-101; S25/100-102, part of the estate of al-ḥāj Muḥammad-afandî ibn Walî al-dîn Kh'āja ibn Durâq.

⁷³⁴ S48/72-75 (11 Jumādā al-Awwal 1223/5 July 1808).

⁷³⁵ S48/72-75 (11 Jumādā al-Awwal 1223/5 July 1808).

⁷³⁶ S35/69-73 (10 Jumādā al-Awwal 1209/3 December 1794).

supercommentary of Ya'qūb Pāshā on *Ṣadr al-sharī'a*.⁷³⁷ In many cases the work is listed simply as *ḥāshiya*, making identification impossible.

Sometimes the presence of a commentary or a supercommentary is indicated simply with the word 'alā (on), as in *Abū Muntahā 'alā al-Fiqh al-akbar* (Abu Muntahā's commentary/supercommentary on the Greatest Understanding), the main text being the famous statement of the Sunni creed by Abū Ḥanīfa.⁷³⁸

Tarjama (Turkish: *tercüme*) – translation. Some titles indicate that the work in question is in fact a translation, e.g. *Tercüme-i Ṭarīkat*⁷³⁹ (A translation of the Path), the main text being *al-Ṭarīqa al-Muḥammadiyya* (the Muhammadan Path) by Birkawī. Since the main text is in Arabic, the translation was most likely in Turkish, the language of the vast majority of translations from Arabic to be found in the extant manuscript collections in Sarajevo.

Books are occasionally given an epithet describing their condition: *parīshān* (loose, unbound), *nāqīṣ* or *nuqṣān* (deficient), *nātamām* (incomplete).

Books are sometimes entered under a general subject-heading, like *tafsīr* (Qur'anic commentary), *luḡhat* (dictionary), *tārīkh/tawārīkh* (history), *dīwān* (a collection of poetry), etc. In these cases, we at least know the field.

In some cases, it is not clear whether the item in question is actually a book. *Namazlıq* could be a prayer mat or it could be a manual on how to pray.⁷⁴⁰ Similarly, *Ḥilya-i sharīf* could be a calligraphic description of the Prophet Muhammad's physical appearance or the book of the same title.

Finally, the inventories are full of items made of inscribed paper which are not books. They include talismans (*ḥamaylı*) and unbound papers (*awrāq-ı parīshān*) or simply papers (*awrāq*).

Unless it is specified, we cannot always tell the language of the book from its title. Thus, *Ta'līm al-muta'allim* or *Ta'līm-i muta'allim* (Teaching the Learner) could have been in the

⁷³⁷ S39/188-192 (5 Muḥarram 1215/29 May 1800).

⁷³⁸ The work is listed in the Simzāde *madrassa* note of endowment, S33/210, 211.

⁷³⁹ S16/143 (25 Dhū'l-Ḥijja 1188/26 February 1775).

⁷⁴⁰ In the Sarajevo inheritance inventories, it appears almost only with reference to books. In Bosnian, the word *namazlıq* for prayer mat does not exist, but there is *namazbaz* for a woman's prayer scarf. This suggests that in Bosnian texts it always refers to a book, i.e., to a prayer manual or even to the prayer manuals as a generic term.

original Arabic, or equally well in a Turkish or even Bosnian translation.⁷⁴¹ *Bahjat al-tawārikh* (the Pleasure of Histories) is a work of history originally composed in Persian, but with Turkish translations also available, etc. As we shall see, in those cases where language is indicated, it can reveal important information about the works in question.

Another limitation concerns the value of the books. Each book is usually followed by a money valuation. It is, however, quite common for two or more books to be placed under a single sum. In one case, as many as five books are given a joint price. Obviously, in such cases it is impossible to determine the individual value of each. Books are also sometimes priced together with another item. These are generally leather satchels or metal caskets, sometimes in silver and elaborately engraved, for carrying *An‘ām-i sharīf* (Turkish: *En‘ām-i şerīf*) a prayer-book containing selections of the Qur‘an and various prayers, which was considered to have talismanic powers. In rare cases, other books also come with a pouch, as in the case for a copy of *Manāsik-i ḥajj* (Stations of Pilgrimage) or for one of *Dalā‘il al-khayrāt* (the Noble Proofs), accompanied by *Ḥizb-i A‘ẓam* (the Greatest Portion)⁷⁴² or *Anwār al-‘āshiqīn* (The Rays of Lovers).⁷⁴³ Other items often priced together with books include book-holders (*raḥle*)⁷⁴⁴ or boxes *şandık* or *sepet-i şandık*), presumably for carrying the books. In rare instances, it is stressed that the *An‘ām* book was in a satchel (e.g. *En‘ām-ı şerīf der kise*, “the Noble *En‘ām* in a satchel”). Where a satchel is mentioned on its own, it is often safe to assume that it contained a copy of the *An‘ām*.

Given that the books mentioned in the inheritance records were normally in Arabic, Ottoman or Persian, we can assume that by and large they would have been written in Arabic script. Rarely the type of script is emphasised, as for example with a Qur‘an written in “Persian script” (*‘ajam ḥaṭṭile Kalām-ı qadīm hediyesi*), which is another term for the

⁷⁴¹ Nijaz Šukrić, “Jedan stari srpskohrvatski rukopisni prevod udžbenika pedagogije u našim medresama” [An old Serbo-Croatian manuscript translation of a pedagogical textbook from our *madrasas*], *Zbornik radova Fakulteta islamskih nauka u Sarajevu*, 1 (1982), pp. 135-175.

⁷⁴² S56/40-45 (15 Rabi‘ al-Awwal 1231/14 February 1816).

⁷⁴³ S66/188, 189 (15 Dhū‘l-Ḥijja 1243/28 June 1828). The estate belonged to military commander (*binbaşı*) Muḥammad-āghā ibn Ḥasan-āghā, originally from the town of Dīvrık in Anatolia. He was in the service of the Bosnian governor ‘Abd al-Raḥīm pasha. His another book was a copy of *An‘ām-i sharīf*.

⁷⁴⁴ “*Kalām-ı qadīm hediyesi ma‘ raḥla*” in the estate of Darwīsha bint al-ḥāj ‘Umar (fi gurrat Ramaḍān 1236/2 June 1821), S10/131, 132.

nasta'liq script.⁷⁴⁵ In a further two cases, works are listed as “translation in the language of Greece” (*tarjamat-i lisān-i Yunān*), which both belonged to *kadis* from the same family, possibly father and son.⁷⁴⁶ Were these works in “the language of Greece” written in Greek script or in the Greek language, but in Arabic script? There is no way of knowing. Finally, there is also a case of a book in the Bosnian language, but probably written in Arabic script: *Tarjama-i Birkawī bi-lisān-i Bōsna*, “a translation of Birkawī in the language of Bosnia.”

It is worth noting that these issues are hardly peculiar to Ottoman inheritance inventories. For instance, the practice of listing books by author instead of title is encountered in book inventories drawn up in the Latin West. While some works are easily identifiable by the short-hand titles used in the inventories, the lack of a full title can hamper identification.⁷⁴⁷

What Counts as a Book?

One should distinguish “between texts, composed of words, and books, composed of paper and ink, which act only as vehicles for texts.”⁷⁴⁸ In line with this definition, the present study excludes *evrāk* (papers) or *evrāk perīṣān* (unbound papers) and *hamaylı* (in the sense of written amulets) from the category of book, so that individuals whose estates list only these lesser forms are not considered book owners, even though these items do also often appear listed among books. What they do share with books proper is that, as the bearers of texts, they seem to have been accorded the reverence reserved for written texts in traditional Muslim culture. Moreover, references to paper (*kāğıd*) are also excluded from consideration. Writings that come under the following labels are included: *safar* (pl. *asfār*), *ṣaḥāʾif*, *nuskha*, *daftar* and *yazılı kıtʿa*. The inventories further include various items which could bear texts, such as calligraphic pieces, icons, maps, pictures, ring-seals, carpets, furniture, dishes, and astrolabes, etc. In fact, there is an entire material culture of reading

⁷⁴⁵ S47/35, 36 (25 Muḥarram 1222/4 April 1807). The owner was Shāhīnpāshāzāde Muṣṭafā-bey ibn Ḥaydar-bey.

⁷⁴⁶ The first was Khayrīzāde Muḥammad Saʿīd-afandī, whose entry is dated 15 Şafar 1226/11 March 1811, S50/78-82. The other copy belonged to Khayrīzāde ʿAbdallāh ʿĀkif-afandī ibn Muḥammad Saʿīd-afandī whose entry is dated 1 Dhū'l-Qa'da 1229/15 October 1814, S54/107-109. It is possible that this is the same work which was part of the father's estate before it was inherited or bought by his son. In any case, there are quite a few works in both collections which bear the same titles.

⁷⁴⁷ Benito Rial, “Sixteenth-century private book inventories and some problems related to their analysis”, *Library & Information History* 26/1 (2010), p. 74. It goes without saying that, in contrast to Ottoman inheritance inventories, Western book inventories of the same period are concerned largely with printed books.

⁷⁴⁸ *The Book History Reader*, 2nd edition, eds. by David Finkelstein and Alistair McCleery, Introduction, p. 1.

and writing, as registered in the inventories, including paper⁷⁴⁹, ink, ink-pots, pens, writing desks, pointers for reading, the satchels or purses, etc., all of which merit special and separate consideration, but which do not fall within the purview of this dissertation.

4.5 Book Owners by Gender

In total, the Sarajevo inventories for 1118-1244/1707-1828 include property lists for 4,376 persons, of whom 1,236 or 27.86% were book owners. This compares to the following results for the Ottoman cities discussed as comparative cases below: Trabzon (1210-1262/1795-1846): - 22% (81 book owners out of 369 entries); Sofia (1671-1833) – 16.2% (180 book owners out of 1,111 entries); Damascus (1686-1717) – 11.56% (52 book owners out of 450 entries); and Salonica (1828-1911) - 6,46% (54 out of 835 entries).

A breakdown by gender reveals that these 1,236 Sarajevans book owners included 928 men and 308 women. Women thus constituted 24.92% of the book owners registered in the inheritance inventories. The figures for our sample of Ottoman cities were as follows: Sofia 22,35% (40 out of 179); Salonica 14,8% (eight out of 54); Damascus 3,85% (two out of 52); the information on Trabzon is not clear.

The total number of entries for women in the Sarajevo inheritance inventories was 1,521. As we have seen, there were 308 women book owners, accounting for 20.25% of the women listed in the inheritance inventories.

Most of these women book owners of Sarajevo had only one book. This includes a Jewish woman, the only non-Muslim female book owner mentioned. When Muslim women owned just one book, it tended to be a Qur'an. There are, however, also cases of women whose estates included relatively large book collections. The four largest are described below:

1) *Durriya-qadın*, daughter of al-ḥāj Ḥusayn⁷⁵⁰ had 46 volumes, comprising at least 63 different works and worth 41,124 *akçe* or 12.33% percent of her net estate and almost 12% of

⁷⁴⁹ The difference between *kāḡid* and *awrāq* seems to be that the former means any paper, usually blank, while the latter implies papers or sheaves of paper with writing on them. *Kāḡid* could be paper used for covering windows, as we have seen, or to be used in craft, for example in book or candle making.

⁷⁵⁰ S23/113 (21 Shawwāl 1198/7 September 1784). She was survived by her husband Ibrāhīm-afandī ibn al-ḥāj Ṣāliḥ-afandī, mother Ṣafiyya, and a daughter who was underage. Her dowry (*mahr*) was relatively large: 12,000 *akçe*.

her gross estate. The most valuable book was a volume of *Durar*,⁷⁵¹ a work of jurisprudence (6,120 *akçe*),⁷⁵² followed by a copy of the Qur'an entitled *Kalām-ı qadīm* (4,800 *akçe*), *Bazzāziyya*⁷⁵³ (3,480 *akçe*) and *Muṭawwal*⁷⁵⁴ (3,366 *akçe*). The prevalence of works of jurisprudence suggests she may have inherited the books from a kadi father, brother, uncle or grandfather. She also had works on grammar and several dictionaries. Literary works included *Yūsuf ve Zuleyhā*⁷⁵⁵ (480 *akçe*), an unspecified volume of stories (*ḥikāyāt*) (worth 240 *akçe*, together with *Majmū'a-yi Nāzījāt*), two works of medicine (*Ṭibb Qalsūnizāde* and *parīshan min ṭibb*)⁷⁵⁶ and a work of astronomy (*Jadwal az nujūm*). Considering that she hailed from a well-off 'ulamā' family (both her husband and father bore the title *afandī*) one cannot exclude the possibility that she may well have herself received a sound education and had a mastery of Arabic, Ottoman and Persian. Lastly, her inheritance also included a volume including no fewer than 18 different treatises (*rasā'il mutafarriqa 'adad 18 jild 1*) worth 1,080 *akçe*.

2) 'Ārifā daughter of Mīshcho Muṣṭafā-bey⁷⁵⁷ had 45 volumes (if we include four cases of *parīshān*, but not the *awrāq-i parīshān*). Apart from works of jurisprudence and language, she owned several religious primers, a *mevlud* (a poem on the life of the Prophet), and several Ṣūfī works: *Pand-i 'Aṭṭār* (The Advice of 'Aṭṭār)⁷⁵⁸, *Ayyuhā al-walad* (O, young man),⁷⁵⁹ and

⁷⁵¹ *Durar al-ḥukkām fī sharḥ ghurar al-aḥkām* (Pearls of Judges in Explaining Risks of Decisions) by Muḥammad b. Farāmurz b. 'Alī Monlā Khusraw (d.885/1480), GAL G II, 226; GAL S II, 316. The work is a commentary on *Ghurar al-aḥkām* by the same author.

⁷⁵² Unless stated otherwise, the figures in brackets, when placed after a book title, indicate the price in *akçe*.

⁷⁵³ *Al-fatāwā al-bazzāziyya* (the Draper's Juridical Opinions) or *al-Jāmi' al-wajīz* (Comprehensive Summary) by Ḥāfiẓ al-dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Shihāb ibn al-Bazzāzī al-Kardarī al-Ḥanafī (d. 827/1424), a legal manual for *muftis*, GAL G II, 225.

⁷⁵⁴ *Al-Muṭawwal* (the Comprehensive) by Sa'd al-dīn Mas'ūd ibn 'Umar al-Taftazānī (d. between 791/1389 and 797/1395) is a commentary on Khāṭib al-Qazwīnī's work of rhetoric *Talkhīṣ al-miftāḥ* (Abridgement of the Key).

⁷⁵⁵ Written by Nūr al-dīn 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Jāmī (d. 898/1492) in Persian.

⁷⁵⁶ This was probably a work by the Ḥakīmbaşı Qaysūnizāde Muḥammad-afandī (d. 976/1569). For more on him, see: Ahmet Özel, "Kaysūnizāde", *İA*, 25, pp 105-107.

⁷⁵⁷ S38/125-7 (29 Rabī' al-Ākhir 1213/10 October 1798).

⁷⁵⁸ *Pand-nāme* by Farīd al-dīn 'Aṭṭār Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Nisābūrī (d. 627/1230 or 629/1232), *Flügel* I, 516/1 and 517/2.

⁷⁵⁹ *Ayyuhā al-walad* is a letter of advice written by the theologian Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad al-Ghazālī (d.505/1111) to his disciple, GAL G I, 423/32.

sharḥ-i Fuṣūṣ (Explanation of the Bezels).⁷⁶⁰ The most valuable book was a copy of the Qur'an (6,060 *akçe*).

3) Taṭli daughter of Sulaymān-afandī⁷⁶¹ owned 29 works, including an expensive copy of the Qur'an (4,740 *akçe*) and works on jurisprudence and Sufism, some dictionaries and at least one work on medicine. Interestingly enough, her husband, al-ḥāj Ṣāliḥ bin Ṣādiq Chalabī, left only five books in his estate, including a copy of the Qur'an (1,560) and four religious primers (*Namazlık*).⁷⁶²

4) Nafīsa-ḥātun is mentioned as one of three co-owners, together with her two sons (mullā Aḥmad and mullā Muṣṭafā, both sons of al-ḥāj mullā Muṣṭafā) of 22 volumes, including a copy of the Qur'an (a *Muṣḥaf* worth 2,400 *akçe*) and 21 other unspecified volumes (*kitab jild* 6⁷⁶³ and *kitab jild* 15), worth a modest 3,800 *akçe*.⁷⁶⁴

There was a middle ground of women with up to 10 books in between these few women with relatively large book collections and the majority with just one. For comparative purposes, it is worth noting that the largest collection in the study on book ownership in Ottoman Salonica relates to the estate of a women who had 50 volumes, while another had nine volumes, and the rest just one or two.

Perhaps the most interesting case of a female book owner in the Sarajevo records concerns a Muslim woman with just one book, which was not, however, a copy of the Qur'an. Her name was Nafīsa, daughter of Faḍlallāh. She was survived by her husband, her maternal grand-mother and a small son, suggesting she died relatively young. Registered on 5 Şafar 1225/12 March 1810, her property included a book entitled: *Tarjama-i Birkawī bi-lisān-i Bōsna* (A translation of Birkawī into the language of Bosnia). This is the only case in the inventories where the "language of Bosnia" is mentioned specifically. As we have seen, if inheritance inventories mention the language of the books at all, they refer to Arabic, Turkish and Persian. It is also remarkable in that the owner is a woman. The book in

⁷⁶⁰ *Al-Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam* (The Bezels of Wisdom) by Muḥy al-dīn Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn al-'Arabī al-Ḥātimī al-Ṭā'ī Ibn al-'Arabī (d. 638/1240). It is not clear which commentary this is.

⁷⁶¹ S19/165 (4 Sha'bān 1192/28 August 1778).

⁷⁶² S19/164, 165 (4 Sha'bān 1192/28 August 1778). He died while returning from pilgrimage to Mecca. As one can see, his entry bears the same date as his wife's.

⁷⁶³ This could be read either as six (6) or one (1), but given the price (1,200) I am more inclined to consider six (6) the right number. In this regard, one should note that the fifteen volumes are worth 3,600 *akçe*.

⁷⁶⁴ S22/187 (3 Rajab 1197/4 June 1783).

question, which was probably in manuscript form, was a work by Birkawī Muḥammad-afandī (d. 981/1573), an Ottoman religious scholar who wrote on different subjects and became very influential thanks to a religious primer he composed, entitled the *Waṣīyyatnāma* (the Book of Testament), but more commonly known as the *Risāla-i Birkawī* (the Epistle of Birkawī). This religious primer was the most commonly-owned book among Bosnian Muslims after the Qur'an.⁷⁶⁵ Originally written in Turkish, we have here evidence of its translation into the vernacular. With regard to female literacy, it should be recalled that Bosnian Cyrillic continued to be used among Muslim women well into the 20th century, albeit mainly in personal correspondence.⁷⁶⁶ While Arabic script was learned in the *maktab*, Cyrillic was learned informally within the household and was passed on from generation to generation. The continued use of Bosnian Cyrillic among women and this case of a work by Birkawī in translation in the estate of a woman both suggest that Bosnian Muslim written heritage was cultivated in different ways by women and men. In general, female children were not expected to acquire book learning beyond the basic literacy in Arabic script required for them to “read” the Qur'an. They did not attend *madrasas*, nor did they learn Arabic, Turkish and Persian. This does not mean that there were no religiously educated women. Scholars have recorded the presence of the so-called *badžijanis*, from Turkish *bācī* meaning “a sister, an elder sister, a wife, a midwife.” In Sarajevo the term was used for female spiritual masters who provided guidance to women and whose practices are almost invisible in the written documents, but are well preserved in oral tradition.⁷⁶⁷

All the female book owners mentioned were Muslim except for a lone Jewish lady. She was Rayna, daughter of Miyāmad and her estate contained an unspecified Jewish book (*kitāb yahūdī*).⁷⁶⁸ It is impossible to know which book it was. Traditionally, studying the Torah was the prerogative of Jewish men, so that this could have been any text in Hebrew.

⁷⁶⁵ For a review of the extant works of Birkawī in Bosnia and neighbouring countries see: Muhamed Ždralović, “Bergivi u Bosni i Hrvatskoj” [Birkawī in Bosnia and Croatia] in *Trava od srca Hrvatske Indije, II* (Zagreb: Sekcija za orijentalistiku Hrvatskoga filološkog društva i Filozofski fakultet Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, 2000), pp. 207-229.

⁷⁶⁶ Muhamed Hadžijahić, “Građa o posljednjim ostacima bosančice kod nas” [Materials about the last remnants of the *bosančica* among us], *Anali* XI-XII (1985), pp.101-112.

⁷⁶⁷ Hadžijahić, “Badžijanije u Bosni”, pp. 109-133.

⁷⁶⁸ S35/174 (17 Šafar 1210/2 September 1795).

4.6 Christian and Jewish Book Owners

Overall, there were fifteen Christian book owners in the inheritance inventories, all of them male. This number cannot be taken to reflect book ownership patterns among Sarajevo Christians, but only the small proportion of those who would have approached the *sharī'a* court to divide up their inheritance for some reason. Of those fifteen book owners, four had one volume, five owned two to five volumes, three had six to ten volumes, one had thirteen volumes, and two had more than 26 volumes. The largest book collection belonged to Salāk Yovān, son of Todor, who had 34 Christian books (*ṣafar-i naṣāra* or *asfār-i naṣāra*).⁷⁶⁹ He used to be a wealthy man who fell on hard times due to large debt, which is what promoted the division of his property to be requested.

The inventories refer to two Jewish men with books, in addition to the one woman already mentioned. Rūfā'il Yahūdī had an unspecified number of “doctor’s books in a box” (*hekīm kitāpları der şandık*) and another “doctor’s book” (*hekīm kitābı*) listed separately.⁷⁷⁰ Solomon, the brother of Sunbul-oghlū Bārū, had “scriptures of the Jews” (*esfār-ı Yahūd*).⁷⁷¹

4.7 A Roma Book Owner

One category of the population which does occasionally figure in the inheritance inventories, but whose members are rarely noted as possessing books, is the Roma. There is one exception, however. An individual by the name of Ḥasan, son of Ḥasan, from Sarajevo’s Ṭawīl al-ḥāj Muṣṭafā *maḥalle* had a copy of the Qur'an or *Kalām-ı qadīm* (720).⁷⁷² We know that he was Roma because his name is accompanied by the word *qibṭī* (Gypsy). While it falls outside the scope of the present study to discuss the place of the Roma in Ottoman Bosnia, several points are worth making. First, all the Roma whose estates were registered in the

⁷⁶⁹ S50/64-66. He also had over 50 icons. He bore the title of *ājī* (derived from Arabic *ḥāj*) to designate a Christian who went on pilgrimage to the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem.

⁷⁷⁰ S22/235 (14 Ramaḍān 1197/13 August 1783).

⁷⁷¹ S58/26, 27 (fī gurrat Rabī' al-Awwal 1233/9 January 1818). In their study of book ownership in Damascus around the years 1686 and 1717 Establet and Pascual found a Torah and a set of “unknown books” (*kutub majhūla*) which the authors suggest were probably in Hebrew, in the estate of a Jewish Damascene: Colette Establet et Jean-Paul Pascual, “Les livres des gens à Damas vers 1700”, p. 156

⁷⁷² S25/108 (7 Sha'bān 1200/4 June 1786). His heirs were a son and three daughters. There was also the case of Muḥarrām son of Muṣṭafā whose estate included a sheaf of loose papers (*awrāq-i parishan*), S36/16 (23 Rabī' al-Ākhir 1210/6 November 1795).

inventories were Muslim and they included both men and women.⁷⁷³ Despite their religious affiliation, the Muslim Roma were treated as a distinct population, as seen by the fact that their names are accompanied by the appellation *qibṭī* (Gypsy). Another mark of their separate status was their obligation to pay the poll-tax levied on non-Muslims. This was a general policy, to which there were exceptions, partly pertaining to book culture.

There was a perception on the part of the authorities that Muslim Roma were often religiously lax, their women morally loose, and that some of them were involved in criminal activities. Those who could show that they led religiously observant lives could be exempt from poll-tax. A Sarajevo court document from 1104/1693 involves the case of a Roma man, Salīm, son of ‘Uthmān, who was seeking an exemption from the poll-tax. In his suit, he stated that he was a Muslim and the son of a Muslim, that he lived in a Muslim quarter and was paying the usual taxes collected from Muslims, that he performed his five daily prayers, together with other Muslims, that he was sending his children to the *maktab*, so that they could learn to read from the Qur’an, that he supported himself by his own work, that his wife stayed away from strangers and, moreover, that he possessed an official document exempting him from the poll-tax. In other words, a Muslim Roma could petition the authorities to be freed from poll-tax.

It has been suggested that the authorities used the poll-tax as a way of encouraging the Roma to take up a sedentary lifestyle. For much of the Ottoman period, the Roma followed their nomadic way of life. A Western traveller's account from 1065/1655 notes that they are found “everywhere.”⁷⁷⁴ By the 19th century, several Bosnian towns, including Sarajevo, had Roma quarters (*maḥallas*).

Discussing the Bosnian Roma in his history of Bosnia, British historian Noel Malcolm notes: “Their society produced very few buildings, written records or indeed literate people.”⁷⁷⁵ What our documents show is that, in an age when most people were illiterate, Roma were not necessarily so and could well possess books. Of course, possessing books does not necessarily entail the ability to read or recite from them, but the records nonetheless

⁷⁷³ For a discussion of the Roma in Ottoman Bosnia, see: Muhamed A. Mujić, “Položaj Cigana u jugoslovenskim zemljama pod osmanskom vlašću” [The position of Gypsies in the Yugoslav lands under the Ottoman rule], *POF* 3-4 (1952-53), pp. 137-193.

⁷⁷⁴ Malcolm, *Bosnia: a Short History*, p. 116.

⁷⁷⁵ Malcolm, *Bosnia: a Short History*, p. 114.

demonstrate that, in principle, the Roma could take part in Bosnian Muslim book culture, no matter how exceptional the example presented here.⁷⁷⁶

4.8 Book Owners by Title

The inheritance entries often give the deceased person's titles, where they had any. It is difficult to know how meticulous the kadi or scribes were in making sure titles were recorded. The 907 book-owning Muslim men have the following titles (in Ottoman Turkish): 219 are referred to as *ḥāc* (pilgrim); 213 as *beşe* (Janissary commander); 177 as *mollā* (lord, master); 104 as *āḡā* (lord, master; a petty gentleman), 84 as *efendī* (scholar); 36 as *'alemdār* (standard-bearer); 28 as *bey* (lord); 25 as *serdengeçti* (a member of special Janissary units); 22 as *sipāhī* (cavalryman); *kadi* (judge); 16 as *seyyid* (master/lord/a descendant of the Prophet); fifteen as dervish; 13 as *hoca* (religious teacher); 12 as *ḥāfiẓ* (one who has memorized the Qur'an); eight as *shaykh* (a scholar and spiritual teacher); five each as *imām* and *munlā* (lord/master); four as *çelebī* (gentleman of the pen); three each as *sūkhṭe* (student), *ḥānim* (lady), *müderriş* (professor), *serṭurnā'ī* (Janissary officer), *mütesellim* (regional administrator), and *ḥaseki* (army officer); two each as *odobaşı* (Janissary officer), *ser'atīk*, *müfti* (juriconsult), *şerīf* (a descendant of the Prophet), and *za'im* (a holder of a medium fief); and one each as *belukçu* (a company commander), *hācca* (female pilgrim), *muḥaşşil* (tax-collector), *ṭurnacı* (keeper of the Imperial cranes in the early period; a member of the 73rd Janissary regiment), *serḥatlı* (fighter on the frontier), *bekār* (bachelor), *kethüdā* (a guild warden), *kaşşāb-beşe* (superintendent of the butcher's guild), *binbeşe* (military commander), *emīn serṭurnā'ī* (chief Janissary officer), *tācir* (merchant), *paşa* (a senior honorific title), *faḥru'l-e'imme* (the glory of the imams), *serdengeçdi āḡā* (head of special Janissary units), *serdār* (captain), *ḡalfa* (a guild-master), *nūbetcī* (sentry), *başeskī* (a low-ranking Janissary officer), *ḡalfa-beşe debbāḡān* (representative of the master of the tanners guild). The preponderance of book owners with some version of the titles *beşe*⁷⁷⁷ and *āḡā*⁷⁷⁸, which indicate janissary status, offers

⁷⁷⁶ Basheski reports the death of a Roma individual, by the name of Ṭūrgūt, who was a good man (*şuleḥādan olup*) and from among the people of the truth (*ehl-i ḥaḡḡ*), and who also owned some property, *MMB*, fol. 79b.

⁷⁷⁷ Škaljić gives the following meanings of the word: 1) superior, leader, 2) a title for a distinguished or wealthy man, 3) Janissary, the title of a simple janissary, Škaljić, *Turcizmi*, p. 122. It seems that it is the third meaning that is applied in the inventories, reflecting the large number of Sarajevo artisans who claimed janissary status. The possessors of the title are usually artisans: bakers (*ḡabbāz*), tailors (*terzi*), grocers (*baḡḡāl*), etc.

further proof of the large number of members of the janissary class among Sarajevo's craftsmen.

In contrast to the men, women were rarely given a title in the inheritance inventories and their social status tends to be determined by their husband's and/or father's names. Of the 305 Muslim women, very few bear any title: three are *ḥānım*, two are *şerife*, two are *kadın*, and there is one *hāca*. Overall, there were 295 women and 409 men without any title.

More than a fifth of all book owners had been on pilgrimage to Mecca. There is an obvious correlation between wealth and book ownership here. Pilgrimage to Mecca was also an opportunity to engage in trade, partly in order to finance the cost of the pilgrimage itself.⁷⁷⁹ There is evidence that Bosnian pilgrims bought books on the way home. In one case, a Bosnian who died while returning from Mecca had 15 *An'āms* on him.⁷⁸⁰ These were almost certainly meant for sale. But, one should not make too much of pilgrim status, because the individuals whose inventories contained no books included 297 pilgrims. Out of the 516 pilgrims (*ḥāj*) in the inventories, 42.44% owned at least one book.

4.9 Book Owners by Profession

In most cases, the occupation of the deceased is not stated. Those book owners whose profession is mentioned include: seventeen saddlers (*sarrāc*); sixteen haberdashers (*ḳazzāz*); fifteen boot-makers (*çizemci*); thirteen tanners (*debbāg*); ten barbers (*berber*) and ten tailors (*terzi*); nine makers of coarse woollen cloth (*abacı*); seven makers or sellers of knives (*biçaḳçı*); six makers or sellers of copper caldrons (*ḳazgancı*) and six grocers (*baḳḳāl*); five bakers (*ḥabbāz*) and five goldsmiths (*ḳuyūmcu*); four makers or sellers of cymbals (*zilci*), four makers or sellers of caps (*araḳiyeci*), four reciters of the call to prayer (*muezzin*), four clock-makers (*sa'ātçi*), four traders (*tācir*), four shoe-makers (*ḥaffāf*); three calligraphers (*ḥattāt*), three cleaners or dressers of cotton-wool (*ḥallāç*), three bookbinders (*mücellit*), three blacksmiths or dealers in iron (*timurcu*); two teachers of children (*mu'allim-i şibyān*); and one each of the following: a dyer (*boyacı*), a farrier (*nalbent*), a felter (*kebeci*), a bathhouse keeper

⁷⁷⁸ Škaljić gives the following meanings: 1) landlord, a well-off person; master, leader, 2) a commander of the paid Turkish army, 3) honorary title for anyone belonging to the intelligentsia and nobility, Škaljić, *Turcizmi*, p. 72.

⁷⁷⁹ Suraiya Faroqhi, *Pilgrims and Sultans: the Hajj under the Ottomans* (I.B.Tauris, 1994), p. 160.

⁷⁸⁰ Aladin Husić, *Hadž iz Bosne za vrijeme osmanske vladavine* [Hajj from Bosnia under Ottoman rule] (Sarajevo: El-Kalem, 2014), pp. 137, 143, 144.

(*ḥamāmci*), a tobacco-seller (*tutuncu*), an apothecary (*‘aṭṭār*), a maker or seller of felt caps (*kā’ūḳçu*), a candle-maker (*mumcu*), a goldsmith (*zerger*), a maker or seller of copper pots (*kazancı*), a stone-mason (*tāsçı*), a coffee-shop keeper (*kahveci*), a boatman (*çamcı*), a butcher (*kaşşāb*), a quilt-maker (*yorgancı*), a shampooer at the public baths (*dellāk*), a copper-smith (*baķırcı*), a maker of iron heels (*na’lçacı*), a soup-monger (*çorbacı*), an inn-keeper (*hāncı*), a broker (*tellāl*), a linen-drapeer (*bezeci*), an artist who embellished surfaces, an illuminator or embroiderer (*naḳḳāş*), a maker of leather shoes (*mestveci*), a tinsmith (*kalāyıcı*), a gate-keeper (*bevvāb*), a maker or seller of lanterns (*fenerci*), and the post-master (*menzilci*).

4.10 Quantities of Book

The following table presents a quantitative breakdown of book ownership for the 1,212 Muslim book owners:

Number of books	Male book owners (Muslims)	Female book owners (Muslims)
1	345 (38%)	232 (76%)
2-5	321 (35.40%)	64 (21%)
6-10	90 (9.9%)	5 (1.6%)
11-25	74 (8.2%)	2 (0.7%)
26-50	38 (4.2%)	2 (0.7%)
51-100	25 (2.8%)	-
101-200	6 (0.7%)	-
Over 200	8 (0.9%)	-
Total book owners	907 (74.8%)	305 (25.2%)

Table: Book numbers in Muslim inheritance records

The table shows that, while female book owners are hardly rare – they constitute a quarter of all Muslim book owners – three quarters of them had only one book, in almost all cases a copy of the Qur’an. Another 21% had up to five books, while just 3% had between six and fifty books. There were, however, women book owners with more than 50 books in their

estate. Among Muslim men, a smaller proportion owned just one book or up to five, with the main difference relating to the number with six books or more.

4.11 Books by Genre

Books can be classified in many different ways and in Muslim intellectual history the classification of sciences (*iḥṣā' al-'ulūm*) was considered a genre in itself.⁷⁸¹ In presenting the works from the Sarajevo inventories, I broadly follow the classification of the Gāzī Hüsrevbey Library catalogues. Depending on the classification one adopts, some works may come under different categories. Classification can also be hampered where the writing is not sufficiently legible to allow a clear reading of the title. In cases where books are listed under a generic label like book (*kitāb*), treatise (*risāla*), notebook (*majmū'a*), etc. it is clearly impossible to determine the genre.

The Qur'an, Qur'anic *suras* and Portions: By far the most commonly owned book is the complete Qur'an. If one adds popular portions from the Qur'an which were sometimes bound separately, like the *An'ām*, 'Ammā juz', *Yāsīn*, etc., the proportion of Qur'anic texts in one form or another is even higher (see below). The prevalence of the Qur'an is also reflected in the fact that in the vast majority of cases where people owned just one book it was the Qur'an. Having said this, it is by no means uncommon to find book owners even with relatively large book collections who did not have a single copy of the Qur'an. Such cases are perhaps more jarring when the owners were 'ulamā', for whom one would think that owning a Qur'an came with the job.⁷⁸² Some of the bigger book collections without even a single Qur'an came from the following estates (the number of volumes is given in brackets): al-ḥāj Muḥammad-afandī ibn Walī al-dīn Khwāja ibn Durāq (168);⁷⁸³ kadi Khayrīzāde Ibrāhīm Adham-afandī ibn Muḥammad Sa'īd-afandī (96);⁷⁸⁴ al-ḥāj 'Abd al-Fattāḥ-afandī ibn Muḥammad Chalabī (85).⁷⁸⁵ Examples of medium size book-collection

⁷⁸¹ See, for example: *Organizing Knowledge: Encyclopaedic Activities in the Pre-Eighteenth Century Islamic World*, ed. Gerhard Endress, preface by Abdou Filali-Ansary (Leiden: Brill, 2006).

⁷⁸² Tatjana Paić-Vukić also notes the absence of a copy of the Qur'an in the book collection of the Sarajevo kadi Muṣṭafā Muḥibbi: "...it is somewhat surprising that there is not a single *muṣḥaf*, a complete copy of the Qur'an, among Muḥibbi's manuscripts", Paić-Vukić, *The World of Mustafa Muhibbi*, p. 82.

⁷⁸³ S25/99-101 (25 Jumādā al-Awwal 1200/26 March 1786).

⁷⁸⁴ S55/258-261 (fī gurrat Rabī' al-Awwal 1230/11 February 1815).

⁷⁸⁵ S11/140, 141 (7 Jumādā al-Ākhira 1184/28 September 1770).

without a Qur'an include: 'Uthmān-afandī ibn Muḥammad-afandī (57);⁷⁸⁶ al-ḥāj Ibrāhīm-afandī ibn al-ḥāj Muṣṭafā (36);⁷⁸⁷ kadi Ismā'īl-afandī (32).⁷⁸⁸

In the inheritance inventories, copies of the Qur'an tend to be listed as *Kalām-i qadīm* (Eternal Speech), an expression which comes from early Muslim creedal statements like Abu Hanifa's *al-Fiqh al-akbar* (the Greatest Understanding). The Qur'ans were often listed as *Kalām-ı qadīm hadiyasi* (the gift of Eternal Speech) expressing symbolically the idea that the word of God is really a gift from God and is essentially priceless even when it has to be evaluated or sold. Other terms used for the Qur'an were: *Kalām-ı izzat* (Speech of Glory), *Kalāmallāh* (Speech of God), *Muṣḥaf* (Collection) or *Muṣḥaf-i sharīf* (Noble Collection). The inventories include at least one *Qur'an sancığı* (Flag Qur'an). These were miniature Qur'ans attached to flags during war campaigns.⁷⁸⁹

The copies of the Qur'an rank among the most expensive books, which does not mean that they were always expensive. The inheritance inventories include 1,180 copies of the Qur'an. The second most common book in the inheritances was the *An'ām-i sharīf* (the Noble An'ām), of which there were 384 copies. The *An'ām-i sharīf* is a prayer-book containing selections of the Qur'an and various prayers. In the 12th/18th and 13th/19th century Ottoman Empire, *An'āms* gradually evolved to include representational images: the Prophet's hand, footprint, his mantle, sword, and other objects associated with the Prophet. The *An'ām-i sharīfs* were considered conduits for transmitting Divine grace (*baraka*)⁷⁹⁰ and were often carried as amulets, placed in a special pouch or a silver casket.⁷⁹¹

⁷⁸⁶ S14/67, 68 (14 Dhū'l-Qa'da 1186/6 February 1773).

⁷⁸⁷ S22/170 (17 Jumādā al-Ākhira 1197/20 May 1783).

⁷⁸⁸ S16/150 (27 Dhū'l-Ḥijja 1188).

⁷⁸⁹ For a description and photographs of such a *muṣḥaf* now kept at the Sarajevo Historical Archives, see: Ms. R-144, *Catalogue of the Arabic, Turkish, Persian and Bosnian Manuscripts in the Historical Archives Sarajevo*, vol. II, edited by Haso Popara (Sarajevo: Al-Furqan Islamic Heritage Foundation and Sarajevo Historical Archive, 1433/2011), pp. 1, 2. The images of this particular *muṣḥaf* and its leather pouch and silver box are reproduced in the Supplement which is listed at the end of the Catalogue.

⁷⁹⁰ Alexandra Bain, *The late Ottoman En'am-ı şerif: Sacred Text and Images in an Islamic Prayer Book* (unpublished doctoral thesis) University of Victoria, 1999. Bain places the evolution in the content of the Ottoman *Anām-i sharīf* in the context of the ideological challenge posed by Wahhabism to Ottoman Şūfī Islam. See also the paper based on her dissertation: Alexandra Bain, "The En'am-ı şerif: Sacred Text and Images in a Late Ottoman Prayer Book", *Archivum Ottomanicum* 19 (2001), pp. 213-238; Christiane Gruber, "A Pious Cure-All: the

There are also numerous copies of individually bound Qur'anic *suras*, especially the *Yāsīn*, the 36th *sura*. Finally, portions of the Qur'an are also sometimes listed as *thirtieths*, i.e. the Qur'an divided into 30 portions (Arabic: *juz'*, pl. *ajzā'*; Turkish: *cuz*, pl. *cuzlar*), each about 20 pages long. The reason behind this division was to facilitate the recitation of the whole of the Qur'an during the month of Ramaḍān, the month in which Muslim tradition held the revelation of the Qur'an to have begun.⁷⁹² Particularly popular were volumes of five thirtieths listed as *Beş cuz'* (Five portions) or *Ḳur'andan beş cuz'*, of which there were 49 examples. The final or 30th portion, known as '*Amme cuz'*, after the first word of the *sūra* with which it begins,⁷⁹³ was also popular, with 35 examples. There were six instances of the *Tebāreke cuz'u*, the 29th portion of the Qur'an which begins with *sura al-Mulk* (Kingdom, 67th *sura*), but which is popularly known by the opening verses ("Blessed [*tabāarak*] be He in whose hand is the Kingdom..."). As we have seen, Basheskī was a *cuzhān*, someone who participated in the daily recitation of the Qur'an with a group of men, each of whom recited a portion for the soul of Gāzī Hüseyin-bey, as stipulated in his charter.

Among the works listed is *Tāj al-tarājim* (the Crown of Translations). While one cannot exclude entirely the possibility of this being a Persian translation of the Qur'an,⁷⁹⁴ this is more likely to be one of the bibliographical dictionaries whose title begins in the same way, e.g. *Tāj al-tarājim fī ṭabaqāt al-ḥanafīyya* (the Crown of Biographies for the Classes of Hanafites).⁷⁹⁵ Some form of Turkish translation may have been part of the short commentaries of assorted *suras* like the *tafsīr-i Yāsīn-i türki* (Commentary on the *sūra* *Yāsīn* in Turkish).

Ottoman Illustrated Prayer Manual in the Lilly Library" in *the Islamic Manuscript Tradition: Ten Centuries of Book-Arts in Indiana University Collections*, edited by Christiane Gruber (Indiana University Press, 2009).

⁷⁹¹ Alexandra Bain, "The En'ām-ı şerīf: Sacred Texts and Images in a Late Prayer Book", pp. 213-238.

⁷⁹² Angelika Neuwirth, "Ramaḍān", *The Encyclopaedia of the Qur'ān*, vol. IV, edited by Jane Dammen McAuliffe (Brill: Leiden, Boston, Köln, 2001), p. 347. See also: Frederik Leehmuis, "Codices of the Qur'ān", *The Encyclopaedia of the Qur'ān*, vol. I, p. 347; François Déroche, "Manuscripts of the Qur'ān", *The Encyclopaedia of the Qur'ān*, vol. III, pp. 271, 272.

⁷⁹³ '*Amma yatasā'alūn* (Qur'an 78:1), translated by Arberry as "Concerning what are they disputing?"

⁷⁹⁴ S60/129, 130 (5 Rajab 1236/8 April 1821). The full title of the work is *Tāj al-tarājim fī tafsīr al-Qur'ān li al-a'ājim* (the Crown of translations in the Qur'an commentary for the Persians) and was composed by Shāhfūr Abū al-Muẓaffar Ṭāhir b. Muḥammad al-Isfarā'īnī (d. 471/1078), *ḤKh* I, 268.

⁷⁹⁵ Abū al-Fidā Zayn al-dīn Qāsim b. 'Abdallāh al-Quṭlūbughā al-Sūdūnī (d. 879/1474).

Manuals on Qur'anic Recitation (*Tajwīd*): Learning how to “read” the Qur'an according to an elaborate set of rules is one of principal expressions of Muslim piety and a key skill acquired in the *maktab* from a teacher. The inheritance listings include manuals on Qur'an recitation referred to generically as *Tajwīd* (the Art of Qur'an Recitation) (seven copies), *Qawā'id-i tajwīd* (the Principles of Art of Qur'an Recitation (six copies), *Fawā'id-i tajwīd* (the Benefits of Art of Qur'an Recitation) (fifteen copies), and *Qawā'id-i Qur'ān* (the Principles of the Qur'an) (seven copies). There is one copy registered for each of the following: *Jawāhir al-'uqbān (?) min al-tajwīd*,⁷⁹⁶ *Tajwīd-i Qur'an*,⁷⁹⁷ *Qirā'at*,⁷⁹⁸ and *Qirā'at risalesi*. Some recitation manuals go by their writer's name, e.g. *Tajwīd-i Ḥamza-afandī*⁷⁹⁹ and *Tajwīd-i Qarabāşı*.⁸⁰⁰ The most common manual on Qur'an recitation referred to by author was *al-Jazarī*,⁸⁰¹ of which 19 copies are listed. Overall, there were 46 works of *tajwīd* in the inventories, one in the estate of a woman.⁸⁰²

Qur'an Commentary (*Tafsīr*): The three most commonly owned *tafsirs* were: Bayḍāwī's *Anwār al-tanzīl wa anwār al-ta'wīl*⁸⁰³, usually listed as *Tafsīr-i Bayḍāwī* or *Tafsīr-i Qāḍī* (six copies),⁸⁰⁴ *Tafsīr-i Abū Layth* (five copies),⁸⁰⁵ *Tafsīr-i Jalālayn* (four copies),⁸⁰⁶ followed by

⁷⁹⁶ S66/135-139 (fi gurrat Muḥaram 1243/25 July 1827). The owner was Bāqrizāde Ibrāhīm-āghā ibn al-ḥāj Muṣṭafā.

⁷⁹⁷ S27/23 (11 Sha'bān 1201/29 May 1787).

⁷⁹⁸ S10/16 (28 Jumādā al-Ākhir 1176), the owner was Kanīrzade (?) al-ḥāj Ṣāliḥ-afandī ibn al-ḥāj Muṣṭafā.

⁷⁹⁹ S40/86-88 (29 Shawwāl 1215/15 March 1801), the owner was Pāralik ḥafīz al-ḥāj Aḥmad-afandī b. Ḥamza.

⁸⁰⁰ The writer is shaykh 'Abd al-Raḥmān Qarabashī (d.904/1498), 'OM I, 148.

⁸⁰¹ Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Jazarī al-Shāfi'ī (d. 833/1429), GAL G I/113; GAL S II, 275/8.

⁸⁰² S27/23 (11 Sha'bān 1201/29 May 1787). The owner was Maryam bint 'Uthmān, the wife of al-ḥāj Ḥasan b. Ḥasan. This was one of three books in her estate, in addition to her copy of the Qur'an, the *Risāla-i Birkilī* (Epistle of Birkilī or Birkawī) and a bunch of scattered papers (*awrāq-i parīshān*).

⁸⁰³ Its author was Abū Sa'īd b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Shirāzī al-Bayḍāwī (d. 685/1286 or 692/1292), GAL G I, 416.

⁸⁰⁴ *Tafsīr-i Qāḍī jild 2* (3,600), *Tafsīr-i Qāḍī jild thānī* (840) and *Qāḍī üzerine Şeyḫzāde ḥāşiyesi cuzāları nātemām* (3,606) all three in the estate of al-ḥāj Muḥammad-afandī ibn Walī al-dīn Khwāja ibn Durāq, S25/99-101; *Tafsīr-i Qāḍī Bayḍāwī jild 1* (60 guruş) in the estate of the merchant (*tājir*) al-ḥāj 'Uthmān-beşe bin Yahyā (S46/98-100); *Tafsīr-i Qāḍī Bayḍāwī a. 1* (2,000 para) in the estate of 'Umar Zuḥdī-afandī ibn 'Alī-afandī (S48/72-75); *Jild-i awwal min Tafsīr-i Qāḍī* (3 guruş) in the estate of professor (*mudarris*) Ṣāliḥ-afandī ibn Sha'bān (S55/183,185); *Tafsīr-i Qāḍī Bayḍāwī jild 2* (5 guruş, 1 para) in the estate of Fāṭima bint al-ḥāj Muḥammad, the wife of an illuminator or embroiderer (*naḳkāş*) and a standard bearer (*'alemdār*) Muḥammad (S56/100-103); *Tafsīr-i Qāḍī Bayḍāwī 1* (19,080); the cap-maker (*'arākiyecī*) al-ḥāj Ibrāhīm-afandī ibn al-ḥāj Durāq (S18/162-165). The same person had a *Tafsīr gharā'ib al-Qur'ān* (504) in his estate.

Kashshāf (two copies)⁸⁰⁷ and Suyūṭī's *Itqān* (one).⁸⁰⁸ Other works of the genre include *Tafsīr gharā'ib al-Qur'ān*,⁸⁰⁹ *Tafsīr-i taysīr*,⁸¹⁰ and *Takmilat al-tafāsīr*.⁸¹¹

Of the five *tafsirs* of Abū al-Layth, at least two appear to have been in Turkish. Another two, unidentified commentaries in Turkish were referred to as *Tafsīr türkī* (Turkish Qur'an commentary)⁸¹² and *Tafsīr Yāsīn-i sharīf türkī parishan* (unbound commentary on the sura Yāsīn in Turkish).⁸¹³ Many books from this category seem to have been short works of exegesis on popular short suras or Qur'anic passages: *Sūra-i Mulk tafsīri*,⁸¹⁴ *Tafsīr-i sura-i Qadr* (50),⁸¹⁵ *Tafsīr Fātiḥa-i sharīf* (306),⁸¹⁶ *Yāsīn-i sharīf tafsīri* (120),⁸¹⁷ *Tafsīr Āyat al-Kursī*.⁸¹⁸ Two

⁸⁰⁵ *Tafsīr-i Abū al-Layth* by Abū al-Layth Naṣr b. Muḥammad al-Samarqandī al-Ḥanafī (d. 373/983), GAL G I, 196; GAL S I, 347; *Tafsīr-i Abū al-Layth* (300) in the estate of al-ḥāj Muḥammad-afandī ibn Walī al-dīn Kh^wāja ibn Durāq, (S25/99-101);): *Tafsīr-i Abū al-Layth a. 1* (63 para), *Tafsīr-i Qāḍī Bayḍāwī a. 1* (2,000 para) in the estate of 'Umar Zuhdī-afandī ibn 'Alī-afandī (S48/72-75); *qit'a az Tafsīr-i Abū al-Layth* (480) in the estate of al-Sayyid Mullā Muḥammad bin al-ḥāj Ḥusayn (S8/96); *Tafsīr-i Abū Layth türkī parīshān* (1,320) in the estate of Şāghirjī-oghlu 'Alī mullā Aḥmad b. Ismā'īl Chalabī (S16/6, 7).

⁸⁰⁶ *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn* (the Commentary by the two Jalāls), a short Qur'anic commentary written by Jalāl al-dīn Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Maḥallī (d. 864/1459) and Jalāl al-dīn 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abū Bakr al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505), GAL G II, 145/6; *Tafsīr-i Jalālayn* (1,920) belonged to al-ḥāj 'Abdallāh-afandī ibn al-ḥāj Ibrāhīm-afandī (S35/69-73); a copy of it also belonged to al-ḥāj 'Abdallāh-afandī ibn al-ḥāj Ibrāhīm-afandī (S35/69-73); *Tafsīr-i Jalālayn jild 1* (2,160) belonged to the cap-maker ('arakiyecī) al-ḥāj Ibrāhīm-afandī ibn al-ḥāj Durāq (S18/162-5).

⁸⁰⁷ *Tafsīr-i Kashshāf* (960), in the estate of al-ḥāj Muḥammad-afandī ibn Walī al-dīn Kh^wāja ibn Durāq (S25/99-101; S25/100-102). Full title of the work is *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), GAL G I, 290/1.

⁸⁰⁸ S27/27 (15 Şha'bān 1201/3 May 1787).

⁸⁰⁹ (A Commentary on the Strange Words in the Qur'an) S18/162-5 (11 Rabī' al-Ākhir 1191/17 May 1777).

⁸¹⁰ S57/132-130 (25 Muḥarram 1232/15 December 1816).

⁸¹¹ S66/82, 83 (11 Rabī' al-Awwal [12]43/2 October 1827).

⁸¹² S17/160-163 (28 Şafar 1190/18 April 1776), the estate belonged to al-ḥāj Muṣṭafā ibn al-ḥāj Ismā'īl.

⁸¹³ S14/60 (26 Ramaḍān 1186/21 December 1772). Its owner was a Janissary commander (*serdengeçti ağālarından*) Şālīḥ-āghā ibn al-ḥāj 'Abd al-Qādir-āghā, who had six books including a set of "loose papers" (*awrāq-i parishan*). He died at Klödkin Alaca Hişār (present-day Kruševac, Serbia) while returning from a military campaign against Russia.

⁸¹⁴ S11/104, 105 (17 Shawwāl 1184/3 February 1771).

⁸¹⁵ S11/140, 141 (7 Jumādā al-Ākhir 1184/28 September 1770). The owner was al-ḥāj 'Abd al-Fattāḥ-afandī ibn Muḥammad Chalabī who had a collection of about 90 works.

conclusions may be drawn: Bayḍāwī's commentary was the most commonly owned,⁸¹⁹ and Turkish and possibly even Persian were the medium through which knowledge about the content and meaning of the Qur'anic text was mediated.⁸²⁰ The fact that the *tafsir* of Abū al-Layth was written in Turkish might explain its attraction, since it made the Qur'anic text accessible to Sarajevans who knew Turkish better than Arabic or who did not know Arabic at all.⁸²¹

Prophetic Sayings (*Ḥadīth*): There are a few works in this genre specified by title. These include two copies of *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* (The Correct of Bukhārī) and four copies of *Nukhbat al-fikr* (Cream of Reflection).⁸²² The most commonly owned collections of hadith are *Ḥadīth-i arba'īn* (40 Hadith), a generic term for various hadith collections of forty hadiths that were compiled by different authors (34 copies), *Shamā'il-i sharīf* (Noble Characteristics)⁸²³ by Tirmidhī (18 copies), *Shifā'-i sharīf* (Noble Shifā')⁸²⁴ by Qaḍī 'Iyāḍ (12copies) and the

⁸¹⁶ S14/38 (27 Jumādā al-Awwal 1186/26 August 1772). Its owner was a kadi Āghāzāde 'Abdallāh-afandī ibn Muḥammad-afandī, who died in the eastern Bosnian town of Čayniče (Bosnian: Čajniče).

⁸¹⁷ S14/66 (25 Shawwāl 1186/19 January 1773). The copy belonged to Ṣāliḥ-beşe ibn mullā Aḥmad, who had five works and an amulet (*Ḥamā'il-i sharīf*).

⁸¹⁸ S11/140, 141 (7 Jumādā al-Ākhir 1184/28 Septembar 1770), part of 85 works in the estate of al-ḥāj 'Abd al-Fattāḥ-afandī ibn Muḥammad Chalabī.

⁸¹⁹ Sarajevo poet Narkasī is reported to have copied Bayḍāwī's *tafsir* in 40 days, Šabanović, *Književnost*, p. 240. Also quoted in Enes Karić, *Traditional Bosnia: Islamic Theological, Philosophical and Logical Studies From the 15th Century Onwards* (in manuscript), p. 9. I am most grateful to Professor Karić for making this work available to me.

⁸²⁰ Interestingly, in his *Islam and Culture*, a book written as an apologia against a text by a Serb author who describes Islam as holding back the cultural advancement of Muslims, the author Osman Nuri Hadžić, one of the pioneers of the Muslim cultural renaissance in Bosnia, mentions "Kazi Bejzavi" [Qaḍī Bayḍāwī] as a great mind whom Westerners have come to admire along with Ibn Sīnā, Fakhr al-din Rāzī, Abū Ḥanīfa, Ghazālī, Suyūṭī, Zamakhsharī, imam Qazwīnī, Ibn Athīr "and countless others", Osman Nuri Hadžić, *Islam i kultura* (Zagreb, 1894), p. 25.

⁸²¹ This *tafsir* was translated into Ottoman Turkish by Ibn 'Arabshāh (d. 854/1450-51), J.Schacht, "Abu'l-Layth al-Samarḳandī", *ET I* (1986), p. 137.

⁸²² *Nukhbat al-fikr* was written by Shihāb al-dīn Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī (d.852/1448). There is also a work listed simply as *Nukhba*, but this could be the literary work, *Nukhba-i Wahbī* (the Cream by Wahbī), of which there were two other copies.

⁸²³ GAL G I, 162.

⁸²⁴ *Al-Shifā' bi-ta'rīf ḥuqūq al-Muṣṭafā* (Healing by Recognising the Rights of the Chosen One) by Abū al-Faḍl 'Iyāḍ b. Mūsā al-Yaḥṣūbī al-Sabtī (d. 544/1149), GAL G I, 369/1.

biographies of the Prophet entitled *Siyar-i Nabī* (five copies). The remaining hadith texts in the inheritance lists come under one of the following general labels: *Ḥadīth* (four), *Ḥadīth-i nabawī* (Prophetic ḥadīth), *Ḥadīsten risāle aḥkam-i ḥamse* (Treatise from ḥadīth on Five Rulings), *Khayr al-bashar* (the Best of Mankind),⁸²⁵ *Risāla min aḥādīth* (a Treatise from ḥadīth), *Risāla min uṣūl al-ḥadīth* (Treatise from Root of ḥadīth) or *Uṣūl al-ḥadīth* (three copies), *Rumūz al-ḥadīth* (Signs of ḥadīth), *Selāsumi-e (?) ḥadīth*, *Risāla fī al-ḥadīth* (Treatise on ḥadīth), *Innamā al-a'māl bi al-niyyāt* (Actions are according to intentions).

Jurisprudence: Works of jurisprudence are among the most commonly represented in the inheritance inventories. They may be divided into three groups: kadi manuals, collections of fatwas, and *madrassa* textbooks. The most commonly owned works of jurisprudence were: *Ṣadr al-sharī'a* or *Ṣadr-ı sharī'a* (51 copies)⁸²⁶, *al-Ashbāh wa al-naẓā'ir*⁸²⁷ (the Similar and the Like, 17 copies), *Durar sharḥ-i Ghurar*⁸²⁸ (the Pearls: a Commentary of Ghurar, 10 copies), *Tarjīh al-bayyināt* (Measuring the Clear Proofs, six copies),⁸²⁹ *Sayyid 'Alī 'alā al-miftāḥ* (Sayyid 'Alī on the Key, eight copies), *Mu'in al-ḥukkām*⁸³⁰ (Aid to the Judges, three copies), *Jāmi' al-fuṣūlayn*,⁸³¹ (Gatherer of Two Parts, three copies),⁸³² *Lisān al-ḥukkām*,⁸³³ (Language of the

⁸²⁵ *Khayr al-bishar bi khayr al-bashar* (the Best of Tidings Concerning the Best of Mankind) by Muḥammad b. Muḥammad ibn Ṣafar al-Ṣaqalī (d.565/1169), a work about the fortelling of the Prophet in non-Islamic sources, *GAL G I*, 352; *GAL S I*, 595.

⁸²⁶ The full title of the work is *Ṣadr al-sharī'a sharḥ al-Wiqāya* (Ṣadr al-sharī'a's Commentary on the Safeguard), 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.

⁸²⁷ A work of jurisprudence by Zayn b. Ibrāhīm Ibn Nujaym al-Miṣrī al-Ḥanafī (d.970/1563), *GAL G II*, 310; *GAL S II*, 425.

⁸²⁸ The full title is *Durar al-ḥukkām fī sharḥ-i ghurar al-aḥkām* (the Pearls of Judges in Explaining the Risks of Decisions), Ms. R-8073, *GHL IX*, p. 251.

⁸²⁹ The full title of the work is *Tarjīh al-bayyināt wa tawjīh al-muhimmāt li al-quḍāt* (Favouring the Proofs and Addressing the Important Things for Judges), written by Muḥammad b. Muṣṭafā al-Wānī al-Wānqūlī (d. 1000/1591), *AM II*, 260; *ḤKh I*, 398.

⁸³⁰ S36/86-88 (26 Jumādā al-Ākhira 1210/7 January 1796); S40/86-88 (29 Shawwāl 1215/15 March 1801); S52/62, 63 (15 Jumādā al-Awwal 1227/27 May 1812). The full title is: *Mu'in al-ḥukkām fī mā yataraddad bayn al-khaṣamayn min al-aḥkām* (Aid to the Judges in Matters Between Two Parties Which Cause Concern About Legal Issues), *GAL G II*, 82; *GAL S II*, 91.

⁸³¹ A work of jurisprudence by Badr al-dīn Maḥmūd Isrā'īl ibn Qāḍī Samāwina or Samana (d.823/1420), *GAL G II*, 224, 225; *GAL S II*, 314, 315.

Judges, two copies), and one each of *Muīn al-mufti*⁸³⁴ (Aid to the Mufti), *Biḍāʿat al-qāḍi*⁸³⁵ (Commodities of the Judge), *Durrat al-fatāwā* (the Pearl of Fatwas), *Durr al-mukhtār*⁸³⁶ (Pearls of the Selected), *Mirqāt al-adab*⁸³⁷ (Ladders to Etiquette), and *Biḍāʿat al-ḥukkām*⁸³⁸ (Commodities of Judges).

Particularly numerous were works on inheritance law of which there were about 130. The majority (89) are listed under the generic terms *Farāʿid* (Distributive Shares in Estate) or *sharḥ-i farāʿid* (Explanation of Distributive Shares in Estate). In several cases, the language of the text is stressed, as in *Türki farāʿid* or *Türkī sharḥ-i farāʿid*. In rare instances, the author's name is mentioned, as in *Sharḥ-i Farāʿid li Kamālpāshāzāde*, *Shihāb al-dīn sharḥ-i Farāʿid*, *Farāʿid li Sujāwandī* or *Farāʿid-i Sayyid*. The most popular work of this genre was *Farāʿid Sirājiyya* (20 copies).

Another well-represented area of jurisprudence was the collections of forms used by kadis for administrative purposes known as *ṣakks*. Most of them are listed under the generic term (*ṣakk*), accompanied by the name of the compiler: *Ṣakk-i Hājibzāde*, *Ṣakk Mişrī*, *Ṣakk-i*

⁸³² S36/86-88 (26 Jumādā al-Ākhir 1210/7 January 1796); S48/72-75 (11 Jumādā al-Awwal 1223/5 July 1808); S66/82, 83 (11 Rabīʿ al-Awwal 1243/2 October 1827).

⁸³³ *Lisān al-ḥukkām fī maʿrifat al-aḥkām* (Language of Judges in Knowing Ordinances) is a work of jurisprudence by Abū al-Walīd Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad Ibn al-Shihna al-Ḥalabī (d. 882/1477), GAL G II, 97; GAL S II, 115; S54/107-109 (1 Dhūʿl-Qaʿda 1229/15 October 1814); S55/258-261 (the date is unclear, but the year is 1230).

⁸³⁴ S11/104, 105 (17 Shawwāl 1184/3 February 1771), Ms. R-4016, GHL II, p. 555.

⁸³⁵ This work could not be identified.

⁸³⁶ *Durr al-mukhtār fī sharḥ tanwīr al-abṣār* (Pearls of the Selected Concerning Explanation of the Illumination of Views) by ʿAlāʾ al-dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥīm al-Ḥaskafī al-Ḥanafī (d. 1088/1677) GAL G II, 311. It is a commentary on a work of Hanafi jurisprudence entitled *Tanwīr al-abṣār wa jāmiʿ al-biḥār* (Illumination of Views and Gatherer of Seas) by Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Aḥmad al-Tīmūrtāshī al-Ghazzī al-Ḥanafī (d.cca 1007/1598).

⁸³⁷ S11/104, 105 (17 Shawwāl 1184/3 February 1771); S18/162-5 (11 Rabīʿ al-Ākhir 1191/17 May 1777); S66/135-139 (fī gurrat Muḥarrām 1243/25 July 1827). The full title of the work is *Mirʾāt al-uṣūl sharḥ mirqāt al-wuṣūl* (Mirror of Root, Explanation of the Ladders to Arrival), GAL G II, 227/2.

⁸³⁸ A work of jurisprudence in Turkish, whose full title is *Biḍāʿat al-aḥkām fī iḥkām al-ḥukkām* (Commodities of Judges in Strengthening Rulings) by Muḥammad b. Muṣṭafā b. Maḥmūd Ḥājibzāde al-Iṣṭanbūlī (d.1100/1688), ʿOM, I, 280.

Mūsāzāde, *Şakk-i Shānīzāde*, *Şakk-i Wahbī*, etc. One such collection is entitled *Rawḍat al-quḍāt* (Meadow of Judges).⁸³⁹ Overall, there were more than 30 of them.

There were around 100 collection of fatwas by various authors. Some rank among the most expensive books in the inventories. A much used and well-represented collection of *fatāwā* was codified under the patronage of Sultan Suleyman (hence his epithet the Law-giver or *Qānūnī*). There were 43 of these *Qānūnnāmes* (Books of Law), as they are known.

With 60 copies, *Mukhtaṣar al-Qudūrī* (the Concise of al-Qudūrī)⁸⁴⁰ is the single best represented work of jurisprudence in the inventories. It was a standard text-book in Ottoman *madrasas*.⁸⁴¹ Other textbooks include *Multaqā al-abḥur* (the Meeting Place of the Seas)⁸⁴² (38 copies), *Ḥalabī ṣaghīr*⁸⁴³ (the Little Ḥalabī, nineteen copies) and *Ḥalabī kabīr* (the Great Ḥalabī, eleven). Another well-represented work was, with 27 copies, was *Ḥamza-afandī risālesi* (Treatise of Ḥamza-afandī). The manual on the ritual of the pilgrimage to Mecca (*Manāsik-i ḥajj* or Stations of Pilgrimage) is listed 32 times. There are several works under this title by different authors and so it represents a genre, rather than a particular work.

Theology: The great majority of works in this field come under one of the following generic terms: *‘aqā’id* (doctrines), *sharḥ-i ‘aqā’id* (commentary on doctrines), *ḥāshiya-i sharḥ-i ‘aqā’id* (supracommentary on the commentary on doctrines), and *rasā’il-i ‘aqā’id* (epistles of doctrines). It is possible that all these works (two of them in Turkish) refer to a

⁸³⁹ S16/150 (the date is unknown); S22/156, 157 (2 Jumādā al-Ākhir 1197/5 May 1783). *GHL II*/1933. But, this could also be another work with a similar title: *Rawḍat al-quḍāt wa ṭarīq al-naḥāt* by Abū al-Qāsim ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Simnānī al-Ḥanafī (d.499/1105), *GAL G I*, 373; *GAL S I*, 638, 639. Kasim Dobrača disputes Ḥājī Khalīfa’s claim that the author is Fakhr al-dīn al-Zaylā’ī and the year of death given by Brockelman (i.e. 493/1100).

⁸⁴⁰ Its author was Abū al-Ḥusayn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Qudūrī al-Baghdādī (d.428/1039), *GAL G I*, 175; *GAL S I*, 295.

⁸⁴¹ Ms. 1601, *GHL I*, p. 133, 134; *HKH II*, pp. 1631-1634; *GAL G I*, 175; *GAL S I*, 295.

⁸⁴² A highly popular *madrasa* textbook on Hanafi jurisprudence by Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥalabī (d. 956/1549), *GAL G II*, 432; *GAL S II*, 642.

⁸⁴³ The popular name for an abridged version of a work of jurisprudence entitled *Gunyat al-mutamallī fī sharḥ Munyat al-muṣallī* (popularly also known as *Ḥalabī kabīr*). This abridged text was written by al-shaykh Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥalabī, *GAL G I*, 383.

commentary (*sharḥ al-‘aqā’id*) by Sa’d al-dīn al-Taftazānī⁸⁴⁴ and commentaries and supracommentaries on this text. This work by Taftazānī is explicitly named in four instances as ‘*aqā’id-i Sa’d al-dīn*’ or ‘*aqā’id-i Taftazānī*’. Other works with the author or commentator’s name to it include ‘*aqā’id-i Ramaḍān*’ or *ḥāshiya-i Ramaḍān-afandī ‘alā al-‘aqā’id*’ (supra-commentary by Ramaḍān-afandī on doctrines, four copies), *sharḥ-i ‘aqā’id-i Nasafiyya* (commentary on the Doctrines of Nasafī, one copy), ‘*aqā’id-i Aqirmānī*’ (doctrines by Aqirmānī, one copy). There were also three copies of Nasafī’s *Bahr al-kalām* (Sea of Speech).⁸⁴⁵ Another standard textbook from the genre used in Ottoman *madrasas* was *Sharḥ-i Mawāqif* (Commentary on Stations) by Sayyid Sharīf al-Jurjānī (with four copies in the Sarajevo inventories). There is a solitary listing of a work entitled *I’tiqād (?) dā’ir muzūn nuskha*.⁸⁴⁶

One of the best represented works of theology is *Fiqh-i Akbar* (Greatest Understanding) by Abū Ḥanīfa⁸⁴⁷ (11 copies), most of which include a commentary (*sharḥ*).

There were three copies of a work entitled *Ishārāt* (Allusions). This may have been *Ishārāt al-marām min ‘ibārāt al-imām* (Allusions of Aspiration from the Expressions of the Imam) by Aḥmad ibn Ḥusām al-dīn Bayāḍizāde al-Būsawī (d. 1098/1687).⁸⁴⁸

Most of these works were used as *madrasa* textbooks. Religious primers also had theological content, but they have been dealt with separately.⁸⁴⁹

Philosophy: The study of philosophy in Ottoman Bosnia consisted primarily of logic, as confirmed by the book titles listed in the inheritance inventories. The most commonly owned work of logic was the *Īsāghūjī*, usually with a commentary. In some cases the

⁸⁴⁴ *Sharḥ ‘aqā’id al-Nasafī li al-Taftazānī*, a commentary by Mas’ūd b. ‘Umar al-Taftazānī (d. 791/1389) on *al-‘Aqida al-nasafiyya* or ‘*Aqā’id al-Nasafī*’ by Najm al-dīn Abū Ḥafṣ ‘Umar b. Muḥammad al-Nasafī (d.537/1142), GAL G I, 427.

⁸⁴⁵ Abū Mu‘īn al-dīn Maymūn b. Muḥammad al-Nasafī al-Ḥanafī (d.508/1114), GAL G I, 426/7.

⁸⁴⁶ S52/118 (27 Dhū’l-Ḥijja 1226 [sic!]/12 January 1812).

⁸⁴⁷ GAL S I, 285/1.

⁸⁴⁸ This is a commentary on Abū Ḥanīfa’s *al-Fiqh al-Akbar*. According to Dobrača, the work was mistakenly ascribed to Abū Ḥanīfa, *GHL* I, p. 402.

⁸⁴⁹ On the study of works of ‘ilm al-kalām in Bosnia see: Karić, *Traditional Bosnia*, pp. 25-65.

commentary is specified, as in the work referred to after its author as *Ḥusām al-Kātī*.⁸⁵⁰ Another well-represented work is *Shamsiyya min al-manṭiq* (the Sunny One on Logic) with 14 copies, one by a Bosnian scholar Muṣṭafā Ayyūbizāde, also known as shaykh Yūyō. The work is cited as *Sharḥ-i Shamsiyya li-Yūyī Mōstārī*.⁸⁵¹ There are nine works of logic in the inventories entitled *Risāla-i manṭiq* or *Risāla min al-manṭiq* (Epistle of Logic). The work *Tadhhib-i manṭiq* (the Gilding of Logic) is listed four times.⁸⁵²

Very few works of philosophy appear in the inheritance inventories. There were five copies of works entitled *Ḥikmat* (Wisdom), which is presumably short-hand for *Ḥikmat al-‘ayn* (Wisdom of the Eye).⁸⁵³ However, the word *ḥikma* could also signify a genre, i.e. works of philosophy in general. Two works I could not identify and which are probably philosophical in content are entitled: *Ibn Sīnā*, *Awwaliyyāt*, and *‘Aqliyyāt*.

Sufism: There were four copies of Ghazali’s *Ayyuhā al-walad* (O, son), a letter to a disciple by Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad al-Ghazālī (d.505/1111)⁸⁵⁴ one in Turkish translation,⁸⁵⁵ and one of his *Kimyā-yi sa‘ādat* (Alchemy of Happiness).⁸⁵⁶ There were three copies of Ibn ‘Arabi’s *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam* (Bezels of Wisdom).⁸⁵⁷ On the other hand, works with a Ṣūfī ethos include the *Ṭariqat-i Muḥammadiyya* (the Muhammedan Path)⁸⁵⁸ by Birkawī and Persian classics such as Rumi’s *Mathnawī*, Ḥāfiz’s *Dīwān*, Sa’dī’s *Kulistān* and Jāmi’s *Bahārīstan* (more on them in the

⁸⁵⁰ The title of the work is *Sharḥ al-Isāghūjī li al-Kātī* (Commentary on Isagoge by al-Kātī) and was written by Ḥusām al-dīn Ḥasan al-Kātī (d. 760/1359), GAL G I, 464; GAL S I, 841. For the use of this work in Bosnian madrasas, see: Karić, *Traditional Bosnia*, p. 41.

⁸⁵¹ S48/72-75 (11 Jumādā al-Awwal 1223/5 July 1808). See also: Karić, *Traditional Bosnia*, p. 90. This is one of the four works of logic written by shaykh Yūyō. Another Bosnian scholar who wrote a commentary on *al-Risāla al-Shamsiyya* was Muḥammad Mūsik ‘Allāmak, *ibid*, p. 89. For more on Bosnian scholarly writings on logic, see: Amir Ljubović, *The Works on Logic by Bosniac Authors in Arabic* (Brill, 2008).

⁸⁵² There are about 50 copies of this work by Sa’d al-dīn al-Taftazānī (d. 792/1389) in the manuscript form in Bosnian libraries today, Karić, *Traditional Bosnia*, p. 87, n. 332.

⁸⁵³ Its author was Najm-al dīn Abū Bakr al-Kātībī, GAL G I, 466; GAL S I, 847; GAL S II, 297. The work is mentioned in Isa-bey’s charter, Karić, *Traditional Bosnia*, p. 28.

⁸⁵⁴ GAL G I, 423/32.

⁸⁵⁵ S89/18 (9 Shawwāl 1182/16 February 1768); S10/16-18 (28 Jumādā al-Ākhir 1176/14 January 1763); S15/56 (13 Muḥarram 1188/7 April 1774); S18/14-16 (21 Rabī‘ al-Ākhir 1191/29 May 1777).

⁸⁵⁶ S18/167 (22 Jumādā al-Awwal 1191/28 June 1777).

⁸⁵⁷ S35/69-73 (10 Jumādā al-Awwal 1209/3 December 1794); S38/125-127 (29 Rabī‘ al-Ākhir 1213/10 October 1798); S39/188-192 (5 Muḥarram 1215/29 May 1800).

⁸⁵⁸ Muḥammad b. Pīr ‘al Birkawī (d.981/1573).

section on Persian works). Works in this category include the four copies of *Muzakkī al-nufūs* (Purifier of Souls).⁸⁵⁹ Works of unknown provenance include two copies of *Su'āl-i šūfiyya* (the Šūfī question),⁸⁶⁰ a copy of *Risāla min al-taṣawwuf* (a Treatise on Taṣawwuf),⁸⁶¹ and of *Dhikr-i karāmāt* (Remembrance of Miracles).⁸⁶²

The inventories are remarkable for the absence of such Šūfī works as Ghazali's *Iḥyā' 'ulūm al-dīn* (Revival of Religious Sciences). One reason may be that Birkawī's *Ṭariqat-ı Muḥammediyya*, one of the more popular works to be found in the inventories, was in terms of content an abridged *Iḥyā'*.⁸⁶³

Devotional Texts:⁸⁶⁴ The two most commonly owned books of this type were *Dalā'il al-khayrāt* or *Dalā'il-i sharīf* (67 copies) and *Mawlūds* (33 copies). They were followed by collections of supplications or *du'ā'* (ten copies), listed variously as *du'ā'llar*, *du'ā'nāme*, *awrād*, *awrād-i adhkār*, *awrād-i yawm-i sab'a*, *ad'īya*, *ba'd ad'īya*, *ad'īya-i manthūra*, *majmū'a-i ad'īya*, *munājāt*, *munājāt du'āsī*. Rarely does a collection have a more precise designation of the sort given for *Du'āname-i Abū Su'ūd-afandī* (the Book of supplications by Abū Su'ūd-afandī). There is no information on the composers of the *mawlūds*, although one can assume that the famous *mawlūd* of Sulaymān Chalabī in Turkish comprised the majority. *Al-Ḥizb al-a'ẓam* (the Greatest Portion) is listed eight times,⁸⁶⁵ and *Sharaf al-insān* (the Glory of the Human Being) twice.⁸⁶⁶

⁸⁵⁹ S4/29-31 (13 Muḥarram 1141/19 August 1728); S18/167 (22 Jumādā al-Awwal 1191/28 June 1777); S25/99-101 (25 Jumādā al-Awwal 1200/26 March 1786); S58/21, 22 (fi gurrat Šafar 1233/11 December 1817). *Muzakkī al-nufūs* is a Šūfī work in Turkish by 'Abdallāh b. Ashraf b. Muḥammad al-Miṣrī al-Rūmi better known as Ashraf-oghlū or Ashrafzāde, 'OM I, 17.

⁸⁶⁰ S48/72-75 (11 Jumādā al-Awwal 1223/5 July 1808); S49/69 (29 Shawwāl 1224/7 December 1809). This might be *al-Risāla al-maymūna wa al-šūfiyya fi al-su'āl wa al-radd* by an unknown writer, *GHL III*, p. 147.

⁸⁶¹ S47/132 (15 Jumādā al-Awwal 1222/21 July 1807).

⁸⁶² S11/140, 141 (7 Jumādā al-Ākhir 1184), part of 85 works in the estate of al-ḥāj 'Abd al-Fattāḥ-afandī ibn Muḥammad Chalabī.

⁸⁶³ Karić, *Traditional Bosnia*, p. 25.

⁸⁶⁴ For the place and range of devotional texts in Muslim culture see: Constance E. Padwick, *Muslim Devotions: a Study of Prayer-Manuals in Common Use* (London: Oneword Publication, 1996).

⁸⁶⁵ *Al-ḥizb al-a'ẓam wa al-wird al-afkham* (the Greatest Portion and the Splending Watering Place) is a collection of *du'ās* compiled from various sources by shaykh 'Alī b. Sulṭān Muḥammad al-Qārī al-Harawī (d. 1014/1605-6), *GAL G II*, 396/51. Although the basic meaning of the word *wird* (pl. *awrād*) is "a watering place," it actually signifies a "specified time of day or night devoted to private worship (in addition to the five prescribed prayers); a section of the Koran recited on this occasion..." , Hans Wehr, *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic*

Religious Primers: After the Qur’ans, whether complete (*muṣḥaf*) or in various shorter forms (*An’ām*, *Yāsīn*, *ajzā’*), the most frequently found texts in the inventories are religious primers *ilm-i ḥāl*) and manuals on how to perform the daily prayers. With 298 copies in the inventories, by far the most popular work of this type was *Risāla-i Birkawī* or *Bergivī risālesi* (the Treatise of Birkawī) or simply as *Birkawī*, *Bergivī*, and *Birgili*. The text is often listed as *sharḥ-i Risāla-i Birkawī* which means that the main text of the *Risāla* is accompanied by an unspecified commentary. Next most numerous is the text by Muḥammad Uṣṭuwānī, a disciple of Birkawī. There were 121 copies of his *Risāla-i Uṣṭuwānī* or *Uṣṭuwānī risālesi* (the Treatise of Uṣṭuwānī)⁸⁶⁷ The most popular prayer manuals are: *Namazlık* (75 copies); *Munyat al-muṣallī* [*wa gunyat al-mubtadi’*] (Wish of the Worshipper [and the Wealth of the Novice], 71 copies); *Shir’at al-islām* (the Path of Islam, 17 copies); and the *Shurūṭ al-ṣalāt* (Conditions for Prayer, seven copies). Other religious primers include the *Āmant sharḥi* (seven copies), which got its name from the first article of Muslim creed, *Āmant billāh* (“I believe in God”), the *Jawāhir al-islam* (Jewels of Islam, six copies), the *‘Ibādāt badaniyya* (Bodily rituals, five copies), a religious primer in Turkish.⁸⁶⁸ A rare work in this genre was the *Khudā rabbūm* (God is my Lord), a religious primer in Turkish verse (one copy).⁸⁶⁹ Altogether there were 667 identifiable copies of *ilm-i ḥāls* and prayer manuals listed in the inventories.

Ethico-didactic Works: Most of the works in this category come under the generic term *maw’īza* (a sermon, a homily), of which there were 23 copies. Three of these are described as being in Turkish (*türki Maw’īza*), but their actual number may well-have been higher. Several other collections of sermons have a more specific title such as *Maw’īza-i Khālīṣāt al-ḥaqā’iq* (Sermon of Pure Essences);⁸⁷⁰ *Maw’īza-i Najāt al-muttaqīn* (Sermon of the Deliverance

(*Arabic-English*), edited by J Milton Cowan, fourth edition considerably enlarged and amended by the author (Ithaca, NY: Spoken Language Services, Inc), p. 1243.

⁸⁶⁶ By Maḥmūd b. ‘Uthmān b. ‘Alī b. Ilyās al-Brusawī al-Ṣūfī al-Lāmi’ī (d.940/1533), a work in Turkish, *ḤKh* II, 1044.

⁸⁶⁷ A popular religious primer by Uṣṭuwānī Muḥammad-afandī (d. 1072/1661).

⁸⁶⁸ S66/135-139 (fī gurrat Muḥarram 1243/25 July 1827). This was the estate of Bāqirzāde Ibrāhīm-āghā ibn al-ḥāj Muṣṭafā who owned 91 works. Three of them were kept separately in the village of Trnovo, south of Sarajevo. These were *Dalā’il al-khayrāt*, *An’ām-i sharīf*, and a copy of the Qur’an (*Kalām-i qadīm*).

⁸⁶⁹ A religious primer in verse in Turkish by Ibrāhīm Ḥaqqī Arzarūmī (d.1195/1780) and it forms part of another work by the author, *Ma’rifatnāme* (Book of Knowledge).

⁸⁷⁰ The full title is *Khālīṣāt al-ḥaqā’iq li mā fih asālīb al-daqa’iq* (Sermon of Pure Essences Concerning That Which Has Methods of Intricacies) by Maḥmūd b. Aḥmad b. Abū al-Ḥusayn al-Fāryābī (d. 607/1210), *GAL G* II, 472.

of the God-fearing), *Zubdat al-wā'izīn* (Cream of Preachers)⁸⁷¹ or bear the name of their writer or compiler, e.g. *Maw'iza-i Sināniyya*. Other works in the genre are: *Bustān al-ārifīn* (Garden of Knowers),⁸⁷² *Murshid al-muta'ahhil* (a Guide for the Married),⁸⁷³ and *Tanwīr al-qulūb* (Illuminating Hearts).

One of the most popular works in this genre was *Ta'līm al-muta'allim*⁸⁷⁴ or *Ta'līm-i muta'allim*, of which there were 46 copies. As with many other works, it is often listed with its commentary. Another popular work was *Daqā'iq al-akhbār wa daqā'iq al-āthār*⁸⁷⁵ (Intricacies of the Matters and Intricacies of Traces, fourteen copies). Other works in the field include: *Akhlāq-i 'Ālā'i* (Ethics by 'Ālā'i),⁸⁷⁶ *Ādāb-i manzil* (Etiquette of Dwelling),⁸⁷⁷ and *Ādab-i Mas'ūd* (Etiquette by Mas'ūd).⁸⁷⁸

Grammar: Nearly all the works on various disciplines related to the study of language (grammar, syntax, metrics, etc) are for Arabic, none for Turkish and only a few for Persian (more on this in the Persian books section). Most of the works listed in the inventories were *madrassa* text-books. The study of grammar, rhetoric and the art of letter-writing was considered particularly useful for reaching senior positions in the Ottoman bureaucracy.⁸⁷⁹ The most common works in the fields of Arabic grammar, syntax, morphology and prosody were: *Asrār al-arabiyya* (Secrets of Arabic, four copies), *al-'Izzī fī al-taṣrīf* or *sharḥ 'Izzī* (al-'Izzī on Conjugation or Commentary on al-'Izzī, seven copies), *Kifāyat al-naḥw* (Sufficiency in

⁸⁷¹ Writer unknown, *ḤKh* II, 954.

⁸⁷² It was composed by Naṣr b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm Abū Layth al-Samarqandī (d. 373/983), *Ahlwardt* VII, 8322.

⁸⁷³ It is a work of advice on marriage by Shaykh Muḥammad Quṭb al-dīn al-Izniqī (d. 821/1418), *GAL* G II, 225. Sometimes it is listed as *Murshid al-muta'ahhilīn* (a Guide to the Married).

⁸⁷⁴ A work on the merits of knowledge and the right ways to acquire it by Burhān al-dīn al-Zarnūjī (d.cca 600/1203), *GAL* S I, 837.

⁸⁷⁵ Also known as *Daqā'iq al-akhbār fī dhikr al-janna wa al-nār* (Intricacies of the Matter of the Remembrance of Paradise and Hell) by 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad al-Qāḍī (lived in the 11th century AH), *GAL* S II, 420.

⁸⁷⁶ S57/87, 88 (21 Ramaḍān (?) 1232/4 August 1817); S66/71 (15 Muḥarram 1243/8 August 1827). The author is Qinālīzāde 'Alā al-dīn 'Alī b. Chalabī b. Muḥammad (d. 979/1571-72) *ḤKh* I, 37.

⁸⁷⁷ S40/86-88 (29 Shawwāl 1215/15 March 1801). On the duties of the wife to her husband and of children to their parents, *GHL* III, p. 450.

⁸⁷⁸ S29/138, 139 (3 Ṣafar 1194/9 February 1780).

⁸⁷⁹ *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire: 1600-1914*, vol. 2, eds. by Halil İnalcık with Donald Quataert, p. 536.

Grammar),⁸⁸⁰ *‘Ilm-i şarf* (Science of Syntax), *Iftitāḥ* (Opening, five copies), *Eski naḥv* (Old Grammar), *Esās-ı şarf* (Basis of Syntax), *Kāfiya* (the Sufficient, 79 copies), *Izhār* (Disclosure, 20 copies),⁸⁸¹ *Lubb al-albāb fī ‘ilm al-i’rāb* (Pith of the Intelligent in Science of Desinential Inflection),⁸⁸² *Mu’rib ‘alā al-‘Awāmil* or *‘Avāmil mu’ribi* (20 copies), *Muṭawwal min al-ma‘ānī* (the Comprehensive of Rhetoric, 17 copies), *‘Arūd andalūsī* (Spanish Metrics, 13 copies), *‘Awāmil al-mi’a* (Regents of One Hundred), *‘Awāmil al-jadīd* (Regents of the New), and *Bad’ al-amālī* (*Beginning of Hopes*), often with a commentary (16 copies).

Lexicography: Some of the dictionaries in the inventories are not specified by title, being instead listed under the generic term *lughat* (dictionary). In a number of cases, the language is specified, as in *türkī lughat* (Turkish dictionary), *fārsī lughat* (Persian dictionary) or *lughat-i ‘arabī* (Arabic dictionary). When they are named, it is often by a popular rather than the proper title. The following dictionaries are mentioned: *Tuḥfa-i shāhidī* or just *Shāhidī* (73 copies), *Lughat-i Wanqūlī* (nine copies), *Lughat-i Ḥalīmī* (seven), *Lughat-i Nī‘matallāh*⁸⁸³ (five), *Akhtarī kabīr* (four), *Lughat-i Dānistan* (four), *Ibn Firishta*⁸⁸⁴ (three), *Farhang-i shu‘ūrī*, also known as *Lisān al-‘ajam* (two), and one each of *Lughat-i Qaraḥiṣārī*, *Lughat-i Ḥusām*, *Lughat-i Chalabī*, *Lughat-i Bābus*, *Tuḥfa-i Wahbī*, and the Bosnian-Turkish dictionary *Maqbūl al-‘arīf* (also known as *Potur ṣāhidī*) compiled by the Bosnian Muḥammad Hawāyī Uskūfī (d. after 1061/1651).⁸⁸⁵

Literature and Poetry: Works of literature and poetry often come under the generic labels of “stories” (*ḥikāyāt*), collections of poetry (*dīwān*), or verses (*abyāt*). The following divans are listed in the inventories: *Dīwān-i Ḥāfiẓ*⁸⁸⁶ (eight copies), *Dīwān-i Yaḥyā*⁸⁸⁷ (three), *Dīwān-i*

⁸⁸⁰ This might be the same work as *Kifāyat al-mubtadi’* (Sufficiency of the Novice) by Muḥammad b. Pīr ‘Alī al-Birkawī (d.981/1573).

⁸⁸¹ *Izhār al-asrār* (Disclosure of Secrets) is Birkawī’s work on Arabic syntax.

⁸⁸² Written by Abū Sa’īd Nāṣir al-dīn ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Umar b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Bayḍāwī (d.685/1286), *GAL G I*, 418.

⁸⁸³ A Turkish-Persian dictionary by Nī‘matallāh b. Aḥmad b. Qāḍī Mubārak al-Rūmī (d. 969/1561), *Flügel I*, 137.

⁸⁸⁴ *Lughat-i Firishta-oghlū* is an Arabic-Turkish dictionary in verse by ‘Abd al-Laṭīf b. ‘Abd al-Majīd Firishta-oghlū (d.before 879/1474), Ms. 2005 in: Fehmi Edhem Karatay, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi Türkce Yazmalar Kataloğu, II* (İstanbul: Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, 1961), p. 9.

⁸⁸⁵ S15/67-69 (7 Muḥarram 1188/20 March 1774). It was translated into German: *Bosnisch-Türkische Sprachdenkmaler*, Leipzig, 1868. Quoted in Karić, *Traditional Bosnia*, p. 10, n. 56.

⁸⁸⁶ Shams al-dīn Muḥammad Ḥāfiẓ Shīrāzī (d. 921/1389-90), *H.Kh. I*, pp. 783, 784.

*Bāqī*⁸⁸⁸ (two), *Dīwān-i Jāmī*⁸⁸⁹ (two), *Dīwān-i Nafī*⁸⁹⁰ (two), *Dīwān-i Naylī* (two), *Dīwān-i Qāsim*⁸⁹¹ (two). The following collections are listed once each: *Dīwān-i Amrī*,⁸⁹² *Dīwān-i Fahīm*,⁸⁹³ *Dīwān-i Hudāyī*⁸⁹⁴ *Dīwān-i Ibn Fārid*, *Dīwān-i Maḥfūz*, *Dīwān-i Mişrī*, *Dīwān-i Nābī*,⁸⁹⁵ *Dīwān-i Najātī*,⁸⁹⁶ *Dīwān-i Nasīmī*,⁸⁹⁷ *Dīwān-i Nash'āt*, *Dīwān-i 'Urfī*, *Dīwān-i Rāghib*,⁸⁹⁸ *Dīwān-i Rāshid*, *Dīwān-i Şā'ib*,⁸⁹⁹ *Dīwān-i Thābit*.⁹⁰⁰

History: There are about 100 works with *tārikh* (history) or *tawārikh* (histories) in their title. In fact, some of them are listed simply as *tārikh* or *tawārikh*. Occasionally, this general title is qualified by language: Turkish history (*türkī tawārikh*), Persian history (*fārsī tawārikh*). One of the few volumes to be clearly listed as printed is an unspecified work of history (*başma tawārikh*). However, the terms *tārikh* and *tawārikh* can also designate works of literature or some other genre, as in the following cases: *Tārikh-i Iskandar* (History of Alexander), *Tawārikh-i Wuḥūsh wa Ṭuyūr wa 'Ajā'ib-i makhluqāt* (Histories of Beasts, Birds and of Wonders of Creation), *Tawārikh-i Sīmurk Anqā* (Histories of Sīmurk Anqā), *Tawārikh-i Aḥmad Bījān* (Histories of Aḥmad Bījān) and the previously mentioned *Tawārikh-i Ibn Sīnā* (History of Ibn Sīnā).

⁸⁸⁷ Probably the *Dīwān shaykh al-islām Yaḥyā* by shaykh al-islām Zakariyyāzāde Yaḥyā-afandī, Ms. 2398-2401, Karatay, *Toplakpı Sarayı Müzesi, II*, pp. 145-147. There is also a lesser known work the *Dīwān-i Yaḥyā* by Yaḥyā Dukajinzāde (Ṭāshlijālī) (d. 990/1582), *HKh I*, p. 820.

⁸⁸⁸ 'Abd al-Bāqī Muḥammad Bāqī (d. 1008/1600), *Flügel I*, 648-650.

⁸⁸⁹ Nūr al-dīn 'Abd al-Raḥmān Jāmī (d. 898/1492), *Flügel I*, 570-572.

⁸⁹⁰ 'Umar Nafī (d. 1044/1634-35), ms. 2395-2397, Karatay, *Toplakpı Sarayı Müzesi, II*, p. 145.

⁸⁹¹ *Dīwān-i Qāsim* or *Dīwān-i Qāsim al-Anwarī* by Sayyid Mu'in al-dīn 'Alī also known as Qāsim al-anwār or Qāsim or Qāsimī (d. 837/1433), *Flügel I*, 582.

⁸⁹² A collection of poetry by Amrallāh Adirnavī, known as Amrī (d.983/1575/6), *HKh I*, 776, 777.

⁸⁹³ A collection of poetry composed by Muşṭafā Chalabī Unghūzāde, also known as Fahīm (d. cca 1054/1644), *Flügel I*, 206, p. 659.

⁸⁹⁴ Composed by shaykh Maḥmūd Hudā'ī Üskūdārī (d. 1038/1628).

⁸⁹⁵ Yūsuf Nābī (1124 /1712) was a major Ottoman poet, best known for his *Dīwān* in Turkish, *HKh, Dhayl I*, p. 532; *Flügel I*, 722, 723.

⁸⁹⁶ Najātī b. Nūḥ ('Isā) (d. 1509), *Flügel I*, 661; Ms. 2309-2310, Karatay, *Toplakpı Sarayı Müzesi, II*, p.110.

⁸⁹⁷ Sayyid 'Umar 'Imād al-dīn Nasīmī (d. 820/1417). He wrote two *dīwāns*, one in Turkish, the other in Persian, Ms. 2262, Karatay, *Toplakpı Sarayı Müzesi, II*, p. 92.

⁸⁹⁸ Muḥammad Rāghib-pasha, Ms. 2541-2547, *Toplakpı Sarayı Müzesi, II*, pp. 202-204.

⁸⁹⁹ Muḥammad 'Alī Şā'ib (d. 1087/1676), *Flügel I*, 597.

⁹⁰⁰ A collection of poetry by 'Alā' al-dīn 'Alī Thābit Ujichawī (d. after 1124/1712), *Flügel I*, 677-679.

Works of history from the Sarajevo inventories also include the following: *Tārīkh-i Āl-i ‘Uthmān* (A History of the House of ‘Uthmān), *Tārīkh-i Akvān*, *Tārīkh-i Faransa* (History of France), *Tārīkh-i Ghāzī ‘Uthmān-pāshā* (History of Ghāzī ‘Uthmān-pāshā), *Tārīkh-i khulafā’* (History of Caliphs), *Tārīkh-i ‘Izzī* (History of ‘Izzī), *Tārīkh-i Makka* (History of Mecca),⁹⁰¹ *Tārīkh-i Khamīs*,⁹⁰² *Tārīkh-i Miṣr-i ‘Atīq wa Jadīd* (History of Old and New Egypt),⁹⁰³ *Tārīkh-i Naw Ḥadīth*, *Tārīkh-i Rāshid* (History of Rāshid), *Tārīkh-i Ṭabarī* (History of Ṭabarī), *Tawārīkh-i Altı parmaq* (Histories of Altı parmaq),⁹⁰⁴ *Tawārīkh-i Baghdādī* (Histories of Baghdād),⁹⁰⁵ *Tawārīkh-i umam* (Histories of Nations), *Tārīkh-i Na‘īmā* (History of Na‘īmā), *Tārīkh-i Āyā Ṣufiyya* (History of. Aya Sofiya).⁹⁰⁶

The estate with probably the largest number of works of history was that of kadi Khayrīzāde Muḥammad Sa‘īd-afandī.⁹⁰⁷ He had eight works of history, including *Tawārīkh-i Banā Lūqa* (Histories of Banja Luka). Other works included the *Akḥbār al-mulūk* (the News of Kings), *Jāmi‘ al-akḥbār* (Gatherer of News),⁹⁰⁸ *Ḥābnāme* (Book of Dreams).⁹⁰⁹

⁹⁰¹ Also known as *Tārīkh-i Makka-i Muakarrama*, by Suhaylī (d. 1039/1630), Babinger, *Die Geschichtsschreiber*, p.162; Muḥammad b. Muṣṭafā Baldirzāde (d. 1059/1649) might be the author of a work entitled *Tārīkh-i Makka*, Babinger, *Die Geschichtsschreiber*, p. 192.

⁹⁰² *Tārīkh al-ḥamīs (al-khamīs) fī aḥwāl nafs al-naḥīs* by Qāḍī Ḥusayn (d. 966/1558), Babinger, *Die Geschichtsschreiber*, pp. 88, 89.

⁹⁰³ *Tārīkh-i Miṣr-i Jadīd* by Ṣāliḥ b. Jalāl (d. 973/1565), Babinger, *Die Geschichtsschreiber*, p. 100. See also: GAL G II, 298. Aḥmad b. ‘Alī b. Aḥmad Nūr al-dīn Ibn Zünbül (d. after 951/1544) wrote *Faṭḥ Miṣr (tārīkh ‘ahd Miṣr min al-Jarākisa)* which was printed under the title *Tārīkh-i Miṣr-i Jadīd* in Istanbul in 1142, Babinger, *Die Geschichtsschreiber*, pp. 56-58.

⁹⁰⁴ *Dalā’il-i nubuwwat-i Muḥammadī wa shamā’il-i fuutwwat-i Aḥmadī* (Proofs of Muhammadan Prophecy and Characteristics of Ahmadian Chivalry) is a Turkish translation of *Mī’rāj al-nubuwwa fī madārij al-futuwwa* (Ascension of Prophecy Concerning Ways of Chivalry), a work on the Prophet’s biography (*sīra*) in Persian by Mū’in al-dīn Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al Farāhī also known as Munlā Miskīn (d. 954/1547). The Turkish translation was made by Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Altı Parmaq (d. 1033/1623).

⁹⁰⁵ At least three works by three different authors are known under the title *Tārīkh-i Baghdād*, Babinger, *Die Geschichtsschreiber*, pp. 180-182. Most probably the work written by Muṣṭafā b. Riḍwān, also known as *Faṭḥnāme-i Baghdād*, Babinger, *Die Geschichtsschreiber*, p.181/1.

⁹⁰⁶ Written by Aḥmad b. Aḥmad Jīlānī, Babinger, *Die Geschichtsschreiber*, pp. 27-31.

⁹⁰⁷ S50/78-82, (15 Şafar 1226/11 March 1811). He owned 167 works.

⁹⁰⁸ I have not been able to identify the work. It might be a collection of sermons entitled *Jāmi‘ al-azḥār wa laṭā’if al-akḥbār* (Gatherer of Flowers and Anecdotes of News) by Rajab b. Aḥmad al-Brusawī (d.1087/1676), GAL S II, 655.

⁹⁰⁹ ‘Uways b. Muḥammad Waysī (d.1037/1628), Babinger, *die Geschichtsschreiber*, pp. 152-154.

Overall, there were 104 works with the word *tārīkh* or *tawārīkh* in the title, one of them printed.⁹¹⁰

The note of endowment for Basheskī's *Chronicle*, probably written by another person, refers to it as *Tawārīkh-i gharīb* i.e. strange histories.

Biographical Dictionaries: There were three copies of *al-Shaqā'iq al-nu'māniyya* of Ṭāşköprüzāde and a number of *manāqibs*: *Manāqib-i awliyā* (Exploits of Saints),⁹¹¹ *Manāqib-i Ḥavrān* (Exploits of Ḥavrān), *Manāqib-i Ḥaḍrat-i Mawlānā* (Exploits of Ḥaḍrat-i Mawlānā), and *Manāqib-i A'zam* (Exploits of A'zam).⁹¹²

Geography: The following works have been identified as geographical: *Tuḥfat al-kibār li-asfār al-biḥār* (the Gift to the Great Ones on Naval Campaigns) by Kātip Çelebī (three copies) and *Jihānūma* (View of the World, also three copies).

Mathematics: Only two works have been identified as belonging to this genre: *Ilm-i ḥisāb* (Science of Mathematics) and *Risāla fī al-ḥisāb* (Treatise on Mathematics).

Encyclopaedias: The only work of this genre in the inheritance inventories is the *Unmūdhaj al-'ulūm* (Model of Sciences).⁹¹³

Medicine: Most of the works in the field have the generic title of *ṭibb/ṭip* (Medicine), as in: *ṭiptan risāle* (a Treatise from Medicine), *risāla-i ṭibb* (a Treatise of Medicine), *fārsī ṭibb* (Persian Medicine), *ṭibb kitābi* (the Book of Medicine), *ṭibb risālesi* (a Treatise of Medicine), *Risāla min al-ṭibb* (a Treatise from Medicine), *ḥekīm kitābı* (a Doctor's Book), *majmū'a-yi ṭibb* (a Collection of Medicine), *ḥekīm kitapları* (Doctor's Books), *ḥekīm kitābi*, and (a Doctor's Book). In rare instances, medical texts bear a more specific title: *Ṭibb Kaysūnizāde* (Medicine by Kaysūnizāde), *Nidā'ī az ṭibb* (Nidā'ī on Medicine), *Mūjaz min al-ṭibb* (the Summary from Medicine), *sharḥ-i Mūjaz min ṭibb* (a Commentary on the Summary from Medicine).

Zoology and Veterinary Science: The inventories contain one identifiable work of zoology, namely *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān*⁹¹⁴ (Life of Animals). There were six further works from the field of

⁹¹⁰ S63/51 (15 Dhū'l-Qa'da 1239/12 July 1824).

⁹¹¹ The work was composed by Jamāl al-dīn Muḥammad al-Nūrī, whose biography is unknown, *GHL* XIII, p. 393.

⁹¹² *Manāqib al-imām al-a'zam Abī Ḥanīfa* is a biography of Abū Ḥanīfa Nu'mān b. Thābit by Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad b. Ṣalt al-Ḥamānī (d. 308/920), *GHL* III, p. 298.

⁹¹³ S66/135-139 (fī gurrat Muḥarram 1243/25 July 1827); S39/188-192 (5 Muḥarram 1215/29 May 1800). The full name of the work is *Unmūdhaj al-'ulūm al-arba'a wa al-'ishrūn*, *GHL* I, p. 4.

⁹¹⁴ Written by Kamāl al-dīn Muḥammad b. 'Īsā al-Damīrī al-Shāfi'ī (d.808/1405), *GAL* G II, 172/138; *GAL* S II, 171.

veterinary science, all listed under the generic term *Baytar-nāme* (Book of Veterinary Science) or, in one case, *Ṭibb baytarī* (Veterinary Medicine).

Astronomy and Astrology are not always clearly distinguished and often come under one of the following generic titles: *nujūm* (Stars), *nujūmdan risāla* (Treatise on Stars), *nujūm-u muta'alliqa nuskha* (Manuscript About Stars), *Dawr-i dā'im-i nujūm* (Perpetual Rotation of Stars). *Risala-i muqaṭṭara* is a Turkish work about astrolabes. There were also two copies of *Risāla 'an al-hay'a* (Treatise on Celestial Bodies). The most popular astrological work was the *Malḥama* (Heroic Epic) of which there were eleven copies.

Dream Interpretation Manuals were clearly popular, with 26 listed in the inventories under the generic term *ta'birnāme*. At least two are explicitly described as being in Turkish.

Occult: This genre is represented by a copy of *Raml risālesi* (Treatise on Geomancy) and three copies of *Fāl-nāme* (Book of Divination).

Others: Among the rarer works one should mention a copy of a treatise on music (*Risāla min mūsīqā*),⁹¹⁵ a work on calligraphy (*Ḥusn-ü khatt*), and several works listed simply as *türkiyyāt* (i.e. *turcica*).

4.12 Printed Works

A few books are mentioned explicitly as printed: *Başma tawārikh* (a printed history) (180)⁹¹⁶; *Başma tawārikh jild one* (printed histories, volume one) (85 *para*)⁹¹⁷; *Lughat-i Wanqūlī başma cild 2* (the *Wanqūlī* dictionary, two printed volumes) (7,740).⁹¹⁸ This dictionary must have come out of İbrāhīm Müteferriḳa's printing press, as it was the first and the best selling

⁹¹⁵ S25/99-101 (25 Jumādā al-Awwal 1200/26 March 1786). The work belonged to Basheskī's friend al-ḥāj Muḥammad-afandī ibn Walī al-dīn Kh^wāja ibn Duraq (in Bosnian known as Mehmed Razi Velihodžić).

⁹¹⁶ S22/193 (22 Jumādā al-Ākhir 1197/25 May 1783). The owner was Mullā Muṣṭafā ibn Sulaymān-afandī, the owner of six books (if we count in the loose papers or *parishāns*). This appears a rather cheap copy for a printed work.

⁹¹⁷ S63/51 (15 Dhū'l-Qa'da 1239/12 July 1824). The owner was the standard bearer (*'alamdār*) Penez-oghlū (?) mullā İbrāhīm b. 'Abdallāh, whose estate was worth 60,204 *para* in total. His modest collection of five works included a copy of *Qaṣīda-i Qā'imī* (the Qasida of Qā'imī) and *awrāq-i parishān* (loose papers).

⁹¹⁸ S9/72 (9 Shawwāl 1182/16 February 1769), the owner was "the glory of imams" (*fakhr al-a'imma*) Ḥusayn-afandī ibn Muṣṭafā ibn 'Abdallāh.

work he printed.⁹¹⁹ The high price of this dictionary reflects the generally high cost of Müteferrika's printed books, especially the early prints.⁹²⁰

4.13 Works by Bosnian Authors or with Bosnia as their Subject Matter

Given that the present study concerns Bosnian book owners, it is natural to wonder to what extent books by Bosnian scholars or writers are to be found in the inheritance inventories.⁹²¹ Bearing in mind the limitations posed by the sources, one can only establish with certainty such provenance only where the title or the author's name are well-established.

Aḥmad Sūdī Būsawī (d. 1006/1598) wrote on Persian language and literature and on Arabic grammar. He is best known for his Turkish commentaries on the Persian literary classics, *Kulistān*, *Būstān* and Ḥāfiẓ Shrāzi's *Dīwān*.⁹²² His works were clearly well received and widely circulated as the Sarajevo inheritance registers mention twelve copies:

	Book Title	Value
1.	Sūdī Kāfiya üzerine türkī	300
2.	Sūdī sharḥ-i Gülistān	4,200
3.	Sūdī sharḥ-i Ḥāfiẓ	966
4.	Sūdī	486

⁹¹⁹ Orlin Sabev, "Formation of Ottoman Print Culture (1726-1746): Some General Remarks", *New Europe College: Regional Program 2003-2004, 2004-2005*, ed. Irina Vainovski-Mihai (Bucharest, 2007), pp. 299, 307.

⁹²⁰ Sabev, "Formation of the Ottoman Print Culture (1726-1746)", p. 303.

⁹²¹ The most important works on the subject are: Safvet-beg Bašagić, *Bošnjaci i Hercegovci u islamskoj književnosti* [Bosniaks and Herzegovinians in Islamic literature], (Sarajevo, 1912); Muḥammad al-Khānjī al-Būsawī, *al-Jawhar al-asnā' fī tarājīm al-'ulamā wa shu'arā' Būsna* (Cairo, 1930); Hazim Šabanović, *Književnost Muslimana BiH na orijentalnim jezicima* (Sarajevo, 1973).

⁹²² These three commentaries were even translated into Persian in the 20th century and are well-known among scholars of Persian both in Iran and internationally. For more on this see: Namir Karahalilović and Munir Drkić, *Aḥmad Sudi Bošnjak: komentator perzijskih klasika* [Aḥmad Sūdī Bošnjak: commentator of the Persian classics] (Mostar, 2014), p. 8; Bećir Džaka, "Sudijevi komentari na perzijskom jeziku" [Sūdī's commentaries in Persian], *POF* 39 (1989), pp. 173-181.

5.	Sūdī Dīvān-ı Hāfiẓ	606
6.	Sūdī Sharḥ-i Būstān (s39/188-192)	14,430
7.	Sūdī ‘alā al-Kāfiya	1,380 [8,280 akçe]
8.	Sūdī Kulistān	540 para [3,240 akçe]
9.	Kulistān ma‘ Sūdī	7 gurus [1,680 akçe]
10.	Kulistān sharḥ-i Sūdī	1,800 para [10,800 akçe]
11.	Sūdī	1,380 para [8,280 akçe]
12.	Sūdī sharḥ-i Būstān (s66/135-139)	30 gurus 7 [para] [7,242 akçe?]

Table: Works by Aḥmad Sūdī Būsnaẓī in the inheritance inventories

In two cases, books were entered just as *Sūdī* and there is no way to determine the works actually in question. Sūdī’s commentaries on Hāfiẓ Shirazī’s *Dīwān* and on Sa’dī’s *Kulistān* are said to be his best works. Looking at the values given for the books in the table, it is worth noting that no. 5 is actually the second most expensive book in a collection of 151 volumes after a copy of the Qur’an: *Kalām-ı qadīm 1* (19,200). The case is similar for book no. 9, also the second most expensive book in a collection of 26. Its value was 1,800 *para*, just after a copy of the Qur’an (*Kalām-ı qadīm hediyesi*, worth 2,600 *para*). Finally, book no. 10 is the third most expensive in a collection of 76 works, after two copies of the Qur’an (priced at 8,500 and 7,680 *para*, respectively). These prices indicate richly decorated and bound manuscripts.

Judging by the number of works in the inheritance inventories, Sūdī is the most frequently owned Bosnian author. Presumably, this had nothing to do with his Bosnian origins, but was based rather on the quality and popularity of his writings.

Ḥasan Kāfi al-Aqḥiṣārī (d. 1025/1616) was a scholar and kadi best known for his mirror-for-princes work *Uṣūl al-ḥikam fī niẓām al-‘ālam*⁹²³ (Foundations of Wisdom in Ordering the

⁹²³ The full name of the writer is: Ḥasan b. Tūrkhān al-Aqḥiṣārī al-Būsnaẓī, *GAL G II*, 443; *GAL S II*, 659.

World), which he wrote in Arabic and then translated and expanded in Turkish.⁹²⁴ There were five copies of these works in the inventories.⁹²⁵ If one includes what appear to be misspellings of the same work (*Awsile-i hikam*),⁹²⁶ the total tally is seven.

Even better represented is his work of theology, the *Rawḍāt al-jannāt fī uṣūl al-ʿitiqādāt* (Meadows of Gardens Concerning Principles of Doctrines),⁹²⁷ which appears nine times, under the following, shorter titles: *Rawḍāt al-jannāt* (114),⁹²⁸ *Rawḍāt al-jannāt maʿ Saznāme* (?) (180),⁹²⁹ *Rawḍāt al-jannāt* (2 *guruş*),⁹³⁰ *Rawḍāt al-jannāt jild 1* (7 *guruş*, 10 *para*),⁹³¹ *Rawḍāt al-jannāt a. 1* (3.5 *guruş*, 5 *para*).⁹³² The same work also appears under the title *Rawḍāt al-jinān* twice: *Rawḍāt-ı jinān*⁹³³ and *Rawḍāt al-jannāt* (138).⁹³⁴ We know this is the same work, because in one case it is clearly ascribed to Hasan Kafi: *Rawḍāt-i jinān li al-Aqḥiṣārī* (720).⁹³⁵

Shaykh Ḥasan Qāʾimī (d. 1091/1680) was the 11th/17th century Sarajevo poet who paid with exile for his bold criticism of the ruling authorities. His collection of poetry (*dīwān*) was known to Basheskī as he reports the death of a Sarajevan who copyied the work by hand.⁹³⁶ The *dīwān* and a *qaṣīda* (quatrain) under Qāʾimī's name appear in the inventories as follows:

⁹²⁴ Šabanović, *Književnost*, p. 189; Amir Ljubović and Fehim Nametak, *Hasan Kafija Pruščak* (Sarajevo Publishing, 1999), pp. 119-148. For a study of al-Aqḥiṣārī's biography see: Jan Just Witkam, "Ḥasan Kāfī al-Aqḥiṣārī and his Niẓām al-ʿUlamāʾ ilā Kātam al-Anbiyāʾ: a facsimile edition of MS Bratislava TF 136 presented, with an annotated index", *Manuscripts of the Middle East* 4 (1989), pp. 85-114. In his study of Bosnian Muslim writings in "Oriental languages" Bašagić laments that the average Bosnian youth can name and describe all the heroes of Bosnian epic songs down to their horses' fittings, but has never heard of Ḥasan Kāfī al-Aqḥiṣārī.

⁹²⁵ S14/67, 68 (14 Dhū'l-Qa'da 1186/6 February 1773); S15/67-9 (7 Muḥarram 1188/20 March 1774); S25/99-101 (25 Jumādā al-Awwal 1200/26 March 1786) where it appears twice; S35/69-73 (10 Jumādā al-Awwal 1209/3 December 1794); S64/33, 34 (25 Jumādā al-Awwal 1240/15 January 1825).

⁹²⁶ Both titles appear in: S18/162-5 (11 Rabīʿ al-Ākhir 1191/17 May 1777).

⁹²⁷ GAL G II, 443/1. It has been ascribed to Muḥammad Birkawī, *GHL* I, p. 484.

⁹²⁸ S12/28 (20 Rabīʿ al-Ākhir 1183/23 August 1769).

⁹²⁹ S25/99-101 (25 Jumādā al-Awwal 1200/26 March 1786).

⁹³⁰ S55/258-261 (the date unclear, the year is 1230/1814-15).

⁹³¹ S50/78-82 (15 Şafar 1226/11 March 1811).

⁹³² S54/107-109 (1 Dhū'l-Qa'da 1229/15 October 1814).

⁹³³ S16/41 (5 Rabīʿ al-Awwal 1188/16 May 1774).

⁹³⁴ S40/86-88 (29 Shawwāl 1215/15 March 1801).

⁹³⁵ S11/104, 105 (17 Shawwāl 1184/3 February 1771).

⁹³⁶ MMB, fol. 131a; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 340. For more on Qāʾimī's *Dīwān*, see: Šamić, *Dîvân de Kâ'imî*.

Shaykh Qā'imī (114),⁹³⁷ *Qaṣīda-i Qā'imī* (306),⁹³⁸ *Qaṣīda-i Qā'imī* (144),⁹³⁹ *Qaṣīda-i Qā'imī* (priced at 2 *guruṣ* and 30 *para*, together with several other works and an *awraq-ı parīshān*),⁹⁴⁰ *Qaṣīda-i Qā'imī* (priced at 359 *para*, along with an *An'ām-i sharīf* and a *Namazliq*).⁹⁴¹

The inheritance inventories record several works on Bosnian history. There are two works on the history of the north central Bosnian town of Banja Luka, probably describing the battle of Banja Luka in 1737: *Benā Lūka tawārīkhī* (91 *para*)⁹⁴² and *Tawārīkh-i Banā Lūqa jild* (2 *guruṣ*, 12 *para*).⁹⁴³ A work of general history of Bosnia entitled *Tārīkh-i Bosna* (4 *guruṣ*)⁹⁴⁴ is either *Tārīkh-i diyār-i Bōsna* (History of the Lands of Bosnia) by Ṣāliḥ Sidqi Muwaqqit,⁹⁴⁵ or *Tārīkh-i Bōsna dar zamān-i Ḥakīmōglū 'Alī-pāshā* (History of Bosnia at the Time of Ḥakīmōglū 'Alī-pāshā) by 'Umar-afandī Novljanin (i.e. from the town of Novi in northern Bosnia) which has been translated into English, French and German.⁹⁴⁶

4.14 Books in Persian

It has already been pointed out that in general the language of the books listed in the inventories is not stated. When we take into account works we know were written in Persian (e.g. Jalāl al-dīn Rūmī's *Mathnawī*) and works whose language was specified (e.g. *Fārsi risāla*), we can conclude that of the three main languages (Arabic, Ottoman Turkish and Persian), Persian is the least well represented. This is not surprising, given the

⁹³⁷ S22/174 (21 Jumādā al-Ākhir 1197/24 May 1783).

⁹³⁸ S12/28 (20 Rabī' al-Ākhir 1183/23 August 1769), one of 35 works in the estate of Iskandar Khwājā ibn 'Abdallāh.

⁹³⁹ S23/42, 43 (fi gurrat Rabī' al-Awwal 1198/24 January 1784).

⁹⁴⁰ S61/71, 72 (fi gurrat Ramaḍān 1237/22 May 1822).

⁹⁴¹ S63/51 (15 Dhū'l-Qa'da 1239/12 July 1824).

⁹⁴² S48/72-75 (11 Jumādā al-Awwal 1223/5 July 1808).

⁹⁴³ S50/78-82 (15 Ṣafar 1226/11 March 1811).

⁹⁴⁴ S55/258-261 (the exact date is unclear, but the year is 1230/1814-15).

⁹⁴⁵ Šabanović, *Književnost*, p. 594.

⁹⁴⁶ Babinger, *Die Geschichtsschreiber*, pp. 276, 277. Babinger gives the following details: *History of the War in Bosnia during the years 1737-1738 and 1739*, translated by Charles Fraser (London, 1830); *Relation de la dernière guerre entre les Allemands et les Turcs*, translated by Cardone, (manuscript), Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris; and *Die Kriege in Bosnien in den Feldzügen 1737, 1738 und 1739, beschrieben von dem zu Novi in Bosnien bestellt gewesenen gelehrten Kadi Omer Efendi* by Johann Nepomuk Dubsky (Wien, 1789). The translations are also cited in Karić, *Traditional Bosnia*, pp. 10, 11. The work was published by Ibrāhīm Müteferriḳa's printing press as *Aḥvāl-i ğazevāt der diyār-i Bosna* in 1154/1771.

importance of Arabic and Turkish as the languages of religion, scholarship and administration in Ottoman Bosnia. What is perhaps surprising is that, contrary to the oft-repeated adage about Persian being the language of poetry in the Ottoman period, the inventories reveal a certain number of prose works, which are not always works of literature.⁹⁴⁷ As already mentioned, some of the works of classical Persian literature are translations, almost certainly into Turkish, as they are listed as e.g. *tercüme-i Bahāristan* or *tercüme-i Mathnawī* or *Kulistān tercümesi*. At least one copy of the *Kulistān* has a commentary in Arabic (*sharḥ Kulistān ‘arabi*). Many Persian classics come with a commentary: *sharḥ-i Ḥāfiẓ Surūrī*, *Sham‘ī sharḥ-i Behāristān*, *Kulistān üzerine Sūdi*, etc. Especially popular were Sudi’s commentaries, of which eight are listed (one for the *Būstān*, three for the *Dīwan of Ḥāfiẓ*, four for the *Kulistān*). Presumably the commentaries in Turkish and Arabic include the original text in Persian. Ignoring the distinction between works of Persian literature, which may be in translation, and works in the Persian language, then the most commonly owned works are: the *Kulistān* and the *Pand-name* with 53 copies each, followed by the *Bahāristan* (fifteen copies), *Ḥāfiẓ* (fourteen copies), *Mathnawī* (seven copies) and *Gulshan-i rāz* (six copies). Other literary works in Persian include: *Kulliyāt-i Sa’dī*,⁹⁴⁸ *Risala-i Sa’dī*,⁹⁴⁹ *Khamsa-i Niẓāmī*,⁹⁵⁰ *Kitāb-i Niẓāmī*,⁹⁵¹ Non-literary works include what appears to be a translation of Nasafī’s work of theology (*fārsi Nasafī*).⁹⁵²

Quite a few works in Persian are listed under some generic term: *Fārsī risāla* (Persian treatise),⁹⁵³ *Fārsī risāleleri* (Persian treatises),⁹⁵⁴ *Fārsī nuskha* (Persian manuscript),⁹⁵⁵ *Fārsī*

⁹⁴⁷ “That is why literacy, education and literature could only develop among our Muslims under those new conditions within the framework of a new comprehensive, Islamic culture and in the main Islamic languages: Arabic, which was the language of science, law and theology; Turkish, which was the language of administration and secular literature; and Persian, the language of poetry [translated by Asim Zubčević],“ Šabanović, *Književnost*, p. 14.

⁹⁴⁸ S50/78-82 (15 Šafar 1226/11 March 1811).

⁹⁴⁹ S55/183-85 (3 Muḥarram 1230/16 December 1814).

⁹⁵⁰ S40/86-88 (29 Shawwāl 1215/15 March 1801).

⁹⁵¹ S22/199 (29 Jumādā al-Ākhir 1197/1 June 1783).

⁹⁵² S35/69-73 (10 Jumādā al-Awwal 1209/3 December 1794).

⁹⁵³ S52/90-92 (5 Jumādā al-Awwal 1227/17 May 1812); S22/261 (20 Shawwāl 1197/27 September 1783). Altogether, there were eleven cases of *fārsī risāla* (Persian epistle) recorded in the inventories.

⁹⁵⁴ S40/86-88 (29 Shawwāl 1215/15 March 1801). It is listed twice.

⁹⁵⁵ S52/64, 65 (25 Jumādā al-Awwal 1226/17 June 1811; S35/102-104 (17 Sha‘bān 1209/9 March 1795).

majmū' (Persian collection),⁹⁵⁶ and *qawā'id-i Fārisiyya* (Principles of Persian).⁹⁵⁷ Other works in Persian without a precise title but with a generic label include *Fārsī tawārīkh* (Persian history),⁹⁵⁸ *Fārsī Dīwān* (Persian collection of poetry),⁹⁵⁹ *Fārsī binā' amthila*.⁹⁶⁰

Several other works are probably Persian, even though their language is not specified, e.g. a translation of the Qur'an into Persian: *Tāj al-tarājim* (Crown of Translations/Biographies)⁹⁶¹ and a work of history entitled *Bahjat al-tawārīkh* (Pleasure of Histories).⁹⁶²

In addition to the word *farsi* in the sense of Persian, the word '*ajam*' (Turkish: '*acem*') is used in three cases: *Hāfiẓ bi-lisan-i 'ajam* (Hāfiẓ in the language of Persians),⁹⁶³ *Ṣiḥāḥ 'ajam* (the Soundness of Persians),⁹⁶⁴ and '*ajam khaṭṭīle Kalām-ı qadīm hediyesi* (the Gift of Eternal Speech in Persian script).⁹⁶⁵ A total of 95 entries had at least one work in Persian (not including dictionaries).⁹⁶⁶ The largest number of identifiably Persian words are found in the estates of the following three Sarajevans:

- 1) Hāfiẓ al-ḥāj Aḥmad-afandī bin Ḥamza, who had at least twelve works in Persian in his collection of 204 works.⁹⁶⁷

⁹⁵⁶ S4/22, 23 (13 Sha'bān 1140/25 March 1728).

⁹⁵⁷ S16/143 (25 Dhū'l-Ḥijja 1188/26 February 1775).

⁹⁵⁸ S35/79 (9 Jumādā al-Ākhir 1209/1 January 1795).

⁹⁵⁹ S39/188-192 (5 Muḥarram 1215/29 May 1800).

⁹⁶⁰ S39/188-192 (5 Muḥarram 1215/29 May 1800).

⁹⁶¹ S60/129, 130 (5 Rajab 1236/8 April 1821).

⁹⁶² S25/99-101 (25 Jumādā al-Awwal 1200/26 March 1786).

⁹⁶³ S22/174 (21 Jumādā al-Ākhir 1197/24 May 1783).

⁹⁶⁴ S39/188-192 (5 Muḥarram 1215/29 May 1800); S16/138 (22 Dhū'l-Ḥijja 1188/23 February 1775).

⁹⁶⁵ S47/35, 36. A person by the name of 'Ajamzāde al-ḥāj Sulaymān-āghā ibn al-ḥāj Ḥusayn, who had the title of standard-bearer ('*alamdār*') had ten works, none of which were in Persian; S58/35, 36 (5 Rabī' al-Ākhir 1233/12 February 1818).

⁹⁶⁶ S11/104-5 (17 Shawwāl 1184/3 February 1771); S14/67, 68 (14 Dhū'l-Qa'da 1186/6 February 1773); S15/64 (13 Muḥarram 1188/26 March 1774); S16/143 (25 Dhū'l-Ḥijja 1188/26 February 1775); S18/14-16 (21 Rabī' al-Ākhir 1191/29 May 1777); S18/162-5 (11 Rabī' al-Ākhir 1191/17 May 1777); S25/99-101 (25 Jumādā al-Awwal 1200/26 March 1786); S55/183-5 (3 Muḥarram 1230/16 December 1814); S57/76, 77 (15 Sha'bān 1232/30 June 1817); S58/21, 22 (fī gurrat Ṣafar 1233/11 December 1817); S62/63-8 (3 Jumādā al-Ākhir 1238/15 February 1823); S66/135-9 (fī gurrat Muḥarram 1243/25 July 1827).

⁹⁶⁷ S40/86-88 (29 Shawwāl 1215/15 March 1801).

- 2) The cap-maker (*‘araḳiyecī*) al-ḥāj Ibrāhīm-afandī ibn al-ḥāj Duraq, had eleven Persian works (excluding a translation of *Pand-i ‘Aṭṭār*) among his 219 books. They included eight *Kulistāns*;⁹⁶⁸
- 3) ḥāj Muḥammad-afandī ibn Walī al-dīn Kh^wāja ibn Durāq had ten works in Persian in his collection of 208 works.⁹⁶⁹

The highest proportion of Persian works was to be found in the estates of the following: Muṣṭafā-āghā ibn Qarakh^wāja al-ḥāj Ḥusayn had four Persian works among his collection of 26 works (15,38%);⁹⁷⁰ *madrassa* professor (*mudarris*) ‘Isāzāde Muḥammad Amīn-afandī ibn Ismā‘īl-afandī had seven works in Persian among his collection of 78 works (8,97%);⁹⁷¹ Tuffāḥzāde al-ḥāj Ḥasan bin ‘Alī-afandī had seven works in Persian (including a work of medicine) among his collection of 83 works (8,43%).⁹⁷²

As we can see, it was rare for a person to own more than ten works in Persian or for Persian works to constitute more than 10 % of the works in an estate. The great majority of the book owners of Persian works were *‘ulamā’*. Even small book collections could include at least one Persian work, however. For example, the book-collection of six works in the estate of Nizāma bint al-ḥāj Sulaymān-afandī included a commentary on the *Pand-nāme* (*sharḥ-i Pand-i ‘Aṭṭār*).⁹⁷³ Similarly, Pāšo al-sayyid mullā ‘Abdallāh bin Šāliḥ-afandī had a copy of *Kulistān* as one of the two works in his estate.⁹⁷⁴ Al-ḥāj Durāqzāde mullā ‘Abdallāh bin al-ḥāj ‘Abdallāh had a *Pand-i ‘Aṭṭār* among his collection of seven works.⁹⁷⁵

‘Aṭṭār’s *Pand-nāme* and Sa’dī’s *Kulistān* are the most commonly owned books of Persian literature (53 copies each). *Pand-nāme* is often listed together with the dictionary popularly known as *Shāhidiyya* (*Pand-nāme ma’ Shāhidī* or *Shāhidī ma’ Pand-i ‘Aṭṭār*). The reason *Shāhidī* and the *Pand-nāme* were sold together may have been due to the use of ‘Aṭṭār’s work as a text-book for learning Persian. Some *Pand-nāmes* are described as translations (*tercüme-i*

⁹⁶⁸ S18/162-5 (11 Rabī‘ al-Ākhir 1191/17 May 1777).

⁹⁶⁹ S25/99-101 (25 Jumādā al-Awwal 1200/26 March 1786).

⁹⁷⁰ S62/63-68 (3 Jumādā al-Ākhir 1238/15 February 1823).

⁹⁷¹ S58/21, 22 (fī gurrat Šafar 1233/11 December 1817).

⁹⁷² S57/76, 77 (15 Sha‘bān 1232/30 June 1817).

⁹⁷³ S30/160-163 (15 Rabī‘ al-Ākhir 1203/13 January 1789).

⁹⁷⁴ S55/151, 152 (27 Rabī‘ al-Awwal 1230/9 March 1815).

⁹⁷⁵ S31/105 (fī gurrat Jumādā al-Awwal 1204/17 January 1790).

Pand-i 'Attār), underlying once again the role of Ottoman Turkish as the language of mediation for works originally written in Arabic and Persian.

In general, the Ottoman elites are said to have prized Persian works and richly illuminated Persian manuscripts even more so.⁹⁷⁶

4.15 Books in Turkish

Bearing in mind the fact that the language of the books listed in inheritance inventories is not usually specified, the prevalence of works in Turkish is nonetheless remarkable, particularly of works which were originally written in Arabic or Persian, but circulated in Turkish translation. The most commonly used Turkish translations from Arabic are of religious primers and juridical manuals such as fatwas. The former include *tercüme-i Tarikat* i.e. *Tarikat-ı Muhammediyye* (the Muhammadan Path), *tercüme-i Şir'atü'l-islām* (translation of the Path of Islam), *Kitāb-ı 'ibadat-ı bedeniye türki* (the Book of Bodily Acts of Worship in Turkish), *Namazlık türki* (Prayer manual in Turkish) or *Türki Namazlık*. Works of jurisprudence specifically mentioned as translations into Turkish include: *tercüme-i Halebî* (translation of *Halabî*), *Türkiyyāt mine'l-fikh* (Turcica in jurisprudence), *Türkçe mesāl-il-fikhiyye* (Juridical Questions in Turkish), *Türkçe fetāvā* (Fatwas in Turkish), *Risale-i türkiyye fî 'ameliyyāt* (a Turkish treatise on Deeds), *Türki ferā'iz* (Laws of inheritance in Turkish), and *Türki Qudūrî* (Qudūrî in Turkish). There are also relatively common works of homiletics (*türki mev'ize*).

⁹⁷⁶ Laie Uluç, "Ottoman Book Collectors and Illustrated Sixteenth Century Shiraz Manuscripts". Persian classics were taken as booty in wars against the Ottomans and used as diplomatic gifts by Safavid envoys to the Ottoman court. They were also sought after by Ottoman officials partly because "they could be owned or used as gifts, sometimes to the sultan himself". Uluç notes a marked presence of Persian classics in the property registers, confiscation registers, and gifts registers of the high ranking officials. Her claim that "copies of Persian classics were often found in the private collections of individuals from the elite military classes (*askeri straf*), but rarely in the libraries of the *ulema* or in the *medreses*" (unless the *madrasa* libraries received donations in the form of private collections which may have had such works, reflecting the donor's reading interests), is not applicable to Sarajevo. She mentions the terms *musavver* [muşawwar] (illustrated) and *muzehheb* [mudhahhab] (illuminated) as being used in book lists. None of these terms appears in my research on Sarajevo book owners, generally suggesting more modest copies of these works. See also the books sent by 'Uthmān Shahdī for his library as discussed in *Chapter Three: The Public and Semi-Public Libraries of Sarajevo 1118-1244/ 1707-1828*.

Other works in Turkish translation include: Qur'an commentaries (*tefsir türkî*, *tefsir-i Yâsîn-i türkî*); theology (*'aqāyid türkçe*, *'aqāyidten türkî risāle*), *ḥadīth* (*tercüme-i ḥadīṣ*), and dream interpretation (*türkî ta'birnāme*).

There is also an interesting case of the “translation of a section of the Psalms” (*tercüme-i cuz'-i Zebûr*).⁹⁷⁷ Although the language of the translation is not mentioned, it is most probably Turkish. After all, a Bosnian Muslim who was interested in Christian texts could have read the books produced by the Bosnian Franciscans in the vernacular (the first Bosnian printed book was a Catholic religious primer from 1611).⁹⁷⁸ In any case, obtaining a copy of parts of the Bible in Turkish translation suggests more than a passing interest in the religion of one's neighbours.

4.16 The Value of Books

The value of books is stated usually in *akçes*, sometimes in *paras* and *guruşes*. The period covered by the Sarajevo inheritance inventories largely coincides with the monetary crisis and the debasement of the Ottoman currency from the 1760s onwards. This is evident from the fact that the price of books is often given in the debased or damaged (*çuruk*) *akçes*. After introducing a new monetary system in the 1690s based on the *guruş*, the value of the Ottoman currency was: 1 *guruş* = 40 *paras* = 120 *akçes*.⁹⁷⁹ However, after the 1760s, the *guruş* depreciated by half of its previous value, so that the exchange rate for our period was 1 *guruş* = 80 *para* = 240 *akçe* (these were the so-called the *çuruk* or damaged *akçe*).

When it comes to the price of books in the inheritance inventories, it ranged greatly from the modestly priced religious primers, collections of supplications (*du'ā'*), and *madrassa* textbooks at one end to the expensive copies of the Qur'an and some works of jurisprudence at the other. The value of a book depended on its condition (we have seen some books are described as *naqış* or *nuqşān* i.e. deficient or incomplete), binding (some books are described as *parīshān*, i.e. unbound), decoration (which could consist of illustrations and ornate embellishments), the date of the copy, the rarity of the work, the quality of calligraphy or the fact that the manuscript was copied by a famous

⁹⁷⁷ S11/104, 105 (17 Shawwāl 1184/3 February 1771). This work was part of the estate of the former Sarajevo mufti Foynichawī al-ḥāj Muḥammad-afandī Yūsuf.

⁹⁷⁸ The work's title is *Nauk karstianski za narod slovinski* (Christian teaching for the Slav people) by Matija Divković (d.1631), Lovrenović, *Bosnia: a Cultural History*, p. 135.

⁹⁷⁹ Şevket Pamuk, “Money in the Ottoman Empire, 1326-1914”, p. 966.

calligrapher.⁹⁸⁰ The presence or absence of these factors explains why copies of one and the same work could carry different price-tags. For example, two copies of one work, from the same estate, could vary in value by a factor of ten: a copy of *Ḥadiqat al-su'adā'* (Garden of the Blessed) was priced at 1,920 *akçe*, while another copy of the same work, listed right next to it, was worth just 174 *akçe*.⁹⁸¹ The same development is observable in other parts of the empire. An Istanbul book-seller's estate included several copies of Ḥāfiẓ Shirāzī's collection of poetry (*Dīwān*) at prices varying from 150, 300, 320, 350, 550 and 1,000 to a full 2,000 *akçe*.⁹⁸² As Erünsal notes, books had quite a wide range in value. Works of literature and history were considerably cheaper than those of religious scholarship.⁹⁸³ He explains this by the fact that the former were meant for a wider section of the population.

Books could be among the most expensive portable items, which otherwise usually included jewellery, weapons, clocks and horse tack. In one case, a copy of the Qur'an worth 1,800 *akçe* was the single most expensive item in the estate of Āmina bint Muṣṭafā, constituting more than one third of the net value of the entire estate, which was valued at 5,162 *akçe*.⁹⁸⁴

4.17 Average Values for the Qur'an, *Risāla-i Birkawī*, *Kulistān* and *Risāla-i Uṣṭuwānī*

As we have seen, Qur'ans were often the most expensive books in the inventories. With 1,133 copies of the Qur'an, excluding *An'āms* and part Qur'ans (*juz'*, pl. *ajzā'*), they are also the most commonly owned books. The most expensive copy of the Qur'an was valued at 400 *guruş* and belonged to al-ḥāj Muṣṭafā-afandī, son of Ibrāhīm. To put the price of this copy of the Qur'an in perspective, it should be pointed out that the net value of his entire estate was 809 *guruş* and 30 *para*. In his collection of 55 works, the next text in value was a commentary on a work of Arabic grammar (*Sharḥ Mashāriq li Ibn Malik*) worth 37 *guruş*. His Qur'an is in fact the second most expensive book in the inventories, after a work of

⁹⁸⁰ Erünsal, *Osmanlılarda sahaflık*, pp. 171, 172.

⁹⁸¹ S18/14-16 (21 Rabī' al-Ākhir 1191/29 May 1777). This work, written in Turkish by the Ottoman poet Meḥmed b. Suleymān Fuẓūlī (d.963/1556), is about prophets and in particular about the martyrdom of the Prophet's grandson Ḥusayn, *HKh* I, 926; *Flügel*, II, 213.

⁹⁸² Erünsal, *Osmanlılarda sahaflık*, p.172.

⁹⁸³ Erünsal, *Osmanlılarda sahaflık*, p. 175.

⁹⁸⁴ S29/74 (fī gurrat Rabī' al-Awwal 1194/7 March 1780).

jurisprudence entitled *Minaḥ al-ghaffār*, valued at 433 *guruş*⁹⁸⁵ and ahead of *Fatāwā-yı ‘Abd al-Raḥmān*, worth 310 *guruş*.⁹⁸⁶ The average value of a copy of the Qur’an was a relatively high 14.26 *guruş* or 3,422 *akçe*.

Out of the total number of 213 copies of Birkawī’s *Risāla* (listed as *Risāla-i Birkawī*, *Birkawī risālesi* or simply *Birkawī* or *Birkilī* or even *Birjiwī*), 70 copies were listed in tandem with one or more other works, making it impossible to calculate their individual value. For the remaining cases, where this work was given a price of its own, we find that the average value of the work is 3 *guruş* or 690 *akçe*. There are a further 91 copies of *sharḥ-i Birkawī* in the inventories, which means two texts in one volume: the original *Risāla-i Birkawī* and a commentary (*sharḥ*). If we disregard the nineteen cases in which this work is priced together with another text or texts, the average price for *sharḥ-i Birkawī* is 8.5 *guruş* or 2,040 *akçe*.

Sa’dī’s *Kulistān* is definitely one of the more popular works of Persian literature in the Sarajevo inventories. There were 42 copies, eight of which were listed and priced together with another book, making it impossible to determine the value of these copies of the *Kulistān*. The most expensive individual copy was priced at 3,240 *akçe* or 13.5 *guruş*, while the cheapest cost only 50 *akçe*. The average *Kulistān* was 2.1 *guruş* or 520 *akçe*. *Sharḥ-i Kulistān*, i.e. the *Kulistān* with a commentary, appears 11 times, twice together with another work. The average price for the remaining nine cases was 2.3 *guruş* or 575 *akçe*.

Among religious primers, *Risāla-i Uşṭuwānī*⁹⁸⁷ ranks next to *Risāla-i Birkawī* in popularity. Out of 126 copies, 43 were listed together with other texts. Among those listed separately, the most expensive copy was priced at 14.5 *guruş* or 3,480 *akçe*. The cheapest copy was worth 150 *akçe* or 0.62 *guruş*. The average price for the work was 3 *guruş* or 720 *akçe*.

The following table shows the prices of the most expensive works as listed in the inheritance inventories, starting from the most expensive:

⁹⁸⁵ *Minaḥ al-ghaffār fī sharḥ Tanwīr al-abşār* (Bestowal of the Much-Forgoing Concerning the Explanation of Illuminating the Views), S55/258-261 (fī gurrat Rabī’ al-Awwal 1230/11 February 1815).

⁹⁸⁶ S66/135-139 (fī gurrat Muḥarram 1243/25 July 1827).

⁹⁸⁷ A popular religious primer by Uşṭuwānī Meḥmed-afandī (d. 1072/1661), one of the leaders of the puritan *ḳadizādeli* movement.

	Title	Value	Subject	Owner
1.	Minaḥ al-ghaffār [fī sharḥ Tanwīr al-abṣār]	433 <i>guruş</i>	Jurisprudence	quḍāt-i kirmādan Khayrīzāde İbrāhīm Adham-afandī ibn Muḥammad Sa'īd-afandī (S55/258-261)
2.	Kalām-ı qadīm hediyesi	400 <i>guruş</i>	Qur'an	al-ḥāj Muṣṭafā-afandī ibn İbrāhīm (S52/71, 72)
3.	Fatāwā-yi 'Abd al-Raḥīm-afandī	310 <i>guruş</i>	Jurisprudence	Bāqrīzāde İbrāhīm-āghā ibn al-ḥāj Muṣṭafā (S66/135-139)
4.	Minaḥ al-ghaffār fī sharḥ Tanwīr al-abṣār	302 <i>guruş</i>	Jurisprudence	ashrāf-i quḍāt-i kirāmdan faḍīlatlū Khayrīzāde Muḥammad Sa'īd-afandī (S50/78-82)
5.	Hidāya min al-fiqh	300 <i>guruş</i>	Jurisprudence	quḍāt-i kirāmdan Khayrīzāde İbrāhīm Adham-afandī ibn Muḥammad Sa'īd-afandī (S55/258-261)
6.	Ma'rifatnāme-i Ḥaqqī	250 <i>guruş</i>	Encyclopaedia	quḍāt-i kirāmdan Khayrīzāde İbrāhīm Adham-afandī ibn Muḥammad Sa'īd-afandī (S55/258-261)
7.	Kalām-ı qadīm hediyesi	160 <i>guruş</i>	Qur'an	Aḥmad bin 'Uthmān (S66/183)
8.	Qur'an	150 <i>guruş</i>	Qur'an	Diyāb mullā 'Alī bin 'Abd al-Ghānī (S54/37, 38)
9.	Fatāwā-yi 'Abd al-Raḥīm	150 <i>guruş</i>	Jurisprudence	quḍāt-i kirāmdan Khayrīzāde İbrāhīm Adham-afandī ibn Muḥammad Sa'īd-afandī (S55/258-261)
10.	Ma'rifatnāme-i Ḥaqqī	150 <i>guruş</i>	Encyclopaedia	quḍāt-i kirāmdan Khayrīzāde İbrahim Adham-afandī ibn Muḥammad Sa'īd-afandī (S50/78-82)

Table: The most expensive books in the Sarajevo inheritance inventories 1118-1244/1707-1828

4.18 Book ownership in Sarajevo in Comparison with Damascus, Salonica, Sofia and Trabzon

Research into book ownership on the basis of Ottoman inheritance inventories has steadily increased in recent years.⁹⁸⁸ This makes it possible to draw certain comparisons between various towns and cities. However, the lack of a common comparative framework poses a

⁹⁸⁸ As noted in the introduction, an extensive bibliography of works on book ownership studies, book studies and studies into Ottoman cultural history on the basis of inheritance records is provided in: Orlin Sabev, "Osmanlı toplumsal tarihi için değerli kaynak teşkil eden tereke ve muhalefat kayıtları" in *Osmanlı Coğrafyası Kültürel Arşiv Mirasının Yönetimi ve Tapu Arşivlerinin Rolü Uluslararası Kongresi/International Congress of The Ottoman Geopolitics Management of Cultural Archive Heritage and Role of Land Registry Archives*, 21-23 Kasım/November 2012 İstanbul, cild 1 (Ankara, 2013), pp. 259-272.

serious obstacle to arriving at meaningful conclusions. If one adds to that different time periods covered in those studies, one can see why drawing comparisons is fraught with danger. Some studies are based on a sampling of inheritance records over a longer time span, while others cover all the extant inventories for a given city. While some studies place greater emphasis on the socio-economic background of book owners, with little attention paid to books, others place greater focus on the subject matter of the books, etc. Nevertheless, it is important to situate book ownership findings for Sarajevo within a wider context. For this purpose I have selected four studies and their book ownership findings as follows: Damascus, Salonica, Sofia and Trazbon.

Damascus 1686-1717⁹⁸⁹: Establet and Pascual examined 450 inventories from two court registers for the civilian population (*re āya*) of Ottoman Damascus for the period 1686-1717. They counted 1,100 book titles, out of which 90 were placed under generic terms like *kitāb* (book) or *majmū‘a* (collection). For 190 of the books, there was no way to determine the price or value. The largest book collection belonged to sayyid Faḍlallāh-afandī al-Uṣṭuwānī with 266 books comprising 285 works. Next was Sāliḥ al-Shaykh Muḥammad al-Hilālī, a Shāfi‘ī kadi who owned 215 books.

Out of 174 women only two had left books in their estates - 16 volumes worth three *piaster* and thirteen volumes worth six *piaster*.⁹⁹⁰ One of them was a widow of a shaykh, the other the daughter of a shaykh. In other words, both women came from the families of scholars (‘*ulamā*’). Out of 275 inventories for men, 50 had at least one book, i.e. 18.2% of all men.⁹⁹¹ These included two Christians and a Jew, while the rest were Muslims. Thirty-three of them or 80.5% of the total had up to 20 titles (seven had just one), while four had 21-40 titles (9.8%), one person had 41-100 titles, and three persons owned over 100 books (7.3%) - 266, 215 and 111 books, respectively.⁹⁹² Here it should be noted that the authors of the study seem to use the terms title (*titre*) and book (*livre*) interchangeably. Clearly, the largest collections belonged to members of the ‘*ulamā*’. Among the inheritance inventories examined, occupation is given for 37 persons, twelve of them ‘*ulamā*’ and 26 merchants or craftsmen. The latter had an average of seven books each comprising a total of 0.7% of the

⁹⁸⁹ Colette Establet et Jean-Paul Pascual, “Les livres des gens à Damas vers 1700”, *Revue des mondes musulmans et de la Méditerranée* 87-88 (1999), pp. 143-175.

⁹⁹⁰ *Piaster* is another name for Ottoman monetary unit of *guruş*.

⁹⁹¹ Establet and Pascual, “Les livres des gens à Damas vers 1700”, p. 147.

⁹⁹² Establet and Pascual, “Les livres des gens à Damas vers 1700”, p. 148.

total average value of their property. On the other hand members of the '*ulamā*' owned 67 titles on average and they could account for a significant proportion of the total value of their property. Indeed, for 9% of them, books constituted 20% or more of their property. The most exceptional case was of Khalīl b. shaykh Muḥammad al-Hilālī whose books comprised 56% of the total value of his estate.⁹⁹³ There is a prevalence of writers from the Mamlūk period⁹⁹⁴ and nearly all the books were in Arabic, with only nine books in Turkish and four in Persian.

Salonica (1828-1911):⁹⁹⁵ Using random selection, the study into Salonican book owners suggests that, generally speaking, book owners were relatively rare. Only 54 out of 835 inheritance entries or 6.46 % included books, with a total of around 100 titles. The author concludes that these are "extremely low numbers" when compared with the findings for private libraries in Western Europe.

Eight of the book owners were women (14.8%). Four of these eight women had no husband, meaning they were either widows or had never married. The largest collection owned by a woman consisted of 50 books. One woman had nine books and the rest had one or two. All eight female book owners were well-to-do.

When it comes to the men, it is remarkable that nearly all the book owners have some title (*afandī*, *āghā*, *bey*, *pāshā*, etc), whereas otherwise people with a title are generally a minority in the Salonica inventories (the author does not say how much of a minority). Out of the 46 book owners, only seven bear no title. The author has also looked at those whose father's name was given as '*Abdallāh*' (i.e. slave of God), taking this to indicate converts from Christianity. They accounted for 20-35% of the general inheritance listings, but only 13% of book owners, as the author identifies only six book owners with a father called '*Abdallāh*'. The book owners with titles included 19 *afandīs* (more than half), while there were only 30 *afandīs* without books. No profession is known for nearly half the entries.⁹⁹⁶ The Salonica study includes a table about the size and value of the book collections belonging to the *afandīs*, with the largest collection consisting of 42 books. Another table gives the number

⁹⁹³ Estabiet and Pascual, "Les livres des gens à Damas vers 1700", p. 152.

⁹⁹⁴ The Mamlūk dynasty ruled Egypt and Syria 1250-1517.

⁹⁹⁵ Meropi Anstasiadou, "Des défunts hors du commun: les possesseurs de livres dans les inventaires après décès musulmans de Salonique", *Turcica* 32 (2000), pp. 197-152.

⁹⁹⁶ Anstasiadou, "Des défunts hors du commun: les possesseurs de livres", p. 213.

and value of books belonging to those with the title of *āghā*⁹⁹⁷ and showing that only 10% of the *āghās* in the inheritance lists possessed a book of any sort. In the case of the *āghās*, there is a clear correlation between wealth and owning expensive books. The *beys* rarely appeared in the inheritance lists.⁹⁹⁸ Three of them had books, including one Kudret-bey who had 129 volumes, the largest book collection found in the study.⁹⁹⁹ The four book-owning pashas had only 15 volumes between themselves, including one with an eight-volume collection. Profession is stated for 28 book owners (out of 54). There is an evident presence of military men in the Salonica inventories, which the author explains on the grounds that nine of the twelve of them died without an heir and that in such cases property had to be registered, sold and the proceeds paid into the state treasury. Of the 12 officers with books, nine had only one, but the largest collection consisted of 40 volumes. The study identifies nine civil servants among the book owners (i.e. secretaries, treasurers, etc). Unlike the military men, they always had a few volumes. The largest collection consisted of 35 books. Finally, the study gives data on book ownership among the “Unclassifiables”, i.e. those whose profession is not stated. Quite a few of them had what the author describes as medium size collections; the largest consisted of 131 volumes and belonged to a merchant, one Emin-*āghā*. Of about 100 artisans, only five had books. The author notes the absence of books among professions which would be expected to have them (engineers, accountants, and even “not a negligible number of men of religion”).¹⁰⁰⁰ The study has a section about the geographic distribution of book owners showing that even though book owners were spread all over Salonica, the larger collections were clearly concentrated among what she calls the privileged neighbourhoods. At the same time, books were least likely to be found in the quarters inhabited by artisans and merchants (with the notable exception of the aforementioned Emin-*āghā*, who may have used his books for trade). Lastly, the study compares book ownership with levels of wealth, but concludes that there is no clear link between the size of a book collection and the wealth of its owner.¹⁰⁰¹ The study also shows how greatly the value of books could vary: Mustafā Nuri-bey’s Qur’an was four times more valuable than the entire collection of 35 volumes that belonged to Husayn Husni-*afandī*, which was worth 413 *piasters*.

⁹⁹⁷ Anstasiadou, “Des défunts hours du comun: les possesseurs de livres”, pp. 215-218.

⁹⁹⁸ Anstasiadou, “Des défunts hours du comun: les possesseurs de livres”, pp. 219-221.

⁹⁹⁹ Anstasiadou, “Des défunts hours du comun: les possesseurs de livres”, p. 219.

¹⁰⁰⁰ Anstasiadou, “Des défunts hours du comun: les possesseurs de livres”, p. 232.

¹⁰⁰¹ Anstasiadou, “Des défunts hours du comun: les possesseurs de livres”, p. 240.

Sofia (1671-1833):¹⁰⁰² Orlin Sabev's study covers the period from 1671 to 1833, comprising 58 court protocols (*sijills*) with 1,212 inventories, 1,111 of which were for Muslims and 101 for non-Muslims. Only three of the non-Muslims had books at all.¹⁰⁰³ Out of the 1,111 Muslim inventories, 752 were for men (nearly 70 %) and 358 for women (nearly 30%). Out of these, 180 or 16.2% included books. There were 139 Muslim male book owners (18.5% of all the entries for men), while 40 women owned books (11.2% of 358 entries for women). Out of the 180 Muslim book owners, 130 men and 34 women possessed only one or two books. The study analyses book ownership in terms of the size of book collections vs. genre variety, revealing that those who had only one or two books usually had a copy of the Qur'an or *An'ām*. The Qur'an is the most expensive book and we learn its average prices for different epochs compared with the average price for a cow. The poem *Muḥammadiyya* by Yazījī-oghlū was next in popularity.¹⁰⁰⁴ Among 43 members of the military and administrative class (*'askerī*), 32 had just one or two books, three had between three and six books, and eight had more than six books. The *'ulamā'* possessed the "most considerable book collections," so that sixteen out of 25 *'ulamā'* had more than six books, six had between one and two books, and three had between three and six books. Artisans were more humble book owners: 15 out of 20 had between one and two books each and the other five owned between three and six books each. The occupation of 49 book owners is unspecified. Eight of the male book owners bore the title *sayyid* (i.e. master, usually indicating a descendant of the Prophet), 23 the title of *al-ḥāj* (one who performed pilgrimage to Mecca). Three book owners died during pilgrimage to Mecca. Pilgrims had the most expensive copies of the Qur'an, reflecting the fact that only well-to-do could afford the pilgrimage. There were 30 large book collections, but full information is available only for the books of 19 collections. Among those 19 collections, nine belonged to members of the scholarly (*'ulamā'*) class, six to those performing military or administrative duties (bearing the title *āghā*), one was a *chalabī*, while three had no occupation indicated, but given that their books were mainly from *madrassa* curriculum, they were probably *'ulamā'*. The military men's tastes were more diverse than those of the *'ulamā'*, with less jurisprudence and more history and poetry and even some medical treatises, surprisingly. Table no. 5 lists the nineteen collections by

¹⁰⁰² Orlin Sabev, "Private book collections in Ottoman Sofia, 1671-1833 (Preliminary Notes)", *Études Balkaniques* 1 (2003), pp. 34-82.

¹⁰⁰³ Sabev, "Private book collections", p. 39.

¹⁰⁰⁴ Sabev, "Private book collections", p. 42.

subject. There are few books of philosophy, a little on science, but less poetry in the collections of the ‘ulamā’, along with two works of geography and some works of medicine. The cost of books was relatively high.¹⁰⁰⁵ Books in Arabic vastly outnumbered those in the vernacular. As we have noted, the members of the ‘ulamā’ had the largest collections.¹⁰⁰⁶ On 2 Dhū’l-Hijja 1190/12 January 1777, the mufti of Sofia, Abū Bakr-afandī, turned his collection of 174 volumes, comprising some 159 works, into an endowment for a semi-public library of which he was the trustee and librarian. His collection was the biggest and most varied in the study.

The study has a table comparing book ownership rates for Bursa, Istanbul, Russe, Sofia and Salonica. The rate of book ownership is higher for Sofia than for Salonica, but lower than for Istanbul.

Trabzon (1795-1846):¹⁰⁰⁷ For the period covered in this study there is a seven year gap (1812-1818) for which records are deficient. The author gives a breakdown of inheritance entries by year, quarter, level of wealth, and house ownership. Of the 369 inheritance entries, 81 include book owners (22%). Of these 81 book owners, 35 had only one book and eight had two, so that a total of 43 persons or more than half of all book owners (53.1%) had at most two books. A further ten people had three to five books. No female book owner possessed more than six books. Only three women had books other than the Qur’an or *An’ām-i sharīf*. There were 20 persons with more than ten books, fifteen people with more than 20, and twelve people with more than 30 books.

Conclusion

The Sarajevo inheritance inventories show that book ownership was not confined to a particular social stratum. Book owners included men and women, townsfolk and villagers, ‘ulamā’ and artisans, rich and poor. The price of books could vary considerably from religious primers and collections of *du‘ā* at the cheaper end of the spectrum to richly decorated Qur’ans and works of jurisprudence which could cost a fortune and were comparable in value to jewellery, weapons, clocks and decorations for horses, at the other. The affordability of at least some books explains their relatively wide diffusion in society. However, the fact that access to books was limited to those with literacy in Arabic, Turkish

¹⁰⁰⁵ Sabev, “Private book collections”, p. 46.

¹⁰⁰⁶ Sabev, “Private book collections”, pp. 46, 47.

¹⁰⁰⁷ Abdullah Saydam, “Trabzon’da halkın kitap olma düzeyi (1795-1846)”, *Millî Eğitim* 170 (2006), pp. 187-201.

and Persian meant that in practice books were useful to only a small minority. As a result, the great majority of book owners were male town-dwellers who had received instruction in Arabic, Turkish or Persian, whether by attending *madrassa* or through less formal channels of education.

In terms of division by subject, the most common book was the Qur'an in one form or another. This was followed by religious primers (especially *Risāle-i Birkawī* or *Waṣīyyetnāme*) books on Arabic grammar, dictionaries, and works of jurisprudence. In other words, these were books with either religious value or practical application. Nevertheless, inventories register a considerable number of works on other subjects, especially literature and history.

Unfortunately, the types of works owned by non-Muslims remain obscure, as they are usually registered as “books of the Christians” or “a Jewish book.” The only exception is in the case of a Jewish book owner reported to have owned medical books.

The inventories show that works by Bosnian authors were relatively rare, with Sūdī's commentaries on Persian classical works being the most common. Remarkably, a Bosnian translation of the *Risāla-i Birkawī* from 1225/1810 belonged to a woman.

In general, women owned just one book (the Qur'an) or at best a few books. However, there were four cases of women with medium-size collections, ranging from 22 to 64 works.

Inheritance inventories reveal what was probably only a fraction of the books in private hands, many of which have not survived the ravages of time and unfavourable historical circumstances. They do, however, provide unique evidence of the circulation of books and their value. Data from the Sarajevo inheritance inventories also demonstrate that books had a wide diffusion in society and the idea that Bosnia under Ottoman rule was a cultural wasteland – a view one still encounters at the popular level – is completely without foundation. Some of the biggest book collections belonged not to *'ulamā'*, but to craftsmen and merchants. The Ottoman Turkish language played an important role in the transmission of works originally written in Arabic and Persian, but Persian was not solely the language of poetry, but was occasionally used for composing theological and historiographical works. Evidence from the inventories also shows interest on the part of ordinary people in the religions and cultures of “the other” (the Psalms in Turkish translation and two cases of books in “the language of Greece”). The notion that no cultural

exchange took place at the level of “high culture” is therefore at the very least not fully accurate.

Chapter Five: Kadi Šālih ‘Izzat Hromozāde and his Books: a Case Study of Book ownership in Late 12th/18th and Early 13th/19th Century Sarajevo

5.1 Introduction

The present chapter charts the life and career of Šālih ‘Izzat Hromozāde, a court judge (*kadi*) from Sarajevo who lived in the late 12th/18th and early 13th/19th centuries and his book collection. The aim is to reconstruct the biography of a book owner and bibliophile and to examine his collection in the light of the book collections registered in the inheritance inventories between 1118/1707 and 1244/1828. A recent study by the Croatian scholar Tatjana Paić-Vukić about another *kadi* from Sarajevo, Muṣṭafā Muḥibbī (d. 1270/1854), has shown how much one can learn about a person on the basis of his or her book collection.¹⁰⁰⁸ In the literature, *kadi* Šālih ‘Izzat Hromozāde’s book collection is mentioned as one of the most important and largest private Bosnian Muslim book collections from the Ottoman period. This claim is made without any attempt to demonstrate its validity.¹⁰⁰⁹ This chapter endeavours to clarify that claim.

¹⁰⁰⁸ Tatjana Paić-Vukić, *The World of Mustafa Muhibbi*.

¹⁰⁰⁹ “By their size and value the collections of *kadi* Hromić [Hromozāde], Muidović, Kasumagić, Muzaferija and Džino particularly stand out”, [translation by Asim Zubčević], Hazim Šabanović, “Gazi Husrevbegova biblioteka u Sarajevu” in *Gazi Husrev-begova biblioteka: pet stoljeća u misiji bošnjačke kulture* [Gāzī Hüsrev-bey Library: Five Centuries in the Mission of Bosniac Culture], ed. Enes Kujundžić (Sarajevo: Gazi Husrev-begova biblioteka, El-Kalem, 1421./2000.), p. 98. The *kadi* Šālih ‘Izzat Hromozāde collection is mentioned passingly in the very first volume of the Gāzī Hüsrev-bey manuscript catalogues: *GHL I*, xxiii. The few texts about the collection include: Hatidža Čar-Drnda, “Neki legati Osman-Šehdijine biblioteke”, *Anali XV-XVI* (1990), pp. 244-247. The author gives a brief description of three book charters with book titles in Arabic script: the *kadi* Šālih ‘Izzat charter from 1828; the ḥāfiẓ ‘Uthmān-afandī charter for the endowment of 103 books for the ‘Uthmān Shahdī library on 27 Rajab 1247/ 1 January 1832 (S69/82) and the ḥāj Ibrāhīm-āghā endowment of 171 books for ‘Ayni-bey’s *maktab* in Sarajevo on 19 Rabī‘ al-Ākhir 1252/3 August 1836 (S75/103, 104). See also: Hivzija Hasandedić, “Hromo, Hromozade, Hromići iz Stoca” [the Hromo, Hromozade, Hromići from Stolac], *Hercegovina: časopis za historijsko i kulturno nasljeđe* 11-12 (2000), pp. 95-98; Fehim Nametak, “Važniji legati u rukopisnom fondu Gazi Husrev-begove biblioteke u Sarajevu” [Some major bequests among The Gāzī Hüsrev-bey Library holdings in Sarajevo] in *Gazi Husrev-begova biblioteka: pet stoljeća u misiji bošnjačke kulture*, pp. 170-171. For a more extensive recent treatment of the biography of *kadi* Šālih ‘Izzat Hromozāde, see: Asim Zubčević, “Doprinos porodice Hromić bosanskoj kulturi knjige u 19. stoljeću/The contribution of the Hromić family to the culture of the book in 19th century Bosnia.”

Before taking a closer look at kadi Şālih ‘Izzat Ḥromozāde’s own life and books, one should first note that, in contrast to the inheritance records which list the books that once formed part of a dead person’s estate and so were eventually sold off or otherwise divided up following the death of their owner, the Şālih ‘Izzat Ḥromozāde collection has been largely preserved together. This is because its owner made it into an endowment, as evidenced by the endowment charter. Today both the book collection and the charter are kept at the Gāzī Hüsrev-bey library in Sarajevo.¹⁰¹⁰

Charters (Arabic: *waqfiyya*; Turkish: *vaqfiye*, *vakıfnāme*; Bosnian: *vakufnama*) issued for the endowment of books are next in importance to inheritance records as sources for studying book ownership. They are much fewer in number than the inheritance records and they cannot compare with them in terms of the numbers of books or book owners they reveal. But, they complement inheritance records with data about books that did not end up as part of an estate.¹⁰¹¹

Charters reflect a culture in which donating books for public use was considered an act of piety. It was also an act which bestowed a measure of social prestige on the donor. At the same time donating books was probably associated with aspirations of social advance because persons of high social standing would sometimes place books in their endowments. Other motives for endowing books may have been more prosaic, such as keeping a patiently assembled or an expensive book collection intact and safeguarding it against its being divided up or auctioned off by the heirs. These motives did not necessarily exclude one another.

There were several ways in which a book or books could become endowed in Ottoman Bosnia and in the Ottoman Empire in general. Most commonly, a person would simply donate a book to a mosque, *maktab* (elementary school), *madrassa* (school of higher

¹⁰¹⁰ For the kadi Şālih ‘Izzat Ḥromozade charter, see: S66/207, 208. A transcript of the charter is also found in *Tāriḫ-i Anwarī*, XX, pp. 266-269. *Tāriḫ-i Anwarī* is a collection of 28 volumes of documents copied by Muḥammad Anwarī Kadić (d.1931) from the Sarajevo court registers (*sijills*), from various manuscripts and other sources. For its description, see: Ms.7301-7328, *GHL* V, pp. 389, 390. The *Tāriḫ-i Anwarī* covers the period 766/1364-1346/1928. It is written mainly in Ottoman Turkish, with an occasional text in Arabic and Persian. The section from the Austro-Hungarian period is written in the Bosnian language and Roman script. For more on *Tāriḫ-i Anwarī*, see Alma Veladžić-Omanović, *Sarajevo u hronici Muhameda Enverija Kadića u periodu 1839-1878* [Sarajevo in Muhamed Enveri Kadić’s Chronicle 1839-1878] (unpublished M.A. thesis) (Sarajevo, 2009).

¹⁰¹¹ Other sources include wills (*waṣiyyatnāme*), book lists, ownership statements and ownership seals.

learning), *takka* (dervish lodge) or library. In such cases evidence of the bequest is recorded, usually in the form of a short statement, often written in donor's hand, inside the cover pages of the donated book. The manuscripts and books kept in the Gāzī Hüsrev-bey Library in Sarajevo furnish many examples of one-book bequests. Basheski's *Chronicle*, introduced in a previous chapter, is one example. Its autograph has two notes of bequest. The first is an undated note that reads: "This history book (*tārīkh*) was made an endowment (*waqf*) for the commoners and the elite by the poor scribe (*kātib*) Shawqī mullā Muṣṭafā Basheski, may God have mercy on him. Recite *al-Fātiḥa*¹⁰¹² for his soul in the name of God."¹⁰¹³ The second note was written in 1917 by one Muḥammad Alajbegović and it reads: "I again endow this personal notebook (*majmū'a*), which comprises the events and the registry of deceased persons recorded by the Sarajevan Basheski Shawqī mullā Muṣṭafā, which remained in my possession for over 50 years, to the Gāzī Hüsrev-bey library, to be used on condition that it not be removed from the library in any way or be appropriated or exchanged, but is only to be made use of by readers inside the library and let us be mentioned in gentle prayer."

Another example of an endowment accompanied by a short note is provided by the note written into a copy of *Munyat al-muṣallī wa gunyat al-mubtadi'* (Wish of the Worshipper and the Wealth of the Novice),¹⁰¹⁴ an instruction manual for performing obligatory prayers, endowed by Fāṭima the daughter of Ḥaydar Du'ājizāde from the village of Lukavac near Sarajevo.¹⁰¹⁵ Sometimes a note of endowment is more elaborate. A copy of *al-Kashf li-Mukhtaṣar al-Qudūrī* (the Unveiling for the Summary by al-Qudūrī)¹⁰¹⁶ given by al-ḥāj Muḥammad Bichaqchī to the Gāzī Hüsrev-bey *maktab* in Sarajevo in 1264/1847 has a long note in Ottoman Turkish saying that the manuscript is to be used by the serving *ḥōca*

¹⁰¹² *Al-Fātiḥa* (the Opening) is the seven-line opening chapter of the Qur'an and the most commonly recited portion of the Qur'an in Muslim rituals. Reciting *al-Fātiḥa* for the soul of the deceased is one of principal ways of honouring the dead in Muslim culture.

¹⁰¹³ MMB, fol. 1a. See also: "Reading Molla Muṣṭafā Basheski's Mecnua", p. 508.

¹⁰¹⁴ GAL S I, 659.

¹⁰¹⁵ The note reads: *Waqqaḥa li-llāh ta'āla Fāṭima bint Ḥaydar Du'ājizāde Luḳovaç karyesinden* (Fāṭima the daughter of Ḥaydar Du'ājizāde from the village of Lukovac, bequeathed [this ms.] for the sake of God Almighty), Ms.1848, GHL II, p. 316.

¹⁰¹⁶ This is a commentary on *Mukhtaṣar al-Qudūrī* (the Summary of al-Qudūrī) by an unknown writer, Ms. 96, GHL II, pp. 159, 160. *Mukhtaṣar al-Qudūrī* is a work of jurisprudence by Abū al-Ḥusayn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Qudūrī al-Baghdādī (d.428/1039), GAL G I, 175; GAL S I, 295. It was used as a textbook in Ottoman *madrasas*. In inheritance records it is usually referred to simply as *al-Qudūrī*.

(religious teacher) so long as he is alive and by whosoever succeeds him in the job afterwards. The note also stipulates that the appointed *maktab* teachers are entrusted with supervising the implementation of the endowment.¹⁰¹⁷ A beautifully decorated copy of *Minaḥ al-ghaffār li-sharḥ tanwīr al-abṣār* (the Bestowal of the Much-Forgiving to the Explanation of Illuminating the Views),¹⁰¹⁸ originally copied by the imam and Friday preacher of the Sultan Eyyüp mosque in Istanbul in 1082/1671, also has a long note of endowment in Arabic. The work was donated to the ‘Uthmān Shahdī library in 1230/1814 by ḥāj ‘Abd al-Fattāḥ, a kadi of Sarajevo, originally from Sofia.¹⁰¹⁹

Sometimes a person would donate a whole collection of books, a charter issued and its text transcribed into court registers. Many Bosnian charters are lost and are known to us only thanks to the fact that they were transcribed into court protocols (*sijills*). There are two book endowment charters recorded in the Sarajevo court protocols for the period 1118-1244/1707-1828, which are now kept at Gāzī Hüsrev-bey library (S33/210, 211; S66/207, 208). The shorter one concerns a collection of 74 manuscript volumes donated by ḥāj ‘Abd al-Qādir, son of ḥāj Ḥusayn-afandī, to Sarajevo’s Simzāde *madrasa* (established 1188/1775).¹⁰²⁰ The note of endowment is quite short and its text does not follow the standard format of an endowment charter. In fact, it should really be regarded as a note of endowment rather than a proper charter. The endowment of this book collection for the Simzāde *madrasa* represents an example of a so-called *waqf khayrī*, i.e. a bequest for the benefit of public.¹⁰²¹ Alternatively, a donor could name members of his own family as the beneficiaries (*waqf ahlī* or *evlādiyet vakfī*), as was the case with the longer of the two Sarajevo book charters, i.e. the one issued for the endowment of kadi Ṣāliḥ ‘Izzat Ḥromozāde’s books which we shall be considering below. That collection was endowed as a *waqf ahlī* or *evlādiyet vakfī* and was to be kept by an appointed trustee and the male descendants of kadi Ṣāliḥ ‘Izzat Ḥromozāde. Should the male line of the family die out, the collection was to be

¹⁰¹⁷ Ms. 692, *GHL* II, pp. 159, 160.

¹⁰¹⁸ This is a commentary on *Tanwīr al-abṣār wa jāmi‘ al-biḥār* (the Illumination of Views and the Gatherer of Seas). Both the commentary and the main text of this work on jurisprudence were written by Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh b. Aḥmad al-Timūrtāshī (d.cca 1007/1598), *GAL* G II, 311; *GAL* S II, 427.

¹⁰¹⁹ Ms. 207, *GHL* II, pp. 550, 551. The catalogue entry reproduces the note.

¹⁰²⁰ The charter text is inscribed in the Sarajevo court registers (*sijills*) in the Gāzī Hüsrev-bey library and bears the date of 11 Jumādā al-Ākhir 1207/21 January 1793. See also: Zejnil Fajić, “Originali i prepisi vakufnama sačuvanih do danas”, p. 28.

¹⁰²¹ R. Peters, “Wakf”, *EI*² XI, p. 60.

transferred to a public library. For or a *waqf ahlī* to eventually become a *waqf khayrī* is one of the standard conditions of endowment. The collection remains well preserved today and is kept in the Gāzī Hüsrev-bey library in Sarajevo.

In line with the three main questions posed in the introduction to this dissertation, the present chapter examines the following questions: 1) who was the collection's owner and donor?; 2) which books did he own and endow?; and, 3) what does his collection tell us about the Bosnian book culture of the period? The chapter provides a biography of the owner, an analysis of his collection in terms of its contents, and a comparison with book collections registered in the Sarajevo inheritance records between 1118/1707 and 1244/1828. Finally, a list of the titles from the collection is given in the Appendix in alphabetical order, along with facsimiles of some manuscripts and a transcription and facsimiles of certain documents about the collection's donor.

5.2 Şālih 'Izzat Hromozāde's Biography

According to the charter of 9 Muḥarram 1244/22 July 1828 (the year which forms the upper watershed for this study into book ownership), written on two pages of the Sarajevo court registers, kadi Şālih 'Izzat-afandī, son of Ismā'īl and a resident of Sarajevo's Ḥallāj Dāwūd quarter (*maḥalla*), endowed a copy of the Qur'an and 158 other codices containing various texts (*bir cild-i Muṣḥaf-ı şerif ile yüz elli sekiz cild kütüb-ü mütenevvi'a*).¹⁰²² Yūsuf, son of Ḥusayn, was appointed the *waqf* trustee (*mütevellī*), on condition that after kadi Şālih 'Izzat's death, the duty of supervision pass on to his sons Muḥammad Sa'īd and 'Alī Shākir. They were to be succeeded by their sons, who in turn were to be succeeded by their sons. "Should, God-forbid (*me'āzallāh*), the male line of the family die out," the collection was to be deposited at Sarajevo's 'Uthmān Shahdī library (established 1170/1757). In other words, the collection was originally defined as *waqf ahlī* and was to become public *waqf* and stored in a public library only if the family's male line ran out. It goes without saying that the provisions of the charter are by no means peculiar to Ottoman Bosnia, but represent a form of endowment with a long established tradition in Muslim culture.

That is all one can learn from the charter about kadi Şālih 'Izzat, whose surname (Hromozāde) is not mentioned in the document, due to the fact that there were no official, fixed surnames in Ottoman Bosnia. However, thanks to the fact that his book collection has

¹⁰²² S66/207, 208. A transcript of kadi Şālih 'Izzat's Hromozāde charter is also found in *Tārīkh-i Anwarī*, XX, pp. 266-269, also quoted in Alma Omanović-Veladžić, *Sarajevo u hronici Muhameda Enverija Kadića*, p. 87.

been preserved and catalogued, it is possible to fill in various biographical details. Additional information is supplied by documents found in the Sarajevo court records and at the Başbanklık Osmanlı Arşivi (the Ottoman Archives of the Prime Minister's Office) in Istanbul.¹⁰²³

The absence of fixed surnames in Ottoman Bosnia can make it hard to piece together information about individuals. It is not unusual to find variation even regarding the first names as they appear in documents. The problem is compounded in the case of people with common names and *Şālih* was certainly such a name.¹⁰²⁴ Identifying kadi *Şālih* 'Izzat *Ḥromozāde* is made somewhat easier thanks to the information that he lived in a particular Sarajevo quarter (*Ḥallāj Dāwūd*) and his being a *kadi* (expressed with the epithet *eşraf-ı kuzāt-ı kirāmdan* meaning "from among the noble judges").¹⁰²⁵ Although the charter gives his father's name (Ismā'il), this information is of limited value, as Ottoman documents do not always give the father's name. As we shall see shortly, the notes and seals on his books reveal his surname to be *Ḥromozāde*. But, before introducing that piece of information let us take a look at some other documents about him.

The obvious starting point in searching for additional information about kadi *Şālih* 'Izzat *Ḥromozāde* is the Sarajevo court registers. The earliest reference to him that can be established with a degree of certainty comes from a document from 1221/1806. It involves the sale of a garden located next to the garden of Khadija-khānım "the wife of kadi (*eşraf-ı kuzāt*) *Şālih* 'Izzat-afandī."¹⁰²⁶ If kadi *Şālih* 'Izzat *Ḥromozāde* had a wife by name of Khadija, she was not his only wife, since the court protocols also register what appears to

¹⁰²³ Hatt.00429; Hatt.1138/45301-A.

¹⁰²⁴ Although there is no study on the most popular Muslim names in Ottoman Bosnia, after examining Sarajevo inheritance records over a long period of time I can say that *Şālih* was one of the most popular names for Muslim boys in the 12th/18th and early 13th/19th centuries. For example, in the inheritance entry for 'Abdallāh bin Muḥarrām of 32 [sic] Rabī' al-Awwal 1212 there were 26 persons who owed this person money and five of them were called *Şālih*, S37/105.

¹⁰²⁵ It is noticeable that many kadis in the Sarajevo court registers have double first names (with or without a surname): Sulaymān Najīb-afandī, 'Abdallāh 'Ākif-afandī, Muḥammad Sa'īd-afandī, 'Uthmān Nūri-afandī, Şidqī *Şālih*-afandī, Rafdī 'Umar-afandī, etc. In the case of kadi *Şālih* an added reason for having a double name may have been the need to be distinguished among the many other *Şālihs*.

¹⁰²⁶ S46/87.

be his marriage to ‘Azīza, daughter of Aḥmad-afandī Kurkchizāde in Rabī‘ al-Awwal 1230/February-March 1815.¹⁰²⁷

With regard to his children, we have seen from the charter that kadi Šālih ‘Izzat had two sons. One of them, Muḥammad Sa‘īd, son of Šālih ‘Izzat-afandī from Ḥallāj Dāwūd *maḥalla*, married Hāshima, daughter of Darwish Šālih-bey Bābīzāde.¹⁰²⁸ Kadi Šālih ‘Izzat appears to have had at least one daughter, since the court registers show that, on 3 Šafar 1228/5 February 1813, a “virgin of age” (*el-bikrū’l-bālīga*), one Sharīfa Maryam, daughter of kadi Šālih ‘Izzat-afandī (*bint’l-eṣrāfi’l-kuṣāt Šālih ‘Izzet-efendi*) from Ḥallāj Dāwūd *maḥalla*, represented by kadi Sulaymān Najīb-afandī, did marry kadi Fayḍallāh Rāghib-afandī [Kurkchizāde], son of Aḥmad-afandī, who was represented by Şun‘allāh-afandī ibn Aḥmad-afandī from Yaḥyā-pasha *maḥalla*.¹⁰²⁹ The marriage of kadi Šālih ‘Izzat Hromozāde’s daughter to a kadi testifies to his family’s connections to the wider network of ‘ulamā’ (scholars) and a prominent Sarajevo family.

Kadi Šālih ‘Izzat Hromozāde also figures in a number of other documents. According to the inheritance record for Suleymān-afandī (19 Dhū’l-Ḥijja 1229/2 December 1814), Khadija, daughter of al-Sayyid Muḥammad-afandī and grand-mother of a minor (also called Muḥammad), appointed kadi (*eṣrāf-ı kuṣātan faẓiletli*) Šālih ‘Izzat-afandī to demand

¹⁰²⁷ El-zevc en-nākih eṣrāf-i kuṣāt-ı kirāmdan faẓiletli Šālih ‘Izzet-efendi ibn İsmā‘īl Çelebi ‘an maḥalle-i ḥāc ‘İsā, vekil Biçâkçı el-ḥāc Muḥammed bin el-ḥāc Muḥarrem-beşe ‘an maḥalle-i mezkûre el-zevcet el-bikr el-bālīga ‘Azīza bint Kūrķizāde Aḥmed-efendi ‘an maḥalle-i Yaḥyā-paşa vekiluhā mollā Aḥmed bin mollā Muḥammed ‘an maḥalle-i mezkûre bi şehādet-i Pīrāōgli Muṣṭafā ‘alemdār bin Muṣṭafā-āga ‘an maḥalle-i Mollā ‘Arab Cedīd ve mollā Feyzullāh bin el-ḥāc Hüseyin ‘an maḥalle-i Kālīn el-ḥāc ‘Alī el-mehr el-müeccel 75,000 yalnız yetmiş bin akçe dir veḳa’a el-‘akd fī rā [Rabī‘ al-Awwal] 1230 [February-March 1815], S55/314; *Tārīkh-i Anwarī*, XVIII, p. 386. As we can see, this document gives a different residential quarter (*maḥalla*) as his place of residence from the charter. The Čurčićs are a well-known Sarajevo family of merchants and scholars with a long history of making public endowments. The present day Faculty of Islamic Studies, University of Sarajevo, was originally built as the School for *Sharī’a* Judges in 1887 on a plot of land donated by the family. For more on them, see: Alma Omanović-Veladžić, *Sarajevo u hronici Muhameda Enverija Kadića*, pp. 68-71.

¹⁰²⁸ *Tārīkh-i Anwarī* XXII, p. 133. I would like to thank Ms Alma Veladžić-Omanović for bringing this information to my attention. If his surname was Babić, he may have been related to Muṣṭafā-bey Babić who endowed 83 codices for a *madrasa* in Visoko, a town just to the northwest of Sarajevo, in 1256/1840. For more on this, see: Osman Lavić, “Muṣṭafā-paşa Babić i njegova rukopisna ostavština” [Muṣṭafā-pasha Babić and his manuscript bequest], *Anali* XXXIV (2013), pp. 59-81.

¹⁰²⁹ S53/133. The dowry (*mehr*) was 71,000 faulty (*çuruk*) akçe. See also: *Tārīkh-i Anwarī*, XXVIII, p. 81.

registration of property.¹⁰³⁰ Kadi Şālih ‘Izzat-afandī Ḥromozāde appears as a witness concerning the property shares of four minor children of Fāṭima bint al-ḥāj Ibrāhīm (wife of al-ḥāj Sulaymān bin Muḥammad) dated of 5 Dhū’l-Ḥijja 1242/30 June 1827.¹⁰³¹ He is also mentioned as one of the creditors of the deceased, to the amount of 1,800 *guruş*.¹⁰³² In a document (*ḥüccet*) of 25 Rabī‘ al-Awwal 1243/16 October 1827, kadi Şālih ‘Izzat-afandī appears as a witness to a marriage annulment and separation (*fesh ve tefrik*).¹⁰³³

5.2.a: The Trouble-maker Kadi?

Three documents from the same period show kadi Şālih ‘Izzat Ḥromozade playing an active role in the political affairs of Sarajevo at the time. The first document, dated 20 Şafar 1242/23 September 1826, is a petition sent by 374 prominent Bosnians, led by several muftis, kadis, imams, *khaṭībs* (the Friday prayer preachers), feudal lords and a commander of the Janissary corps, in which they appeal to the Sultan not to follow through with the “innovations” he had promulgated and to restore the old order and old military formations. In effect, they were petitioning against the abolition of the Janissaries.¹⁰³⁴ One of the petitioners was kadi Şālih ‘Izzatī (a facsimile of the document is given in the Appendix.). As we can see, his name is written with a long “ī” (‘Izzatī).

The second document is a letter of 11 Rabī‘ al-Ākhir 1243/1 November 1827, sent by the Bosnian governor ‘Abd al-Raḥīm pasha to inform the Porte about political conditions in Bosnia. The governor accuses various people, including some ‘*ulāmā*’, of trying to undermine the ruling order and even of cooperating with the Austro-Hungarian enemy.¹⁰³⁵

¹⁰³⁰ S55/25. In his estate Sulaymān-afandī had 21 volumes of books as well as *awrāq-ı parīshān* (“loose papers”).

¹⁰³¹ S66/38. Another witness was kadi ‘Uthmān Nūrī-afandī.

¹⁰³² *Der zimmet-i Şālih ‘İzzet-efendī 1,800 guruş* (S55/25).

¹⁰³³ S66/88. The document was issued in the presence of ‘Abd al-Raḥīm pasha. The case involves Fatima daughter of a holder of a large estate (*za‘īm*) Ibrāhīm-āghā from the fortress of Livno (western Bosnia), who was visiting Sarajevo as a guest. Apparently, she was married or, more likely, betrothed to Muḥammad son of Muḥammad Ismā‘īl[agić] when both of them were minors. She was only 1.5 years old.

¹⁰³⁴ BDA Hattı Hümayün Tasnifi, No.21880 L/1. The translation of the documents is given in: Aličić, *Pokret za autonomiju Bosne od 1831. do 1832. godine*, (Sarajevo: Orijentalni Institut, 1996), pp. 166, 167, but without the names of the 374 petitioners.

¹⁰³⁵ ‘Abd al-Raḥīm pāshā served as Bosnian governor from 22 Jumādā al-Awwal 1242 to 6 Şafar 1244/22 December 1826 to 18 August 1828. For more on him, see: Salih Sidki Hadžihuseinović Muvekkīt, *Povijest Bosne, II* [History of Bosnia], translation by Abdulah Polimac et al. (Sarajevo: El-Kalem, 1999), pp. 883-904. See also:

He singles out a certain kadi Şālih ‘Izzatī the Sarajevan (*Sarāyli Şālih ‘Izzatī*) as one of the ringleaders (*ruasāy*), steeped in vice (*munḥemik-i şerr*) to which people are enticed (*taḥrīk olan*). He recommends that the kadi be transferred to a post outside Bosnia, along with some other troublemakers, but in such a way as to make their transfer appear a reward: “Let them be expelled, so that it will be ordered as a reward for their sincerity and service, which is given them each for a post outside Bosnia and in which [service] they have clearly displayed the intention of sowing discord.”¹⁰³⁶

The third document is another letter by the governor ‘Abd al-Raḥīm pasha. Dated 29 Jumādā al-Ākhir 1243/17 January 1828, the governor writes as to where the persons in question should be sent. For Şālih ‘Izzat-afandī he recommends the *kadiship* of Kratovo in present day Macedonia.¹⁰³⁷ It is not known whether this recommendation was carried through.

If kadi Şālih ‘Izzatī Sarayli was indeed one and the same person as Şālih ‘Izzat Ḥromozāde, then the circumstances surrounding his charter (its date is 9 Muḥarram 1244/12 July 1828.), i.e. six months after the second letter by ‘Abd al-Raḥīm pasha, place his book endowment in a particular context. Was he motivated by the desire to protect his books knowing that he might not return from what was a form of exile? Without additional evidence we will never know for sure. The letters of ‘Abd al-Raḥīm pasha suggest that kadi Şālih ‘Izzat Ḥromozāde was originally from Sarajevo. This is an important piece of information to which I shall return when discussing his family origins.

5.2.b: Litigation Over a Book

Another document which sheds light on the life of kadi Şālih ‘Izzat Ḥromozāde is a law suit brought against him by the mufti of Sarajevo about six months before his book charter was issued. According to the details of the case, the plaintiff was mufti Muḥammad Shākir, who

Vedad Biščević, *Bosanski namjesnici osmanskog doba 1463-1878* [Bosnian governors of the Ottoman era] (Sarajevo: Connectum, 2006), pp. 347-351.

¹⁰³⁶ *Bosna’nın gayri meḥallede birer menşab tevcīh ve vuşūl-i merām-i mefsedet umniyesiyle zāhiren ibrāz ettikleri hizmet ve şadaqatlarına şūret-i mukāfāt buyurularak tard ve teb’id olunmaları için*. Hatt.00429. The document is kept in Başbakanlık Arşivi in Istanbul.

¹⁰³⁷ Hatt.1138/45301-A. Kratovo is one of the oldest towns in the present-day Republic of Macedonia. It served as an important economic centre already in Roman times. During the Ottoman period the Kratovo *kadılık* was part of the Ćustendil *sanjak* (region). According to the same letter, ‘Uthmān Nūrī-afandī was to be relocated to Silistra (Bulgaria), while the place of transfer for the third person is illegible.

had sold Šālih ‘Izzat-afandī a copy of *Shāhidī*. The book in question was *Tuḥfa-i Shāhidī*, a popular Persian-Turkish dictionary in verse compiled by Ibrāhīm Shāhidī b. Hudā’ī-dede Mughlawī (d.957/1550).¹⁰³⁸ The dictionary was sold for five *guruşes*, with a delayed payment deadline expiring on 14 Sha‘bān 1243/1 March 1828. In so far as the plaintiff claimed the 14th of Sha‘bān to have commenced already, the deadline had expired and payment was due. In his response, the defendant, Šālih ‘Izzat-afandī, acknowledged the debt and the deadline, but claimed as an extenuating circumstance that he had not realised that the 14th of Sha‘bān fell the Friday in question. To resolve the case, the court summoned two witnesses (ḥāj ‘Uthmān son of ‘Umar, and mullā Ibrāhīm, son of ḥāj Muṣṭafā). Both testified to having seen the new crescent of the month of Sha‘bān for the year 1243 on the western horizon that Friday, its ends both pointing towards Mecca. Accordingly, it would not be the first day of Sha‘bān until the following day, i.e. the Saturday. In the end, the kadi warned Šālih ‘Izzat-afandī to pay the debt, the deadline for which was to expire the following day. The entry ends with the date: 14 Sha‘bān 1243/1 March 1828.¹⁰³⁹

What is striking about the case is, first of all, the fact that it involves a book. Second, the speed with which the mufti brought charges against the buyer: the very day the deadline expired. Why such haste? And could Šālih ‘Izzat-afandī really have been unaware of the precise dates? Whatever the circumstances, the court decided in favour of the kadi, giving him an extra day to make payment and save face. Bad relations or a personal fallout between two men seems an obvious reason for the case having been brought to court, except that the two seem to have been close to one another, or at least became so later. Mufti Muḥammad Shākir represented “mullā Muḥammad Sa‘īd, son of ‘Izzat Salih-afandī from Ḥallāj Dāwūd *maḥalla*” during his marriage to Hāshima Bābizāde on 23 Jumādā al-Awwal 1252/5 September 1830.¹⁰⁴⁰

Mufti Muḥammad Shākir was a prominent opponent of central government from among the Sarajevo ‘*ulāmā*’ and one of the signatories of the appeal against the abolition of Janissaries along with kadi Šālih ‘Izzat Ḥromozāde (see the Appendix).¹⁰⁴¹ He refused to

¹⁰³⁸ *Flügel* I, 131.

¹⁰³⁹ For a transcription of the document, see *Appendix: Litigation over a book*.

¹⁰⁴⁰ *Tārīkh-i Anwarī*, XXII, p. 133.

¹⁰⁴¹ Mehmed Remzi Deli, “Zašto je šejhul-islam smijenio sarajevskog mufiju Muidovića” [Why did shaikh al-islam sack Sarajevo mufti Muidović], *Gajret* 12 (1936), pp. 189-191, also quoted in Fikret Karčić, *The Bosniaks and the Challenges of Modernity: Late Ottoman and Hapsburg Times* (El-Kalem; Sarajevo, 1999), p. 44. Overall, he served

wear the newly mandated *sārik* (a cap with a piece of clothing wrapped around it) instead of the traditional turban on the grounds that it represented an innovation in religion.¹⁰⁴² As a result, shaykh al-islam ‘Abd al-Wahhāb dismissed him from his post on 1 Dhū’l-Ḥijja 1245/24 May 1830. Eventually, he changed his mind, agreed to wear the new headgear and was reinstalled as Sarajevo mufti 17 Jumādā al-Ākhir 1248/11 November 1832.

A census of Sarajevo’s male inhabitants completed in 1257/1841 shows that Mullā Sa‘īd, son of Ṣāliḥ-afandī, “tall in stature, beardless, 24 years old” and his brother “Alija [‘Alī] son of Ṣāliḥ-afandī, of medium height, beardless, 21 years old” lived in a household in Ḥallāj Dāwūd *maḥalla*.¹⁰⁴³ There is no mention of their father. Since the census gives the names of absent members of households, the fact that kadi Ṣāliḥ ‘Izzat Ḥromozāde is not mentioned suggests that he must have been dead by then. There is no inheritance entry for him in the Sarajevo court registers, which were kept until 1268/1852, nor is there reference in those records to him ever serving as a kadi in Sarajevo.¹⁰⁴⁴ Basheskī, who is thought to have died around 1807, does not mention him in the *Chronicle*. However, we can fill in various details about his career path on the basis of the notes about the acquisition of various books.

He bought a copy of a collection of fatwas in Turkish entitled *Fetāvā-yı ‘Alī Efendī*, for 25 *guruş* on 17 Rajab 1209/7 February 1795 and signed himself as a kadi in Bijeljina (Turkish: *Biline*), a town in northeast Bosnia.¹⁰⁴⁵ His notes also show that he twice served as kadi in Bosna Brodu in central Bosnia. While his first year of service is not stated, his note of 5

as Sarajevo mufti during the period 1826-1855. Muidović was also a distinguished composer of epitaphs. For more on that, see: Salih Trako, “Kronogrami sarajevskog muftije Muhamed Šakir efendije Muidovića [The chronograms of Sarajevo mufti Muhamed Šakir-afandī Muidović], *Anali I* (1972), pp. 49-65.

¹⁰⁴² Paić-Vukić, *the World of Mustafa Muhibbi*, p. 66.

¹⁰⁴³ Mula Muhamed Mestvica, *Popis uzajamnog jamčenja stanovništva u Sarajevu iz 1841. godine* [Census on the Occasion of Mutual Guarantees of the Population of Sarajevo in 1841], tr. from Turkish by Derviš Korkut (Sarajevo, 1970), p. 128. This means that at the time of the charter in 1224/1828, his two sons were eleven and eight years old respectively.

¹⁰⁴⁴ Čar-Drnda states that kadi Ṣāliḥ ‘Izzat served in Sarajevo without offering supporting evidence.

¹⁰⁴⁵ Ms. 693, *GHL* II, pp. 790, 791. This collection of fatwas was compiled by shaykh al-islam ‘Alī-afandī b. Muḥammad al-Chataljāwī (d.1103/1691); *OM* II, 61. It was copied by ‘Alī b. Muḥammad from the village of Bila (near Travnik, central Bosnia) on Sunday 22 Jumādā al-Awwal 1137/6 February 1725.

Muḥarrirām 1226/30 January 1811 says that he was serving in this town for a second time.¹⁰⁴⁶

His note of purchase on a copy of *al-Hidāya fī al-fiqh al-ḥanafī* (Guide to Hanafi Jurisprudence) by shaykh al-islam Burhān al-dīn ‘Alī b. Abū Bakr al-Marghīnānī al-Ḥanafī (d.593/1196)¹⁰⁴⁷ reads: “By His grace and generosity - glory and exalted is He - [this ms.] entered the possession of poor ‘Izzatī Ṣāliḥ, discharged [kadi] from the kadiship of Aqchaḥiṣār Tīrān [in present-day Albania] by lawful purchase in the year 1217 [1802/1803], the price 150.”¹⁰⁴⁸ Although the monetary unit is not stated, it can be assumed to be in *guruş*. The manuscript is decorated with an illuminated frontispiece (*‘unwān*) and has a leather binding. Another manuscript he purchased in the same town was a copy of a work entitled *Sharḥ Mu‘addal al-ṣalāh* (the Balanced in Prayer).¹⁰⁴⁹

His notes also show that he served as kadi in the town of Duvno (Turkish: *Duğne*) in western Bosnia: “By the generosity of the Exalted [this ms.] entered into the possession of poor Ṣāliḥ (?) in the *qaḍā’* of Duğne, may he be pardoned.”¹⁰⁵⁰ He signed himself as kadi of Duvno on the following manuscripts, too:

1) A collective volume (*majmū‘a*)¹⁰⁵¹ of several works: a) *Rawḍāt al-jannāt fī uṣūl al-‘itiqāḍāt* (Garden Meadows on the Principles of Doctrines) by Ḥasan Kāfī al-Aqḥiṣārī al-Būsnaḥī (d. 1025/1616), b) *Ṣubḥa-i sibyan* (A Breakfast for Children), an Arabic-Turkish dictionary in

¹⁰⁴⁶ Ms. 687, *GHL* II, p. 408. There are five more manuscripts on which he notes down his serving as kadi in Bosna Brodu without giving the year: Ms. 698, *GHL* I, pp. 327, 328; Ms. 215, *GHL* II, pp. 793, 794; Ms. 2174, *GHL* II, pp. 427, 428; Ms. 697, *GHL* II, pp. 522, 523; Ms. 251, *GHL* II, pp. 813, 814. In the 12th/18th and 13th/19th centuries the *kaḍlīk* of Bosna Brod or Bosna Brodu consisted of two subdistricts (*nāḥiyas*) centering on the towns of Travnik and Zenica in central Bosnia, and so kadi Ṣāliḥ ‘Izzat could have served in either town.

¹⁰⁴⁷ This is an expanded version of his shorter work entitled *Bidāyat al-mubtadi’* (The Beginning of the Novice), *GAL* G I, 376; *GAL* S I, 644. This is a complete work of two parts in one volume copied by Khidr b. al-Sayyid ‘Alī from Istanbul on 12 Jumādā al-Ākhir 1084/24 September 1673, Ms. 435, *GHL* II, pp. 197, 198.

¹⁰⁴⁸ بفضله وكرمه عز شأنه و تعالى دخل في ملك الفقير عزتي صالح المنفصل عن قضاء اقح حصار نيران بالشراء الشرعي سنة ١٢١٧ قيمت ١٥٠ . *Aqchaḥiṣār* (Turkish: *Akçeḥiṣār*) was the Ottoman name for Krujë, a town situated 32 km northwest of Tirana.

¹⁰⁴⁹ This is a commentary by Ismā‘īl-afandī Güzelḥiṣārī (d.), *GAL* G II, 440; *GAL* S II, 655. The main text entitled *Mu‘addal al-ṣalāh* was written Muḥammad b. Pīr ‘Alī al-Birkawī (d.981/1573), *GAL* G II, 440, n. 9; Ms. 1593, *GHL* II, pp. 545, 546.

¹⁰⁵⁰ بكرمه تعالى دخل في يد الفقير صالح الموق بقضاء دوعنة عفى عنه

¹⁰⁵¹ Ms. 794, *GHL* I, p. 484.

verse by Abū al-Faḍl Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Rūmī, and c) *al-Tuḥfat al-hādiya – Luḡhat-i Dānistan* (the Leading Gift – Dictionary of Dānistan), a Persian-Turkish dictionary by Muḥammad b. ḥāj Ilyās.

2) *Multaqā al-abḥur* (The Meeting Place of the Seas), a work of jurisprudence by Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥalabī (d. 956/1549), used as a *madrassa* textbook.¹⁰⁵²

3) *Nuṭaf min al-fiqh* (Drops from Jurisprudence), a work of jurisprudence by Abū al-Ḥasan (Ḥusayn) ‘Alī b. Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad al-Sujdī (d. 461/1068).¹⁰⁵³

4) *Shamā’il al-nabiyy li al-Tirmidhī*, a work of Hadith, whose full title is: *al-Shamā’il al-nabawiyya wa al-khaṣā’il al-muṣṭafawiyya* (The Prophetic Qualities and the Chosen’s Traits) by Abū ‘Isā Muḥammad al-Tirmidhī (d. 279/892).¹⁰⁵⁴

There are also several notes where he signed as the owner, without date or place.¹⁰⁵⁵

Kadi Ṣāliḥ ‘Izzat Ḥromozāde’s notes show that he inherited some of his manuscripts. Four manuscripts from his collection bear a note in his hand to this effect (*bi al-‘irth* or *‘irthan*):

1) *Fatāwā-yi Qāḍikhān* (Fatwas by Qāḍikhān), a collection of fatwas by Fakhr al-dīn Ḥasan b. Maṣṣūr al-Ūzjandī al-Farghanī Qāḍikhān (d. 592/1196).¹⁰⁵⁶

2) *Mushtamil al-aḥkām* (the Encompasser of Ordinances), a work of law by Yaḥyā b. ‘Abdallāh Fakhr al-dīn al-Rūmī al-Ḥanafī (d. after 880/1475).¹⁰⁵⁷

3) *Sharḥ Mu‘addal al-ṣalāh* (Commentary on the Balanced in Prayer), the afore-mentioned commentary on a popular manual for the daily prayer (*ṣalāh*) by Ismā‘īl-afandī Güzelḥişārī.

¹⁰⁵² Ms. 1376, *GHL* II, p. 492; *GAL G* II, 432; *GAL S* II, 642.

¹⁰⁵³ Ms. 227, *GHL* II, pp. 163, 164; *GAL G* II, 198; *GAL S* I, 657; *GAL S* II, 270, 951.

¹⁰⁵⁴ Ms. 1790, *GHL* I, p. 269; *GAL G* I, 162.

¹⁰⁵⁵ Kadi Ṣāliḥ ‘Izzat Ḥromozāde’s service mainly inside Bosnia accords with the fact that “Lower-level kadis often came from families domiciled in the region...”, Suraiya Faroqhi, “Social Life in Cities”, *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire, Volume II 1600-1914*, eds. Halil İnalcik with Donald Quataert, p. 576. Kadi Ṣāliḥ ‘Izzat Ḥromozāde’s contemporary, Muṣṭafā Muḥibbī, was a native of Sarajevo who served as a kadi and a court scribe in various capacities at local courts in Bosnia and in the present-day Bulgaria (Lovech) and Albania (Valona). Like kadi Ṣāliḥ ‘Izzat Ḥromozāde, in Bosnia Muḥibbī also served in Bijeljina 1831-32 and 1836-37, in addition to Sarajevo, Jajce, Vlasenica, and Gračanica. See: Paić-Vukić, *the World of Mustafa Muhibbi*, pp. 43, 44.

¹⁰⁵⁶ Ms. 271, *GHL* II, p. 718. The page with the note comes after the contents, on the left hand side. *GAL* I, 376.

¹⁰⁵⁷ Ms. 504, *GHL* II, pp. 401, 402; *Ahlwardt* IV, 244.

4) A collective volume (*majmū'a*) which comprises eight texts. In the charter the volume appears under the title of the first work: *Ta'līf Abī 'Abbās Taqīyy al-dīn Aḥmad fī tamyīz awliyā' al-Raḥmān* (the Writing of Abū 'Abbās Taqīyy al-dīn Aḥmad on Distinguishing the Friends of the Compassionate), a treatise by Aḥmad ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/1328) on saints.¹⁰⁵⁸

Additional information about kadi Şāliḥ 'Izzat Ḥromozāde comes in the form of three ownership seals impressed on the pages of his books. The first is a small, round seal with the following inscription: '*abduḥ Ṣāliḥ 1195 [1780-81]*, meaning "His [God's] slave Ṣāliḥ." This seal is found on 30 codices of the Ṣāliḥ 'Izzatī Ḥromozāde collection. The second seal is also small, but more oval in shape and it reads: "Lord, make things easy for Ṣāliḥ".¹⁰⁵⁹ That seal is stamped on 13 codices in the collection. The third seal, large and oval in shape, has the following inscription: "The endowment of Ḥromozāde Ṣāliḥ 'Izzat-afandī 1284 [1867/68]."¹⁰⁶⁰ This seal was probably made at the time of the collection's transfer to the 'Uthmān Shāhdī library.¹⁰⁶¹ It is stamped not only on the codices which bear one of the two smaller seals described above, but also on some codices which do not appear on the endowment charter. Those codices must have been added to the collection by Ṣāliḥ 'Izzatī Ḥromozāde's descendants, such as his son Muḥammad Sa'īd-afandī who signed some of them (see the Appendix for the images of the seals).

5.3 The Question of kadi Şāliḥ 'Izzat's Origins

The Gāzī Hüsrev-bey library catalogues often refer to kadi Şāliḥ 'Izzat Ḥromozāde as a native of Stolac, a town some 150 km south of Sarajevo. They also give Slavic form of his family name (*Ḥromozāde*) as *Hromić*.

This hypothesis of kadi Şāliḥ 'Izzat Ḥromozāde being from Stolac seems to rest on two suppositions. The first relates to a note found on the margins of a manuscript from his collection, which reads: "In the year 1116 [1704-05], major snows fell. The wheat crops were great and profitable. Governor Ibrāhīm pasha stayed in our town."¹⁰⁶² (See Appendix for an image of the marginal note). According to the catalogue, "the place to which this note

¹⁰⁵⁸ Ms. 675, *GHL* III, pp. 96-98; Ahlwardt, 2082.

¹⁰⁵⁹ رب سهل امور صالح.

¹⁰⁶⁰ وقف حروموزاده صالح عزت افندی ۱۲۸۴.

¹⁰⁶¹ The book collection of 'Abd al-Bāqī-afandī Jīnozāde, now kept at the Gāzī Hüsrev bey library, bears a seal with same year of bequest.

¹⁰⁶² *Bin yüz on altı tārīhinde 'azīm qarlar yağmışdır unlukler 'azīm [ve] 'aziz oldı vālī İbrāhīm paşa kaşabamıza nüzül eyledi.*

alludes is not stated, but it is certainly somewhere in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and the above-mentioned Ibrāhīm-pasha is probably the man from Stolac (*Stočanin*) who became a *silāḥdār* [a sword-bearer] in 1703 in Istanbul and may, within the year, have returned to visit his native place...”¹⁰⁶³

This argument is hardly persuasive. First of all, the handwriting in the note is quite different from the notes with which Šāliḥ ‘Izzat Ḥromozāde signed as book owner. Second, since we do not know who wrote the note, “our town” could be any town and does even have to be one in Ottoman Bosnia. Even if the note does refer to Stolac, Šāliḥ ‘Izzat Ḥromozāde could have acquired it without having any personal connection with the town, just as he acquired manuscripts which originated in a variety of other places, from Bosnia to Central Asia.¹⁰⁶⁴

The reason for this claim that kadi Šāliḥ ‘Izzat Ḥromozāde came from Stolac might be that a number of individuals with the surname *Ḥromizāde* and *Ḥromozāde* from southern Bosnia are recorded in catalogues as book copyists and book owners.¹⁰⁶⁵ In his study of Bosnian manuscript copyists, Muhamed Ždralović includes one “Abdullah Hromozade,” [‘Abdallāh Ḥromozāde] who copied manuscripts in Mostar, but was probably a native of Stolac, as one of the “excellent book copyists and calligraphers” of Ottoman Bosnia.¹⁰⁶⁶ A collection of charters from Stolac refers to several persons with the surname *Ḥromizāde* and *Ḥromozāde* who appear as witnesses in various court documents. Since the Slavic variant of these surnames would be *Hromić*, which happens to be the patronymic of a well-known

¹⁰⁶³ Ms. 271, *GHL* II, p. 718.

¹⁰⁶⁴ A manuscript of *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* (the Sound of Bukhari), the most important collection of Prophet’s sayings in Sunni Islam, in the Šāliḥ ‘Izzat Ḥromozāde collection was copied by Ilyās b. Yaḥyā b. Ḥamza al-Rūmī (d. 821/1418) in the suburbs of Bukhara in the *khānqāh* (Sūfī convent) of Khwāja Muḥammad Pārsā, Ms. 443, *GHL* I, pp. 255, 256.

¹⁰⁶⁵ For more on the Hromić family in Stolac see Asim Zubčević, “Doprinos porodice Hromić bosanskoj kulturi knjige u 19. stoljeću/The contribution of the Hromić family to the culture of the book in 19th century Bosnia” pp. 412-424. In several endowment charters from Stolac from the 13th/19th century there is reference to persons whose surname is given as *Ḥromozāde*.

¹⁰⁶⁶ Ždralović, *Bosansko-hercegovački prepisivači*, I, pp. 294-96. Most of the manuscripts he copied were in Arabic. The copies were made in Stolac’s *darskhāna* (an unspecified type of school, from the Arabic word *dars* = lecture, and Persian *khāna* = house) and in two Mostar *madrasas* (the Karađoz-begova and Roznamedži *madrasas*) between 1834 and 1859, Ždralović, *Bosansko-hercegovački prepisivači*, pp. 248, 250, 295. It is possible that ‘Abdallāh Ḥromozāde also taught at these institutions.

Stolac family, the conclusion reached by the Gāzī Hüsrev-bey Library cataloguers was that the Slavic form of kadi Šālih Hromozāde's surname was *Hromić* and that he came from Stolac.

There is also a collective volume of nine works described as “coming probably from the family of Salih Hromić from Stolac in the 13th/19th century,”¹⁰⁶⁷ since one of the works (*al-Qaṣida al-munfarīja*) was copied by Šālih b. ‘Abd Kh^wāja Hromizāde in Istolicha (Stolac) in the year 1272/1856. This collection bears none of the seals or signatures of kadi Šālih ‘Izzat Hromozāde, however.

Another branch of the Hromić family hails from Ljubinje, a town to the south of Stolac, and more specifically the village of Orahovi Do, where this family once owned estates or were in trade.¹⁰⁶⁸ A document from Dubrovnik from 1198/1784 even mentions a young “kadi Hromozade.”¹⁰⁶⁹ In his entry for the year 1195/1780-81, Basheskī gives the names of Sarajevo kadis and their apprentices (*kādīler ve mülāzımlar*),¹⁰⁷⁰ including an apprentice called Šālih Lūbinlī, i.e. Šālih of Ljubinje.¹⁰⁷¹ The lack of any reference to the young kadi's surname (unlike for some other members of the group: Daftardārīzāde, Qurawīzāde, ‘Alīqāḍīzade, etc) makes it impossible to determine with certainty the apprentice's links to the Hromozāde family.

As to the present day Hromićs of Sarajevo, I was not able to establish with certainty their family origins, beyond a piece of family lore which refers to a family ancestor who “left books to the city” and who died a violent death in some kind of a mob riot.¹⁰⁷²

¹⁰⁶⁷ *GHL* XVII, p. 151

¹⁰⁶⁸ Hasandedić, *Muslimanska baština u istočnoj Hercegovini*, pp. 117, 289.

¹⁰⁶⁹ Vesna Miović-Perić, *Na razmeđu: osmansko-dubrovačka granica 1667.-1806*. [On the Border: Ottoman-Dubrovnik Frontier 1667-1806], (Dubrovnik: Zavod za povijesne znanosti Hrvatske akademije znanost i umjetnosti u Dubrovniku, 1997), p. 89. Evliya Çelebi left a description of Ljubinje from the mid-17th century. For more on this, see: Čelebi, *Putopis*, pp. 420, 421.

¹⁰⁷⁰ According to Mujezinović, *kadileleri ve mülazımlerini*, *Ljetopis*, p. 200. The two names on the list have Homarizāde as their surname, but although similar, this is a different Bosnian surname.

¹⁰⁷¹ *MMB*, fol. 39b; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 155. He is not the only person in the list from the same town. The other is Lūbinlī Aḥmad-afandī.

¹⁰⁷² My informant (Mrs Hiba Hadžimujagić, neé Hromić, cca 85 years old) recalled her mother speaking of a kadi family ancestor. However, she was unable to give his name. Mrs Hadžimujagić's grandfather was Ḥilmi-afandī Hromić (died around 1930), a wealthy landowner. According to the 1910 population census for Sarajevo, Ḥilmi-afandī Hromić was a 45 year-old father of nine children (seven boys and two girls) who lived

It is possible that kadi Şālih Hromozāde or his ancestors did indeed come from southern Bosnia to settle in Sarajevo, but the absence of a *nisba* (attribution) such as *Istolichawī* or *Lūbīnlī*, both of which are relatively common in the Sarajevo court registers, goes against this possibility.

There is another explanation. Şālih ‘Izzat Hromozāde’s family may come from the village of Turovi, several kilometres south west of Sarajevo. In the 12th/18th and 3th/19th centuries, the village was part of the Sarajevo subdistrict (*nāhiye*) and the estates of a dozen villagers were registered in the inheritance inventories. Two of the villagers had copies of the Qur’an.¹⁰⁷³ Basheskī also had a friend who owned a house in the village, which also testifies to the village’s links to the city of Sarajevo.¹⁰⁷⁴

Turovi is the ancestral village of the Hromo family. There are some 15 families with this surname in Sarajevo today and they all originally came from the same village. By his Slavic patronymic, a person who signed himself as Hromozāde could have been either *Hromić* or *Hromo*. With the passage of time, *Hromo* could easily have been transformed into *Hromić*, a development noted among the Hromos of Sarajevo.¹⁰⁷⁵ As mentioned in Chapter One, much of Sarajevo’s Muslim population owed its origins to immigrant peasants from the

in Halilbašića Street no. 4, in Kuçuk Kātib *maḥalla*, SUGO-2, “Popis stanovništva u Sarajevu 1910. godine”, [Population census in Sarajevo in 1910], the Historical Archive of Sarajevo. Unfortunately, his father’s name is not stated. If this branch of the Hromić family is descended from kadi Şālih ‘Izzat Hromozāde, this begs the question of why his book collection came to be transferred to the ‘Uthmān Shahdī library considering that the male line of the family never died out.

¹⁰⁷³ The owners of the *Muṣḥaf* were: Sulaymān-beşe ibn Janān, whose entry dated is 25 Rabī’ al-Ākhir 1216/4 September 1801 (S41/31, 32) and Mullā Aḥmad bin Sulaymān, whose entry is dated 2 Rabī’ al-Awwal 1229/23 February 1814. Except for two Christians (S41/42; S44/55), the inhabitants of the village mentioned in the inheritance inventories were all Muslims.

¹⁰⁷⁴ MMB, fol. 98a; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 319. This was a tanner Ḥasan-beşe, originally from Gacko in southern Bosnia, whom Basheskī knew from his youth, and liked for his nature and with whom he enjoyed talking. Ḥasan-beşe had trading connections with Egypt which, in addition to the wealth he inherited from his father, brother, and father-in-law, probably increased his fortune. The houses in Turovi probably served as his summer retreat. His property is mentioned in the inheritance inventories, S28/83.

¹⁰⁷⁵ According to Bećir Hromo, this is precisely what happened with his cousin Jusuf Hromo, who moved to Sarajevo in 1930 and changed his surname to *Hromić*, while his parents retained the original surname (interview with Bećir Hromo, 4 December 2008).

surrounding countryside.¹⁰⁷⁶ This would also explain why several documents refer to kadi Šālih ‘Izzat as *Saraylı*, i.e. Sarajevan, which would mean that he was a kadi *from* Sarajevo (and in contrast to being a kadi *of* Sarajevo).

Bosnian Muslim surnames, if they are recorded at all in the court registers, can appear in several forms: with their typical Slavic ending “-ić” or “-vić,” meaning “son of” or “descendant of”, or with the Turkish suffix *oğlu*, or with the Persian suffix *zāde*, as in the case of kadi Šālih ‘Izzat Hromozāde.¹⁰⁷⁷ While there were no official surnames among the Muslims of Ottoman Bosnia, people often went by their more or less informal Slavic patronymic. Given that surnames were not stable and could change from one generation to another, it is not surprising to find that kadi Šālih ‘Izzat’s son Muḥammad Sā’id signed himself in one of his father’s books as *Šālih ‘Izzatīzāde Muḥammad Sā’id*.¹⁰⁷⁸ Bosnian surnames became fixed only with the establishment of Austro-Hungarian rule in 1878.¹⁰⁷⁹ In most of his notes kadi Šālih ‘Izzat refers to himself as *Šālih Izzatī*, reflecting this instability and informality of Ottoman-era Bosnian first names.¹⁰⁸⁰ Since *Šālih ‘Izzat* is the form used in the only seal which gives his full name and is now accepted in literature, we had decided to stick to it.

¹⁰⁷⁶ Behija Zlatar, *Zlatno doba Sarajeva*, p. 21. For example, Basheskī reports the death of a peasant who settled in Sarajevo, *Ljetopis*, p. 182; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 284.

¹⁰⁷⁷ The two exceptions that comes to my mind are the following surnames: *Begzadić*, a Bosnian family name derived from the words *bak* and *zāde*. Basheskī mentions a kadi with such a name and, rather unusually, gives his surname both in its Ottoman and Bosnian form: *Begzade*, *Begzadić*, *Ljetopis*, p. 354, *Saraybosnalı*, p. 354. Another exception would be the surname *Hafizadić* (combination of *hāfiẓ* and *zāde*). In her study of another Sarajevo kadi Muṣṭafā Muḥibbīzade, Tatjana Paić-Vukić argues that adding *zāde* to the surname is “an indication of his elite intellectual and social standing”, Paić-Vukić, *The World of Mustafa Muhibbi*, p. 157, n. 35.

¹⁰⁷⁸ Ms. R-8976, *GHL* XVI, pp. 488, 489. The manuscript in question is a collection of letters and documents (*Inshā’*). The son signed himself as *Muḥammad*, not *Mehmed*.

¹⁰⁷⁹ The only study concerning surnames among Slav Muslims, mainly Bosnian Muslims, is: Olga Zirojević, *Islamizacija na južnoslovenskom prostoru: Konvertiti – kako su se zvali* [Islamization in South Slav Area: Converts – What Did They Call Themselves] (Podgorica: Almanah, 2001). A proper study of Bosnian Muslim surnames in the past and today is long overdue. Basheskī’s *Chronicle* offers a wealth of information on all sorts of surnames.

¹⁰⁸⁰ Ms. 698, *GHL* I, pp. 327, 328; 531; Ms. 251, *GHL* II, pp. 813, 814; Ms. 271, *GHL* II, pp. 717, 718; Ms. 224, *GHL* II, p. 725; Ms. 617, *GHL* II, p. 982; Ms. 1814, *GHL* II, pp. 559, 560; Ms. 675, *GHL* III, pp. 96-98; Ms. 1840, *GHL* IV, p. 192.

5.4 The kadi Ṣāliḥ ‘Izzat Ḥromozāde Collection

According to the charter, whose text is part of the Sarajevo court registers (*sijills*) kept at the Gāzī Hüsrev-bey library in Sarajevo and dated 9 Muḥarram 1244/22 July 1828, kadi Ṣāliḥ ‘Izzat endowed 158 codices and a copy of the Qur’an (*Muṣḥaf*), which is mentioned separately and reverentially before all the other books. As regards its contents, the collection has gone through a number of transformations, so that one can speak of:

- 1) the collection according to the charter;
- 2) the collection at the time of its transfer to the ‘Uthmān Shahdī library in 1284/1867, as several titles not mentioned in the charter were probably added then;
- 3) the collection at the Gāzī Hüsrev-bey library as we know it today, given that some of the volumes listed in the charter are no longer extant;
- 4) texts kept outside the Gāzī Hüsrev-bey library, namely: a copy of *Multaqā al-abḥur* (the Meeting Place of the Seas), now kept at the Sarajevo Historical Archives, which bears an ownership note similar to those found on other kadi Ṣāliḥ ‘Izzat Ḥromozāde manuscripts: “By His kindness and generosity – Exalted is His Being – [this ms.] entered the possession of the poor Ṣāliḥ ‘Izzatī, may they both be forgiven!”¹⁰⁸¹ The manuscript also bears one of the previously mentioned seals reading: ‘*abduḥ Ṣāliḥ*, i.e. His slave Ṣāliḥ.¹⁰⁸² It is possible that, as the remaining manuscript collections in Sarajevo are catalogued, further manuscripts from the Ṣāliḥ ‘Izzat Ḥromozāde collection will be rediscovered.

Given the central place of the book in Muslim culture it seems natural that books should have always been subject to endowment. However, one of the conditions for a valid endowment is permanence, a principle that led to the view that “goods whose use consists in their consumption cannot be made into endowment (*waqf*), but most schools allow immovable goods that wear out by their use.”¹⁰⁸³ Although the Hanafi school of law which the Ottomans followed generally takes the view that movable property cannot form an endowment, it makes exceptions in certain cases, including “copies of the Qur’ān to be read

¹⁰⁸¹ بلطفه و كرمه تعالى شأنه دخل في يد الفقير صالح عزتي بالشراء الشرعي غفر لهما¹⁰⁸¹

¹⁰⁸² Ms. R-344, *Catalogue of the Arabic, Turkish, Persian and Bosnian Manuscripts in the Historical Archives Sarajevo*, vol. II, edited by Haso Popara, p. 392. The manuscript was copied on Saturday in the month of Muḥarram 1123/1711 by Muḥammad Jān b. ‘Abd al-Bāqī.

¹⁰⁸³ R. Peters, “Waqf”, *EI² XI*, p. 60.

in mosques and schools” and this provision extends to all books.¹⁰⁸⁴ As seen in the previous chapters, books were often incorporated as part of larger religious and educational endowments such as *madrasas*, mosques or *takkas*. The kadi Šālih ‘Izzat Ḥromozāde *waqfiyya* is a charter issued specifically for the endowment of books.

The charter gives us the number of codices it comprised, not of texts. In manuscript culture it is quite common for a volume to comprise several works (*majmū’a*). There are three *majmū’as* listed in the charter¹⁰⁸⁵ one of them containing eight different works.¹⁰⁸⁶ In some cases a volume can go under a particular title, concealing the fact that it contains one or more additional, shorter works. At the same time some of the listed titles fill more than one volume, as was the case with *Fatāwā-yi Qāḍikhān*, *Wānqūlī*’s dictionary, Bukhārī’s *Šaḥīḥ*, Kirmani’s commentary on Bukhārī’s *Šaḥīḥ*, and *Hidāyat al-fiqh*. It is also noticeable that two volumes from the charter are listed together, as in the case of a commentary on *Asmā’ al-ḥusnā* and *Ḥilya-i Khāqānī*.

The charter lists a copy of the Qur’an and 158 codices. As already mentioned, the present-day collection differs from the charter list because it includes a number of volumes which do not appear in the charter. It seems that a few volumes were added to the collection at the time of its transfer to the ‘Uthmān Shahdī library in 1284/1867. Today, there are 127 volumes containing 221 texts bearing the large seal that reads (وقف حرموزاده صالح افندی عزت) ١٢٨٤) which means “an endowment of Ḥrōmozāde Šālih ‘Izzat-afandī 1284 [1867].”

Going back to the charter list, the first impression is that the original collection consisted entirely of manuscript books. The inheritance records occasionally refer to a printed book by prefixing the title with the word “printed” (*başma*). No such word appears in the charter. Nevertheless, it is possible to identify at least one printed book which at one point formed

¹⁰⁸⁴ R. Peters, “Waḳf”, *EI*² XI, p.60. For a summary of the arguments concerning the permissibility of endowing books in the Hanafi legal tradition see: Stacy Liechti, *Books, Book Endowments, and Communities of Knowledge in the Bukharan Khanate* (unpublished doctoral thesis), New York University (2008), pp. 48-56.

¹⁰⁸⁵ Čar-Drnda mentions 164 books (*knjige*), Čar-Drnda, “Neki legati Osman Šehdine biblioteke”, p. 244.

¹⁰⁸⁶ Ms. 2100, *GHL* I, p. 530-533. As already mentioned, the word *majmū’a* can designate a personal notebook such as the one left by Basheski. However, no such *majmū’a* appears to have been part of Ḥromozāde’s collection. There is a question of whether a notebook full of personal information and observations is meant for wider readership. It is true that Basheski repeatedly states the purpose of his *Chronicle* as to be read by others, yet he was not the one who donated it to a library. For more on this, see: Ždralović, *Bosansko-hercegovački prepisivači*, pp. 105-107; Paić-Vukić, *The World of Mustafa Muhibbi*, pp. 94-97.

part of the kadi Şālih ‘Izzat Ḥromozāde collection: a two volume copy of *Wānqūlī*. These two volumes do not, however, bear notes of ownership by kadi Şālih ‘Izzat Ḥromozāde or his smaller seals, as found on the extant manuscripts.

This particular copy of the dictionary, the oldest printed book in any of the eastern languages kept in the Gāzī Hüsrev-bey library today, came out of Müteferriḳa’s press.¹⁰⁸⁷ While further research into the early printed books in the Gāzī Hüsrev-bey library might reveal other printed titles from the Ḥromozāde collection, the case remains that the collection belongs largely to the manuscript age of the Bosnian Muslim book culture when printed books were rare and expensive.

As far as the subject matter of the books is concerned, the greatest single group of works belongs to the field of Islamic jurisprudence. This is hardly surprising for a collection that once belonged to a kadi. There are at least 35 volumes of works of law, legal manuals, and collections of fatwas. These are followed by about ten works of Arabic grammar, syntax and morphology. The charter lists four dictionaries including *Wānqūlī*, *Dānistan*,¹⁰⁸⁸ an unspecified Persian-Arabic dictionary, and *Shāhidiyya*, the popular dictionary in verse.¹⁰⁸⁹ The prevalence of legal and language-related works is no doubt due to their practical application, since kadis had to be able to consult legal works easily and to clarify important passages in those manuals by resorting to grammar books or by looking up a word in a dictionary. The fact that legal manuals were needed for practical, every day purposes does not mean that they had to be modestly or cheaply made. Some of the most beautifully illustrated works from the Ḥromozāde collection are the works of jurisprudence such as *al-Hidāya fī al-fiqh al-Ḥanafī*.¹⁰⁹⁰ In one of the inheritance inventories there is a record of a

¹⁰⁸⁷ Fatima Tinjak, “Fond orijentalistike u Gazi Hüsrev-beyovoj biblioteci” [Orientalist Holdings in The Gāzī Hüsrev-bey Library], *Anali* XXXIV (2013), p. 144. As the title suggests, the article describes some of the oldest extant printed books in “oriental” languages (Ottoman, Arabic, Persian and Bosnian in Arabic script) in the Gāzī Hüsrev-bey Library. Inexplicably, information about the provenance of printed books is not entered in the catalogues. I only learned about this copy of *Wānqūlī* from the Ḥromozāde collection thanks to Ms Fatima Tinjak of the Gāzī Hüsrev-bey Library to whom I am grateful for sharing this information with me.

¹⁰⁸⁸ *Lughat-ı Dānistan* is the popular name for a Turkish-Persian dictionary entitled *Tuḥfat al-Hādiya* and composed by Maḥmūd b. al-ḥāj Ilyās, *Flügel* I, 145.

¹⁰⁸⁹ *Tuḥfa-i Shāhidī*, the popular Persian-Turkish dictionary in verse compiled by Ibrāhīm Shāhidī b. Hudā’ī-dede Mughlawī (d. 957/1550).

¹⁰⁹⁰ (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. For the image of the manuscript, see the Appendix.

collection of fatwas entitled *Fatāwā-yı ‘Abd al-Raḥīm* (the Fatwas of ‘Abd al-Raḥīm)¹⁰⁹¹ whose value was 14,640 *akçe*.¹⁰⁹² Collections of sermons (*maw’iza*) are another type of works with a practical application and there were several of those: *maw’iza* (of which there were two) and *Maw’izat Rajab Afandī* (the Sermons of Rajab Afandī).¹⁰⁹³ The *Maw’iza ma’ Fiqh-i Akbar* (Sermons with the Greatest Understanding) has not been preserved, but a copy of *Fiqh-i Akbar*¹⁰⁹⁴ is to be found as one of three texts bound in a single volume, the other two being prayer manuals: *Fiqh al-Kaydānī*¹⁰⁹⁵ and *al-Muqaddima Abī al-Layth al-Samarqandī fī al-ṣalāt*, a work on the daily prayers by Abū al-Layth Naṣr b. Muḥammad al-Samarqandī (d. 375/985).¹⁰⁹⁶

The works of Prophetic traditions (*ḥadīth*) works are represented by eight titles. In one case an extant volume reveals six minor hadith works bound up together. Overall there are about 20 mainly smaller works on hadith, as well as two major hadith collections, *Bukhārī* and *Kirmānī*.

There were two major works of Qur’anic exegesis (*tafsīr*), one by Fakhr al-din al-Razi,¹⁰⁹⁷ the other by Bayḍāwī in the form of *Hidāyat-i Shihāb*, which is a supercommentary on *Anwār al-tanzīl* by Shihāb al-din al-Miṣrī (d. 1069/1658). Three unidentified Qur’anic commentaries from the charter, which are now lost are: *Tafsīr li Kalām-i qadīm hadiyasi*, *Tafsīr surat-i Naba’*, *Tafsīr-i sharīf li ‘Abdillāh Abī Khayr* and an unspecified, incomplete (*nāqis*) tafsir in Turkish, *Türkī tefsīr-i şerīf*. One collective volume (*majmū’a*) contains several short commentaries on assorted Qur’anic suras.

¹⁰⁹¹ A collection of fatwas written by shaykh al-islām ‘Abd al-Raḥīm Muntashizāde Brusālī (d. 1128/1715), ‘OM II, 27.

¹⁰⁹² S11/104, 105.

¹⁰⁹³ Ms. 1706, *GHL* III, pp. 225, 226; *GAL* S II, 655.

¹⁰⁹⁴ *Al-Fiqh al-akbar* is a work of speculative theology (*kalām*) by Abū Ḥanīfa Nu’mān b. Thābit (d. 150/767), one of the founders of the four Sunni schools of jurisprudence, *S I*, 285/1.

¹⁰⁹⁵ Other titles under which this work appears are: *Mukhtaṣar al-ṣalāt*, *Muqaddimat al-ṣalāt*, *Shurūṭ al-ṣalāt*, *Talkhiṣ al-ṣalāt*, *Muṭālib al-muṣallī*, *Bab shurūṭ al-ṣalāt*. The authorship is ascribed variously to Luṭfallāh al-Nasafī al-Fāḍil al-Kaydānī who lived in the first half of the 10th/16th century, Muḥammad b. Ḥamza al-Fanārī (d. 834/1431) and Ibn Kemāl-pasha (d. 940/1533); *GAL* G II, 198, 234/4, 451/51.

¹⁰⁹⁶ *GAL* G I, 196.

¹⁰⁹⁷ A commentary on the first Qur’anic chapter (*sūrat al-Fātiḥa*) by Fakhr al-dīn Abū ‘Abdallāh Muḥammad b. ‘Umar al-Ḥusayn b. al-Khaṭīb al-Rāzī (d. 606/1209) from his large Qur’anic commentary *Mafātīḥ al-ghayb*, also known as *Mafātīḥ al-kabīr*, *GAL* G I, 506/3

According to the inheritance records, religious primers are the most commonly owned books, after *Muṣḥafs* and *An'āms*, and there were several of these in the original Ḥromozāde collection. They included *Kitāb al-muhimmāt* (Book of Important Things), also known as *al-Muhimmat fi al-'ibādāt* (the Important Things in Acts of Worship), a rare work by Ibn 'Ajīzī al-Barghamī.¹⁰⁹⁸ Indeed, not a single copy appears either in the inheritance records or in the Gāzī Hüsrev Library collections. Other works of this kind include: *Shir'at al-islām*,¹⁰⁹⁹ *Zubdat al-kalām*,¹¹⁰⁰ *Munyat al-muṣallī*,¹¹⁰¹ *Nūr-i یدāh*,¹¹⁰² and *Sharḥ Mu'addal al-ṣalāh*.¹¹⁰³ A translation probably in Turkish of Birkawī's popular work, is listed as *Tercüme-i Muḥammediyye*. The later additions to the collection include a *majmū'a* with a Turkish translation of *Shurūṭ al-ṣalāh* (Conditions of Prayer) and a book of advice for women entitled *Elli dört risālesi* (Fifty-four Epistles).

The collection is remarkable for having very few Ṣūfī works. There is *Durrat al-asrār li fakhr al-amṣār* (the Pearl of Secrets for the Glory of Barriers),¹¹⁰⁴ a collection of several fairly short works similar to *Risāla-i Khidr 'alayh al-salām* (the Epistle of Khidr, peace be upon him)¹¹⁰⁵ and two copies of *Kimyā-yi sa'ādat* (Alchemy of Happiness), both in Turkish translation.¹¹⁰⁶ Two works belong to the field of logic: *Shamsiyya fi al-mantiq* (the Sunny One on Logic),¹¹⁰⁷ which

¹⁰⁹⁸ Ms. 2476, *GHL* II, pp. 431, 432; *GAL* S II, 692.

¹⁰⁹⁹ "The Path of Islam", a religious primer written by Muḥammad b. Abū Bakr Imāmzāde al-Ṣaghri al-Ḥanafī (d. 573/1177), *ḤKh* II, 1044.

¹¹⁰⁰ Ms. 702, *GHL* III, pp. 398, 399; 'OM, II, p. 50. The full title of the work is *Zubdat al-kalām fīmā yaḥtāj ilayh al-khāṣṣ wa al-'ām* (The Cream of Speech Concerning What the Elect and the Commoners Need).

¹¹⁰¹ *Munyat al-muṣallī wa gunyat al-mubtadi'* (the Wish of the Worshipper and the Wealth of the Novice) by Sadīd al-dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Kashgharī (d. 705/1305), *GAL* S I, 659.

¹¹⁰² *Nūr al-īdāh wa najāt al-arwāh* (the Light of Clarification and Deliverance of Souls) by Ḥasan b. 'Ammār b. 'Alī b. Yūsuf al-Shurunbulālī al-Ḥanafī (d. 1069/1658), *GAL* G II, 313; *GAL* S II, 430.

¹¹⁰³ "A Commentary on the Balanced in Prayer", a commentary on the main text by Muḥammad b. Pīr 'Alī al-Birkawī (d. 981/1573), *GAL* G II, 440/9; Ms. 1593, *GHL* II, pp. 545, 546.

¹¹⁰⁴ Ms. 2100, *GHL* I, pp. 530-533.

¹¹⁰⁵ Ms. 1732, *GHL* III, pp. 236, 237; S, 663.

¹¹⁰⁶ Ms. R-628, *GHL* XIII, pp. 298, 299; Ms. R-1668, *GHL* XIII, pp. 300, 301. Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad al-Ghazālī al-Ṭūsī al-Shāfi'i (d. 505/1111), 'OM II, 43.

¹¹⁰⁷ The full title of this work is *al-Risāla al-shamsiyya fi al-qawā'id al-mantiqiyya*, written by Najm al-dīn 'Alī b. 'Umar al-Qazwīnī al-Kātibī (d. 675/1276 or 693/1294), *GAL* G I, 466; *GAL* S I, 845.

includes several shorter works in the field, and *Hāshiya-i Quṭb al-dīn Sulṭān Shāh* (the Supercommentary by Quṭb al-dīn Sulṭān Shāh).¹¹⁰⁸

Among the works of poetry (both secular and religious) there are: *Majmū'at-i abyāt* (a Collection of Verses),¹¹⁰⁹ *Risāla-i Qaṣīda-i Burda ma' qaṣā'id* (the Epistle of the Mantle Ode with Quatrains), *Dīwān-i Fahīm*, *Dīwān-i Qāsim fārsī*,¹¹¹⁰ *Dīwān musamm'(?), Ḥayriye-i Nābī, Ḥilye-i Ḥākānī*,¹¹¹¹ and *Qaṣīda-i burda*.¹¹¹² A latter addition to the collection includes a copy of *Divān-i 'Imād*.¹¹¹³

The collection has at least four works of history: the second volume of *Tārīkh-i Fīrūz Shāh* (History of Fīrūz Shāh), *Tārīkh-i khulafā* (History of Caliphs), *Tārīḥ-i Ḥasan Bak* (History by Ḥasan Bak), and *Tārīḥ-i Qandiya* (History of Crete). Two works with the word *tārīkh* in their title are really literary works: *Tārīḥ-i İskender* (History of Alexander)¹¹¹⁴ and *Tārīḥ-i Shehnāme* (History of Shāhnāme).¹¹¹⁵

Out of four volumes of medical texts, three bear general titles and give no authorship. The fourth is a treatise written by Muḥammadī, but I have not been able to identify its bibliographical details.

Works which stand out for their rarity in the inheritance inventories are Ibn Taymiyya's treatise on distinguishing saints, *Ta'lif Abī 'Abbās Taqī al-dīn Aḥmad fī tamyīz awliyā' al-Raḥmān* (the Writing of Abī 'Abbās Taqī al-dīn Aḥmad about distinguishing the friends of the Compassionate)¹¹¹⁶ and the afore-mentioned religious primer, *Muhimmāt*.

Like inheritance records, the kadi Şālih 'Izzat Ḥromozāde charter rarely specifies the language of the books. The only two cases are an incomplete (*nāqış*) *Türkī tefsīr-i şerīf* (the

¹¹⁰⁸ Ms. 1527, *GHL* V, p.73; full title: *Hāshiya 'alā sharḥ al-Shamsiyya li-Sulṭān Shāh*, a supercommentary by Sulṭān Shāh (d. 929/1523) on a commentary by al-Taftazānī on *al-Risāla al-shamsiyya*; *GAL* G I, 466.

¹¹⁰⁹ Ms. 1661, *GHL* IV.

¹¹¹⁰ *Dīwān-i Qāsim* or *Dīwān-i Qāsim al-Anwār* is a collection of Persian poetry by Sayyid Mu'in al-dīn 'Alī (d.837/1433), *Flügel* I, 582.

¹¹¹¹ Ms. 800, *GHL* I, pp. 543, 544. It is a poem in Turkish in praise of the Prophet by Muḥamad-beg Khāqānī (d. 1015/1606), 'OM II, 163.

¹¹¹² Ms. R-3191, *GHL* XVI, pp. 658, 659.

¹¹¹³ A collection of Persian poetry by 'Imād Kh^wāja Faqīh (d. 773/1372).

¹¹¹⁴ Ms. 1840, *GHL* IV, p. 192.

¹¹¹⁵ Ms. 1802, *GHL* IV, p. 218.

¹¹¹⁶ Ms. 675, *GHL* III, pp. 96-98.

Noble Commentary in Turkish) and *Dīvān-i Qāsim fārsī* (the Collection of Verses by Qāsim in Persian). The language is usually suggested indirectly, as in the case of a work of Arabic grammar (*Tercüme-i Kāfiye*), whose title indicates that it is a Turkish translation of the Arabic original. This is a major weakness of book lists, whether in the form of charters like kadi Şālîḥ 'Izzat Hromozāde's or inheritance records. One has to exercise caution in drawing conclusions based on them. This is well-illustrated by *Tārîḥ-i Shehnāme*, a work originally composed in Persian, but as the manuscript has been preserved, we know that what we have is a Turkish translation.¹¹¹⁷ The above-mentioned *Tārîḥ-i Fîrûz Shāh* (in fact *Tārîḥ-i Feyrûz Shāhî*) was composed in Persian.¹¹¹⁸

It might well have seemed that the collection did not contain any other other Persian works, except that, once again, the extant works include a volume entitled in the charter *Qaṣida-i burda* which in fact also contains a collection of short works in Persian, including hadith and theology. An occasional verse or proverb (such as the one warning against lending books) may be found in the works in Arabic and/or Turkish.¹¹¹⁹ Still, the absence of Persian classics, whether in the original or in translation, is striking, given the prevalence of 'Aṭṭār's *Pandnāme*, Sa'dī's *Kulistān* and Jāmī's *Bahāristān* in the inheritance records.

The kadi Şālîḥ 'Izzat Hromozāde collection highlights the importance of Ottoman Turkish for the transmission of learning, e.g. by way of Turkish-language religious primers, as well as through works originally composed in Arabic (e.g. *Murshid al-muta'ahhilin*, *Sharḥ-i Kāfiya*, *Türki tafsîr-i shariḥ*) or in Persian (e.g. *Kimyā-yi sa'adat*, *Shāhnāme*). There are no works in Bosnian.

Since the present study is concerned with book ownership in Bosnia, it would be interesting to know whether the collection at any stage contained works by Bosnian authors. No such work can be identified from the charter list. Nonetheless, the extant books do include a popular collection of fatwas entitled *Fatāwā-yi Aḥmadiyya* which was written by a mufti of Mostar, Ahmad b. Muḥammad al-Mūstārī (d. 1190/1776). The extant work listed as *majmū'a-i tārîkhāt* also contains fragments, including two chronograms (for

¹¹¹⁷ *Shehnāme* is also the title of a number of works by various Ottoman writers such as Mu'ālī, Kāshifi, and Ibn Qīṭfī who wrote them in Persian in imitation of Firdawsī's epic.

¹¹¹⁸ M. Athar Ali, "Ta'rikh", *EP* X, pp. 295, 296.

¹¹¹⁹ The saying is found on the margins of *Bahjat al-fatāwā* (the Pleasure of Fatwas). As Rosenthal stresses: "The failure to return books borrowed from libraries or individuals was often bemoaned in verse and prose", Franz Rosenthal, "'Of Making Many Books There Is No End:' the Classical Muslim View" in *The Book in the Islamic World: the Written Word and Communication in the Middle East*, ed. by George N. Atiyeh, p. 38.

the building of the Blagaj *takka* near Mostar by mufti ‘Alī-afandī and for his death) and poems composed by a Mostar poet, Kūnāhī, most of which are believed to have been taken over from the *majmū‘a* belonging to shaikh Yūyō.¹¹²⁰

A *majmū‘a*, whose relation to the original collection is uncertain, includes a copy of *Rawḍāt al-jannāt fī uṣūl al-‘itiqādāt* (Garden Meadows on the Principles of Beliefs), a work of speculative theology (*kalām*) by Ḥasan Kāfī al-Aqḥiṣārī.¹¹²¹

A major difference between a charter book list such as Hromozade’s and a inheritance record is that the charter does not use some of the general terms for books: *kitāb* (book), *kutub* (books), *risāla* (epistle), *nuskha* (copy), and *awraq-i parishan* (loose papers). In general, each volume is identified, even where they comprise several works, with the exception of a few volumes simply labelled *majmū‘as*.

As to the age of the Hromozāde books, based on the catalogue description, seventeen were copied in the 12th/18th century, eleven in the 11th/17th century, seven in the 10th/16th century, and six in the 9th/15th century. Two are from the 13th/19th century and one the 8th/14th century.

5.4.a: Borrowers of Hromozāde Books

In two places in his charter kadi Ṣālīḥ ‘Izzat prohibited lending of the books. The first prohibition extends to so long as the books remain under the supervision of his male descendants. Were the male line of his family to die out, the books were to be transferred to the ‘Uthmān Shahdī library from which they were not to be issued on loan either.

Nonetheless, notes on extant volumes from the collection make clear that the books were borrowed. The name of one particular borrower appears on eleven works. He is ‘Abdallāh Qā’ūqchizāde (d. 1235-1295/1820-1878), the imam of the Gāzī Hüsrev-bey Mosque. A note of his borrowing appears on eleven works and, with slight variations, reads: “This book is from the received possessions of Hromozāde and this book was with me on loan and I am the poor Qā’ūqchizāde al-shaykh ‘Abdallāh.”¹¹²² ‘Abdallāh Qā’ūqchizāde is best known as

¹¹²⁰ Ms. 2106, *GHL* IV, p. 346.

¹¹²¹ Ms. 722, *GHL* I, p. 484; *GAL* G II, 443/1.

¹¹²² . بو کتاب من تملکات هروموزاده و کان هذا الكتاب عندي عارية و انا الفقير قاوقجي زاده الشيخ عبدالله . In all instances Qā’ūqchizāde writes Hromozāde’s surname as هروموزاده .

one of the leaders of military resistance to Austria-Hungary's takeover of Bosnia, for which he was hanged on 24 August, 1878.¹¹²³

Manuscript books often include sayings or verses against book-borrowing. Persian verses written inside the copy of *Bahjat al-fatāwā* (the Pleasure of Fatwas) from the kadi Šāliḥ 'Izzat Ḥromozāde collection compares book-lending to lending one's beloved:

*Oh you who will demand this book from me,
if I do not give it to you, sadness will overcome you.
The book is the beloved of knowers,
and you never yield the beloved – that cannot be.*¹¹²⁴

5.4.b: The kadi Šāliḥ 'Izzat Ḥromozāde Collection in the Light of Other Book Collections from the Inheritance Inventories

The Ḥromozāde collection is usually described as one of the biggest and most important collections from the Ottoman period of Bosnian history. This may be true in comparison with the extant book collections, but it is interesting to note that when compared with the book collections registered in the inheritance records, the original Ḥromozāde collection as listed in the charter is not particularly large. The following table shows the biggest book collections as recorded in Sarajevo inheritance records, giving the name of the owner, the date of entry, profession (when indicated), the number of volumes or texts (since some entries give us only the number of volumes) and the cash value of the collection:

	Book owner	Date of entry	Profession	No. of volumes or texts	Cash value
1.	Chūqajizāde faḍilatlu Muḥammad Jūdī-afandī ibn Muṣṭafā-bak (S55/193-194)	5 Jumādā al-Awwal 1230 / 15 April 1815	kadi	410 vols.	2,548 <i>guruş</i>
2.	'Umar Zuhdī-afandī ibn 'Alī-afandī (S48/72-75)	11 Jumādā al-Awwal 1223 / 5 July 1808		267	51,131 <i>para</i> ; 1,278 <i>guruş</i>
3.	al-ḥāj 'Abdallāh-afandī ibn al-ḥāj Ibrāhīm- afandī (S35/69-73)	10 Jumādā al-Awwal 1209 / 3 December 1794		252	139,193 <i>akçe</i>
4.	Foynichawi sābiqan	17 Shawwāl 1184 /		237	114,447

¹¹²³ Donia, *Sarajevo*, pp. 40, 56.

¹¹²⁴ ای انکه زمن کتاب خواهد گر من نداهم ترا غم اید معشوقه عارفان کتابست معشوقه بکنی دهد نشاید

	Saray muftī al-ḥāj Muḥammad afandī ibn Yūsuf / (S11/104, 105)	3 February 1771			<i>akçe</i>
5.	‘arakiyeci al-ḥāj Ibrāhīm-afandī ibn al-ḥāj Durāq / S18/162-165	11 Rabī al-Ākhir 1191 / 17 May 1777	merchant	219	212, 162 <i>akçe</i>
6.	al-ḥāj Muḥammad-afandī ibn Walī al-dīn Khwāja ibn Durāq / S25/99-101; S25/100-102	25 Jumādā al-Awwal 1200 / 26 March 1786		209	98,289 <i>akçe</i>
7.	Pāralik ḥāfiẓ al-ḥāj Aḥmad-afandī bin Ḥamza (S40/86-88)	29 Shawwāl 1215 / 15 March 1801		204	129,983 <i>akçe</i>
8.	al-ḥāj Dūrāqzāde al-ḥāj Ibrāhīm-afandī (S15/67-69)	7 Muḥarram 1188 / 20 March 1774		188	264,000 <i>akçe</i> or 1,100 <i>guruş</i>
9.	Khayrīzāde Muḥammad Sa’id-afandī (S50/78-82)	15 Şafar 1226 / 11 March 1811	kadi	167 vols	2,787 <i>guruş</i> , 10 <i>para</i>
10.	Şāliḥ ‘Izzat Ḥromozāde / S66 / 207, 208	9 Muḥarram 1244 / 22 July 1828	kadi	159 vols	–
11.	Müstārizāde mullā Muştafā bin Aḥmad-afandī (S39/188-192)	5 Muḥarram 1215 / 29 May 1800		151	157,020 <i>akçe</i> ; 654 <i>guruş</i> , 8 <i>para</i>
12.	Müstārī Aḥmad-afandī ibn ‘Umar (S33/56, 57)	21 Şafar 1207 / 8 October 1792		141	60,000 <i>akçe</i>
13.	Lughawīzāde Aḥmad-afandī ibn al-ḥāj Ḥasan-afandī (S14/35, 36)	6 Jumādā al-Ākhir 1186 / 4 September 1772		136	97,200 <i>akçe</i>
14.	mudarris Şāliḥ-afandī ibn Sha’bān (S55/183-185)	3 Muḥarram 1230 / 16 December 1814	professor	115	572 <i>guruş</i> , 30 [<i>para</i>].
15.	Jannatīzāde Ismā’il-bak ibn Aḥmad-āghā / S18/14-16	21 Rabī’ al-Ākhir 1191 / 29 May 1777		97	41,636 <i>akçe</i>
16.	Bāqrīzāde Ibrāhīm-āghā ibn al-ḥāj Muştafā (S66/135-139)	fī gurrat Muḥarram 1243 / 25 July 1827		97	5,397 <i>guruş</i> , 36 <i>para</i>
17.	Muftīzāde Muḥammad-afandī bin Muḥammad-afandī (S45/12)	23 Muḥarram 1220 / 23 April 1805		88	8,800 <i>para</i> .

Table I: the largest book collections from the Sarajevo inheritance inventories for 1118/1707-1244/1828, ranked by size

Kadi Şāliḥ ‘Izzat Ḥromozāde’s collection is the 10th largest, in other words, not particularly large. But, when compared with other kadis in the inheritance records, it turns out to be

the third largest collection. There were 24 kadis whose inheritance is registered for the period under consideration (see the table on the following page). The earliest dates back to 24 Şafar 1184/19 June 1770 and the latest to 1 Dhū'l-Qa'da 1229/15 October 1814. Of these 24 kadis, nine owned fewer than 25 volumes. Two collections were of middling size, at 51 and 62 volumes respectively. Compared with most other kadis, Şālih 'Izzat Hromozāde comes across as someone who was not just a kadi with books, but someone who was a book collector, a bibliophile. This is supported by the rarity and beauty of some of his books. It is clear that his interests went beyond his immediate professional needs as kadi to include works of religion, poetry, literature, and history. These were not just books for reading, but also possessions to be treasured, something confirmed by his decision to make them into an endowment. The following table lists the largest book collections in the estates left by kadis according to the Sarajevo inheritance inventories for 1118-1244/1707-1828:

	Name & source	Date of entry	Collection	Value
1.	Chūqajizāde faḍilatlu Muḥammad Jūdī-afandī ibn Muṣṭafā-bak (S55/193-194)	5 Jumādā al-Awwal 1230 / 15 April 1815	410 vols	2,548 <i>guruş</i>
2.	Khayrīzāde Muḥammad Sa'īd-afandī (S50/78-82)	15 Şafar 1226 / 11 Mar 1811	167 texts	2,787 <i>guruş</i> , 10 <i>para</i>
3.	Şālih 'Izzat bin Ismā'il Hromozade	9 Muḥarram 1244 / 22 July 1828	159 vols	
4.	Khayrīzāde Ibrāhīm Adham-afandī ibn Muḥammad Sa'īd-afandī (S55/258-261)	fī gurrat Rabī' al-Awwal 1230 / 11 February 1815	94 texts	2,851.5 <i>guruş</i>
5.	Khayrīzāde 'Abdallāh 'Ākif-afandī ibn Muḥammad Sa'īd-afandī / S54/107-9	1 Dhū'l-Qa'da 1229 / 15 October 1814	76 texts	935 <i>guruş</i> , 219 <i>para</i>
6.	al-ḥāj 'Alī-afandī ibn Qāsim-bak (S22/156, 157)	2 Jumādā al-Ākhir 1197 / 5 May 1783	65 texts	17,220 <i>akçe</i>
7.	Chūqajizāde Aḥmad-afandī ibn Muṣṭafā-bak (S58/89-91)	fī gurrat Jumādā al-Awwal 1233 / 9 March 1818	48 texts	
8.	al-ḥāj Mūsāzāde Darwīsh 'Alī-afandī ibn Sulaymān-afandī (S49/58)	5 Dhū'l-Hijja 1224 / 11 January 1810	43 texts	6,200 <i>para</i>
9.	al-ḥāj Mūsāzāde Sulaymān Najīb-afandī ibn Yaḥyā-afandī ibn Sulaymān-afandī (S36/86-88)	26 Jumādā al-Ākhir 1210 / 7 January 1796	36 texts	44,332 <i>akçe</i>

10.	Bakzāde Ibrāhīm-afandī ibn Ibrāhīm-āghā ibn Muṣṭafā-āghā (S41/190, 193)	23 Muḥarram 1217 / 26 May 1802	35 texts	5,334 <i>para</i>
11.	Ismā'il-afandī (S16/150)		33 texts	14,685 <i>akçe</i>
12.	Sanūnichālī (?) Muṣṭafā 'Arif-afandī ibn 'Alī-afandī (S54/72, 73)	13 Jumādā al-Ākhir 1229 / 2 June 1814	31 texts	15 <i>guruş</i> , 2,282 <i>para</i>
13.	Yūsuf-afandī bin Amīn Muḥammad-afandī ibn Yūsuf-afandī (S11/125, 126)	24 Şafar 1184 / 19 June 1770	25 texts	27,426 <i>akçe</i>
14.	Khālīşī al-ḥāj 'Alī-afandī ibn shaykh Ḥasan (S32/84-85)	fī gurrat Jumādā al-Ākhir 1206 / 26 January 1792	24 texts	20,514 <i>akçe</i>
15.	Yahyā-afandī ibn al-ḥāj Aḥmad-afandī (S22/231, 232)	19 Sha'bān 1197 / 20 July 1783	22 texts	25,418 <i>akçe</i>
16.	Fūchawī Aḥmad-afandī ibn 'Umar-afandī (S38/34, 35)	fī gurrat Dhū'l-Ḥijja 1213 / 6 May 1799	20 vols	9,600 <i>akçe</i>
17.	Āghāzāde 'Abdallāh-afandī ibn Muḥammad-afandī ibn 'Umar-afandī / S14/38, 39	27 Jumādā al-Awwal 1186 / 26 August 1772	20 texts	4,300 <i>akçe</i> (?)
18.	Dhū al-Fiqār Fayḍallāh-afandī ibn Aḥmad (S34/68, 69)	21 Jumādā al-Awwal 1208 / 25 December 1793	13 texts	36,720 <i>akçe</i>
19.	ḥāfiẓ Ibrāhīm-afandī ibn al-ḥāj Muṣṭafā-afandī (S39/176-8)	15 Muḥarram 1215 / 8 June 1800	10 texts	22,194 <i>akçe</i> (?)
20.	al-ḥāj Sa'dallāh-afandī ibn Muṣṭafā-afandī (S57/140-139 red ink; 15-16 pencil)	21 Dhū'l-Ḥijja 1231 / 12 November 1816	10 texts	
21.	Kūrkchizāde 'Abdallāh-afandī ibn 'Alī-afandī (S55/253-255)	fī gurrat Muḥarram 1230 / 14 December 1814	7 texts	88.5 <i>guruş</i> 30 <i>para</i>
22.	Lūmlī Sulaymān-afandī ibn Aḥmad-afandī (S54/58)	7 Jumādā al-Ākhir 1229 / 27 May 1814	4 texts	375 <i>para</i>
23.	Ḥasan-afandī ibn Muḥammad-āghā (S31/162)	fī gurrat Sha'bān 1204 / 16 April 1790	1 text	4,800 <i>akçe</i>
24.	'Alī Qāḍizāde Muṣṭafā-afandī ibn 'Alī-afandī (S51/19, 20)	fī gurrat Jumādā al-Awwal 1226 / 24 May 1811	-	-

Table II: Kadis' book collections according to the Sarajevo inheritance records for 1118-1244/1707-1828

Conclusion

The Gāzī Hüsrev-bey Library in Sarajevo holds a collection of books which once belonged to Şāliḥ ‘Izzat Ḥromozāde, a kadi who lived in the second half of the 12th/18th and the early 13th/19th centuries. Although described in the literature as a native of Stolac in southern Bosnia, there is no clear evidence to support the claim. An analysis of his surname shows that his family origins may well be from the region of Sarajevo. Şāliḥ ‘Izzat Ḥromozāde served as a kadi in various towns in present-day Bosnia and Albania but not, it seems, in Sarajevo, where he was living at the time of the charter’s issuance. In other words, he was a kadi from Sarajevo, but he never served as a kadi of Sarajevo.¹¹²⁵ In 1244/1828, he registered his collection as an endowment bequest, one of the only two such bequests recorded in the Sarajevo court protocols for 1118-1244/1707-1828.

Several documents reveal him as an active participant in the struggle between the local Bosnian political forces against the centralizing policies of the Porte and his circle of friends and associates included prominent opponents of the central authorities in Istanbul. Two documents signed by the then Bosnian governor report on kadi Şāliḥ ‘Izzat Ḥromozāde as one of the main instigators of anti-Porte agitation. It is not clear if the governor’s proposal for the transfer of kadi Şāliḥ ‘Izzat to a post outside Bosnia was carried through. The last record of kadi Şāliḥ is a document listing the male inhabitants of Sarajevo in 1257/1841. Apart from the charter, the most interesting document about the kadi is a court case brought against him by another *‘ālim* in a dispute over payment for a dictionary.

Basheskī does not seem to mention him in the *Chronicle*. Whatever his origins, he was socially well-connected, as attested to by his and his children’s marriages into prominent Sarajevo families, some of them of a kadi background.

Kadi Şāliḥ ‘Izzat Ḥromozāde’s collection appears to have consisted exclusively of manuscript books, mainly in Arabic, Ottoman Turkish and Persian. The only clear exception is a printed copy of *Wanqūlī*, which was probably added to the collection by one of his sons.

Several works from his collection also show the importance of Ottoman Turkish in mediating the diffusion of works originally written in Arabic and Persian.

¹¹²⁵ In this regard his career is similar to that of Muştafā Muḥibbī. See: Tatjana-Paić Vukić, *The World of Mustafa Muhibbi, a Sarajevo kadi*.

It is hard to know to what extent a private book collection turned into a family endowment reflects the reading interests of its former owner. In all likelihood it reflects only one's book ownership.

It would be an exaggeration to say that his collection was outstandingly large in comparison with other book collections of the period (1118/1707-1244/1828), among which it ranks as the 10th largest of those known to us from the inheritance records. At the same time, it was the third largest collection belonging to a kadi during the same period.

His collection is important because it represents symbolically a meeting point of various strands in the history of Bosnian libraries. It is a major example of a Bosnian book collection made into an endowment. Later on it was transferred to one of the few purpose-built Sarajevo libraries of the Ottoman era, the 'Uthmān Shahdī library, which unfortunately no longer exists, before being housed in the Gāzī Hüsrev-bey Library, where it now remains.

Chapter Six: Bosnian Muslim Written Culture as Reflected in Traditional Oral Poetry and Folklore

As with most pre-modern societies, Bosnia in the 12th/18th and early 13th/19th centuries was a predominantly oral society. For the purposes of this dissertation, it is pertinent to ask both what the significance of possessing books in such a society was and how the forms and expressions of oral culture can help us understand book ownership better in the pre-modern period. The present chapter proposes to answer these questions by referring to two sources rooted in orality and folklore: oral poetry and beliefs and customs related to book culture.

A Bosnian Muslim living in 12th/18th or early 13th/19th century Sarajevo was exposed to two principal types of poetry. The first was high literary poetry, composed in Arabic, Ottoman, and Persian and cultivated by a small minority, made up largely of the scholarly class (*‘ulamā’*), bureaucrats, poets and men of letters, though there were no doubt also merchants and even artisans whose *madrassa* education or private tuition had provided a sufficient mastery of these languages for them to be able to appreciate such poetry. Nelly Hanna has sought to highlight the role of the Cairene middle classes, who were educated without being scholarly. There was also a small corpus of poetry with didactic content written in the vernacular and in Arabic script, mostly composed by Sufis. We may nonetheless assume that competence in these languages varied greatly, even among educated Sarajevans, ranging from the no doubt small minority who would not have felt out of place in the literary salons of the great imperial centres of culture, on the one hand, to the majority with at best a smattering of these languages, on the other. We have seen how Basheskī comments on the varying degrees of linguistic competence of his fellow Sarajevans (*Chapter Two: Sarajevo and Its Book Culture 1109-1244/1697-1828*).

The second was traditional oral poetry, which is usually subdivided into epic and lyric. The oral epics were accompanied on the tambour or, rather more commonly, the *gusla*, a single-stringed instrument played with a bow and found throughout the Balkans. Sung in the Slavic vernacular, this type of poetry obviously commanded a much broader Bosnian following and was popular among various sections of society, both the sophisticated town-folk and simple villagers, men and women, rich and poor. Basheskī mentions a man who could name “by heart all the heroes of the Krajina [the Bosnian frontier zone] and their military units in a single song. He memorized all the heroic songs and in that he was a kind

of a *ḥāfiẓ* [a person who has memorized the Qur'an] or something of that sort."¹¹²⁶ The second sub-type of poetry includes love songs, also known as women's songs, insofar as they were usually sung by women. Both these types of traditional oral poetry contain relatively frequent reference to written culture in general and to book culture in particular. We shall present the references in order to see how these genres present written culture and book culture to their audiences.

Another possible way of understanding book ownership in the pre-modern era is to examine book-related customs and beliefs. The book is not used only for reading, reciting, copying, buying, selling, donating or displaying. Certain other book-related customs, especially those centring on the Qur'an as a material book, were to be found throughout the Muslim world, including for example the use of the Qur'an for divinatory purposes. Others appear to be peculiar to Bosnia, as is the case with the custom of holding a copy of the Qur'an above the bride's head during the wedding ceremony, a practice understood to be rooted in Bosnia's pre-Ottoman past.

Taken together, the twin sources of traditional oral poetry and book-related customs cast additional light on the meaning and function of book ownership and in that way complement the written sources in the form of inheritance records, chronicles, and high poetry.

6.1 Oral Poetry on Writing and Book Culture

It is beyond the scope of this dissertation to examine all the published collections of traditional oral poetry which originated among Bosnian Muslims during the Ottoman period. The intention here is not to document every reference to writing and book culture in those collections, but to look at certain particularly illustrative ones.¹¹²⁷ Before

¹¹²⁶ "Serḥad erlerinin adları bütün bir türkiye ve çete etdikleri yerleri hep bir türki söylerdi, ḥāfiẓ idi öyle şeyde," MMB, fol. 135b; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 351.

¹¹²⁷ References to written culture in South Slavic poetry have not been the subject of systematic study. For a brief overview of these references, see: Josip Milaković, *Knjiga i pismo u našoj narodnoj pjesmi: građa za narodnu pedagogiju* [the Book and the Letter in our Folk Poetry: Materials for Popular Pedagogy] (Sarajevo: Naklada knjižare L. Finzi, 1911). Another study, also limited in scope, is: Hifzija Suljkić, *Islam u bošnjačkoj narodnoj poeziji* [Islam in Bosniak Folk Poetry] (Tuzla: Izdavačko-trgovinsko preduzeće R&S Tuzla, 2003). A useful tool for identifying motifs in South Slavic oral poetry is Branislav Krstić's *Indeks motiva narodnih pesama Balkanskih Slovena* [A Motif Index for the Folk Songs of the Balkan Slavs] (in the summary, for some reason, translated as *A Motif Index for the Epic Poetry of the Balkan Slavs* (Beograd: Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti, posebna

presenting the material taken from these collections, let me briefly explain their significance and the reasons behind the choice.

The Wife of Hasanaga: In 1774 the Italian abbot and scholar Alberto Fortis published his *Travels through Dalmatia* in which he included a poem he had heard from the Slavic-speaking inhabitants of the Imotski region, an area that formed part of Ottoman Bosnia between 898/1493 and 1129/1717. Known in Bosnian as *Hasanaginica* (literally *the wife of Hasan-āghā*)¹¹²⁸, the poem, a recent version of which is entitled *the Sad Song of the Noble Wife of Hasan-aga*, is a ballad of less than 100 lines and it is about love and betrayal. This poem is not the earliest specimen of traditional Bosnian Muslim oral poetry to have been written down,¹¹²⁹ but it was the first South Slavic folk song to be translated into other languages and widely publicized.¹¹³⁰ *Hasanaginica* contains references to written culture in a way typical of much traditional Bosnian oral poetry, even though it certainly does not exhaust the possibilities. This fact, coupled with the poem's significance for cultural history, makes it a natural starting point for exploring references to written culture in Bosnian Muslim oral poetry.

Women's songs from the Milman Parry collection: This collection of songs from the Milman Parry collection at Harvard University is another source.¹¹³¹ It includes audio-recordings of

izdanja, knjiga DLV, Odeljenje jezika i književnosti, knjiga 36, 1984). The study is clearly inspired by the Stith Thompson's *Motif Index of Folk Literature* (6 volumes, 1955-8). The author occasionally mentions motifs from written culture. See also the Index of motifs, *ibid.*, pp. 463-501.

¹¹²⁸ Alberto Fortis, *Viaggio in Dalmazia, I-II* (Venezia, 1774). For an English translation of Fortis' travelogue, see: Alberto Fortis, *Travels Into Dalmatia* (London, 1778). The poem was recorded among Dalmatian Christians, whom Fortis mysteriously calls *Morlacchi*, but its Muslim background is obvious. The events it describes must have happened before 1717, when the region of Imotski, in which they are set, fell to the Venetians prompting the flight of its Muslim population.

¹¹²⁹ The earliest recorded specimens of Bosnian Muslim poems date back to the "Erlangen Manuscript" from the early 18th century.

¹¹³⁰ The poem's extraordinary appeal is clear from the fact that its translators included Goethe, Byron, Scott, Bowring, Mérimée, Mickiewicz, Pushkin, and Lermontov, see Malcolm, *Bosnia: a Short History*, p. 78. For the significance of the song, translations into various languages and an extensive bibliography, see: *Hasanaginica 1774-1974: prepjevi, varijante studije* [*Hasanaginica 1774-1974: versions, variants, studies*] ed. with a foreword by Alija Isaković (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1975).

¹¹³¹ *Embroidered With Gold, Strung With Pearls: the Traditional Ballads of Bosnian Women, Publications of the Milman Parry Collection of Oral Literature No. I*, ed. by Aida Vidan, (The Milman Parry Collection of Oral Literature, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 2003). Aida Vidan's study focuses on forty songs and their variants or

songs made by the American scholar Milman Parry in Yugoslavia in the 1920s, together with his student, Albert B. Lord, who would later expand his teacher's work.¹¹³² This particular study consists of a selection of the so-called women's songs, i.e. songs sung by Bosnian Muslim women from the Milman Parry collection.

Folks Songs of the Muhammedans in Bosnia-Herzegovina by Kosta Hormann was published in 1899 and it remains the most popular collection of Bosnian Muslim oral poetry.¹¹³³ Originally published as *Narodne pjesme muhamedovaca u Bosni i Hercegovini* [Folks Songs of the Muhammedans in Bosnia-Herzegovina] the collection includes 85 poems, varying in length from 97 lines ("Filip General osvaja Zvornik," I, pp. 300-303), to 1722 lines ("Džanan Buljugbaša i Rakocija", I, pp. 95-145). Only nine poems do not contain some reference to written culture.

Serb Folks Songs is a major collection of oral material by the Serbian ethnographer and linguist Vuk Stefanović Karadžić and it comprises the material collected from the speakers of the *štokavian* dialect, all of whom Vuk considered ethnic Serbs regardless of religion. I have drawn from the songs thought to come originally from the Bosnian Muslim community.¹¹³⁴ Lastly, several examples are taken from three smaller collections of published oral poetry.¹¹³⁵

"multiforms" (Albert Lord's term) from the Milman Parry collection, which were sung by women singers born between the 1860s and the 1910s. In contrast to Vidan's study on the lyrical songs referred to as women's songs, Kosta Hörmann's cycle comprises the epic or the so-called men's songs, which are introduced on the next page.

¹¹³² Their work led to the formulation of the Parry-Lord theory in literary and folklore studies. For a critical appraisal of the theory, see: Ruth Finnegan, *Oral Poetry: Its Nature, Significance and Social Context* (Cambridge University Press, 1977), pp. 58-87.

¹¹³³ *Narodne pjesme Bošnjaka u Bosni i Hercegovini, I-II*, collected by Kosta Hörmann 1889-1889, ed. with an introduction by Đenana Buturović (Preporod: Sarajevo, 1996). Originally published as *Narodne pjesme muhamedovaca u Bosni i Hercegovini* [Folks Songs of the Muhammedans in Bosnia-Herzegovina] the collection includes 85 poems, varying in length from 97 lines ("Filip General osvaja Zvornik", *Narodne pjesme Bošnjaka u Bosni i Hercegovini*, I, pp. 300-303), to 1722 lines ("Džanan Buljugbaša i Rakocija", *Narodne pjesme Bošnjaka u Bosni i Hercegovini*, I, pp. 95-145). Only nine poems do not contain references to written culture.

¹¹³⁴ *Srpske narodne pjesme* [Serb Folk Songs], collected and edited by Vuk Stefanović Karadžić (Beograd: Zavod za udžbenike, 2006).

¹¹³⁵ Hifzija Suljkić, *Islam u bošnjačkoj narodnoj poeziji* [Islam in Bosniak Folk Poetry] (Tuzla: Izdavačko-trgovinsko preduzeće R&S Tuzla, 2003); Sait Orahovac, *Stare narodne pjesme muslimana Bosne i Hercegovine* [Old folk songs of

After going through these published sources, I have identified two sets of references that are relevant for this dissertation. The first is concerned with written culture in general, while the second relates to book culture in particular. The first includes: 1) letter-writing, 2) administrative documents, 3) the use of charms and talismans, and 4) references to script. References to book culture belong to one of the following categories: 1) books in general, 2) the scriptures, and 3) book symbolism.

I will begin by summarizing examples of references to written culture, partly because they are more numerous and partly because describing them helps set the references to book culture into a wider context of the written word. The references to book culture will be backed by quotations from the original verses.

1.a Letters

By far the most common reference to written culture to be found in Bosnian Muslim oral poetry is to letter-writing. In most cases the word used for letter is *knjiga*, which in modern Bosnian (as in Croatian and Serbian) means *book*.¹¹³⁶ The modern word for letter, *pismo*, appears much less frequently. Sometimes the message is delivered in the form of papers (*ćage* = *kāğid*), a piece of paper (*listak*) or a sheet of paper (*hartija*). The word *nama* (from Persian via Ottoman Turkish *nāme*) is seldom used.¹¹³⁷

The poems about letter-writing contain numerous references to pens (*pero*), ink (*murećef*), ink-pots (*divit*), paper (*papir*), seals (*muhur*), etc. Several poems describe the use of blood for writing letters between lovers due to the absence of ink, but perhaps more importantly also as a sign of love and fidelity.¹¹³⁸ Messengers are often mentioned in their capacity of carrying and delivering letters. A messenger may be mentioned as a particular person with a name (e.g. a friend), or an anonymous messenger referred to as *tatar*¹¹³⁹ i.e. a postman

the Bosnian Muslims] (Svjetlost: Sarajevo, 1976); *Sa gornjeg čardaka*, [From the upper belvedere] ed. by Munib Maglajlić and Smail F. Terzić (Tešanj, 1976).

¹¹³⁶ Petar Skok, *Etimologijski rječnik hrvatskog ili srpskog jezika, II* [Etymological Dictionary of the Croatian or Serbian Language] eds. by Mirko Deanović and Ljudevit Jonke (Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti: Zagreb, 1972), p. 109. This double meaning is not peculiar to Bosnian. The Greek *χάρτα* and Romanian *carte* can also mean both a letter and a book, *ibid*, p. 110.

¹¹³⁷ Hörmann, *Narodne pjesme Bošnjaka, I*, p. 169.

¹¹³⁸ Vidan, *Embroidered With Gold*, p. 105. Using blood instead of ink is a common theme in Bosnian and South Slavic poetry in general.

¹¹³⁹ Škaljić, *Turcizmi*, pp. 602, 603.

mounted on a horse, known as the *menzil* horse (post-horse) or simply *menzil*. Sometimes the messenger is referred to as *knjigonoša* (letter-carrier).¹¹⁴⁰ In a few poems, messages are delivered by falcons.¹¹⁴¹

Going back to the example of *Hasanaginica*, the ballad is about the tragic fate of the wife of a Bosnian nobleman. When her husband wrongfully accuses her of infidelity and divorces her, she is unable to bear the pain of separation from her five children and dies of a broken heart. This relatively short poem refers to writing and reading in five instances: 1) Hasan-āghā sends a letter of divorce to his wife; 2) his wife's brother presents his sister with the letter of divorce, 3) the wife reads the letter, 4) she asks her brother to write a letter on her behalf to her new husband, 5) the *kadi* reads her letter.¹¹⁴²

1.b Administrative Documents

Oral poetry often contains references to various types of administrative document: the *fermān* (imperial edict) is perhaps the most commonly mentioned type, followed by *maḥzar* (a round-robin signed by all present), *buyruldu* (imperial decree), *‘arzuḥāl* (a written petition), *ḳātil-buyruldu* (a death sentence), etc.

Occasionally one comes across references to registers (*defters*), usually in the sense of army registers of soldiers and horses in preparation for a military campaign.¹¹⁴³

Sometimes a poem or sections of a poem are so replete with references to various types of document that they almost appear a versified record of an administrative paper-trail. The poem “Dženani Bubljugaša i Rakocija”¹¹⁴⁴ mentions the following items related to written culture: *maḥzar* (a round-robin signed by all present), *muhur* (seal), *muhur-sahibija* (seal-

¹¹⁴⁰ Vidan, *Embroidered With Gold*, p. 110. On the postal service in the Ottoman Bosnia, see: Milan Ljiljak *Pošta, telegraf i telefon u Bosni i Hercegovini, I* [Post, Telegraph and Telephone in Bosnia-Herzegovina] (Preduzeće PTT Saobraćaja: Sarajevo, 1975), 47-124.

¹¹⁴¹ Hörmann, *Narodne pjesme Bošnjaka, I*, p. 157.

¹¹⁴² There are minor differences in the translation as against the original text, due to poetic (or translator's) license. However, it should be noted that the original verses imply sending a message in writing, as in the verse: *ter poruča vjernoj ljubi svojoj*, which Francis Jones translates as: *He sends a letter to his loyal love*), “The sad ballad of the noble lady Hasan Aginica”, tr. By Francis Jones, *Forum Bosnae* 51 (2010), p. 270. Having said that, Scott's translation also refers to writing: “wrote the stern chieftain this severing line/ – ‘Away from my Castle/ its mistress no longer/ Away from my children and all that is mine’-..”, *Hasanaginica 1774-1974*, p. 238.

¹¹⁴³ Hörmann, *Narodne pjesme Bošnjaka, II*, p. 330.

¹¹⁴⁴ Hörmann, *Narodne pjesme Bošnjaka, II*, pp. 95-145.

master), *aman-pismo* (letter of clemency), *tatar* or *tatarin* (a horse-mounted messenger), *tatar-aga* (chief messenger), *menzil* or *menzilski konj* (postal horse), *menzilhana* (postal station), *tura* (imperial monogram), *ćatibi* (scribes), and *tefterhana* (finance office). The poem also contains references to letters, books, gospels, and the Qur'an, of which more will be said shortly.¹¹⁴⁵

1.c. Charms and Talismans

Traditional oral poetry also contains numerous references to charms and talismans. In one poem we learn of a boy and a girl who are deeply in love with one another and just as their wedding ceremony is performed and before the marriage is consummated, the boy falls ill. The young couple continue to live separately in their parents' homes. Time goes by and the boy remains ill. Torn between her love and the constant nagging by her parents to move on in life and find another husband, the girl asks the boy to allow her to marry, if he thinks he will not recover. He gives her permission to marry whomsoever she chooses. On the day of her wedding to another man and as the wedding party is passing by the boy's home, the girl asks her future brother-in-law to allow her one final visit to the sick boy. After performing ablutions and prayer, she enters the room where he lies on the bed. She takes out her "magic-prayer book" (*sihir hamajlija*) and, as she starts reciting (*učiti*), the boy's health is gradually restored. With each Qur'anic verse (Bosnian: *ajet*; Arabic: *āya*) she recites, the boy makes a full recovery and the couple finally gets married.¹¹⁴⁶

¹¹⁴⁵ Hörmann, *Narodne pjesme Bošnjaka*, I, p. 106.

¹¹⁴⁶ Vidan, *Embroidered With Gold*, p. 128. The story resembles the tradition on how the Prophet became ill after a spell was cast over him, from which he recovered when his son-in-law 'Ali (the fourth caliph and the first imam in Sufism and Shi'ism) recited the last two Qur'anic *suras*, also known as *al-Mu'awwidhatayn* ("the two *suras* of seeking refuge"). For more on this, see: Budge, *Amulets and Superstitions*, pp. 61-67, also quoted in Christiane Gruber, "A Pious cure-all: the Ottoman illustrated prayer manual in the Lilly Library" in *The Islamic Manuscript Tradition: Ten Centuries of Book Arts in Indiana University Collections*, ed. by Christiane Gruber (Bloomington & Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2010), pp. 148, 149, n. 44. Another example is found in a poem in which mother "prepared charms and spells/to make Alibeg hate his wife", Vidan, *Embroidered With Gold*, pp. 202, 203. Vidan translates the verb *izučiti* as "to read", while a more accurate translation would be "to recite", as Bosnian makes a distinction between the two.

Carrying talismans (Tur. *tilsum*) is frequently mentioned. In one poem a hero is given a golden kerchief (*zlatna marama*) which contains “up to nine talismans” (*do devet tilsuma*) to protect him from harm.¹¹⁴⁷

Written talismans were also used for the protection of animals, especially horses. Talismans for the horse are known as *dilbagija* or *dilbaga*, a “kind of *hamajlija*, an elongated oval silver box in which a written inscription (*zapis*) against the evil eye was carried. [the word] ‘*masāhallāh*’¹¹⁴⁸ was usually inscribed on the outside. It would be placed around a horse’s neck or tied around the forearm.”¹¹⁴⁹ *Hamajlije* (Turkish: *hamaylı*) could also be put on the horse.¹¹⁵⁰ In one poem a Christian hero seizes from his Muslim rival “seven hamaylis,” alongside “nine dilbagijas” from his horse, which he then places on his own horse. What really makes him invincible is not that these talismans were written by a famous *khwāja*, but that in contrast to their previous Muslim owner, Vuk sincerely believes in their powers and that enables him to confront the “the czar’s armies of five hundred thousand.”¹¹⁵¹

1.d. Scripts

The word *jazija* (Turkish: *yazı* = writing, script) occurs in oral poetry to designate script. In one poem a person is said to know thirty scripts (“*umije trideset jazija*”), thirty tongues (“*trideset jezika*”) and is able to read all sorts of books or letters (“*svake knjige pročitati znade*”), depending on how one understands the word *knjige*.¹¹⁵²

¹¹⁴⁷ Hörmann, *Narodne pjesme Bošnjaka*, II, p. 213.

¹¹⁴⁸ *Māshallāh* = literally, “whatever God wills”, usually exclaimed to express joy or approval. The expression comes from the Qur’an, 18:39.

¹¹⁴⁹ Škaljić, *Turcizmi*, p. 217. Škaljić is unsure about the etymology of the word and says he could not find it in Turkish or Persian dictionaries and literature. He suggests that the word might be a combination of the words “tongue” (*dil*) and “tie” (*bag*), meaning “tongue-tie” or “the tie which ties and fetters the tongue of a person watching a horse, in order not to say a word that would harm it”, *ibid*. Similarly, a *hamayli* with *māshallāh* written on it is believed to prevent someone marvelling at something beautiful from saying *māshallāh* (in accordance with Qur’an, 18:39) and so keep him “tongue-tied”.

¹¹⁵⁰ Hörmann, *Narodne pjesme Bošnjaka*, I, p. 597.

¹¹⁵¹ Hörmann, *Narodne pjesme Bošnjaka*, I, p. 224. It is interesting to note that this sympathetic portrayal of a Christian fighter is found in the corpus of Bosnian Muslim oral poetry.

¹¹⁵² Hörmann, *Narodne pjesme Bošnjaka*, I, p. 496. Serdar Muştafâga then asks his master to send Velagić-Selime “a small letter” (*sitnu knjigu*). While the latter verses clearly use the word *knjiga* for a letter, the preceding verses use the plural *knjige* in the sense of books.

An interesting motif in Bosnian oral poetry are the occasional references to literate, even learned, females. One poem tells of a man who is illiterate, but who has a literate mother, the wife of Šahin-pasha. When a messenger delivers a letter for her son, he has to take it to her to read the writing (*jazija*). The verse ends.¹¹⁵³

*For the Pasha's wife has studied learning,
As she is of noble stock.*¹¹⁵⁴

Pašinica ilum naučila,
Jer je ona soja gospodskoga..."

These verses seem to link literacy and social rank, at least in the case of Muslim noble women. The poem confirms what we know about the cultivation of the Bosnian Cyrillic script among Muslim noblewomen. The script is known as *bosančica* and also as *begovica*, i.e. the script of the beys.

If these verses indicate that literacy and learning in general carried social prestige, one should mention a poem about a mother who is trying to find a suitable match for her only daughter. The prospective husbands are described mainly in terms of their profession. The girl keeps finding fault with each of the men her mother mentions: the merchant is always in debt, the tailor is poor, the only son would have an angry mother, etc. When her mother mentions marrying a scribe she refuses on the ground that "his scratchy pen would steal my sleep" (*u pisara pero šara spavat mi ne da*). She also refuses to marry a clerk (*ćatib* = *kātib*) because "a clerk's hands are black from ink" (*u ćatiba crne ruke, od murećefa!*). In the end she asks to be married to a merry carouser (*sarhoš*).¹¹⁵⁵

6.2 References to Book Culture

The references to book culture are less frequent in traditional oral poetry than the references to written culture more generally. Those references show us the ways in which books were thought of in a largely oral society of Bosnian Muslims during the Ottoman period. They also testify to the mutual borrowings between the oral and the written culture.

¹¹⁵³ Suljkić, *Islam*, p. 21.

¹¹⁵⁴ Suljkić, *Islam*, p. 18.

¹¹⁵⁵ *Sa gornjeg čardaka*, eds. by Munib Maglajlić and Smail F. Terzić, p. 186. Translation by Asim Zubčević.

2.a Books

The most frequently used word for the book in traditional oral poetry is *ċitab* or *kitab* (from Arabic, via Turkish - *kitāb*). For the most part the word is used generically, without specifying the genre or the content of the book or books mentioned. For example:

<i>The kh^wāja begs the <u>royal tatar-aga</u>¹¹⁵⁶, to let him get to his lodgings, to collect his robes and the <u>books</u> and old fermans, which kh^wāja Ćuprilija has.</i>	<i>Hodža moli <u>tatar-agu carskog</u>, da ga pušti do konaka doći, da pokupi svoju odorinu i <u>ċitabe</u> i stare fermane, koje ima hodža Ćuprilija.¹¹⁵⁷</i>

After leading a failed rebellion, a man is condemned to death. As he is taken away for execution he asks his brother to look after his soon-to-be-orphaned children:

<i>Brother Alija, watch over my children, When you send your children to school, Send mine as you do yours Let them carry <u>books</u> for your children, Let the world know they are orphans.</i>	<i>Brate Alija, pazi mi djecu, Kada svoju djecu dadeš u <u>maktab</u>, Podaj i moju baš k'o i svoju Neka za tvoju <u>ċitabe</u> nose, Nek se znade da su sirote.¹¹⁵⁸</i>

It would seem that the word *ċitab* is used in a Muslim cultural context, while the word *knjiga* (in the sense of book, not letter), usually, designates books from Christian book culture. Here is an example of *knjige* (books) as Christian books:

<i>There are twenty monks there bareheaded, their hair disentangled, holding <u>books and gospels</u> in their hands.</i>	<i>Tude ima dvades't kaluđera, gologlavih, kose raščešljane, u rukam' im <u>knjige</u> i <u>indžili</u>.¹¹⁵⁹</i>

The only other type of the book to be identified more narrowly, by genre, are book-interpretation manuals, as in the following verse:

¹¹⁵⁶ *Tatar-aga* = the chief of the postal service.

¹¹⁵⁷ Hörmann, *Narodne pjesme Bošnjaka*, I, p. 115.

¹¹⁵⁸ Hajrudin Ćurić, *Školske prilike Muslimana u Bosni i Hercegovini 1800-1878* [Educational Conditions of Muslims in Bosnia-Herzegovina, 1800-1876] (Beograd: Srpska akademija nauka i umjetnosti, 1965), p. 95; quoted also in Suljkić, *Islam*, p. 42.

¹¹⁵⁹ Hörmann, *Narodne pjesme Bošnjaka*, I, p. 121.

“My brother in God, the *kh^wāja tabirji*,¹¹⁶⁰
open now the book of dream interpretation,
because last night I had an ugly dream.”

“Bogom brate, hodža tabirdžija,
otvorider ćitab-tabirnamu,
jer sam noćas ružan san usnio.”¹¹⁶¹

On hearing the dream, the *kh^wāja* says:

“I shall not open the book, O bey,
but shall interpret the dream freely.

“Ćitab, beže, otvarati neću,
već ću ‘nako sanak tabiriti.”¹¹⁶²

2.b Scriptures

It will come as little surprise that the Qur'an is mentioned in traditional Bosnian Muslim poetry. It is perhaps more surprising to find references to the Christian gospels, too. One poem describes the death of a boy who dies of broken heart the night his beloved is forcibly married to another. As his coffin is carried past his lover's home the girl takes out a copy of “the Qur'an amulet” (*Kur'an hamajliju*) and recites the *sura Yāsīn* for his soul.¹¹⁶³ This is *sura* 36 in the Qur'an and it is traditionally recited for the soul of the dead.

Sometimes the word *musaf* (*muṣḥaf* = collection) is used for the Qur'an. A poem describes the abduction of a Muslim girl whose Christian captor breaks into a mosque and tramples over the “small *Muṣḥafs*” (*sitne musafe*).¹¹⁶⁴

Another poem describes a *kh^wāja* (Bosnian: *hodža*) who goes around “without a Qur'an” (*hodža brez Kur'ana*) and who has a “fondness for mead” (*kome 'no je medovina draga*).¹¹⁶⁵

¹¹⁶⁰ *Hodža tabirdžija* is a Muslim cleric (*kh^wāja*, Bosnian: *hodža*) who is skilled at dream interpretation (*ta'bīr*).

¹¹⁶¹ Hörmann, *Narodne pjesme Bošnjaka*, I, p. 560.

¹¹⁶² Hörmann, *Narodne pjesme Bošnjaka*, I, p. 561.

¹¹⁶³ Vidan, *Embroidered With Gold*, p. 148.

¹¹⁶⁴ Vidan, *Embroidered With Gold*, p. 171. Vidan translates the “*sitne musafe*” as “small prayer books”. The standard dictionary of Turkish loan words in Bosnian by Abdulah Škaljić clearly gives the meaning of the word *musaf* as the Qur'an (“*kur'an*”), adding that the original meaning of the word in Arabic is a *bound book, a collection* (“*uvezana knjiga, zbirka*”). So far as I am aware, in Bosnia the word *Muṣḥaf* or *Musaf* is always used to mean a bound copy of the Qur'an only. As Professor Enes Karić has observed, one can speak of an Islamic book monotheism in which there can only be one Qur'an, however many copies there may be. Personal communication with Enes Karić, September 7, 2012. The word *Vlach* was an old term for Eastern Orthodox Christians. Today, the word is considered a pejorative for an ethnic Serb.

¹¹⁶⁵ Hörmann, *Narodne pjesme Bošnjaka*, I, p. 127.

Sometimes the Qur'an is referred to as the "Turkish book," meaning the "Muslim book," as illustrated by the following verses:

*God will forgive him sins,
as the Qur'an, the Turkish book, says.*

Bog će njemu gr'jehe oprostiti,
tako Kur'an, turski ćitab kaže.¹¹⁶⁶

As already mentioned, the traditional oral poetry of the Bosnian Muslims includes references to the gospels. In one poem, a Muslim hero crosses over into the neighbouring Christian kingdom dressed as a monk and carrying "a heavy gospel" in his bag to make his ruse more credible.¹¹⁶⁷ In another poem, three Muslim friends cross into Christian territory in an attempt to rescue a Muslim girl taken captive. When they get caught, they pretend to be Christians. Their captors become suspicious and, on the advice of the local Christian lord ("od Zadarja bane" = the lord of the town of Zara), gospels are brought for the suspects to read. When the gospel reading of one of them turns out to be not only fluent, but even "better than the ban" (*ćita bolje nego bane*), the prisoners succeed in hiding their true identity.¹¹⁶⁸

In yet another poem, the sultan's mother's covert profession of Christianity comes to light after the discovery of a secret church manned by monks and furnished with "books and gospels" (*knjige i indžili*).¹¹⁶⁹

2.c Book Culture Metaphors

Traditional oral poetry includes the occasional use of metaphors from book culture. In one poem a female lover speaks of her longing for the departed lover (both symbolised by two speaking flowers). When asked about how she feels about her missing lover, the love-struck flower responds:

*"If the sky were a sheet of paper,
And the mountains pens,
And sea black ink;*

*"Što je nebo, da je list artije,
"Što je gora, da su kalemovi,
"Što je more, da je crn murećep;*

¹¹⁶⁶ Hörmann, *Narodne pjesme Bošnjaka*, I, p. 414.

¹¹⁶⁷ Hörmann, *Narodne pjesme Bošnjaka*, I, p. 381.

¹¹⁶⁸ Hörmann, *Narodne pjesme Bošnjaka*, I, p. 620. A loan-word from Hungarian, *katana* designates an armed soldier mounted on a horse, Škaljić, *Turcizmi*, p. 400.

¹¹⁶⁹ Hörmann, *Narodne pjesme Bošnjaka*, I, p. 121.

*And I to write three full years,
I could not write down my sorrow.”*

Pak da pišem tri godine dana,
”Ne bi moji ispisala jada.”¹¹⁷⁰

Another poem describes the physical features of three young men who cross the border to rescue an abducted girl. One of them is said to have a face which resembles a letter or a book (depending how we understand the word *knjiga*) on account of the many moles on his face:

*there are more moles on his face
than dots on a white page.*

više mu je bena po obrazu
nego nokti po knjizi bijeloj.”¹¹⁷¹

Here the word for dot is *nokta*, from the Arabic *nuqṭa* via Turkish.

6.3 Books and Writing in Folklore

Certain Bosnian Muslim customs entail the use of the book, mostly the Qur’an, as a material object. This is hardly surprising given the central role the Qur’an traditionally plays in Muslim culture.¹¹⁷² Most of these customs are linked to the life cycle and rites of passage.

It could be argued that traditionally the Qur’an was present in the life of the Bosnian Muslim not just from the earliest moments of his or her life, but from even before he or she was born. Thus, if a woman experiences difficulties during labour (“koja teško rađa”), it is believed that the birth will be made easier if one opens a copy of the Qur’an in front of her and gets her to drink water over it.¹¹⁷³

When the bride enters her new home, she is given a copy of the Qur’an to hold under her right arm and bread (*pogača*) under her left arm. This is followed by a ritual known as

¹¹⁷⁰ Vuk, *Srpske narodne pjesme*, p. 141.

¹¹⁷¹ Hörmann, *Narodne pjesme Bošnjaka, II*, p. 620. These verses resemble a famous *alhamijado* (the vernacular written in Arabic script) poem in which a boy explains Arabic letters to a girl by comparing her face to various letters.

¹¹⁷² The present section is concerned only with customs which include the use of the Qur’an as a material book. The customs presented here are drawn primarily from Antun Hangi’s *Život i običaji muslimana u Bosni i Hercegovini*, first published in 1899. Its author was the first to describe Bosnian Muslim customs.

¹¹⁷³ Hangi, *Život i običaji*, p. 95. Consumating sweets, traditionally distributed during the *Mawlid* celebrations (Bosnian: *Mevlud*, the Prophet’s birthday), is also recommended for facilitating birth, *ibid*. Various Qur’anic chapters are also recited to promote a happy birth and keep the child alive.

“selecting the *Muṣḥaf*” (*pribijeranje musafa*): in the presence of a *bula* (a religiously learned Muslim woman)¹¹⁷⁴ the bride turns pages of the Qur’an, reciting verse 36:58 over each page. At the end, the bride kisses the Qur’an and the *bula* places the Qur’an on the bride’s head.¹¹⁷⁵ The *muṣḥaf* is then placed in a high place with its pages open for some time.¹¹⁷⁶ Once a *dova* (*du‘ā*) has been recited, the *bula* takes the opened copy of the Qur’an and moves it in a circle around the bride’s head.¹¹⁷⁷ According to a scholar who has studied the pre-Islamic origins of Bosnian Muslim customs extensively, this particular custom is not found in other parts of the Muslim world. Tihomir Đorđević, a leading Serbian ethnographer during the first half of the 20th century, considered the Bosnian Muslim custom of the bride entering her new home with bread and the Qur’an to be of pre-Islamic origins.¹¹⁷⁸ A medieval Catholic Church document mentions the rejection of baptism by water and its replacement with baptism by the book as one of the heretical practices to be found among Bosnian Christians: “Bosnian *krstjani* do not recognize baptism by water, which they hold both useless and irrelevant. Salvation comes only through ‘baptism by the book,’ which in terms of distribution should correspond with the Cathar ritual of ‘consolation’ (*consolamentum*). Before he finally accepts the perfect order of the *krstjani*, the novice must be instructed and baptised in the ‘true apostolic’ faith. When the Bosnian Church council of ‘elders’ becomes convinced that a candidate is firm in his faith, it subjects him to ‘spiritual baptism,’

¹¹⁷⁴ On the role of the *bula* among Bosnian Muslims, see: Tone Bringa, *Being Muslim the Bosnian Way: Identity and Community in a Central Bosnian Village* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1995), pp. 189-191, 209-13.

¹¹⁷⁵ Muhamed Hadžijahić, “Bračne ustanove u bosanskih muslimana prije 1946. godine” [Marriage institutions among Bosnian Muslims before 1946], *POF* 31 (1981), pp. 155-168. There are local variations of the custom. In Zvornik in northeast Bosnia, before the bride enters her new home, bread (*pogača*) and salt are given to her to hold under her left arm and a copy of the Qur’an to place under her right arm. See: Suljkić, *Islam*, p. 207.

¹¹⁷⁶ Hadžijahić, “Bračne ustanove u bosanskih muslimana prije 1946. godine”, p. 161.

¹¹⁷⁷ Enver Mulahalilović, *Vjerski običaji muslimana u Bosni i Hercegovini* [Religious Customs of Muslims in Bosnia-Herzegovina], (Hamidović: Tuzla, 2005), p. 87. Mulahalilović states that he left out customs he deemed un-Islamic, saying that his study will “not address various beliefs and superstitions (*sujevjerja i praznovjerja*) which are essentially popular in character and are relatively common among all our peoples and so have their roots in ancient Slavic times. The only exception are those pre-Islamic beliefs whose content acquired a pronounced Islamic religious character after Islamization”, *ibid*, p. 5.

¹¹⁷⁸ Tihomir R. Đorđević, *Naš narodni život* [Our Folk Life], *knjiga šesta* [book six], (Beograd, Izdavačka knjižarnica Gece Kona, 1932), p. 41; *Naš narodni život, knjiga treća* [book three], pp. 110, 138-159.

probably so-called because the person receiving baptism (*krštenik*) has the book of the gospels placed on his head during the act.”¹¹⁷⁹

Before the foundations for a new house are laid, the chapter *Yāsīn* is recited over four pebbles, each of which is placed with one of the cornerstones.¹¹⁸⁰ The first person to enter the new house or flat is the master or mistress of the house. Having performed ritual ablutions (Bosnian: *abdest*), he or she carries a sieve, covered with a scarf or wrapped in cloth. In some places, a wooden box for keeping bread is used in place of the sieve. A copy of the Qur'an, prayer beads (Bosnian: *tespih*) and bread are placed in it.¹¹⁸¹

Finally, let me mention a custom which, to the best of my knowledge, has not been described in the literature: on St. George's eve, the husband or wife performs ritual ablutions and, holding a copy of the Qur'an under one arm, walks around the house reciting verses from the Qur'an they know by heart. The same act is performed around the barn. This is believed to bring protection and blessings to the household.¹¹⁸²

A Bosnian Muslim folk legend explains why a newly born child cries as follows: “When the child is born, it screams and starts crying. The child does not want to come out of its mother's womb before angels give it a voucher (Bosnian: *senet*),¹¹⁸³ a written confirmation that it will not die. When the child receives the voucher, it starts leaving its mother. As

¹¹⁷⁹ This is a quote from: Franjo Šanjek, *Bosansko-humski krstjani i katarsko-dualistički pokret u Srednjem vijeku* [Christians from Bosnia and Hum and the Cathar Dualist Movement in the Middle Ages] (Zagreb: Kršćanska sadašnjost, 1975), p. 88. The translation is by Asim Zubčević. On the rejection of baptism by water, see also: *ibid*, p. 129, while for baptism by the book, see: *ibid*, p.131. See also by the same author: *Bosansko-humski krstjani u povijesnim vrelima (13.-15. st.)* [Krstjans of Bosnia and Hum in the Historical Sources (13th – 15th c)] (Zagreb: Barbat, 2003), especially the description of a debate between a Roman Catholic and a Bosnian Patarene. The first chapter (DE BAPTISMO), pp. 166-173, is devoted to the question of the right form of baptism and the Roman Catholic condemnation of baptism by the book, as practiced among Bosnian *krstjans*.

¹¹⁸⁰ Mulahalilović, *Vjerski običaji*, p. 42.

¹¹⁸¹ Mulahalilović, *Vjerski običaji*, p. 44. In Sarajevo, on moving into a new home, one would carry a copy of the Qur'an, with some bread and rice.

¹¹⁸² Interview with Ismeta Baković (née Rovčanin, born 1 January 1945 in the village of Gračanica, municipality of Prijepolje, Serbia) on June 7, 2012, in the village of Gračanica near Visoko (23 km northwest of Sarajevo). The Baković family moved from the Sandžak region (Serbia) to Bosnia in the 1970s and continued to keep this custom for a while. When asked why she and her husband stopped practising it, she said that they did not want to appear strange to their new neighbours. The same custom is still followed by some families in the region of Visoko, however, according to her daughter Muniba Šukurica (née Baković).

¹¹⁸³ *Senet* = Arabic: *sanad*, Škaljić, *Turcizmi*, p. 558.

soon as it falls on the pillow or on the ground, it starts screaming and crying because the angels have grabbed the voucher from its hand, and so it cries for help because it was tricked and because it will die.”¹¹⁸⁴

When a new-born child is placed in the crib for the first time, seven days after its birth, this is usually done by a strong member of the clan, so that the child may grow strong, while Qur’anic *suras* are recited or God’s name is invoked out loud by household members. Sometimes a small copy of the Qur’an is placed in the child’s crib.¹¹⁸⁵

One of the key concerns for the parents and family of the newly-born is to protect them from the evil eye and *ograma*.¹¹⁸⁶ Elaborate practices are involved in safeguarding the child from these. In the case of the *ograma*, which is “very hard to heal,”¹¹⁸⁷ if everything else fails, the child should be taken to a “learned *kh^wāja* to recite (*prouči*) from the books for you, and then you will recover.”¹¹⁸⁸

¹¹⁸⁴ Hangi, *Život i običaji*, p. 96.

¹¹⁸⁵ I have not found written evidence for this custom, but know from personal experience how widespread it is. In my family and the family of my relatives it has been observed for as long as I can remember. It is not clear how long into the past it goes.

¹¹⁸⁶ *Ograma* and *ograjisanje* are difficult to translate into English. According to Norwegian anthropologist Tone Brंगा, “[it] has no simple literal translation and requires some explanation. The villagers use it to express the bewitching of a person as a result of certain acts performed by him or her. It is a word which does not exist in any dictionary, and my Sarajevan informants did not understand it. They suggested it was supposed to be *nagaziti* (*na urok*), which means to be ‘bewitched’, or alternatively *nagrajisati*, which means to get into trouble or to fare badly. It is believed that a person may be ‘bewitched’ by what most informants referred to as just ‘something,’ or more rarely as a ‘devilish brew,’ which may attach itself to breadcrumbs, nails, blood, wood chips, or rubbish which has been left outdoors by humans. This stuff is believed to be used by sorcerers when making *sihir*. This devilish brew containing malevolent spirits may thus be transferred deliberately by sorcerers to people who are thereby ‘poisoned’, *ibid*, pp. 178-9.

¹¹⁸⁷ Hangi, *Život i običaji*, p. 108.

¹¹⁸⁸ Hangi, *Život i običaji*, p. 108. It is noteworthy that both Muslims and Christians were willing to solicit the help of *kh^wājas* and priests or monks in search of a cure. A written note (Turkish: *tezkere*) of 11 Muḥarram 1120/2 April 1708 by Muḥammad-bey, the governor’s representative in Sarajevo, asks a friar in the Kreševo monastery near Sarajevo to cure a mad girl by name of Hatidža (Khadija) from Sarajevo, but also warns that the cure must not involve anything that runs against religion (*din*), Sejfudin Fehmi bin Ali Kemura, *Bilješke iz prošlosti bosanskih katolika i njihovih bogomolja po turskim dokumentima* [Notes from the history of Bosnian Catholics and their houses of worship according to Turkish documents] (Sarajevo: Islamska dionička štamparija, 1334/1916), p. 10. Kemura interprets the document as a permission, but his translation is in the form of command.

Muslims believe that when a person dies, he or she will be questioned by angels in the grave. In Bosnian Muslim tradition, they are known as *suvaldžije* (Turkish: *suvalcı*). Those who led an upright life and followed the precepts of religion will be able to answer the questions easily. As a result they will have a foretaste of Paradise already in the grave. In the following poem we see how a young sultan's daughter beseeches the angels:

<i>“For the sake of God, you many examiners, I have prayed five prayers today and looked into the <u>book</u> five times.”</i>	<i>“A boga vam, mloge suvaldžije, Ja sam danas pet vakat' klanjala I pet puta u <u>ćitab</u> gledala.”¹¹⁸⁹</i>

Given that the book is mentioned after the five daily prayers, it is reasonable to assume that it refers to the Qur'an. In one of the previous poems, we have seen the Qur'an referred to as the “Turkish book.”¹¹⁹⁰

In the chapter on customs surrounding birth, ethnographer Antun Hangi writes about a lady whom he heard swearing “by all the books [of God?]” (“tako mi svih ćitaba”).¹¹⁹¹ The word *ćitab* or *kitab*, most likely refers to God's revelations in the form of the book which constitutes one of the articles of faith.

Conclusion

In order to understand the meaning and function of book ownership it is necessary to take into account the predominantly oral environment of pre-modern societies and look at the sources rooted in orality such as oral poetry and folklore in the form of popular beliefs and customs.

By identifying and examining references to written culture in traditional Bosnian oral poetry one gains an impression of a culture whose members had a degree of familiarity with reading and writing, even when they were illiterate in the sense of being able to read and write themselves. This impression is gained from reading *Hasanaginica*, one of the best known Bosnian Muslim poems. As is the case with most Bosnian oral poetry, the references to writing in it are expressed through the theme of letter writing. Other types of reference

¹¹⁸⁹ Hangi, *Život i običaji*, p. 211.

¹¹⁹⁰ See n. 1162. Having said this, *gledati u ćitab* can also mean “to predict the future by looking into the book”, a practice also known as *fal* (Arabic: *fa'l*). It is done by “looking into” the Qur'an, but in Sarajevo there is also a tradition of using Ḥāfiẓ Shirāzī's *Diwan* for the same purpose (personal communication with Rusmir Mahmutćehajić, September 5, 2012).

¹¹⁹¹ Hangi, *Život i običaji*, p. 92.

that figure frequently in Bosnian oral poetry are to various Ottoman administrative documents, talismans and to book-learning in general. All such references relate to the practical needs of life and the ways in which writing serves them: by facilitating communication (letters) and government (*fermans*, *buyruldis*, etc), by giving protection from harm (*hamaylis*), and e.g. by enabling people to face the future (dream interpretation manuals), etc. Oral poetry also shows that this was very much a scribal culture of pen and paper, of scribes who have “hands black from ink.”

If one takes oral poetry to be, among other things, a vessel for the transmission of social values, it is remarkable that many verses stress the value of literacy, knowledge and books. Heroes are explicitly commended for being literate and learned. Some verses appeal to our modern sensibilities in depicting literate or learned female characters in contrast to illiterate and unsophisticated men. It does not follow from this that each and every Bosnian Muslim girl and woman was literate or that female literacy rates were equal to those of men; at the very least these verses show that literacy was not seen as the exclusive preserve of men.

Given the high esteem in which books are held in Muslim culture, it is tempting to see this poetry as a product of Muslim culture and the religious value it places on learning and books. This may be so. But before jumping to conclusions it should be remembered that much of the material in these Bosnian oral poems belongs to the common cultural humus that nourished the Southern Slavs and their oral tradition, regardless of religious affiliation. A cursory look at Vuk’s collection shows, e.g., that references to letter writing are also common in the poetry cultivated by Eastern Orthodox Serbs in Bosnia and Serbia. Learning and education there are associated more closely with churches and monasteries. A comparison of the two traditions with regard to references to written culture could show differences as well as mutual borrowings, which – considering, for example, that *Hasanaginica* was preserved among Christians or that in some cases Muslim singers sang about Christian heroes – may well be substantial.

Although it is practically impossible to draw detailed empirical conclusions on the basis of poetry about levels and types of literacy, poetry can still be useful to us. It shows us the world the nameless bards drew for their listeners and which reflects the values of the society in which they were cultivated. The same may be said about book-related customs, or more precisely, Qur’an-related customs linked to major events in the life cycle like birth, marriage, death, as well as the changing of the seasons (St. George’s day), etc.

Most recorded South Slavic oral poetry was collected in the 13th/19th century, but its origins go back further in time and much of it would have been known to Sarajevans living in the 12th/18th and early 13th/19th centuries. This is attested by the Sarajevan scribe Basheskī, who notes in his chronicle the popularity of these songs and the versatile memory of their singers, whom he compares with “ḥāfīzes.”

Dissertation Conclusion

This dissertation presents the first systematic study of the subject of book ownership in Ottoman Sarajevo within the wider context of Bosnian Muslim written culture. It focuses on the period from 1118 to 1244 (AH) or 1707-1828 (CE).

The dissertation developed out of an initial study on a book collection endowed in 1244/1828 by Şālih 'Izzat Hromozāde, a kadi from Sarajevo. A review of the existing literature revealed how little had been written on the subject of book ownership in Ottoman Bosnia. The existing literature was limited in scope, either because it tended to focus on book owners from the 'ulamā' (scholarly class) or because it treated book ownership only in passing.

Given the identification of book ownership as a lacuna in the historiography on Ottoman Bosnia, this dissertation has attempted to answer the following three questions: what types of books Sarajevans owned, who the book owners were, and what the answers to these first two questions tell us about the place of the book in Bosnian culture between 1118/1707 and 1244/1828. The time frame was determined by the availability of sources and by the fact that the kadi Şālih 'Izzat Hromozāde collection was endowed in 1244/1828, the *terminus ad quem*.

Following the lead given by book ownership studies for a number of other Ottoman-era cities, the dissertation relies on inheritance inventories (*qassām daftars*) recorded in court registers (*sijills*) as the main *quantitative* source of information about books and their owners. More than 3,000 inheritance entries recorded in 59 Sarajevo court registers have been examined, with full awareness of the limitations they pose. One set of limitations concerns the people whose estates are recorded in the inheritance lists, the other the type of books that tend to be listed in them.

The main limitation of the first type is that inheritance inventories reveal only book owners whose estates were subject to judicial settlement. This leaves an unknown number of book owners outside the inventories. Even in cases where an estate registered in the inventories included no books, it does not necessarily follow that the deceased had not owned any books during his or her lifetime. The case of kadi Şālih 'Izzat Hromozāde, whose estate is not registered in the inventories, is a clear example.

Another limitation concerns the fact that the inheritance records are not representative of the population as a whole. Most of the registered book owners are male, Muslim and *‘askeri* (political taxpayers). On the other hand, the inventories do enable us to learn something about the role played by books in the lives of people where their existence would otherwise remain unregistered as such. This includes women, craftsmen and villagers.

When it comes to the books registered in the inventories, it is not uncommon for them to be listed under generic terms, like *kitāb* (book), *kutub* (books) *majmū‘a* (bound collection of texts) or *risāla* (treatise), etc. One of the most striking examples of this is an entry in one inventory for 400 or so otherwise unspecified “books.”¹¹⁹² This is far from the only one, however.

Books are also entered under a general descriptive rubric, eg. *tārīkh* (history), *luġhat* (dictionary), *ṭibb* (medicine), etc. This makes it difficult to determine more fully or accurately the subject of the books within various genres.

The inheritance inventories were recorded in the Ottoman Turkish language using the Arabic script. Perhaps as a result, they show signs of bias against other traditions of literacy. Titles and subject are almost never given for books in the estate of Christians and Jews. Moreover, we know from other sources that Bosnian Muslims continued to use Cyrillic throughout the Ottoman period. Apart from early funerary inscriptions, however, its use does seem to have been confined to diplomatic and private correspondence. At the very least, we can confirm that the Sarajevo estate inventories provide no evidence of any books written in Cyrillic.

Despite these limitations and biases, the inheritance inventories nonetheless constitute a major source for understanding book ownership. They are also useful for the evidence they provide on the material culture of reading and writing, as they often list pens, pen-holders, ink, ink-holders, paper, writing boards, reading pointers, and similar artefacts. They remind us that, in early modern Ottoman Bosnia, the written word was encountered not only on pages of books, but also in the form of calligraphic pieces, amulets, jewellery, seals, and icons.

¹¹⁹² S55/193-194 (5 Jumādā al-Awwal 1230/15 April 1815).

The present study has sought to address the problem of these limitations by employing additional sources of book ownership, which add perspective to the information collected from the inventories. Marginal notes, ownership seals, book lists and endowment charters all represent important sources for book ownership. Systematically collecting and examining all the evidence on book ownership from, for example, ownership statements found on the pages of extant manuscripts would be a huge undertaking, well beyond the scope of the present dissertation, particularly given its focus on inheritance inventories. Consequently, this study has restricted its treatment to demonstrating the potential of such additional sources by including a chapter on the life of kadi Şālih ‘Izzat Ḥrōmozāde as a case study of a Sarajevo book owner and book donor’s life. His biography has been reconstructed on the basis of a variety of documents: his endowment charter, documents from the court protocols, archival documents and the notes found on the extant books from his collection. As a result it is now possible to situate his collection within the wider findings on Sarajevo’s book owners for the period 1118/1707 – 1244/1828. Thus, compared with other book collections registered in the inventories, kadi Şālih ‘Izzat Ḥrōmozāde’s collection was relatively large, but not exceptional. The same goes for the type of works contained. His collection seems quite representative of such book collections turned into endowments from the late Ottoman period of Bosnian history. Certainly, the information gleaned from the pages of his books confirms the potential of such extant book collections as a source for future book ownership studies.

Another concern was to contextualize book ownership by addressing larger questions of the written word in Ottoman Sarajevo: literacy, education, the use of different scripts and languages, the role of scribes, book binders, the introduction of print, informal modes of acquiring knowledge, and the place of the written words in a predominantly oral society.

In the absence of pre-existing scholarly treatment of most of these subjects, the present study relies on the major narrative source for Sarajevan history in the period from 1159/1746 to 1219/1804-5, namely *the Chronicle* of Mulla Muşţafā Basheskī. As with kadi Şālih ‘Izzat Ḥrōmozāde, the Sarajevo inventories contain no entry for Basheskī, underlining their limitations as a representative source. Basheskī chronicled life in Sarajevo, including the intellectual scene as viewed by a minor Bosnian religious scholar (*‘ālim*) and scribe. His circle of associates included other scholars, poets and at least one librarian (Gharībī al-ḥāj Aḥmad-afandī), whom he describes as a man who “bequeathed many books,” but whose

estate does not figure in the inventories, once again underscoring the need for multiple sources in approaching book ownership. Basheskī allows us to access something of the flavour of life in Sarajevo, with his comments on other people's proficiency in Arabic, Turkish and Persian, their intellectual proclivities and their ideological sympathies, with a particular focus on the conflict between the *ḡadizādelis* and Sufis, as well as, albeit obliquely, his own spiritual and intellectual growth. What makes Basheskī's *Chronicle* so useful is the rich anecdotal evidence it offers on educated people, learning and books. It is, however, a qualitative, not a quantitative source. *The Chronicle* thus complements the inheritance lists, in giving us a sense of the world of written culture as seen through the eyes of a minor provincial religious functionary and a professional scribe in the most important city of Ottoman Bosnia. It fills in certain blanks about aspects of book culture, including such informal channels of learning as the *ḡelvā ṣoḡbeti*.

Nonetheless, invaluable though these *written* sources are, in the form of inheritance inventories, extant book collections (kadi Ṣāliḡ 'Izzat Hromozāde) or narrative sources (Basheskī's *Chronicle*), they tell us little about how the predominantly *oral* society of 12th/18th and 13th/19th century Bosnia understood writing and books. For this reason, this dissertation also includes a chapter on references to written culture in Slavic vernacular oral poetry and in customs which employ books, notably the Qur'an.

This dissertation examines these oral sources and oral vernacular poetry with a view to exploring some of the ways this predominantly oral society may have conceived of writing in general and of books in particular. The most common references to writing relate to letter writing and the presentation of official documents by messengers, followed by charms and talismans. Less common are references to scripts and actual books. Learning is, however, clearly prized and there are occasional references to literate women.

In addition to this, a number of folk customs centring on the book as a material object suggest the different functions books could serve. They were not used only for reading, copying, borrowing, and teaching or as object to be bought, sold or donated. They were also made use of to mark important phases in the life-cycle, including birth, marriage, and death, as well as to mark the seasons. Such oral and folklore sources underline the need to draw on multiple sources in studying a given book culture.

It is now possible to draw a number of conclusions on these grounds.

Firstly, Muslim book owners formed the great majority of book owners registered in the Sarajevo inventories and nearly all their books belonged to the wider Ottoman Muslim book culture. Insofar as the books are identifiable by title or author, they are works from the same Ottoman scholarly and literary canon as is found in other parts of the Ottoman world. In line with this, they were written in Arabic, Ottoman Turkish and Persian. Knowledge of these languages was the precondition for participating in the Muslim book culture of the Ottoman period. Vernacular texts continued to be produced, but not as scholarly works.

This fact that the books owned by Muslim Sarajevans belonged to the broader Ottoman culture of the book should come as no surprise, given that Sarajevo was founded in 1462 as an Ottoman settlement and this was the basis on which it grew so quickly to become a major political, commercial and cultural centre. Whether as a necessary tool required for the various religious and educational institutions, like *maktabs*, *madrasas*, *takkas*, and libraries, to function or as a resource deployed by individual owners in study, personal amusement, as donations or in some professional capacity, e.g. by bookbinders, scribes, or booksellers, books were part of the history of Sarajevo right from the city's inception. This link is personified by the city founder, Isa-bey Ishaković, albeit indirectly through his relationship to another city. Ishaković is known to have donated books to a mosque and *madrasa* in Skopje (Macedonia). In Sarajevo itself, he built a mosque and the first *takka* and was simply the first in a series of Ottoman administrators and generals to act as patrons of education and learning. Here, as in the other parts of the Ottoman Balkans, charitable foundations played a vital role in the introduction and spread of the new book culture. In addition to the mosques, *takkas*, and *madrasas*, which all needed books to perform their basic functions, there were two purpose-built libraries erected in Sarajevo in the 12th/18th century: the 'Uthmān Shahdī and Qanṭamīrīzāde libraries. While such support from rich and powerful Ottoman officials was important for the development of Sarajevo into the leading city of Ottoman Bosnia, one should not, however, overlook endowments made by people of modest means. Giving a book is a relatively simple way of making a religiously meritorious donation. In some cases, entire book collections were donated, as with kadi Ṣāliḥ 'Izzat Hromozāde. Sarajevo was no different in this regard from other Ottoman cities, in whose cultural and economic development as urban centres endowments played a critical role.

To the extent that we can identify the language they were written in, the vast majority of the book registered in the inventories seem to have been in Arabic, Turkish or Persian. In two cases, however, the language is given as “the language of Greece.” The only other case where language was specified involves a translation into “the language of Bosnia” of Birkawī’s *Risāla*, a popular religious primer, originally written in Arabic, by Muḥammad Pīr Birkawī (d.981/1571). The book in question was registered to the estate of a Sarajevan woman in 1225/1810. This is the sole, but important evidence of a translation of this work into the vernacular and it complements what we know about similar translations on the basis of extant manuscripts.

This translation into the Bosnian vernacular raises the question of the role of the various languages used in writing different types of text. To the extent that the language of books registered in the inventories is specified, it is clear that the role of Ottoman Turkish translations of works originally written in Arabic and Persian has been overlooked in scholarship on Ottoman Bosnia. This is a promising area for future study, based on extant manuscripts.

The vernacular was used for dictionaries, didactic poetry and translations of religious primers originally written in Arabic. The script employed for vernacular translations was however still Arabic. Such texts seem to have become more common from the 12th/18th century on, but this might simply reflect a higher survival rate for later manuscripts. It is perhaps significant that of two Bosnian Muslim scholars we know to have written in the vernacular (mainly poetry), one was exiled (Qā'imī, d. 1091/1680) and the other put to death ('Abd al-Wahhāb Ilhāmī, d. 1236/1821). Their use of the vernacular may well have been a major factor behind the Ottoman authorities' decision to stifle their voices. The vernacular was probably also used in personal correspondence, which, however, falls outside the scope of our study.

The inheritance inventories also mention a translation of the *Psalms*, presumably into Turkish. That the owners of the aforementioned books in the “language of Greece” and of the translation of the *Psalms* were Muslim men offers some, albeit slight evidence of an interest in the culture and religion of “the other.” These examples of such an interest among literate Sarajevans perhaps gain weight from Basheskī’s inclusion of what he called “Indian,” “Serbian,” and “Italian” alphabets in his *Chronicle*, along with a few words from each of these languages. Basheskī also refers to a Sarajevan Muslim who knew the

“language of the Jews,” another person who had learned Russian while in captivity, and a Sarajevo Christian who knew Greek.

Very few books in the inventories are described as printed (*başma*) and all of those that are belonged to the estates of Muslims. We cannot know for sure whether printed books were always noted as being such, but the available evidence does suggest that the vast majority of books in the inventories were manuscripts. In case of kadi Şāliḥ Ḥromozāde collection all the extant books of his collection are in manuscript, as the sole printed book (a dictionary) appears to have been added to the collection after the donor’s death. In other words, the Bosnian Muslim book culture of the period remained very much a manuscript culture. Basheskī does make a single reference to what appears to have been a newspaper. No additional evidence has been found to corroborate that interpretation.

In order to place what we have learned about Sarajevo book owners in perspective, we compared our findings with those for a number of other Ottoman cities, namely Damascus (1686-1717), Sofia (1671-1833), Trabzon (1795-1846) and Salonica (1828-1911). The Sarajevo records reveal a higher percentage of book owners relative to the overall number of inheritance entries, as well as a higher percentage of women owners. The estates of female book owners in Sarajevo also had larger book collections than those from the other four cities. In general, we find larger book collections registered in the estates of Sarajevans than in the other four cities. These figures and percentages must be interpreted in light of the fact that the other studies were not, for the most part, based on the systematic examination of inheritance entries over a long period of time, but on a limited selection of entries. The exception in this regard is Orlin Sabev’s study for Sofia, which, in fact, shows the closest results to those for Sarajevo. The main problem with these studies is that the authors have each taken different approaches to assessing book ownership on the basis of inheritance inventories. In the absence of a more unified set of parameters, it is difficult to draw more far-reaching conclusions. On the other hand, the findings for Sarajevo book ownership will facilitate comparative studies in future, given the systematic approach and the period covered.

As to subject matter, most of the books were copies of the Qur'an, the *En'ams*, and religious primers, especially the *Risāla* by Birkawī and the *Risāla* by Uṣṭuwānī. Next in popularity were books on jurisprudence, various aspects of Arabic linguistics and grammar, and dictionaries for Arabic, Turkish and Persian. The inheritance entries also reveal a

considerable interest in history and literature. The sciences accounted for relatively few books, in comparison. In other words, most books were for religious use (e.g., “reading” the Qur’an and devotional texts in Arabic like the *Dalā’il* and *Qaṣīdat al-burda*, and *Mawlid*, probably in Turkish) or acquiring knowledge of religion (religious primers). Many books listed in the inheritance records served as textbooks for *maktab* and *madrassa* education.

Turning to works by Ottoman scholars of Bosnian origins, the inheritance records suggest that the works of Aḥmad Sūdī al-Būsnawī, a commentator on the Persian classics, were the most commonly represented. His case shows the usefulness of inheritance records in determining the spread and influence of certain works and authors.

The value of books listed in the inheritance inventories seems to have ranged greatly, from modestly-priced religious primers and *madrassa* textbooks to luxurious copies of the Qur’an, generally the most expensive books. The price of two copies of one and the same work could vary by a factor or as much as ten, no doubt reflecting the quality and condition of the volumes in question. Apart from copies of the Qur’an, some works of jurisprudence also rank among the most valuable books and were comparable in price to some of the most expensive movable items such as jewellery, weapons, bridal ornaments for horses and clocks. The low price range of some books no doubt contributed to their affordability and wider diffusion.

With regard to book owners in the inheritance inventories, the most important finding is that book ownership does not seem to have been limited to a particular social stratum. Books are to be found in the estates of peasants and city dwellers, men and women, the rich and those with modest estates, and both those whose professions were book-oriented (especially the ‘*ulamā*’) and others e.g. artisans and merchants. In fact, some of the largest book collections belonged to the artisans and merchants of Sarajevo. The proportion of book owners in different sections of society varied. While book owners in the inventories tended to be male, Muslim town-dwellers, and either ‘*ulamā*’ or merchants and artisans, women nonetheless accounted for one third of all book owners. On the other hand, they tended to have only one book, usually a copy of the Qur’an. There were, nonetheless, four Muslim women with medium-sized book collections ranging in size from 22 to 63 works. There was a single Muslim male Roma book owner, entered in the inheritance records with a copy of the Qur’an.

There are three Jewish book owners listed in the inheritance inventories, one of them female, as well as fifteen Christian book owners, all male. Books in the estates of Jews and Christians are described as “Jewish books” or “books of the Christians” and are never listed by title or author. In one case, however, books in the estate of a Jewish man are given as “a doctor’s books,” perhaps indicating the subject matter. Nor is the language of books in the estates of Jews and Christians indicated or any indication given as to whether they were printed. This is indicative of the bias in the Sarajevo inheritance inventories against books that fell outside the mainstream of Ottoman Muslim book culture.

As for Muslim book owners, we have already noted that most of the works they owned were written in Arabic, Turkish or Persian and that some knowledge of these languages was therefore a precondition for participating in Ottoman Bosnian book culture. While the wide diffusion of books across social strata shows that books were in principle available to everyone, the fact that they tended to be overwhelmingly in Arabic, Turkish or Persian meant that they were really only useable by the minority capable of reading these languages. Basheski’s comments provide some indication on how proficient in these languages various Sarajevans of his acquaintance actually were. He shows that mastery of these languages was not limited to the ‘*ulamā*’ and included both merchants and artisans.

Although written in Ottoman Turkish, Basheski’s *Chronicle* includes material in the Slavic vernacular in the form of stories, poems and riddles. This is a reminder of the numerous interfaces of the written and the spoken, between the languages of learning (Arabic, Ottoman Turkish and Persian) and the Sarajevo population’s Slavic vernacular. The present study has documented references to written culture in oral poetry, shedding a certain amount of light on how a predominantly oral society perceived written culture. The examples taken from two major collections of oral poetry show the impact of the written culture on oral culture and the high premium set on the knowledge and learning of languages, even among females. The relatively common references to written culture in oral poetry undermine the notion about a dichotomy between “elite” culture in foreign languages and “popular” culture that ran separate courses.

Folk beliefs and customs which revolve around the written word in general and the book in particular (usually the Qur’an) underscore the wide variety of uses books had even in a predominantly oral society.

The findings of this study confirm a wide diffusion of books in Ottoman Sarajevo and their availability. Books had multiple purposes. They were owned, written, copied, bound, decorated, read, studied, translated, donated, borrowed, bought, sold, exchanged, inherited, imported, used for divinatory purposes. They could be the subject of litigation, while their loss in times of war was mourned in poetry.

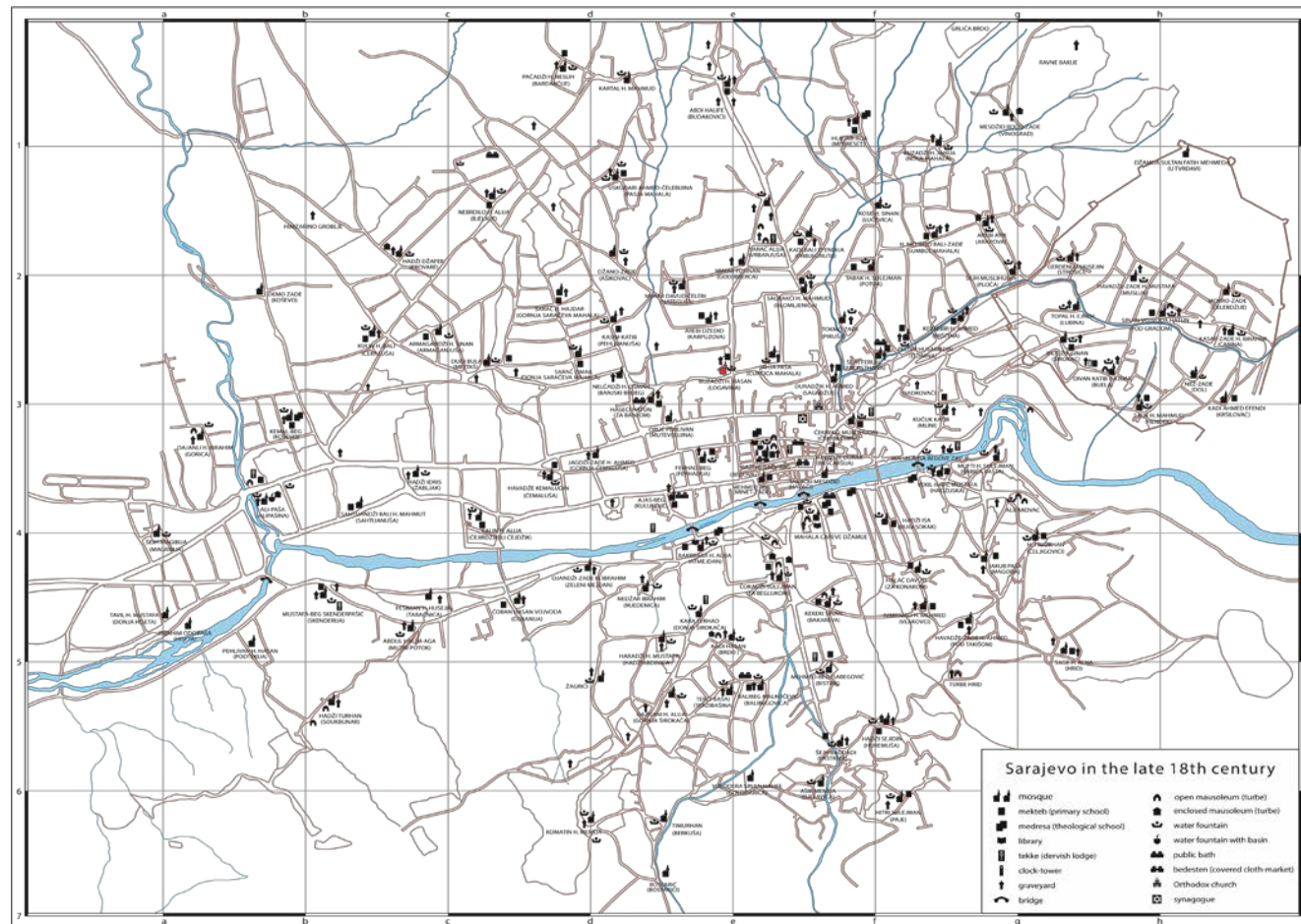
In addition to the mosques, maktabas (elementary schools), madrasas (higher schools), takkas (Sufi lodges) and libraries, Ottoman Sarajevo's vibrant cultural life was to be seen in such informal settings as those of the coffee houses and private gatherings for prayer, reading and discussion (*ḥelwā ṣoḥbeti*).

The experience of travel for business, pilgrimage or education, even warfare, could serve as conduits for knowledge of learning. Indeed, late 12/18th and early 12th/19th century Sarajevo was a city in which a blacksmith or even a woman could also be a Qur'an copyist, while the head of the cobblers' or bookbinders' guild could be commended for his proficiency in Turkish, a slave boy could aspire to learning Persian, a Muslim could be interested in learning the "language of the Jews," a Jewish lady left a "Jewish book" in her estate, a mendicant Jewish doctor might carry his books around with him, and a rich Christian merchant might own a large collection of "Christian books."

By bringing together information from a variety of sources, written and oral, the present study offers a comprehensive and more contextually informed account on book ownership than has been the case so far. It fills an important gap in our knowledge about Bosnian cultural history of the Ottoman period. It enables us to situate Bosnian book culture within the wider context of the Ottoman lands, while remaining alert to the local context and peculiarities. As such it breaks new ground in the historiography of Ottoman Sarajevo and opens the way for similar studies for other Bosnian towns and cities in future.

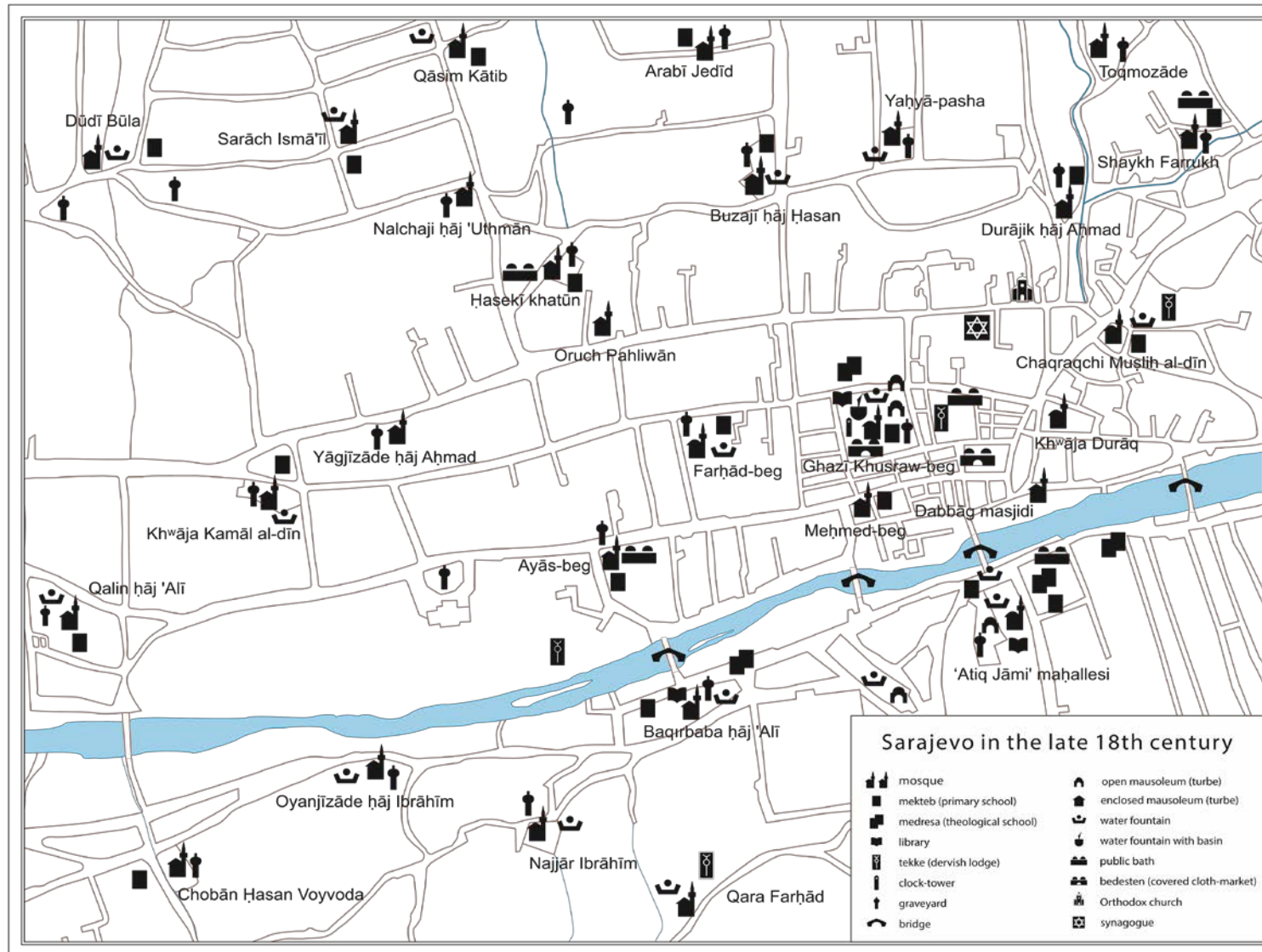
Appendix

Sarajevo in the late 18th Century



This and the following maps were prepared for the author by Ognjen Materić.

Sarajevo City Centre in the late 18th Century



Ottoman Bosnia 1699-1828



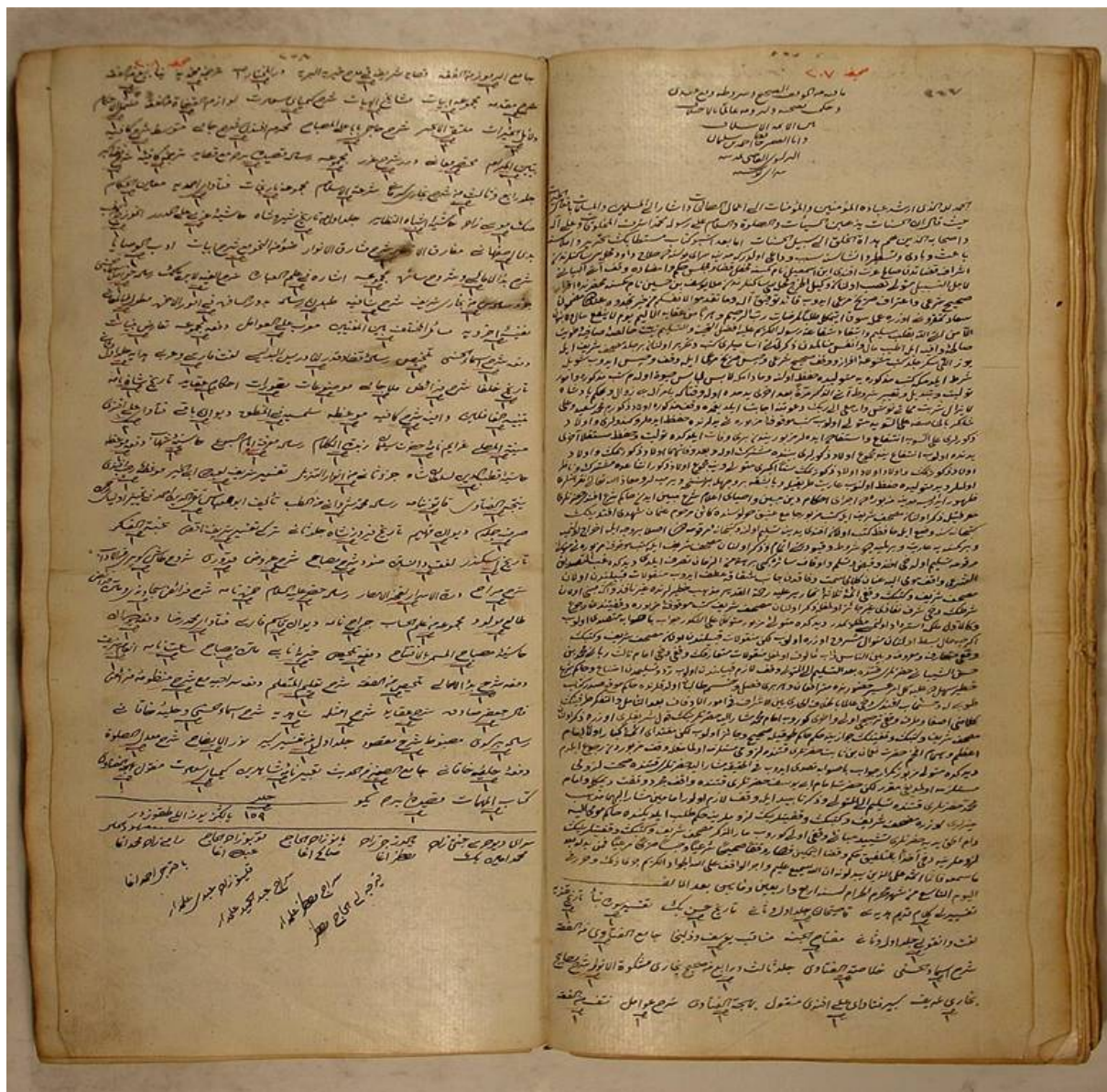
Sarajevo Court Registers (*sijills*): Inheritance Entries and Book Owners
in Numbers and Percentages¹¹⁹³

<i>Sijill</i> no.	Year Hijri	Year CE	No. of inheritance entries	No. of book owners	Percentage of book owners
1	959	1551-52	-	-	-
1a	963-65	1556-58	-	-	-
2	972-74	1565-68	-	-	-
3	1119-21	1707-09	11	3	27%
4	1140-41	1727-28	52	5	10%
5	1180-82	1766-68	-	-	-
6			-	-	-
7	1177-83	1763-69	-	-	-
8	1180-81	1766-67	58	15	26%
9	1182-83	1768-69	48	20	42%
10	1176-77	1762-63	77	24	31%
11	1184	1770	92	27	29%
12	1183	1769	50	17	34%
13	1185	1771	68	20	29%
14	1186-87	1772-73	91	26	29%
15	1187-88	1773-74	96	22	23%
16	1188-89	1774-75	138	33	24%
17	1189-90	1775-76	74	28	38%

¹¹⁹³ The years are given based on: Azra Gadžo-Kasumović, "O sidžilima u Gazi Husrev-begovoj biblioteci" [About *sijills* at the Gāzī Hüsrev-bey Library], *Anali* XXI-XXII (2003), pp. 41-83.

18	1190-91	1776-77	138	32	28%
19	1191-92	1777-78	78	22	28%
20	1192-93	1778-79	50	8	16%
21	1195-96	1781-82	81	26	32%
22	1196-97	1781-82	244	81	33%
23	1197-98	1783-84	54	17	31%
24	1199	1784	66	19	29%
25	1199-1200	1784-85	63	17	27%
26	1200-01	1786-87	48	13	27%
27	1201-02	1786-87	73	22	30%
28	1204-05	1789-90	61	17	28%
29	1193-94	1779-1780	100	22	22%
30	1202-03	1787-89	99	27	27%
31	1203-04	1788-89	85	25	29%
32	1205-06	1790-91	65	17	26%
33	1206-07	1791-92	78	27	35%
34	1208	1793	77	15	19%
35	1209-10	1794-95	128	36	28%
36	1210-11	1795-96	109	27	25%
37	1211-12	1796-97	71	12	17%
38	1213-14	1798-99	124	25	12%
39	1214-15	1799-1800	76	12	16%
40	1215-16	1800-01	68	12	18%
41	1216-17	1801-02	64	22	34%
42	1217-18	1802-03	70	16	23%

43	1218-19	1803-04	77	23	30%
44	1219	1804	30	10	33%
45	1219-1220	1804-05	51	14	27%
46	1221	1806	55	15	27%
47	1221-22	1806-07	70	20	29%
48	1223-24	1809	60	18	30%
49	1224-25	1809-10	46	16	35%
50	1225-26	1810-11	54	13	24%
51	1226	1811	29	7	24%
52	1226-27	1811-12	76	26	34%
53	1228	1813	56	16	29%
54	1229	1814	82	22	25%
55	1229-30	1814-15	261	82	31%
56	1231	1816	62	21	34%
57	1231-32	1816-17	43	15	35%
58	1232-33	1817-18	42	19	45%
59	1233-34	1818-19	64	21	33%
60	1235-36	1819-20	88	32	36%
61	1236-37	1820-21	47	13	28%
62	1237-38	1821-22	49	15	31%
63	1238-39	1822-23	41	15	37%
64	1230-31	1814-15	47	15	32%
65	1241-42	1825-26	33	8	24%
66	1242-1244	1826-29	133	52	39%



Transcription of the Ḥromozāde charter¹¹⁹⁴

Mā fih min al-waqf al-ṣāliḥ wa shurūṭih waqa'a 'indī wa ḥakamt bi-siḥḥatih wa luzūmih
 'āliman bi al-ikhtilāf bayn al-a'immat al-aslāf wa ana al-faqīr ḥāfiẓ Aḥmad bin Sulaymān al-
 Brilabawī al-qāḍī bi madinat Sarāy Būsna [1] Al-ḥamd lillāh alladhī arshad 'ibādah al-
 mu'minīn wa al-mu'mināt ilā a'māl al-sāliḥāt wa ashār ilā al-muslimīn wa al-muslimāt bi

¹¹⁹⁴ S66/207, 208. The numbers in square brackets indicate the beginning of a new line in the original text of the charter.

af'āl al-khayrāt [2] haythu qāl: Inna al-ḥasanāt yudhhibn al-sayyi'āt. Wa al-ṣalāt wa al-salām 'alā rasūlih Muḥammad ashraf al-makhlūqāt wa 'alā ālih [3] wa aṣḥābih alladhīn hum hudāt al-khalq ilā sabīl al-ḥasanāt. Ammā ba'd: işbu kitāb-ı müsteṭābın taḥrīr ve imlāsına [4] bā'is ve bādī ve teṣṭīr ve inṣāsına sebeb ve dā'ī oldur ki medīne-i Sarāy Bosna'da Ḥallāc Dāvūd maḥallesi sākinlerinden [5] eṣrāf-ı kuzāttan Ṣālih 'İzzet efendī ibn-i İsmā'il nām kimesne maḥfil-i kaza ve meclis-i ḥukm ve imzāda vaḳf-ı ātiyü'l-beyānı [6] li ecli't-tesbīl-i mütevellī naşb olunan Vekilü'l-Ḥarc maḥallesi sākinlerinden Mollā Yūsuf bin Hüseyin nām kimesne maḥzarında ikrār-ı [7] ṣaḥīḥ-i şer'ī ve i'tirāf-ı ṣarīḥ-i mer'ī idüp kā'id-i tevfiḳillāh wa mā tuqaddimū li anfusikum min khayr tajidūh 'indallāh. Maẓmūn-ı [8] se'ādet maḥrūn üzere 'amele sevḳ etmekle ṭalaban li marḍāt Rabb al-Raḥīm wa haraban min i'qābih al-'alīm yawm lā yunfa' māl wa lā banūn [9] illā man atāllāh bi qalb salīm wa ibtighā'an shafā'at Rasulih al-karīm 'alayh afḍal al-taḥiyya wa al-taslīm. Niyyet-i ḥāliṣe-i ṣāfiye ve ṭaviyyet-i [10] sāliḥa-i vāfiye ile aṭyeb-i māl ve enfes-i menālimden zikr-i āti esāmileri ketb ve taḥrīr olunan bir cild-i Muṣḥaf-ı Şerif ile [11] yüz elli sekiz cild kütüb-i mütenevvi'a-yı ifrāz ve vaḳf-ı ṣaḥīḥ-i şer'ī ve ḥabs-i ṣarīḥ-i mer'ī ile vaḳf ve ḥabs idüp şöyle [12] şart eyledim ki kütüb-i mezkūreye mütevellide ḥıfz oluna ve mādāmki lābis-i libās-i ḥayāt olam kütüb-i mezkūre ve ümūr-ı [13] tevliyet ve tebdil ve taḡyir-i şurūṭ-ı ātiyü'z-zikr marratan ba'd ukhrā yedimde ola vaḳtā ki bi-emrillāhi bī-zevāl ve bi ḥukm-i pādīşāh-ı [14] lāyezāl şerbet memātī nūş ve irjī'ī ilā Rabbik da'vetine icābet eylediğimde vaḳf-ı mezkure evlād-ı zükürum Mehmed Se'id ve 'Alī [15] Şākir bi'l-münāsefe 'ale's-seviyye mütevellī olup kütüb-i mevḳūfe-i mezbūre yedlerinde ḥıfz ideler ve kendüleri ve evlād-ı [16] zükürleri 'ale's-seviyye intifā' ve istifāde ideler mezbūrinden biri vefāt eyledikte tevliyet ve ḥıfz müsteḳillen āḥirī [17] yedinde olup intifā' yine mecmū'-ı evlād-ı zükürleri beyninde müşterek ola ve ba'de vefātihimā evlād-ı zükürumun ve evlād-ı [18] evlād-ı zükürumun ve evlād-ı evlād-ı evlād-ı zükürumun sinnen ekberī mütevellī ve yine mecmū'-ı evlād-ı zükūr inṣā'da müşterek ve nāẓır [19] olanlar ve yed-i mütevellide ḥıfz olunup 'āriyet ṭarīḳile veyā başka bir vechile bir nūşha vermeyeler ve meāzallāhi te'āla inḳırāzları [20] zuhūr iderse medīne-i mezbūrede icrā-yı aḥkām-i dīn-i mübīn ve iḥyā-yı i'lām-ı şer'ī mübīn iden ḥākim-i şer' efendī ḥazretleri ma'rifetile zikr olunan Muṣḥaf-ı Şerif ile kütüb-i mezbūr-ı Cāmi' 'Atik ḥavlusunda kā'in merḥūm 'Osmān Şehdī Efendī'nin [21] Kütübḥānesine vaz' ile ḥāfiẓ-ı kütüb olan efendī yedine teslim oluna ve kütübḥāne-i merḳūmeden aṣlā bir vechile iḥrāc olunmaya [22] ve bir kimesneye 'āriyet virilmeye deyu şurūṭ ve ḳuyudunu itmām ve zikr olunān Muṣḥaf-ı şerif ile kütüb-i mevḳūfe-i mezbūre-yi mütevellī-i [23] merḳūme

teslīm oldaḥi aḥz ve ḳabz ve tesellūm ve evḳāf-ı sâ'ire gibi bir berhe mine'z-zemân teşarruf eyledi dedikte gibbe't-taşdīḳi'ş-şer'î [24] vâḳıf-ı mûmâ-ileyhi inân-ı kelâm-ı semt-i vifâḳtan cānib-i şikāḳa 'atf idüp menḳulât ḳabilinden olan [25] Muşḥaf-ı Şerîf ve kütübün vaḳfı e'imme-i şelâşe-i teḥārîr 'aleyhi raḥmetü'l-Ḳadîr mezheb-i ḥatîrlerinde ğayr-i nâfiz ve ana mebnî olan [26] şartın daḥî şeref nefâzı ğayr-i cā'iz olmağla zıkr olunan Muşḥaf-ı Şerîf [ve] kütüb-i mevḳûfe-i mezbûre vaḳfiyetinden rücû' [27] ve ke'l-evveli mülküme istirdād olunması maṭlûbumdur didikte mütevellî-i mezbûre mütevekkilen 'ale'ş-Şekûr-i cevāb bā-şavāba mütesaddî olup [28] eğerçe hāl baş olunan minvāl-i meşrûḥ üzere olup lâkin menḳulât ḳabilinden olan Muşḥaf-ı Şerîf ve kütübün [29] vaḳfı müte'ârif ve ma'rûf ve beyne'n-nās-i de'b-i me'lûf olmağla menḳulât-ı müte'ârifin vaḳfı daḥî imam-ı sâliḥ Rabbânî Muḥammed bin [30] Ḥasan eş-Şeybânî ḥazretleri ḳatında ba'de't-teslīm ile'l-mütevellî vaḳf-ı lâzım ḳabilinden olup redd ve teslīmden imtinâ' ve ḥâkim-i şer'-i [31] ḥatîr şaḥḥallâh 'alayh kull amr 'asîr ḥuzûrunda müterâfi'ân ve her biri faṣl ve ḥasm tâlibân olduklarında ḥâkim mevḳi' şadr-ı kuttâb [32] tûbâ lehû ve ḥüsnüme'âb efendî daḥî 'âlimen bi'l-ḥilâfi'l-cârî beyne'l-eşrâf-i fî ümürü'l-evḳâf ba'de't-te'emmul ve't-tefekḳür ṭarafeynin [33] kelâmını isgâ ve ṭaraf-ı vaḳfı tercîhi evlâ ve uḥrâ görüp İmâm Muḥammed müşârün-ileyhi ḥazretlerinin ḳavl-i şerîfleri üzere zıkr olunan [34] Muşḥaf-ı Şerîf ve kütübün vaḳfiyetinin cevâzına ḥükm-i ḥâkim ṭavḳile şaḥîḥ ve cā'iz olup lâkin muḳtedâ-yı e'imme-i kibâr olan İmâm-ı [35] E'âzam ve himâm-ı efḥam ḥazret-i Nu'mân bin Sâbit ḥazretleri ḳatında luzûmı müstelzim olmamağla vaḳf-ı mezbûrdan rücû' eyledim [36] didikte mütevellî-i mezbûr tekrâr cevāb-ı bā-şavāba teşaddî idüp fi'l-ḥaḳîḳa müşârün-ileyhi ḥazretleri ḳatında şîḥḥat-i lüzûmı [37] müstelzime olmadığı muḳarrer lâkin ḥazreti İmâm Ebî Yûsuf ḥazretleri ḳatında vâḳıf mücerred-i veḳaftu demekle ve İmâm [38] Muḥammed ḥazretleri ḳatında teslīm ile'l-mütevellî ve zıkr-i te'yîd ile vaḳf lâzım olur İmâmeyn müşârün-ileyhimâ mezheb-i [39] münîrleri üzere Muşḥaf-ı Şerîf ve kütübün vaḳfiyetlerinin lüzûmlarına yine ḥükm ṭaleb eylediğinde ḥâkim-i mûmâ-ileyhi [40] dâma al-Ḥaqq yadayh ḥazretleri teşyîd-i mebânî-i vaḳfı evlâ görüp mârrü'z-zıkr Muşḥaf-ı Şerîf ve kütübün vaḳfiyetlerinin [41] lüzûmlarına daḥî aḥzen bi't-telfîḳ ḥükm ve ḳazâ itmeğın fa sârâ waḳfan şaḥîḥan shar'ıyyan wa ḥabsan sarıḳhan mar'ıyyan, fa man baddalah ba'd [42] mâ samî'ah fa innamâ ithmuh 'alalladhîn yubaddilûnah. Innallâh samî' 'alîm. Wa ijrâ' al-wâḳif 'alâllâh al-Jawwâd al-Karîm. Jarâ dhâlika wa ḥurrira fî [43] al-yawm al-tâsî' min shahr Muḥarram al-ḥarâm sana arba' wa arba'in wa mi'atayn ba'd al-alf.

1.) Tefsîr li Kelâm-ı kâdim hediyesi, 2.) Kâdîhân cild-i evvel ve sâni, 3.) Târîh-i Hasan Beg, 4.) Tefsîr-i sûre-i Nebe', 5.) Târîh-i Kandiye, 6.) Luğat-ı Vanlıulu cild-i evvel ve sâni, 7.) Miftâhü'l-cennet, 8.) Menâkıb-i Yûsuf u Zûleyhâ, 9.) Câmî'ü'l-fetâvâ mine'l-fıkh, 10.) Şerh-i Esmâ'ü'l-hüsnâ, 11.) Hülâşatü'l-fetâvâ 12.) Cild-i sâlis ve râbi' min Saḥîḥü'l-Buḥârî 13.) Mişkâtü'l-envâr, Şerh-i Meşâbih, 14.) Buḥârî şerîf, 15.) Kebîr fetâvâ-yı 'Alî Efendî Menḳûl, 16.) Behcetü'l-fetâvâ, 17.) Şerh-i 'Avâmil, 18.) Nuṭaf mine'l-fıkh, 19.) Câmî'ü'r-rumûz mine'l-fıkh, 20.) Kaşâ'id-i şerife fî medḥ-i hayru'l-berriye, 21.) Durrü'l-muḥtâr 22.) Terceme-i Muḥammediye, 23.) Yenâ'bî' mine'l-fıkh, 24.) Şerh-i Muḳaddime, 25.) Mecmû'at-i ebyât, 26.) Meşâyihü'l-ilâhiyât, 27.) Şerh-i Kîmyâ'yi se'âdet, 28.) Levâzîmü'l-ḳudât mine'l-fıkh, 29.) Muştemilü'l-aḥkâm, 30.) Delâ'ilü'l-hayrât 31.) Mülteḳâ'l-ebḥur, 32.) Şerh-i Hâcî Baba 'ale'l-Mişbâh, 33.) Muḥarrem Efendî Şerh-i Câmî, 34.) Mütevessit şerḥ-i Kâfiye, 35.) Tebyînü'l-merâm, 36.) Muḥtaşar-i me'ânî, 37.) Dürer bi şerḥ-i Ğurer, 38.) Mecmû'a, 39.) Risâle-i Kaşîde-i Burda me'a kaşâ'id, 40.) Terceme-i Kâfiye, 41.) Şerh-i Fıkh-ı ekber, 42.) Cild-i Râbi' ve sâlis min Şerh-i Buḥârî Kirmânî, 43.) Şir'atü'l-islâm, 44.) Mecmû'a-yı târiḥât, 45.) Fetâvâ-yı Aḥmediye, 46.) Mu'inü'l-aḥkâm, 47.) Şakk-i Mûsâzâde 48.) Hâşiye-i Eşbâh-i nezâ'ir, 49.) Cild-i evvel min Târîh-i Şir u Şâh, 50.) Hâşiye-yi 'Azmi 'ale'd-Dürer, 51.) Unmûzec fi't-ṭibb, 52.) Bidyü İşfahânî, 53.) Mefâriḳü'l-ezhâr [fi] şerḥ-i Meşâriḳü'l-envâr, 54.) Zav' mine'n-naḥv me'a şerḥ-i ebyât, 55.) Edebü'l-veşâyâ, 56.) Şerh-i bid'u'l-emâlî ve şurūḥi sâ'ire 57.) Mecmû'a, 58.) İşâre fî 'ilmü'l-ibâre, 59.) Şerh-i Elfiye li-İbn-i Mâlik, 60.) Risâle-i ḥavâşil (?) Esmâ'ü Hüsnâ, 61.) Cuz'u sâdis min Buḥârî şerîf, 62.) Şerh-i Şâfiye, 63.) Tıbbtan risâle, 64.) Budürü's-sâfire fî umûri'l-âḥire, 65.) Muṭavvel mine'l-me'ânî, 66.) Nefise-i uḥreviye 67.) Mesâ'il-i muḥtelife beyne'l-müfteyn, 68.) Mu'reb 'ale'l-'avâmil, 69.) Def'a mecmû'a, 70.) Te'âruz-ı beyyinât, 71.) Def'a Şerh-i Esm'â'ü'l-hüsnâ, 72.) Telḥîş, 73.) Risâle-i ḳazâ ve ḳader li el-İdrîs el-Biṭlisî, 74.) Luğat-ı fârsî ve 'arebî, 75.) Hidâye cild-i evvel ve sâni, 76.) Târîh-i ḥülefâ, 77.) Şerh-i ferâ'iz, 78.) Mullâ Câmî, 79.) Mevzû'ât, 80.) Teşavvurât, 81.) Aḥkâm-i 'aḳa'id, 82.) Târîh-i Şâhnâme, 83.) Tenbihü'l-ġâfilîn, 84.) Vâfiye Şerh-i Kâfiye, 85.) Mev'ize, 86.) Şemsiye fî'l-mantıḳ, 87.) Dîvân-ı Bâkî, 88.) Fetâvâ-yı 'Alî Efendî, 89.) Münyetü'l-muşallî, 90.) Ğarâ'imnâme-i ḥazret-i Süleymân, 91.) Zübdetü'l-keḷâm, 92.) Risâle-i ma'rifet-i eyyâm-i usbû', 93.) Hâşiyet-i Şihâb, 94.) Def'a Mev'ize, 95.) Hâşiyat-i Ḳuṭbu'd-dîn Sulṭân Şâh, 96.) Cuz' sâni min Envâru't-tenzîl, 97.) Tefsîr-i şerîf li 'Abdullâh Ebû Ḥayr, 98.) Mev'ize-i Receb Efendî, 99.) Netîcetü'l-fetâvâ, 100.) Ḳanûnnâme, 101.) Risâle Muḥammed Şîrvânî fi't-ṭipp, 102.) Te'lîf Ebî 'Abbâs Tekiyyü'd-dîn Aḥmed fî temyîz-i evliyâ'i'r-Raḥmân, 103.) Şarf cumlesi,

104.) Dīvān-ı Fehīm, 105.) Tārīh-i Fīrüz Şāh cild-i şānī, 106.) Tūrki tefsīr-i şerīf nāķış, 107.) Nuħbetu'l-fikr, 108.) Tārīh-i İskender, 109.) Luġat-ı Dānisten, 110.) Żav' Şerħ-i Mişbāħ, 111.) Şerħ-i 'Arūż, 112.) [Muħtşar-i] Ķudūrī, 113.) Şurūħ-i Tāşķöprüzāde fī'l-edeb, 114.) Şerħ-i Merāħ, 115.) Dürretu'l-esrār li fahri'l-emşār, 116.) Risāle-i Hızır 'aleyhi's-selām, 117.) Ħamzanāme, 118.) Şerħ-i Ferā'iz-i Sucāvendī ve mutūn-u ferā'iz, 119.) Tālī' Mevlūd, 120.) Mecmū'a min 'İlmü'l-ħisāb, 121.) Cerrāħnāme, 122.) Dīvān-ı Ķāsim fārsī, 123.) Fetāvā Muħammed Rızā, 124.) Def'a Dīvān musemmā (?), 125.) Ħāşiyetü'l-mişbāħu'l-musemmā bi'l-iftitāħ, 126.) Def'a Telħiş, 127.) Ħayriyye-i Nābī, 128.) Mutun-u Mişbāħ, 129.) Sa'ātnāme, 130.) En'ām-ı şerīf, 131.) Def'a Şerħ-i Bid'ü'l-emālī, 132.) Telħiş mine'l-fīħ, 133.) Şerħ-i Ta'limü'l-müte'allim, 134.) Def'a Sirāciyye me'a Şerħ-i Menzūme-i ferā'iz, 135.) Ķāla Ca'fer Şādiķ,¹¹⁹⁵ 136.) Şerħ-i aķā'id, 137.) Şerħ-i emşile, 138.) Şāhidiyye,¹¹⁹⁶ 139.) Şerħ-i Asmā'u'l-Ħüsnā ve Ħilye-i Ħāķānī, 140.) Risāle-i Birgivi, 141.) Mezbut Şerħ-i Maķşūd, 142.) Cild-i evvel min Tefsīru'l-kebīr, 143.) Nūru'l-izāħ, 144.) Şerħ-i Mu'addalu's-şalāt, 145.) Def'a Ħilye-i Ħāķānī, 146.) Cāmi'ü's-şagīr mine'l-ħadīs, 147.) Ta'bīrnāme-i Şāhideyn, 148.) Ķimyā-yi se'adet, 149.) Menķül Behcetü'l-fetāvā, 150.) Ķitābu'l-muħimmāt, 151.) Ķaşıde-i burda.

Yek yalnız yüz elli dokuz dir cild a. 159.

Şuhūdu'l-ħāl :

Saray voyvodası Cennetizāde Meħmed Emīn Bey; Yıldızcızāde Muştafā āġā; Pānozāde el-ħāc Sālīħ āġā; Topuzāde el-ħāc 'Abdullāh āġā; Ramizāde Meħmed āġā; Baķırcı Aħmed āġā; Klinozāde 'Abdullāh 'alemdār; Sarrāc Abdü'l-Ħamīd 'alemdār; Ķırcalı el-ħāc Muştafā.

¹¹⁹⁵ Hatidža Čar-Drnda read this title as: *Ja'far Şādiq*. See: Hatidža Čar-Drnda, "Neki legati Osman-Şehdijine biblioteke", *Anali XV-XVI* (1990), p. 247.

¹¹⁹⁶ Hatidža Čar-Drnda read this title as: *Shāhiriyya, ibid.*

Müdde-i müfti-i belde Şākir Meḥmed efendī müde'an 'aleyhi Sālih 'İzzet efendī ed-da'vā işbu Sālih efendī'ye bir cilt Şāhidī kitābı beş gürüşe nesī'eten bey' ve semen kırk üç senesi şa'bān'ī şerīf'in on dördüncü günü bana edā itmek üzere te'cīl eylediğime binā'en el-yevm cuma günü ki māh-i merķūmın on dördüncü günü olduğundan va'ze-i merķūm ḥulūl eylediğine binā'en mebleğ-i mezbūrı isterim su'āl. Deyn-i merķūm ile ecel-i mezbūr-ı ikrār ancak işbu yevm-i cuma māh-i merķūm'un on dördüncü günü idüğü ma'lūmum değildir deyu inkār itmekle mūmā ileyhiden da'vasına muṭābık beyyine ṭaleb olundukda 'udūl-i iḥrār-i ricāl-i muslimīn'den Keçeci Sinān maḥallesinden el-hāc 'Osmān 'alemdār ibn-i 'Ömer ve Molla İbrāhim bin ḥacī Muṣṭafā nām kimesneler li-ecli's-şehāde ḥāzīrān olup eşeru'l-istişhādī işbu kırk üç senesi hilāl şa'bān'ı'nı cuma gicesi ḳarīb-i mağreb'de hevā 'aynım var iken iki ucı ḳible'ye müteveccih olduğu ḥālde re'yu'l-'ayn muşāhede ve cumartesi māh-i mezbūrun gurresi olduğundan işbu cuma günü on dördüncü günü idiği ma'lūmumuzdur deyu şehādet etmelerile ba'de'l-ḥükm edā'ya tenbīh şud fī şa'bān sene 1243.

¹¹⁹⁷ A transcription of the text from S66/271 (Sarajevo *sijill* no. 66, p. 271) which deals with the judgement rendered in the legal case taken against kadi Şālih 'İzzat Ḥromozāde over payment for a book. The entry ends with the date: 14 Sha'bān 1243/1 March 1828.

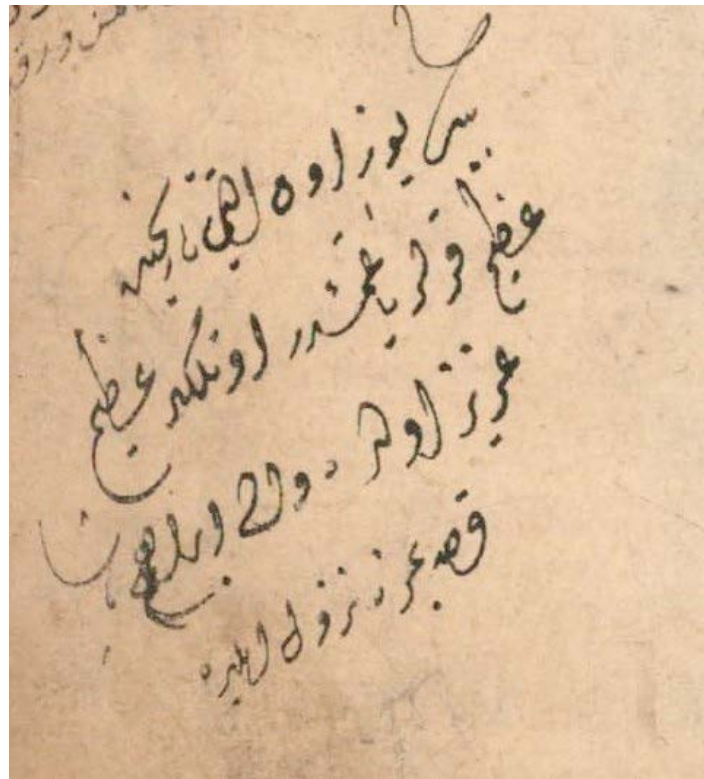
The petition by 374 Bosnian notables to the Porte dated 20 Şafar 1242/23 September 1826. The page shown records the names of the petitioners, including that of kadi Şālih ‘Izzat Hromozāde (highlighted in grey)

Handwritten list of names in Ottoman Turkish script, arranged in columns. The names are written in a cursive style. A ruler at the top indicates the page number 10 and the document number HAT. 0429.

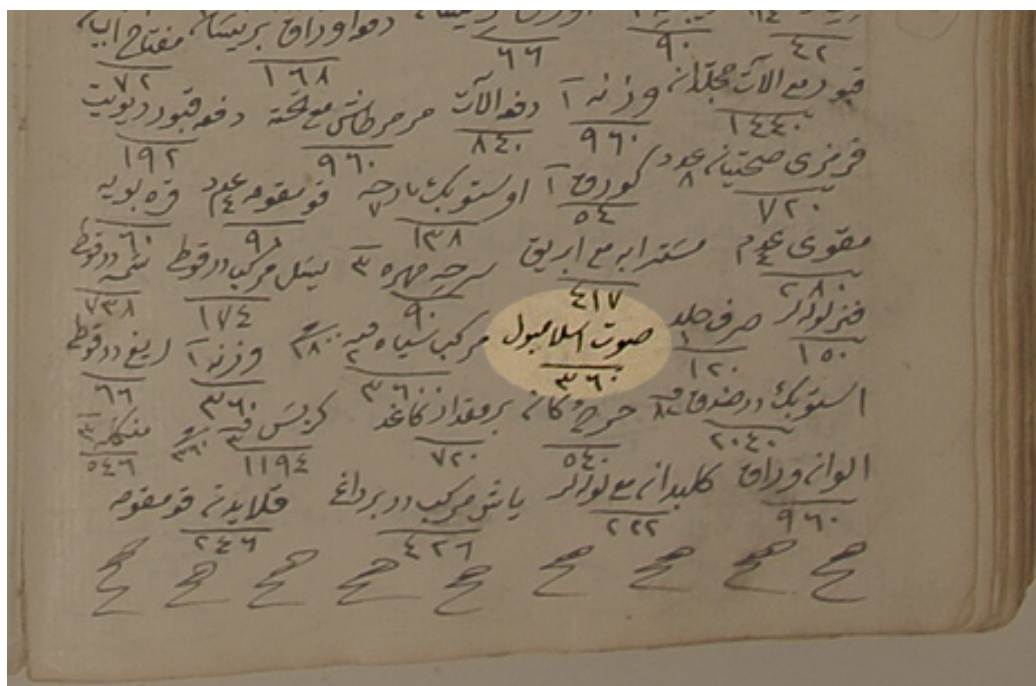
“Slave, suppliant
Şālih ‘Izzatī, judge”
(al-‘abd al-dā’i Şālih
‘Izzatī al-qāḍī)

المصدر الأصلي
الخاص

The marginal note about snowfall and wheat yields in “our town” from Ms. 271, *GHL* II, p. 718, in the kadi Şālih ‘Izzat Hromozāde collection, used to support the hypothesis that the kadi came from the town of Stolac.



Reference to a “newspaper” in the Sarajevo inheritance inventories



Şavt-i İslambol, S31/201-203 (27 Shawwāl 1204/10 July 1790).

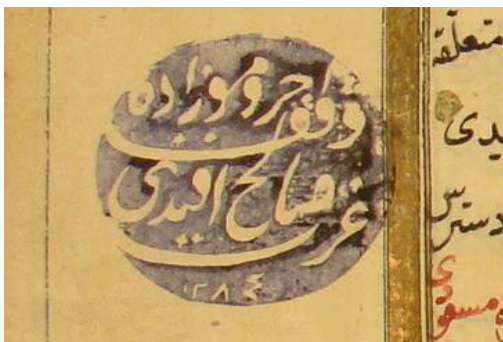
The kadi Şālih ‘Izzat Ḥromozāde Seals



Rabbi sahhil umur Şālih = Lord, make things easy for Şālih, Ms. 1749, fol. 1a.



‘abduh Şālih 1195 = his slave Şālih 1195 [1780-81], Ms. 1839, fol. 1a.



waqf Ḥromozāde Şālih ‘Izzat afandī 1284 = endowment of Ḥromozāde Şālih ‘Izzat afandī 1284 [1867/68], Ms. 1550, fol. 1b.

List of Works in the Kadi Şālih ‘Izzat Ḥromozāde Collection¹¹⁹⁸

1.

Muṣḥaf-i sharīf

Qur’an

2.

Ms 1545 (GHL II, 1313)

Adab al-waṣāyā (55)

Arabic, ff.112, a work of jurisprudence by Mawlā ‘Alī b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Jamālī al-Ḥanafī (d. 931/1525), GAL G II, 431.

3.

Aḥkām-i ‘aqā’id (81)

Islamic doctrines

4.

An‘ām-i sharīf (130)

Selected Qur’anic chapters and prayers.

5.

Ms 219 (GHL II, 1763)

Bahjat al-fatāwā (16)

Arabic, ff. 260, a collection of fatwas mainly by the mufti of Istanbul and shaykh al-islam Abū al-Faḍl ‘Abdallāh b. Muḥammad al-Yanishahrī (Yenişehirli) (d. 1156/1743), AM I, 482.

¹¹⁹⁸ The list includes all the works that at one time or another were part of the collection. They are listed in alphabetical order, by the first word under which they appear in the transcribed charter, even if the word is not part of the title (eg. *daʿa* or *juzʿ*). The works which do not figure in the charter go by their title in the catalogues. Collective volumes are listed by the first work. Where I have been able to identify a title from the charter among the extant works, I have put the class mark in bold letters followed by the ordinal number in the printed Gāzī Hüsrev-bey Library catalogues. Where there is a number in brackets after the title, it indicates the place of the work as identified in the charter. Following the charter, a copy of the Qur’an (*Muṣḥaf-i sharīf*) comes before all the other works.

6.

Bidy Iṣfahānī (?) (52)

7.

Ms 440 (GHL III, 2141)

Budūr al-sāfira fī umūr al-ākhirā (64)

Arabic, ff. 183, by Jalāl al-dīn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abū Bakr al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505) on eschatology, *HKh*, II, 231.

8.

Ms 447 (GHL III, 2140)

Budūr al-sāfira fī umūr-i ākhira (64)

See the above. While the charter lists one work under this title, there are clearly two extant copies of the same work bearing the Ṣāliḥ ‘Izzat Ḥromozāde seals.

9.

Ms 1525 (GHL I, 412)

Bukhārī sharīf (14)

Arabic, ff. 192; this ms. vol. I of *al-Jāmi‘ al-Ṣaḥīḥ* by Abū ‘Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl al-Bukhārī (d. 256/870), *GAL G I*, 158.

10.

Ms R 1541 (GHL XII, 7179)

Cerrāḥ-nāme (121)

Turkish, ff. 137, by Abū Ṭāhir Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Ghaznawī (d. 224/838-39), on treating wounds, *‘OM III*, 246.

11.

Daf‘a Dīwān-i musamm’ (?) (124)

Collection of poetry

12.

Daf‘a majmū‘a (69)

Collective volume

13.

Daf'a Maw'iza (94)

Collection of sermons

14.

Ms R-2039 (GHL XI, 6903)

Daf'a sharḥ Bad' al-amālī (131)

Arabic, ff. 24, full title: *Nafīs al-riyād li i'dām al-i'rād* by Khalīl al-'Alā' al-Najāri (d. 632/1234), a commentary on a poem about the Islamic creed by Sirāj al-dīn 'Alī b. 'Uthmān al-'Ushī al-Farghānī (d. 575/1179), GAL G I, 429.

15.

Daf'a Sharḥ Asmā' al-ḥusnā (71)

Commentary on the Beautiful Names of God.

16.

Ms 2707 (GHL II, 1796)

Daf'a Sirājiyya ma' Sharḥ Manẓūma-i farā'id (134)

Collective volume, Arabic, ff. 81; (1) *al-Farā'id al-sirājiyya* also known as *Farā'id al-Sajāwandī* or *al-Sirājiyya fī al-farā'id* by Sirāj al-dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad (Maḥmūd) b. 'Abd al-Rashīd al-Sajāwandī (d. 600/1203 or 700/1300) on the rules of division of inheritance; (2) *Jāmi' al-durar aw sharḥ naẓm al-farā'id* by 'Abd al-Muḥsin al-Qayṣarī (d. 755/1354 or 761/1360), the work is also known as *Farā'id 'Abd al-Muḥsin al-Qayṣarī*; GAL S III, 1222.

17.

Daf'a Talkhīṣ (126)

Arabic, a work on stylistics entitled *Talkhīṣ al-miftāḥ* by Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Qazwīnī Khaṭīb Dimashq (d. 739/1338), which is an abridgment of Book Three of *Miftāḥ al-'ulūm* by Yūsuf b. Abū Bakr al-Sakkakī (d. 626/1229), GAL G I, 294.

18.

Dalā'il al-khayrāt (30)

Arabic, *Dalā'il al-khayrāt wa shawāriq al-anwār fī dhikr al-ṣalāt 'alā al-nabiyy al-mukhtār*, a popular collection of prayers by Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Jazūlī (d. 870/1465), GAL G II, 252, 253.

19.

Ms R 1548,1 (GHL VI, 3923,1)

Ḍaw' min al-naḥw ma' sharḥ abyāt (54)

Collective volume, Arabic, ff. 177; (1) *Ḍaw' al-Miṣbāḥ mukhtaṣar al-miftāḥ* by Tāj al-dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Isfarā'inī al-Fāḍil (d. 684/1285), an abridgment of a commentary on al-Muṭarrizī's *al-Miṣbāḥ* on Arabic grammar, GAL G II, 293; GAL S II, 514; (2) *Risāla ḥālla li-abyāt Ḍaw' al-Miṣbāḥ*, by Ismā'il b. Ali (year of death unknown), a commentary on the verses quoted by way of example in *Ḍaw' al-Miṣbāḥ* by Isfarā'inī.

20.

Ms 527 (GHL VI, 3910)

Ḍaw' sharḥ Miṣbāḥ (110)

Arabic grammar, ff. 115, see the above.

21.

Def'a Ḥilye-i Ḥākānī (145)

Poem in Turkish in praise of the Prophet by Khāqanī Meḥmed Bey (d. 1015/1606-07), 'OM, II, 162, 163.

22.

Dīvān-ı Bāqī (87)

Collected poems by the Ottoman poet Maḥmūd b. 'Abdallāh Bāqī (d.1008/1600), *Flügel* I, 648-650.

23.

Dīvān-ı Fehīm (104)

Collected poems by the Ottoman poet Fehīm (d. 1054/1644), *Flügel* I, 706

24.

Ms 3165 (GHL IV, 3176)

Dīvān-i 'Imād

Persian, ff. 77, collected poems by the Persian poet 'Imād Faqīh Kirmānī (d. 773/1371) also known as Khwāja 'Imād Faqīh (d. 773/1372).

25.

Ms 3175 (GHL IV, 3179)

Dīvān-i Qāsim fārsī (122)

Persian, ff.103, collected poems, also known as *Dīvān-i Qāsim* or *Dīvān-i Qāsim al-Anvār*, by Sayyid Mu‘īn al-dīn ‘Alī (d. 837/1433), *Flügel* I, 582.

26.

Ms 687 (GHL II, 1278)

Durar bi sharḥ Ghurar (37)

Arabic, ff. 376; a commentary on the work of jurisprudence entitled *Ghurar al-aḥkām*, both the main work and this commentary by Muḥammad b. Farāmurz b. ‘Alī Munlā Khusraw (d. 885/1480), *GAL G II*, 226; *GAL S II*, 316.

27.

Ms 1710 (GHL II, 1448)

Durr al-mukhtār (21)

Arabic, ff. 339, *al-Durr al-mukhtār fī sharḥ tanwīr al-baṣā’ir*, a work on jurisprudence by ‘Alā’ al-dīn Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Raḥīm al-Ḥaskafī al-Ḥanafī (d. 1088/1677), *GAL G II*, 311.

28.

Ms R-1750 (GHL XVIII, 10088)

al-Durr al-munṣān fīmā yaḥduth fī ayyām dawlat Āl ‘Uthmān

Arabic, ff. 65, a work on Astrology by shaykh Ḥusayn b. Kamāl al-Qādirī of unknown biography; *GAL S II*, 929.

29.

Ms 2100 (GHL I, 769)

Durrat al-asrār li-fakhr al-amṣār (115)

Collective volume, mainly Arabic, some Turkish, ff. 50; (1) *Ḥimī al-‘arīfīn fī asrār asmā’ al-arba‘īn*, a treatise about prayer by invoking 40 names of God, *GAL G I*, 437, 438; (2) *Qaṣīda bi al-turkiyya li-sharḥ al-Asmā’ al-Ḥusnā*, a poem in Turkish about God’s Beautiful Names; (3) *Tarwīḥ al-qulūb bi-laṭā’if al-ghuyūb*, a mystical work based on the writings of Ibn ‘Arabī and al-Būnī, *HKh*, I, 402; (4) *al-Jawhar al-nūrānī fī al-sirr al-azhar al-rabbānī*, a commentary on *al-Laṭā’if al-‘ashara* by Abū al-‘Abbās Aḥmad b. ‘Alī al-Būnī (d. 622/1225); (5) *al-Alfāz al-shahiyya*

fī al-ḥāz al-bahiyya, on praying by invoking God's Beautiful Names; (6) *Faṣl fī fawā'id al-dhikr*, on the benefits of remembering God, a work based on Ibn Qayyim's *al-Kalim al-ṭayyib*; (7) *Idrisiyya*, on the benefits and the impact of God's names, similar to text no. 1 in this volume; (8) *Du'ā' al-manẓūm*, a supplication in verse rhyming with the Arabic letter *rā* by an unknown author.

30.

Farā'id al-sirājiyya

Arabic, on rules of inheritance by Sirāj al-dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad (Maḥmūd) b. 'Abd al-Rashīd al-Sajāwandī (d. 600/1203 or 700/1300), GAL S I 650/1.

31.

Ms 837 (GHL II, 1774)

Fatāwā Aḥmadiyya (45)

Collective volume, Arabic, Turkish, ff. 291; (1) *Fatāwā Aḥmadiyya al-Müstāriyya*, a collection of fatwas by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Müstārī (d. 1190/1776), the former mufti of Mostar, *al-Jawhar al-Asnā'*, p. 37; (2) *Ḳānūn-nāme-i ṣaḥīḥ dir*, a collection of land laws and fatwas from the time of Süleyman the Magnificent.

32.

Ms 224 (GHL II, 1658)

Fatāwā Qāḍikhān jild awwal

Arabic, ff. 353, manual for kadis and muftis for issuing fatwas by Fakhr al-dīn Ḥasan b. Maṣṣūr al-Ūzjandī al-Farghānī Qāḍikhān (d. 592/1196), GAL G 1, 376; GAL S I, 644; this ms. volume I.

33.

Ms 693 (GHL II, 1746)

Fetāvā-yi 'Alī Efendī (88)

Turkish, ff. 382, a collection of fatwas known as *Fetāvā-yi 'Alī Efendī Çatalcāvī* by shaykh al-islam 'Alī-afandī b. Muḥammad al-Chataljāwī (d. 1103/1691), 'OM II, 61.

34.

Ms 215 (GHL II, 1752)

Fetāvā-yi ‘Alī Efendī

Turkish, ff. 243, see the preceding ms.

35.

Ms R-6934 (GHL X, 6146)

Fetāvā-yı ‘Alī Efendī el-Çatalcāvī

Turkish, ff. 292, see the previous two manuscripts.

36.

Ms. 1835 (GHL II, 1773)

Fetāvā-yi Mehmed Rîzâ (123)

Turkish, ff. 102, a collection of fatwas by al-Sayyid Muḥammad Riḍā al-Rūmī (d. 1169/1755), ‘OM II, 63.

37.

Ġarā’im-nāme-i hazreti Süleymān (90)

Unidentified work about the Prophet Solomon.

38.

Ḥamza-nāme (117)

Turkish, a story about the Prophet’s uncle Ḥamza by Aḥmadī Ḥamzāwī (d. cca 815/1412), *Flügel* II, 795; ‘OM II, 74.

39.

Ms 2174 (GHL II, 1303)

Ḥāshiya-i ‘Azmī ‘alā al-Durar (50)

Arabic, ff. 390, a gloss on *Durar al-ḥukkām fī sharḥ ghurar al-aḥkām* by Muṣṭafā b. Pīr Muḥammad ‘Azmīzāde (d. 1040/1630), *GAL G* II, 226; both the main text entitled *Ghurar al-aḥkām* and the commentary entitled *Durar al-ḥukkām fī sharḥ ghurar al-aḥkām* by Muḥammad b. Farāmurz b. ‘Alī Munlā Khusraw (d. 885/1480), *GAL G* II, 226; *GAL S* II, 316.

40.

Ms 697 (GHL II, 1418)

Ḥāshiya-i Ashbāh-i naẓā’ir (48)

Arabic, ff. 223, a work of jurisprudence entitled *Tanwīr al-baṣā’ir ‘alā al-ashbāh wa al-naẓā’ir* by Sharaf al-dīn b. ‘Abd al-Qādir b. Barakāt b. Ibrāhīm ibn Khaṭīb al-Ghazzī al-Ḥanafī (d.

1030/1620), which is a commentary on *al-Ashbāh wa al-naẓā'ir* by Zayn b. Ibrāhīm Ibn Nujaym al-Miṣrī al-Ḥanafī (d. 970/1563), *GAL G II*, 310; *GAL S II*, 425.

41.

Ms 1527 (*GHL V*, 3431)

Hāshiyat-i Quṭb al-dīn Sulṭān Shāh (95)

Arabic, ff. 129, a work on logic entitled *Hāshiya 'alā sharḥ al-Shamsiyya li-Sulṭān Shāh*, which is a gloss by Sulṭān Shāh (d. 929/1523) on a commentary by al-Taftazānī on *al-Risāla al-shamsiyya*, *GAL G I*, 466; *GAL S I*, 846.

42.

Ms 212 (*GHL I*, 319)

Hāshiya-i Shihāb (93)

Arabic, ff. 305, vol. I of a supercommentary on Bayḍāwī's Qur'an commentary by Shihāb al-dīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. 'Umar al-Khafajī al-Miṣrī (d. 1069/1658) entitled *'Ināyat al-qāḍī wa kifāyat al-rāḍī (hāshiyat al-Shihāb 'alā Tafsīr al-Bayḍāwī)*, *GAL S I*, 740/31.

43.

Ms R 2095 (*GHL VI*, 3860)

Hāshiyat al-miṣbāḥ al-musammā bi al-iftitāḥ (125)

Arabic, ff. 80, a work on Arabic grammar entitled *al-Iftitāḥ fī sharḥ al-miṣbāḥ* by Ḥasan-bāshā b. 'Alā al-dīn al-Aswad (d. 1025/1616), which is a commentary on *al-Miṣbāḥ* by al-Muṭarrizī, *Ahlwardt VI*, 6538 (who puts the year of death at 800/1397).

44.

Ms 1839 (*GHL IV*, 2725)

Hayriye-i Nābī (127)

Turkish, ff. 47, a didactic poem also known as *Dīvān-ı Ebū Ḥayr* by Yūsuf Nābī (d. 1124/1712).

45.

Ms 435 (*GHL II*, 1010)

Hidāya jild awwal wa thānī (75)

Arabic, ff. 419 (195+224), a work of jurisprudence entitled *al-Hidāya fī al-fiqh al-ḥanafī* by shaykh al-islam Burhān al-dīn 'Alī b. Abū Bakr al-Marghīnānī al-Ḥanafī (d. 593/1197), which

is an expanded version of his shorter work entitled *Bidāyat al-mubtadi'*, GAL G I, 376; GAL S I, 644.

46.

Ms R-8976 (GHL XVI, 9220)

İnşā

Turkish, ff. 48, samples of official letters and administrative documents.

47.

Ms 2111 (GHL XII, 7464)

Ishāra fī 'ilm al-ibāra (58)

Arabic, ff. 173, *al-Ishārāt fī 'ilm al-'ibārāt* by Ghars al-dīn Khalīl b. Shāhīn al-Zāhirī (d. 872/1468) on dream interpretation, GAL G II, 135.

48.

Ms 578 (GHL II, 1114)

Jāmi' al-rumūz min al-fiqh sharḥ mukhtaṣar al-wiqāya (19)

Arabic, ff. 398, a commentary by Shams al-dīn Muḥammad b. Ḥusām al-dīn al-Khurāsānī al-Qūhistānī (d. cca 950/1534) on *al-Mukhtaṣar al-wiqāya* by 'Ubaydallāh b. Mas'ūd al-Ḥanafī Ṣadr al-sharī'a al-Aṣghar (d. 747/1346), GAL G I, 378; GAL S I, 648.

49.

1521 (GHL II, 1691)

Jāmi' al-fatāwā min al-fiqh (9)

Collective volume, Arabic, Turkish, ff. 178; (1) *Jāmi' al-fatāwa min al-fiqh* by Kırk Emre al-Ḥamīdī al-Ḥanafī (d. 880/1475); (2) *Erāzī muta'allik me'mūl bihā cedīd kânūn sultānıdır*, the new law regulating land ownership.

50.

Jāmi' al-ṣaghīr min al-ḥadīth (146)

Arabic, full title: *Jāmi' al-ṣaghīr min ḥadīth al-bashīr al-nadhīr* by Jalāl al-dīn Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abū Bakr al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505), GAL G II, 147.

51.

Jild awwal min Tārīkh Shīr wa Shāh (49)

52.

Ms 315 (GHL I, 194)

Jild awwal min Tafsīr al-kabīr (142)

Arabic, ff. 123, a commentary on the first Qur'anic chapter (*sūrat al-Fātiḥa*) by Fakhr al-dīn Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. 'Umar al-Ḥusayn b. al-Khaṭīb al-Rāzī (d. 606/1209) from his large Qur'anic commentary *Mafātīḥ al-ghayb* also known as *Mafātīḥ al-kabīr*, GAL G I, 506/3.

53.

Ms 495, 454 (GHL I, 426-427)

Jild rābi' wa thālith min Sharḥ Bukhārī Kirmānī (42)

Arabic, vols. III and IV of a set of Bukhārī's *Jāmi' al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, ff. (III+196), ff. (IV+240), with a commentary entitled *al-Kawākib al-darārī fī sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* by Muḥammad b. Yūsuf 'Alī al-Kirmānī (d. 786/1384), GAL S II, 212/2.

54.

Ms 443 (GHL I, 407)

Jild thālith wa rābi' min Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī (12)

Arabic, ff. 422, *Jāmi' al-Ṣaḥīḥ* by Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl al-Bukhārī (d. 256/870), GAL S I, 261; this ms. is volume III (two parts in one volume).

55.

Ms 455 (GHL I, 409)

Juz' sādīs min Bukhārī sharīf (61)

Arabic, ff. 292; vol. VI, see the preceding ms.

56.

Ms 574 (GHL I, 216)

Juz' thānī min Anwār al-tanzīl (96)

Arabic, ff. 268, *Anwār al-tanzīl wa asrār al-ta'wīl* by Abū Sa'īd b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Shīrāzī al-Bayḍāwī (d. 685/1286 or 692/1292), GAL G I, 416; this vol. II, until the beginning of the 14th sūra (Ibrāhīm).

57.

Ms 722 (GHL II, 1910)

Ḳānūn-nāme (100)

Turkish, ff. 208; (1) *Ḳānūn-nāme*; (2) *Şakk*, samples of administrative forms collected by Khidr b. 'Uthmān, a court scribe and kadi in Istanbul.

58.

Kebīr fetāwā-yi 'Ālī Efendī Menḳūl (15)

Collection of fatwas.

59.

Ms 424 (GHL II, 1640)

Khulāṣat al-fatāwā (11)

Arabic, ff. 439, collection of fatwas by Ṭāhir b. Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Rashīd al-Bukhārī (d. 542/1147), GAL G I, 374; GAL S I, 641.

60.

Ms R-628 (GHL XIII, 7670)

Kimyā-yi se'ādet (148)

Turkish, ff. 260, a translation of the Persian original by Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad al-Ghazālī al-Ṭūsī al-Shāfi'ī (d. 505/1111), 'OM II, 43.

61.

Ms 614 (GHL VII, 4613)

Kitāb dar lisān-i 'arabī wa fārsī wa türki [*Muntakhab min lahja fī al-lugha*]

Arabic-Persian-Turkish dictionary by an unknown writer, ff. 170, vol. I.

62.

Ms R-796 (GHL XII, 7399)

Kitab-i Melḥeme

Turkish, ff. 34, on Astrology by Pīrī Kh^wāja b. 'Ādilī, whose death of year is unknown.

63.

Ms 2476 (GHL II, 1307)

Kitāb al-muhimmāt (150)

Arabic, ff. 251, a rare religious primer entitled *al-Muhimmāt fī al-'ibādāt* by Yūsuf Dhalīlī b. Muṣṭafā b. Muḥammad ibn 'Ajīzī al-Barghamawī (d. cca 909/1503), GAL S II, 692.

64.

Ms 225 (GHL II, 1482)

Lawāzim al-quḍāt min al-fiqh (28)

Arabic, ff. 195, *Lawāzim al-quḍāt wa al-ḥukkām fī iṣlāḥ umūr al-anām* by Muṣṭafā b. Mirzā b. Muḥammad al-Ḍihkī al-Sirūzī (d. 1090/1679), GAL G II, 435; GAL S II, 647.

65.

Ms 445 (GHL VII, 4479)

al-Lughat al-‘arabiyya

Arabic dictionary by an unknown compiler, ff. 181.

66.

Ms 2948 (GHL VII, 4719)

Lughat-i Dānistan (109)

Collective volume, ff. 50; (1) *Tuḥfa al-hādiya* or *Lughat-i dānistan*, Persian-Turkish dictionary by Muḥammad b. Ḥājī Ilyās, *Flügel* I, 145; (2) *Sharḥ al-amthila al-mukhtalifa bi al-turkiyya*, a commentary in Turkish on Arabic grammar.

67.

Ms. 1645 (GHL VII, 4597)

Lughat-i fārisī wa ‘arabī (74)

Arabic-Persian dictionary by an unknown author, ff. 275.

68.

Lughat Wanqūlī jild awwal wa thānī (6)

A printed copy of the *Luḡat-ı Vanqulu*, Arabic-Turkish dictionary by Vānī Mehmed Efendī (d. 1000/1592), from İbrahim Müteferrika’s press, GHL, 0-55/; 0-56/II.

69.

Ms 698 (GHL I, 531)

Mafāriq al-azhār [fī] sharḥ Mashāriq al-anwār (52)

Arabic, ff. 551, *Mabāriq al-azhār fī sharḥ Mashāriq al-anwār*, a commentary by ‘Abd al-Laṭīf b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz ibn al-Malak (d. 797/1395) on a hadith collection entitled *Mashāriq al-anwār al-nabawiyya min ṣiḥāḥ al-akhbār al-muṣṭafawiyya*, GAL S II, 315; ‘OM I, 219.

70.

Ms 1661 (GHL IV, 3231)

Majmū'at-i abyāt (25)

ff. 142, a miscellaneous collection of poetry by various poets, mainly in Persian, some in Turkish, few in Arabic.

71.

Ms R 1749 (GHL XII, 7285)

Majmū'a min ilm al-ḥisāb (GHL XII, 120)

Arabic, ff. 15, a work of mathematics entitled *al-Majma' naẓm al-luma' fī 'ilm al-ḥisāb* by Sharaf al-dīn 'Amrīṭī (d. 890/1485) which is a commentary on *al-Luma' fī al-ḥisāb* by Abū 'Abbās Shihāb al-dīn Aḥmad b. Shams al-dīn ibn Muḥammad b. 'Imād al-dīn b. 'Alī al-Miṣrī ibn al-Hā'im al-Maqdisī (d. 815/1412).

72.

Ms 2106 (GHL IV, 3067)

Mecmū'a-yi tāriḥāt (44)

Collective volume, ff. 79, Turkish, Arabic, consists mainly of verses and notes copied from the *majmū'a* of the Bosnian scholar Muṣṭafā Ayyūbīzāde (d. 1119/1707) also known as shaykh Yūyō.

73.

Majmū'a (38)

Collective volume, Arabic, Turkish, ff. 52; (1) *Malja' al-quḍāt 'inda ta'āruḍ al-bayyināt*, also know as *Tarjīh al-bayyināt* or *Ta'āruḍ al-bayyināt*, a kadi manual by Abū Muḥammad Ghānim b. Muḥammad al-Baghdādī al-Ḥanafī (d. cca 1030/1621); (2) *Ḳānūn-name-i cedīd mu'teber*, on Ottoman land laws.

74.

Majmū'a (57)

Collective volume.

75.

Ms 1253 (GHL III, 2057)

Majmū'a

Collective volume, ff. 44, Arabic, Turkish; (1) *Ta'lim al-muta'allim*, a treatise on the merits of knowledge and the proper way to acquire it by Burhān al-dīn al-Zarnujī (d. cca 600/1203), GAL S I, 837; (2) *Maqāla 'Arabzāde afandī fī madh Risālat al-Birkawī*, a short treatise by 'Abd al-Wahhāb b. al-Shaykh 'Abd al-Rahmān 'Arabzāde (d. 1103/1691) in praise of *Waṣiyyetnāme* by Birkawī; (3) *Hikāyet erun 'avreti üzerinde ve 'avretin ere üzerinde olan hukuḳi beyāndır*, a short treatise in Turkish by an unknown writer on the mutual duties of spouses.

76.

Ms 301 (GHL III, 2319)

Majmū'a

Collective volume, ff. 122; (1) a collection of sermons in Arabic compiled from various works, mostly from a work entitled *Majālis al-naḥḥa* of unclear provenance; (2) *Tafsīr sūrat al-Qadr*, a commentary on the 99th sūra taken from a work entitled *Najāt al-muttaqīn*; (3) *Tafsīr sūrat Yūsuf*, a commentary on the 12th sūra; (4) continuation of the previous collection of sermons entitled *al-Majālis*; (5) *Tafsīr sūrat al-Dukhān*, a commentary on the 44th sūra, which is taken from the afore-mentioned *al-Majālis*.

77.

Ms R 2471 (GHL VIII, 5029)

Majmū'a

Collective volume, ff. 82, Arabic, Turkish; (1) *Kifāya min al-Mubtadi'* also known as *Kifāya min al-ṣarf* or *al-Ishtiqāqiyya min al-ṣarf*, on Arabic grammar by Muḥammad b. Pīr 'Alī al-Birkawī (d. 981/1573), HKh II, 1500; (2) *Majma' al-baḥrayn* by Ibrāhīm b. Ḥāfiẓ b. Muṣṭafā al-Anqarī (year of death unknown) on Arabic morphology; (3) *Mevlidü'n-Nebī*, the poem about the Prophet by Süleymān Çelebī in Turkish, HKh II, 1910; (4) *er-Risāle el-edebīye*, advice for a person who joins a Sufi tariqa by Nāṣūḥ b. Ḥājī 'Alī whose biography is unknown, in Turkish, with a supplication in Arabic at the end, HKh I, 844; (5) *Hikāye-i kādı bā-ōğrū*, a story about a judge and a thief in Turkish.

78.

Ms 794 (GHL I, 722)

Majmū'a

Collective volume, ff. 52; (1) *Rawḍāt al-jannāt fī uṣūl al-i'tiqādāt* by Ḥasan Kāfi al-Aqḥiṣārī al-Būsawī (d. 1025/1616) on the Islamic creed, GAL G II, 443/1; (2) *Ṣubḥe-i şibyān* an Arabic-Turkish dictionary in verse by Abū al-Faḍl Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Rūmī (year of death

unknown), with Kasim Dobrača suggesting that its writer was the Sarajevo poet Narkasī (d. 1044/1634); (3) *al-Tuḥfat al-hādiya – Luḡhat-i Dānistan*, a Persian-Turkish dictionary by Muḥammad b. ḥāj Ilyās.

79.

Ms 1320 (GHL II, 500)

Majmū'a

Collective volume, ff. 60; (1) *Fiqh al-Kaydānī*, a short work about daily prayer also known as *Mukhtaṣar al-ṣalāt*, *Muqaddimat al-ṣalāt*, *Shurūṭ al-ṣalāt*, *Talkhīṣ al-ṣalāt*, *Muṭālib al-muṣallī*, and *Bab shurūṭ al-ṣalāt*, ascribed variously to Luṭfallāh al-Nasafī al-Fāḍil al-Kaydānī who lived in the first half of the 10th/16th century, to Muḥammad b. Ḥamza al-Fanārī (d. 834/1431) and to Ibn Kamāl-pasha (d. 940/1533), GAL G II, 198, 234/4, 451/51; (2) *al-Muqaddima Abī al-Layth al-Samarqandī fī al-ṣalāt*, a work about daily prayers by 'Abd al-Layth Naṣr b. Muḥammad al-Samarqandī (d. 375/985), GAL G I, 196; (3) *Fiqh al-akbar*, on the Islamic creed by Abū Ḥanīfa Nu'mān b. Thābit (d. 150/767), GAL S I, 285/1.

80.

Manqūl-u Bahjat al-fatāwā (16)

A collection of fatwas (see ms. no. 5 on this list)

81.

Masā'il mukhtalifa bayn al-muftiyyayn (67)

A legal manual for muftis.

82.

Mashāyikh al-ilāhiyāt (26)

A didactical work of unclear provenance, GHL III, 2285/1.

83.

Ms 1706 (GHL III, 2261)

Maw'izat Rajab afandī (98)

Arabic, ff. 277, *Jāmi' al-azhār wa laṭā'if al-akhbār* by Rajab b. Aḥmad al-Bruṣawī Āmadī al-Rūmī al-Ḥanafī (d.1087/1676), OM I, 314.

84.

Maw'iza ma' Fiqh al-akbar (8)

Collective volume, with sermons and Abū Ḥanīfa's work on the Islamic creed (see no. 79/3 on this list).

85.

Ms 2482 (GHL I, 166)

Mawḍū'āt (79)

Collective volume, Arabic, ff. 111; (1) *al-Nāsikh wa al-mansūkh li al-Isfārā'inī* by Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Isfārā'inī. According to Brockelmann, the author's name was Muḥammad b. Abdallāh al-Isfārā'inī al-'Āmirī, *GAL S II*, 987; (2) *al-Mawḍū'āt li-'Alī al-Qārī* by 'Alī b. Sulṭān Muḥammad al-Qārī (d. 1014/1606) about apocryphal ḥadīths, *GAL G II*, 394/11.

86.

Mazbūṭ sharḥ-i Maqsūd (141)

Arabic grammar, a commentary by Yūsuf b. 'Abd al-Malik b. Bakhshāyish Qara Sinān (d. 868/1463-64) on *al-Maqsūd fī al-taṣrīf*, which is ascribed to Nu'mān b. Thābit Abū Ḥanīfa (d. 150/767).

87.

Ms 1559 (GHL III, 2573)

Mev'ize (85)

Turkish, ff. 190, collection of sermons in Turkish by an unknown writer.

88.

Miftāḥu'l-cennet (7)

Turkish translation by Aḥmad Ḍā'ī (d. 831/1427) of an ethico-didactic work in Arabic, 'OM II, 171.

89.

Ms 2944 (GHL VI, 3826)

al-Miṣbāḥ

Arabic, ff. 34, a work on Arabic grammar by Burhān al-dīn Abū Faṭḥ Nāṣir b. 'Abd al-Sayyid b. 'Alī al-Muṭarrizī (d.610/1213), *GAL G II*, 293; *GAL S II*, 514; *Ahlwardt VI*, 6530.

90.

Ms 457 (GHL I, 480)

Mishkāṭ al-anwār, Sharḥ Maṣābīḥ (13)

Arabic, ff. 583, a commentary by Walī al-dīn Abū ‘Abdallāh Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh al-Khaṭīb al-Tibrizī who lived in the 8th/14th century (GAL S I, 621) on *Maṣābiḥ al-sunna* by Ḥusayn b. Mas‘ūd al-Farrā’ al-Baghawī (d. 516/1122 or 510/1117), GAL G I, 363/1.

91.

Ms R 712 (GHL VI, 4040)

Muḥarram Afandī Sharḥ Jāmī (33)

Arabic, ff. 311, full title: *Ḥāshiya ‘alā al-Fawā’id al-Ḍiyā’iyya* by Muḥarram-afandī b. Muḥarram al-Zaylī (d. 1000/1592), a supercommentary on Ibn Jāmī’s commentary on *al-Kāfiya fī al-naḥw* by Ibn Ḥājib; GAL G I, 304/13; GAL S, 533.

92.

Ms 3200 (GHL II, 1267)

Mu‘īn al-aḥkām (46)

Arabic, ff. 235, *Mu‘īn al-ḥukkām fīmā yataraddad bayna al-khasmīn min al-aḥkām* by ‘Alī b. Khalīl al-Ṭarābulusī ‘Alā’ al-dīn (Ḥusām al-dīn) Abū al-Ḥasan al-Ḥanafī (d. 844/1440); GAL G II, 82; GAL S II, 91.

93.

Ms 1516 (GHL II, 1324)

Mukhtaṣar-i ma‘ānī (36)

Collective volume, ff. 187; (1) *Fiqh al-Kaydānī*, a prayer manual by Luṭfallāh al-Nasafī al-Fāḍil al-Kaydānī (lived in the first half of the 10th century CE); the work is also known as *Muqaddimat al-ṣalāt*, GAL G II, 198; GAL S 269/1; (2) *Mukhtaṣar al-ma‘ānī li-Sa’d al-dīn al-Taftazānī*, a commentary by Sa’d al-dīn Mas‘ūd b. ‘Umar al-Taftazānī (d. 792/1389) on *Talkhiṣ al-miftāḥ* by Jalāl al-dīn Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Qazwīnī (d. 739/1338) on Arab stylistics, GAL G I, 295; GAL S I, 516.

94.

Ms R 1587 (GHL VI, 4014)

Mullā Jāmī (78)

Arabic, ff. 275, a work on Arabic grammar entitled *al-Fawā’id al-Ḍiyā’iyya* by Nūr al-dīn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad Nūr al-dīn al-Jāmī (d. 898/1492), a commentary on *al-Kāfiya* by Ibn Ḥājib, GAL G, 304/13; GAL S I, 533; Ahlwardt VI, 6575.

95.

Ms 1376 (GHL II, 1539)

Multaqā al-abḥur (31)

Arabic, ff. 154, on jurisprudence by Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥalabī (d. 956/1549), GAL G II, 432; GAL S II, 642.

96.

Ms. R 2103 (GHL II, 1373)¹¹⁹⁹

Multaqā al-abḥur

Arabic, ff. 135, see no. 95.

97.

*Multaqā al-abḥur*¹²⁰⁰

Arabic, ff. 190, see, no. 95.

98.

Ms 2443 (GHL II, 1161)

Munyat al-muṣallī (89)

Arabic, ff. 93, a prayer manual entitled *Munyat al-muṣallī wa gunyat al-mubtadi* by Sadīd al-dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Kashgharī (d. 705/1305), GAL S I, 659.

99.

Mu'rib 'alā al-'Awāmil (68)

Arabic grammar, an analysis by an unknown writer of *al-'Awāmil al-al-mi'a*, a work of syntax by 'Abd al-Qāhir b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Jurjānī (d. 471/1078), *Flügel* I, 151.

100.

Ms 504 (GHL II, 1271)

Mushtamil al-aḥkām (29)

Arabic, ff. 122, a work on jurisprudence by Yaḥyā b. 'Abdallāh Fakhr al-dīn al-Rūmī al-Ḥanafī (d. 880/1475), *Ahlwardt* IV, 244.

¹¹⁹⁹ This same manuscript is catalogued again in GHL IX, 5587.

¹²⁰⁰ Ms. R-344, *Catalogue of the Arabic, Turkish, Persian and Bosnian Manuscripts in the Historical Archives Sarajevo*, vol. II, edited by Haso Popara, p. 392.

101.

Ms R-439 (GHL VII, 4264)

Muṭawwal min al-ma'ānī (65)

Arabic, ff. 146, on Arab stylistics entitled *al-Muṭawwal sharḥ Talkhīṣ al-miftāḥ* by Mas'ūd b. 'Umar b. 'Abdallāh al-Taftazānī Sa'd al-dīn (d. 792/1389), which is a commentary on *Talkhīṣ al-miftāḥ* by Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Qazwīnī (d. 739/1338), GAL G I, 294; GAL S I, 516.

102.

Ms 439 (GHL VII, 4264)

al-Muṭawwal – sharḥ Talkhīṣ al-Miftāḥ

Arabic stylistics, ff. 146, a commentary by Sa'd al-dīn Mas'ūd b. 'Umar b. 'Abdallāh al-Taftazānī (d. 791/1389) on *Talkhīṣ al-miftāḥ* by Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Qazwīnī (d. 739/1338); GAL G I, 294; GAL S I, 516.

103.

Ms 302 (GHL VII, 4270)

Collective volume, ff. 147; (1) *al-Muṭawwal – sharḥ Talkhīṣ al-Miftāḥ* (see ms. 439); (2) *Anwār al-tanzīl wa asrār al-ta'wīl*, a complete Qur'anic commentary by Abū Sā'id 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar b. Muḥammad al-Bayḍāwī (d. 685/1286), GAL G I, 290.

104.

Mutawassīṭ sharḥ Kāfiya (34)

Arabic syntax, full title *al-Wāfiya fī sharḥ al-Kāfiya* by Rukn al-dīn Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Astarābādī (d. 715/1315), GAL G I, 304/8, GAL S I, 532.

105.

Mutun Miṣbāḥ (128)

Possibly *al-Miṣbāḥ*, the work on Arabic grammar by al-Muṭarrizī (d. 610/1213), GAL G II, 293; GAL S II, 514.

106.

Ms 251 (GHL II, 1784)

Natījat al-fatāwā (99)

Arabic, ff. 176, a collection of fatwas compiled by Aḥmad-afandī who lived towards the end of the 12th/18th and the beginning of the 13th/19th century.

107.

Ms R-1550 (GHL XIV, 8228)

Nefīse-i uḥreviye (67)

Turkish, ff. 162, translation of *Nafīsa ukhrawiyya fī tarjamat al-ṣalawāt mas'ūdiyya* of Ṣalāt Mas'ūdiyya by al-Shaykh Ḍiyā al-dīn Abū Maḥmūd Muḥammad b. Amīn al-dīn 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Muḥammad al-Shīrāzī, *HKh* II, 1081.

108.

Ms 2035 (390)

Nukhbat al-fikr (GHL I, 107)

Collective volume, ff. 52, Arabic; (1) *Nuzhat al-naẓar sharḥ Nukhbat al-fikr* by Shihāb al-dīn Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī (d. 852/1448), who also authored the main text, *GAL* G II, 68-70; (2) *'Aqīda ahl al-tawḥīd al-ṣuḡhrā - Umm al-barāhin*, a short text on the Islamic doctrine, also known as *'Aqīda* or *'Aqā'id al-Sanūsiyya* by Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Ḥusayn al-Sanūsī (d. 895/1489), *GAL* S II, 353; (3) *'Arūḍ andalūsī* or *'Arūḍ Abī al-Jaysh* a short treatise on Arabic metre by Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn Abū al-Jaysh al-Anṣārī al-Andalūsī (d. 626/1229), *GAL* S I, 544/1.

109.

Ms 2478 (GHL II, 1467)

Nūr al-īḍāḥ (143)

Arabic, ff. 64, a religious primer entitled *Nūr al-īḍāḥ wa najāt al-arwāḥ* by Ḥasan b. 'Ammār b. 'Alī b. Yūsuf al-Shurunbulālī al-Ḥanafī (d. 1069/1658), *GAL* G II, 313; *G* S II, 430.

110.

Ms 227 (GHL II, 968)

Nuṭaf min al-fiqh (18)

Arabic, ff. 173, on jurisprudence by Abū al-Ḥasan (Ḥusayn) 'Alī b. Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad al-Sujdī (d. 461/1068), *GAL* G II, 198; *GAL* S I, 657; *GAL* S II, 270, 951.

111.

Qāla Ja'far Ṣādiq (135)

Possibly the book of divination entitled *Fa'l-nāme-i Ca'fer Ṣādiq* in Turkish, *GHL* XI, 6298/6.

112.

Ms 4328 (*GHL* XVII, 9515)

al-Qaṣīda al-nūniyya fī al-aqā'id

Arabic, ff. 25; a poem about the Islamic creed by Mawlāna Khidr-bak b. Jalāl al-dīn (d. 863/1459), *GAL* G II, 229; *al-Qaṣīda al-munfarija*, a poem in praise of the Prophet by Yūsuf b. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Tawzarī also known as Ibn al-Naḥwī (d. 505/1111 or 513/1119), *GAL* G I, 268.

113.

Qaṣā'id sharīfa fī madḥ khayr al-barriyya (20)

Arabic poem in praise of the Prophet entitled *al-Kawākib al-durriyya fī madḥ khayr al-barriyya* by Sharaf al-dīn a. Al. Muḥammad b. Sa'id al-Buṣīrī (d. 964/1294), *GAL* G I, 264/14.

114.

Ms R-3191 (*GHL* XVI, 9354)

Qaṣīda-i burda (151)

Collective volume, ff. 199, mainly in Persian; (1) *Sharḥ Qaṣīdat al-Burda*, with the main text in Arabic and the commentary in Persian; (2) *Ṭabīb al-qulūb fī aḥādīth al-Muṣṭafā*, a commentary in Persian on the collection of 40 *ḥadīths* quoted in Arabic by an unknown compiler; (3) *Sharḥ khawāṭir al-Asmā' al-ḥusnā*, a commentary in Persian on the meaning of God's Most Beautiful Names, the main text by Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd al-Ḥafīzī al-Bukhārī Kh^waja Pārsa (d. 822/1419); (4) *Sharḥ Rubā'ī Abī Sa'id b. Abī al-Khayr - risāla ḥawrā'iyya*, a commentary by 'Ubaydallāh Maḥmūd b. Shāshī (d. 896/1491) on the Persian quatrain (*rubā'ī*) of Abū Sa'id b. Abū al-Khayr (d. 440/1049); (5) a section from a Sufi work entitled *Dar bayān ḥāl-i ṣūfiyyīn* in Persian; (6) *Kitāb al-waqf wa al-ibtidā' fī al-Qur'ān*, a Persian translation by an unknown translator of a work on pauses in Qur'an recitation, the main text being by Muḥammad b. Ṭayfūr al-Ghaznawī al-Sajāwandī Abū 'Abdallāh (d. 560/1165), *GAL* G I, 408; *GAL* S I, 724; (7) *Risāla al-anwārāt*, a Sufi work in Persian written in rhymed prose by an 'Abdallāh of unknown biography; (8) *Kitāb fī al-'aqā'id wa al-fiqh al-majhūl*, a text on theology and jurisprudence by an unknown writer, in Persian; (9) *Jāmi' al-ḥikam wa al-amthāl*, a collection of *ḥadīths* and wise sayings in Persian by an unknown author; (10) *Risāla*

fi bayān al-madhhab, a short Sufi work in Persian by ‘Umar b. Muḥammad al-Suhrawardī Shihāb al-dīn (d. 632/1234).

115.

Ms 271 (GHL II, 1646)

Qāḍikhān jild awwal wa thānī (2)

Arabic, ff. 412, a manual for kadis and muftis for issuing fatwas by Fakhr al-dīn Ḥasan b. Maṣṣūr al-Ūzjandī al-Farghānī Qāḍikhān (d. 592/1196), GAL G I, 376; GAL S I, 644. See ms. no. 32 on this list.

116.

Ms 1601 (GHL II, 926)

Qudūrī (112)

Arabic, ff. 154, a work of jurisprudence entitled *Mukhtaṣar al-Qudūrī* by Abū al-Ḥusayn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Qudūrī al-Baghdādī (d. 428/1039), GAL G I, 175; GAL S I, 295.

117.

Risāla Muḥammad Shirwānī fi al-ṭibb (101)

A treatise on medicine by Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd Dilshād Shukrallāh Shirwānī (d. 912/1506-07), possibly his work in Turkish known as *Sulṭānīye*, ‘OM III, 235.

118.

Risāle ma’rifet-i eyyām-i usbū’ (92)

Work about auspicious day in the week in Turkish by ‘Abd al-Ghānī afandī b. Amīrshāh b. Maḥmūd al-Bulawī (d. 991/1583), *Flügel* I, 776; ‘OM I, 358.

119.

Risāla-i Qaṣīda-i Burda ma’ qaṣā’id (40)

See ms. 114/1 on this list.

120.

Risāla-i Birkawī (140)

Religious primer by Muḥammad b. Pīr ‘Alī al-Birkawī (d. 981/1573), *Flügel* III, 1687/2.

121.

Risālat ḥawāṣī Asmā' Ḥusnā (60)

Treatise on God's Beautiful Names.

122.

Ms R 1754 (GHL XII, 7172)

Risālat qaḍā wa qadr li Idrīs al-Biṭlisī (73)

Arabic, ff. 60, on predestination entitled *Risāla al-ibā' 'an mawāqī' al-wabā'* by Idrīs b. Ḥusām al-dīn 'Alī Biṭlisī (d. cca 930/1534), GAL G II, 233; GAL S II, 325.

123.

Ms 1732 (GHL III, 2273)

Risālat Khidr 'alayh al-salām (116)

Arabic, ff. 37, a Sufi work entitled *Risālat al-'adl fī bayān ḥāl al-Khidr 'alayh al-salām* by Nu'mān-pasha b. Muṣṭafā-pasha Köprülü (d. 1132/1720), GAL S, 663.

124.

Ms 558 (GHL II, 1878)

Risāle fī mefhūmi'l-ferā'iz

A short treatise on division of inheritance in Turkish by Mawlā Ṣāliḥ-afandī whose biography is unknown.

125.

Sā'at-nāme (129)

Turkish, a work about the merits of various hours of the day, with Qur'anic verses, hadith and stories of prophets, written by Ḥibbatallāh b. Ibrāhīm (d. 1090/1679), GHL I, 380/2.

126.

Ms 617 (GHL II, 1954)

Şakk Mūsāzāde (47)

Turkish, ff. 226, samples of court documents written by Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh Mūsāzāde (d. cca 1197/1782), AM II, 344.

127.

Şarf cümlesi (103)

Possibly a work on Arabic syntax in Turkish.

128.

Ms. 800 (GHL I, 786)

Şerḥ-i Esmā' ül-hüsnā ve Ḥilye-i Ḥākānī (139)

Collective volume, ff. 112, Turkish, Arabic; (1) *Du'ānāme-i Ebūsu'ūd Efendī*, a collection of supplications in Turkish compiled by Abū Su'ūd-afandī (d. 982/1574); (2) *Evşāf-ı Ḥilye-i Resūl-i ekrem ṣallāllāhu 'aleyhi ve sellem*, a commentary in Turkish on selected ḥadīths from Tirmidhī's *Shamā'il* about the Prophet's physical features; (3) *Ḥilye-i Ḥākānī*, a poem in Turkish in praise of the Prophet by Muḥamad-bak Khāqānī (d. 1015/1606), 'OM II, 163; (4) *Qaṣīda turkiyya fī sharḥ ma'ānī al-Asmā' al-Ḥusnā*, a poem about God's Most Beautiful Names in Turkish; (5) *al-Qaṣīda al-Ḍimyātīyya*, a poem in Arabic about God's names and prayers based on them by Shams al-dīn Muḥammad al-Ḍimyātī (d. 921/1515); (6) *Istighfār Sīdī Abī Madyan*, a supplication (*du'ā'*) in Arabic verse by shaykh Abū Madyan.

129.

Ms 1251 (GHL VIII, 4680)

Shāhidīyya (138)

Persian-Turkish dictionary in verse entitled *Tuḥfa-i Shāhidī* a by Ibrāhīm b. Şālih Shāhidī (d. 957/1550).

130.

Ms 1790 (GHL I, 437)

Shamā'il al-nabiyy li al-Tirmidhī

Arabic, ff. 87, a work of ḥadīth entitled *al-Shamā'il al-nabawiyya wa al-khaṣā'il al-muṣṭafawiyya* by Abū 'Isā Muḥammad al-Tirmidhī (d. 279/892), GAL G I, 162.

131.

Ms 1782 (GHL V, 3387)

Shamsiyya fī al-manṭiq (86)

Collective volume, Arabic, ff. 61; (1) *al-Risāla al-shamsiyya*, full title *al-Risāla al-shamsiyya fī al-qawā'id al-manṭiqiyya* by Najm al-dīn 'Alī b. 'Umar al-Qazwīnī al-Kātībī (d. 675/1276 or 693/1294); GAL G I, 466; GAL S I, 845; (2) *Sharḥ al-Īsāghūjī li al-Kātī*, by Ḥusām al-dīn Ḥasan al-Kātī (d. 760/1265) a commentary on *al-Īsāghūjī* by Athīr al-dīn Mufaḍḍal b. 'Umar al-Abharī (d. 663/1265), GAL G I, 464; GAL S I, 841; *al-Īsāghūjī*.

132.

Ms R-555 (GHL VI, 3777)

Sharḥ Ajurrūmiyya

Arabic, ff. 225, *Sharḥ al-Ajurrūmiyya* by Zayn al-dīn Khālīd b. ‘Abdallāh b. Abū Bakr al-Azhārī (d. 905/1499), a commentary on the *al-Muqaddimat al-Ajurrūmiyya* by Ibn Ajurrūm on Arabic syntax, Ahlwardt VI, 6674.

133.

Ms R-1717 (GHL XI, 6879)

Sharḥ aqā'id (136)

Arabic, ff. 80, on the Islamic doctrine entitled *Sharḥ ‘Aqā'id al-Nasafī li al-Taftazānī*, which is a commentary by Mas'ūd b. ‘Umar al-Taftazānī (d. 791/1389) on *al-‘Aqida al-nasafiyya* (also known as *‘Aqā'id al-Nasafī*) by Najm al-dīn Abū Ḥafṣ ‘Umar b. Muḥammad al-Nasafī (d. 537/1142).

134.

Sharḥ ‘Arūd (111)

Unidentified commentary on a work of Arabic metrics.

135.

Ms R 1590 (GHL VI, 3699)

Sharḥ ‘Awāmil (17)

Arabic, ff. 132, a work on Arabic grammar entitled *Sharḥ al-‘Awāmil al-mi’a* by ‘Alā’ al-dīn ‘Alī b. Muḥammad al-Buṣṭāmī Muṣannifak (d. 875/1479), which is a commentary on *al-‘Awāmil al-mi’a* by Abū Bakr ‘Abd al-Qāhir b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Jurjānī (d. 471/1078).

136.

Sharḥ Bad’ al-amālī wa shurūḥ sā’ira (56)

A commentary on the poem *Bad’ al-amālī* by Sirāj al-dīn ‘Alī b. ‘Uthmān al-‘Ushī al-Farghānī (d. 575/1179) along with several commentaries, GAL I, 429/1.

137.

Sharḥ amthila (137)

Arabic grammar

138.

Sharḥ Asmā' al-Ḥusnā (10)

Commentary on God's Beautiful Names.

139.

Ms 1772 (GHL II, 1822)

Sharḥ farā'id Sajāwandī ve mutun farā'id (118)

Collective volume, ff. 87, Arabic, Turkish; (1) *Sayyid Sharḥ-i farā'id*, a commentary by 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Jurjānī al-Sayyid al-Sharīf (d. 816/1413) on *al-Farā'id al-sirājiyya* by Sirāj al-dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad (Maḥmūd) b. 'Abd al-Rashīd al-Sajāwandī (d. 600/1203 or 700/1300); (2) *Arjūza fī al-farā'id aw al-masā'il al-mutashābiḥa min masa'il al-farā'id*, a versified manual on the rules of inheritance in the form of question and answer by Yaḥyā b. Abū Bakr al-Ḥanafī (biography unknown), GAL S I, 292; (3) *Sherḥ-i yaşı geçit* (?).

140.

Sharḥ farā'id (77)

Commentary on laws of inheritance. See ms. 139/1 above.

141.

Sharḥ Fiqh-i aqbar (41)

See ms. 79/3 on this list.

142.

Ms R 1844 (GHL VIII, 5126)

Şarḥ Hājī baba 'alā al-Miṣbāḥ (32)

Arabic syntax, ff. 82, a commentary by Hājī bābā ibn Hājī Ibrāhīm b. Hājī 'Abd al-Karīm b. 'Uthmān al-Ṭūsiyawī (d. 870/1465) on *al-Miṣbāḥ* by Abū al-Faṭḥ Burhān al-dīn Nāṣir b. 'Abd al-Sayyid b. 'Alī al-Muṭarrizi (d. 610/1213), GAL G II, 293.

143.

Ms R-1668 (GHL XIII, 7672)

Şerḥ Kimyā-yi sa'ādat (27)

Collective volume, ff. 95, Turkish; (1) *Tercüme-i Kimyā-yi se'ādet*, a Turkish translation of *Kimyā-yi sa'ādat* written in Persian by Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad al-Ghazālī al-Ṭūsī al-Shāfi'ī (d. 505/1058); (2) *İlm-i ḥāl*, a religious primer in Turkish by an unknown writer.

144.

Ms. R 2493 (GHL VIII, 4979)

Sharḥ Marāḥ (114)

Collective volume, ff. 98, Arabic; (1) *Marāḥ al-arwāḥ* by Aḥmad b. ‘Alī b. Mas‘ūd (d. cca 800/1397), Arabic grammar; *Ahlwardt* VI, 6805; (2) *Taṣrīf al-‘Izzī* by ‘Izz al-dīn Abū al-Faḍā’il b. Ibrāhīm b. ‘Abd al-Wahhāb b. ‘Alī al-Zanjānī (d. 655/1257), Arabic grammar; *Ahlwardt* VI, 6615; (3) *al-Maqṣūd fī al-taṣrīf*, usually ascribed to Abū Ḥanīfa al-Nu‘mān b. Thābit al-Kūfī (d. 150/767), *Ahlwardt* VI, 6796; (4) *al-Binā’*, also known as *Amthilat al-binā’*, *Binā’ al-afāl*, *Muqaddimat al-taṣrīf*, with some sources mentioning ‘Abdallāh Dīnqūz as the author, *Ahlwardt* VI, 6825; (5) *al-Amthila al-mukhtalifa*, Arabic grammatical paradigms on the root (فعل) with explanation in Turkish; (6) *Tawḍīḥ kalimāt Marāḥ al-arwāḥ*.

145.

Ms 1593 (GHL II, 1438)

Sharḥ mu‘addal al-ṣalāḥ (144)

Arabic, ff. 70, a commentary on a short manual about performing obligatory prayers; the main text entitled *Mu‘addal al-ṣalāḥ* written by Muḥammad b. Pīr ‘Alī al-Birkawī (d. 981/1573), *GAL G II*, 440; *GAL S II* 655.

146.

Sharḥ Shāfiya (62)

A commentariy on Ibn Ḥājib’s work *al-Shāfiya* on Arabic grammar, possibly written by one of the following scholars: Raḍī al-dīn Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Astarābādī (d. 686/1287), *Ahlwardt* VI, 6601; Abū Yaḥyā Zakariyyā b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Zakariyyā al-Anṣārī al-Miṣrī (d. 926/1520), *Ahlwardt* VI, 6612/5; ‘Iṣām al-dīn Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. ‘Arabshāh al-Isfarā’īnī (d. 944/1537), *Ahlwardt* VI, 6612/6; Jamāl al-dīn ‘Abdallāh b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Ḥusaynī al-Nuqrakār (d. 776/1374), *Ahlwardt* VI, 6607.

147.

Ms 1850 (GHL III, 2091)

Sharḥ Ta’līm al-muta’allim (133)

Collective volume, ff. 145, Arabic, Turkish; (1) *Sharḥ Ta’līm al-muta’allim*, see ms. 75/1, Arabic; (2) *Arba’ūn ḥadīth*, the Prophet’s saying about the value of learning and abiding by 40 ḥadīth, and not a collection of 40 ḥadīths as described in the GHL catalogue; (3) *Sharḥ Muqaddimat al-ṣalāt*, a brief commentary in Arabic by Aḥmad b. Muṣṭafā Ṭāskhöprüzāde (d.

968/1560) on *Muqaddimat al-ṣalāt* which is ascribed to several authors: Shams al-dīn Muḥammad b. Ḥamza al-Fanārī (d. 834/1431) (GAL G II, 234/4), Ibn Kamāl-pasha (d. 940/1533) and to Luṭfallāh al-Nasafī al-Fāḍil al-Kaydānī (GAL G II, 918; GAL S, 269/1; (4) *Abyāt Ta'līm al-muta'allim ma' tarjama bi al-turkiyya*, verses from *Ta'līm al-muta'allim* in Arabic with Turkish interlinear translation; (5) *Sharḥ al-'Awāmil al-mi'a*, a commentary by a certain Turūjī on the main text by 'Abd al-Qāhir al-Jurjānī (d. 471/1078) , *Flügel* I, 151, Ahlwardt VI, 6480; (6) *al-Muqaddima al-qjurrūmiyya*, a grammatical work by Shaykh Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Dāwūd al-Ṣafhājī Ibn Ajurrūm (d. 723/1323), *Flügel* I, 174; (7) *Hādhā ta'lif kitāb her muṣannif*, a short text by an unknown writer in Turkish about what every writer should know when composing a work; (8) *Risāla fī taḥrīm al-qahwa wa al-dukhān*, a treatise on the impermissibility of coffee drinking and tobacco smoking by an unknown writer.

148.

Ms 1744 (GHL VII, 4423)

Collective volume, Arabic, Persian, ff. 92; (1) *Sharḥ al-risāla al-andalusiyya fī 'ilm al-'arūḍ wa al-awzān al-shi'riyya* by 'Abd al-Muḥsin al-Qayṣarī al-Rūmī (d. 872/1467), a commentary on al-Andalūsī's treatise on Arabic metre, GAL G I, 310; GAL S I, 544; (2) *Jāmi' Mukhtaṣār - Mukhtaṣar az munsha'āt Wāḥid Tabrīzī dar 'ilm al-'arūḍ wa qāfiya wa ṣanāyi'-i shi'r*, a section of text taken from *Munsha'āt dar 'ilm-i 'arūḍ wa qāfiya*, a work of Persian grammar by Wāḥid al-Tabrīzī (d. 1080/1669), *Flügel* I, 206-207; (3) *Farā'id al-fawā'id li taḥqīq ma'ānī al-isti'āra*, a short treatise on metaphors by Abū al-Qāsim al-Samarqandī al-Laythī (d. after 888/1483), GAL S II, 259/1, Ahlwardt VI, 7197; (4) *Jāmi' al-bayān wa sāṭi' al-burhān*, a commentary in Arabic on the opening verses of a Turkish qaṣīda written by Kāmili 'Ali (mentioned in the text) whose biography is unknown.

149.

Ms 275 (GHL VI, 4049)

Sharḥ al-Rāḍī 'alā al-Kāfiya

Arabic grammar, ff. 426, a commentary by Raḍī al-dīn Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Astarabādī (d. 686/1287), GAL G I, 303/5; GAL S I, 532.

150.

Ms 1536 (GHL VI, 3760)

Sharḥ Alfīyya Ibn Mālik

Arabic grammar, ff. 369, by Bahā' al-dīn 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn 'Aqīl (d. 769/1367), *Ahlwardt VI*, 6642.

151.

Ms 2090 (GHL VI, 3877)

Collective volume, Arabic, ff. 101; (1) *Sharḥ dībājat al-Miṣbāḥ*, Arabic grammar, by Sa'd al-dīn Mas'ūd b. 'Umar al-Taftazānī (d. 791/1389), *Flügel 1*, 160; (2) *I'rāb al-'Awāmil al-mi'a*, a commentary by an unknown writer on al-Jurjānī's *al-'Awāmil al-mi'a*, *Ahlwardt VI*, 6481, 6489, 6490; (3) *Sharḥ al-amthila al-mukhtalifa*, *Ahlwardt VI*, 6824; (4) *Risāla fī al-ṣarf*, a fragment from a work on Arabic morphology by an unknown writer; (5) the beginning of *Qawā'id al-Furs*, a work on Persian grammar written in Arabic by Shams al-dīn Aḥmad b. Sulaymān Ibn Kamāl pasha (d. 950/1533), *Ahlwardt VI*, 6848; (6) *Unmūdhaj fī al-naḥw*, a work on Arabic grammar by Abū al-Qāsim Jārallāh Maḥmūd b. 'Umar al-Zamakhsharī (d. 538/1144), being an abridgment of his own *Mufaṣṣal*, *GAL G I*, 291.

152.

Shir'at al-islām (43)

Religious primer by Muḥammad b. Abū Bakr Imāmzāde al-Ḥanafī (d. 573/1177), *GAL G I*, 375; *GAL S I*, 642.

153.

Ms 1552 (GHL V, 3520)

Shurūḥ Ṭāshköprüzāde fī al-adab (113)

Collective volume, Arabic, ff. 118; (1) *Sharḥ 'alā risāla fī ādāb al-baḥth wa al-munāẓara li Ṭāshköprüzāde*, a commentary by Aḥmad b. Muṣṭafā Ṭāshköprüzāde on his *Risāla fī ādāb al-baḥth wa al-munāẓara*, which is also by him; (2) *Ḥāshiya sharḥ al-risāla al-'aḍudiyya fī al-ādāb li al-Sayyid*, a text entitled *Faḍā'il 'id al-sharīf* (the Merits of the Noble Festival); *Ḥāshiya Dīnqūz 'alā sharḥ ādāb al-baḥth wa al-munāẓara li al-Samarqandī*, a supercommentary on Aḥmad b. 'Alī Dīnqūz (d. cca 870/1465) on the commentary by Mas'ūd b. Ḥusayn al-Shirwānī al-Rūmī (d. 905/1499) on the main text by Muḥammad b. Ashraf al-Ḥusaynī al-Samarqandī al-Ḥākim (d. in the second half of the 7th/13th century), *Ahlwardt IV*, 5283; (3) *Sharḥ al-Risāla al-Samarqandiyya fī ādāb al-baḥth wa al-munāẓara* (li al-Shirwānī), a commentary by Kamāl al-dīn Mas'ūd al-Shirwānī al-Rūmī (d. 905/1499), *Ahlwardt IV*, 5275; (4) *Ḥāshiya 'Imād al-Kāshī 'alā sharḥ al-Risāla al-samarqandiyya fī ādāb al-baḥth*, a supercommentary by 'Imād al-dīn Yaḥyā b. Aḥmad al-Kāshī (lived in the 10th/16th c) on the previous text by al-Shirwānī,

Ahlwardt IV, 5277; (5) *Hāshiya ‘alā sharḥ Ūlūgh-bak ‘alā ādāb al-baḥth*, a supercommentary by Shaykh Ḥusayn al-Ajamī (d. after 920/1514) on al-Shirwānī’s commentary, Ahlwardt IV, 5279; (6) *Ta’līqāt ‘alā sharḥ al-ādāb al-Mas‘ūd al-Samarqandī*, a supercommentary by Ramaḍān b. ‘Abd al-Muḥsin al-Rūmī al-Wizawī al-Bihishtī (d. 979/1571) on Mas‘ūd’s commentary on al-Samarqandī’s *Risāla fī al-munāzara*.

154.

Ms.1836 (GHL II, 1513)

Shurūṭ al-ṣalāt

Collective volume, Arabic, Turkish, ff. 22; (1) *Shurūṭ al-ṣalāt*, a short manual on how to perform obligatory daily prayers by an unknown writer, in Arabic with Turkish translation, GAL S II, 706; GAL S II, 959, 960; (2) *Erle ‘avret risālesi*, a work of advice for women by an unknown writer in Turkish.

155.

Ms 2176 (GHL II, 1949)

Şukūk mutenevvi‘a

Turkish, ff. 193, samples of court documents by an unknown compiler.

156.

Ms 1814 (GHL II, 1455)

Ta’āruḍ bayyināt (70)

Arabic, ff. 72, full title: *Malja‘ al-quḍāt ‘inda ta’āruḍ al-bayyināt*, also know as *Tarjīh al-bayyināt* or *Ta’āruḍ al-bayyināt* by Abū Muḥammad Ghānim b. Muḥammad al-Baghdādī al-Ḥanafī (d. cca 1030/1621).

157.

Ms 707 (GHL II, 1601)

Tabyīn al-marām (35)

Arabic, ff. 216, full title: *Tabyīn al-marām sharḥ risāla Ḥamza-afandī*, a commentary by al-shaykh Muṣṭafā b. al-Sayyid ‘Abdallāh Ṭarīqatjī Amīn-afandī (or Amīr-afandī) (d. 1143/1730), ‘OM I, 349; the main text by Ḥamza-afandī Darandalī (d. cca 1089/1678) about trade and interest from the point of view of Islamic jurisprudence.

158.

Ms 1735 (GHL II, 1608)

Tabyīn al-marām

Arabic, ff. 120, see ms. no. 157 on this list.

159.

Ta'birnāme-i Shāhidayn (147)

Dream interpretation.

160.

Tafsīr li Kalām-i qadīm hediyesi (1)

Qur'an commentary.

161.

Tafsīr sūrat-i Naba' (4)

Commentary on the 78th sūra.

162.

Tafsīr-i sharīf li'Abdallāh Abū Khayr (97)

Qur'an commentary.

163.

Ms 675 (GHL III, 2107)

Ta'līf Abī 'Abbās Taqī al-dīn Aḥmad fī tamyīz awliyā' al-Raḥmān (102)

Collective volume, Arabic, ff. 214; (1) *Bayān al-furqān bayn awliyā' al-raḥmān wa awliyā' al-shayṭān*, a treatise by Aḥmad ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/1328); (2) *Risāla fī al-samā' wa al-raqṣ wa al-ṣarākh*, also by Ibn Taymiyya on the permissibility of music, dancing and shouting during Sufi rituals, *Ahlwardt* V, 5507; (3) *al-Mi'yār fī al-radd 'alā al-mutamassikīn 'an al-akhbār*, on innovations in Sufi rituals by Abū al-Maḥāsīn Hibbatallāh b. Naṣr al-Ḥarrānī; (4) *Kashf al-ghīṭā' 'an ḥaqā'iq al-tawḥīd wa al-'aqā'id al-muwahḥidīn*, by Ḥusayn b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad al-Ḥasanī al-Yamānī al-Ṣūfī (d. 855/1451), theology, *Ahlwardt* II, 2109; (5) *al-Nāsikh wa al-mansūkh li al-Isfarā'inī*, by Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh al-Isfarā'inī (d. 684/1285) on abrogated verses in the Qur'an, *GAL S II*, 987; (6) *Risāla fī bayān al-aḥādīth al-mawḍu'a li al-Ṣaghānī*, by Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Ṣaghānī (d. 650/1252) on apocryphal ḥadīth; (7) *Sharḥ Risālat al-Birkawī fī uṣūl al-ḥadīth*, a commentary by Dāwūd b. Muḥammad al-Qarsī (d.

1169/1755), *GAL G II*, 440/8, with the main text by Muḥammad b. Pīr ‘Alī al-Birkawī (d. 981/1573); (8) *Mawḍū‘āt ‘Alī al-Qārī*, by ‘Alī b. Sulṭān Muḥammad al-Qārī (d. 1014/1606), *GAL G II*, 394/11.

164.

Ṭālī‘-ı mevlūd (119)

Astrological text.

165.

Ms 1656 (*GHL II*, 1026)

Talkhīṣ min al-fiqh (132)

Arabic, ff. 102; full title: *Talkhīṣ jāmi‘ al-kabīr* or *al-Talkhīṣ fī al-fiqh al-ḥanafī* by Muḥammad b. ‘Abbād b. Malakdād (Dāwūd) al-Khilātī al-Ḥanafī Kamāl al-dīn (Ṣadr al-dīn) (d. 652/1254), an abridgment of *al-Jāmi‘ al-kabīr* by Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Shaybānī (d. 189/804), *GAL G I*, 172, 381.

166.

Talkhīṣ (72)

Talkhīṣ al-miftāḥ by Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Qazwīnī Khaṭīb Dimashq (d. 739/1338), which is an abridgment of Book Three of *Miftāḥ al-‘ulūm* by Yūsuf b. Abū Bakr al-Sakkakī (d. 626/1229), *GAL G I*, 294.

167.

Ms 2453 (*GHL VII*, 4241)

Talkhīṣ al-Miftāḥ

Arabic stylistics (see ms. no. 166 on this list)

168.

Ms 710 (*GHL III*, 1964)

Tanbīh al-ghāfilīn (83)

Arabic, ff. 252, ethico-didactic work by Abū Layth Naṣr b. Muḥammad al-Samarqandī (d. 375/985), *Ahlwardt VII*, 8735.

169.

Tārīkh Fīrūz Shāh jild thānī (105)

This is possibly *Tārīkh-i Fīrūz Shāhī*, on the history of Delhi Sultanate in Persian by the Indian historian Diyā al-dīn Baranī (d. after 758/1357).¹²⁰¹

170.

Tārīkh-i khulafā (76)

History of caliphs.

171.

Ms 1840 (GHL IV, 2858)

Tārīḥ-i İskender (108)

Turkish, ff. 79, a prose work by an unknown writer, one of several works with the same title.

172.

Ms 1802 (GHL IV, 2894)

Tārīḥ-i Şāhnāme (82)

Turkish, ff. 112; this is a Turkish translation by an unspecified translator of a portion of the Persian epic *Shāhnāme* by Abū al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad Ṭūsī Firdawsī (d. 416/1026), *Flügel* I, 504.

173.

Tārīḥ-i Ḥasan Beg (3)

History.

174.

Tārīḥ-i Qandiye (5)

History of Crete.

175.

Taşawwurāt (80)

Philosophy.

176.

Ms R 716 (GHL VI, 4106)

Tercüme-i Kāfiye (40)

¹²⁰¹ M. Athar Ali, "Ta'rikh", *EF*² X, pp. 295, 296.

Turkish, ff. 129, a commentary on the work of Arabic grammar *al-Kāfiya fī al-naḥw* by Jamāl al-dīn Abū ‘Amr ‘Uthmān b. ‘Umar b. Abū Bakr Ibn Ḥājib (d. 646/1249), *HKh*, II, 1370.

177.

Ms 414 (*GHL* III, 2329)

Tercüme-i Muḥammedīye (22)

Turkish, ff. 270, *Muḥammadiyya* or *al-Risāla Muḥammadiyya* by Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ b. Sulaymān Yāzījī-oghlū Ibn al-Kātib (d. 855/1451), *GAL* S II, 323.

178.

Ms. 2985 (*GHL* III, 2550)

Tercüme-i Murşidü’l-müte’ehhil

Turkish ff. 50, translation by Mustaqīmzāde Sulaymān b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Sa’d al-dīn afandī (d. 1202/1787) of a book of advice on marriage written by Muḥammad b. Quṭb al-dīn al-Iznīqī al-Rūmī (d. 821/1418), *GAL* G II, 225; *GAL* S II, 315; ‘OM I, 144, 168.

179.

Ṭıptan risāle (63)

Treatise on Medicine

180.

Türki tafsīr-i sharīf nāqış (106)

An incomplete Qur’an commentary in Turkish.

181.

Ms R 1571 (*GHL* XII, 7211)

Unmūdhaj fī al-ṭıbb (51)

Arabic, ff.316, a work on Medicine by al-Sayyid Muḥammad Amīr Chalabī (d. 1048/1638), ‘OM III, 204.

182.

Ms R 1767 (*GHL* VI, 4058)

Wāfiya sharḥ Kāfiya (84)

Arabic syntax, ff. 261, full title: *al-Wāfiya fī sharḥ al-Kāfiya*, a commentary by Rukn al-dīn al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Astarabādī (d. 715/1315) on *al-Kāfiya fī al-naḥw* by Ibn Ḥājib, *GAL* S I, 532; *Ahlwardt* VI, 6565.

183.

Ms 1811 (GHL II, 960)

Yanābī' min al-fiqh Sharḥ Muqaddima (23)

Arabic, ff. 106, full title *Kitāb al-yanābī' fī ma'rifat al-uṣūl wa al-tafārī'* by Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad (Maḥmūd) b. Ramaḍān al-Rūmī al-Ḥanafī, who completed the work in 616/1219, GAL G I, 175.

184.

Ms 2950 (GHL IV, 2873)

Yūsuf ü Zuleyhā (8)

Turkish, ff. 189, a narrative poem about Yūsuf and Dhulaykhā in Turkish by Ottoman poet Muḥammad Ḥamīdallāh also known as Ḥamdī (d. 909/1503), *Flügel* I, 656, 657.

185.

Ms 702 (GHL III, 2536)

Zübdetü'l-kelām (69)

Collective volume, Turkish, Arabic, ff. 260; (1) *Zübdetü'l-kelām fīmā yahtācu ileyhi el-ḥāṣṣ ve'l-'avām*, by Aḥmad Wajdī-afandī (lived in the first half of the 11th/17th c.) about religious duties, in Turkish, 'OM II, 50; (2) *Millet-i İbrāhīm ḥuṣūṣunda bir risāle*, by Yaḥyā-afandī Minqārīzāde (d. 1088/1677), a short treatise in Turkish about the religion of İbrāhīm; (3) *Tercüme-i Risāletü'n-Nīl*, a translation into Turkish of an Arabic treatise about the Nile River, the original text in Arabic by Muḥammad b. Zayn al-'Ābidīn b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī Shams al-dīn Abū al-Ḥasan al-Bakrī (d. 1087/1676).

Selected manuscripts from kadi Sālīḥ 'Izzat Ḥromozāde's collection, illustrating the range of subjects included.



Ms 315, *GHL* I, 194, ff. 2b, 3a, the opening pages of volume one of the Qur'anic commentary *Mafātīḥ al-ghayb* or *Mafātīḥ al-kabīr* by Fakhr al-dīn Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. 'Umar al-Ḥusayn b. al-Khaṭīb al-Rāzī (d. 606/1209), copied in 691/1291, with the large Sālīḥ 'Izzat Ḥromozāde seal.



Ms 435, *GHL* II, 1010, ff. 6b, 7a, a work of jurisprudence entitled *al-Hidāya fī al-fiqh al-ḥanafī* by shaykh al-islam Burhān al-dīn ‘Alī b. Abū Bakr al-Marghīnānī al-Ḥanafī (d. 593/1197), copied in 1084/1673 and comprising a headpiece and the large Sālīh ‘Izzat Hromozāde seal.



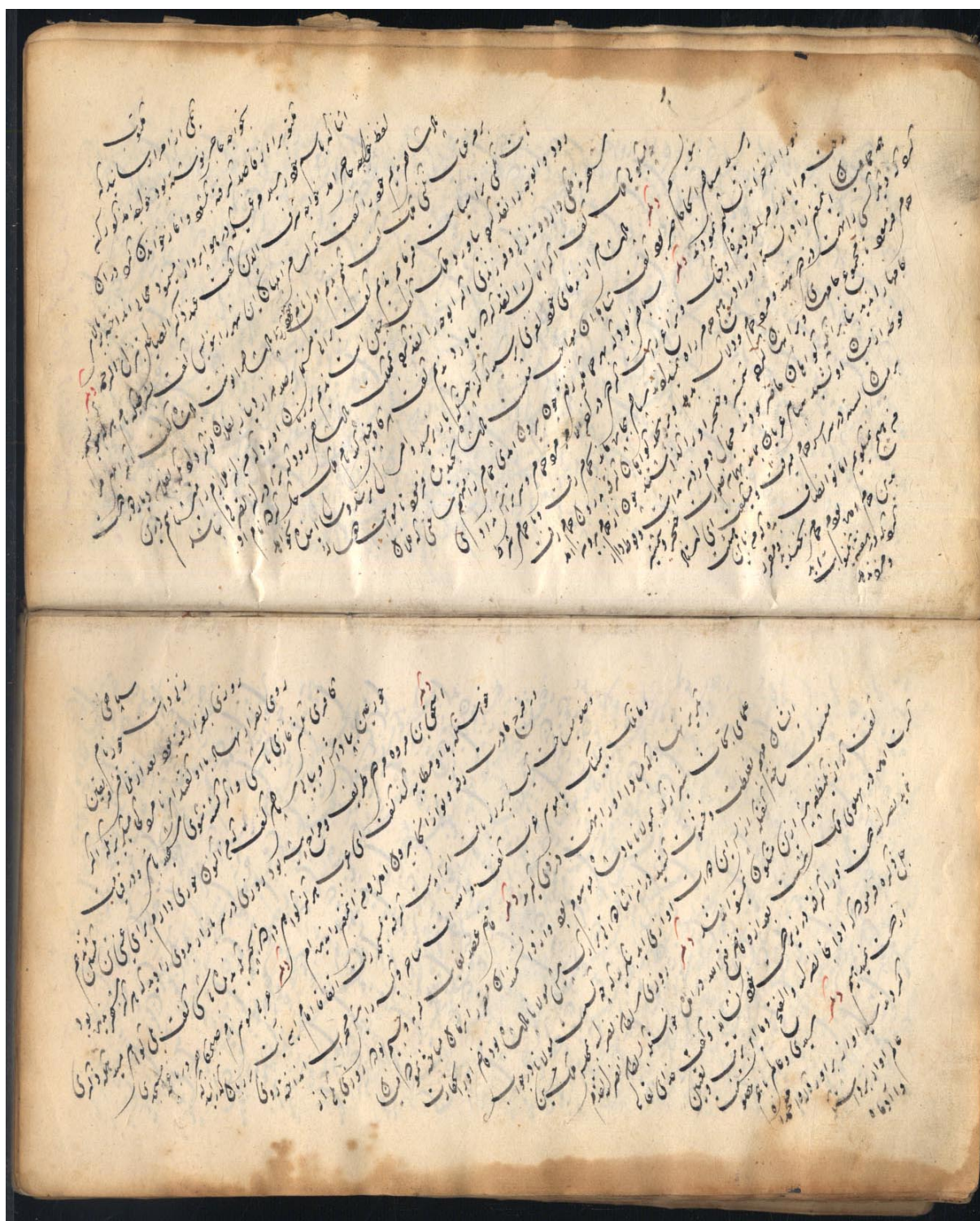
Ms 698, *GHL* I, 531, ff. 2b, 3a, *Mabāriq al-azhār fī sharḥ Mashāriq al-anwār*, a commentary by ‘Abd al-Latīf b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz ibn al-Malak (d. 797/1395) on *al-Mashāriq*, copied in the mid-18th century, with a headpiece and the seals of Sāliḥ ‘Izzat Ḥromozāde.



Ms 1550, *GHL* XIV, 8228, ff. 1b, 2a, *Nefise uḥreviye*, a Turkish translation of *Ṣalāt masū'diyya* by Muḥammad b. Amīn al-dīn 'Abd al-'azīz b. Muḥammad al-Shīrāzī, written in 770/1368, with a headpiece and the large Saliḥ 'Izzat Ḥromozāde seal.



Ms R 1571, *GHL* XII, 7211, ff. 5b, 6a, *Unmūdhaj fī al-ṭibb*, a work on Medicine by al-Sayyid Muḥammad Amīr Chalabī (d. 1048/1638), copied 1101/1689, with a headpiece and the large Ṣālīḥ 'Izzat Hromozāde seal.



Ms 1661, GHIL IV, 3231, ff. 22b, 23a, a miscellaneous collection of poetry by various poets, mainly in Persian, some in Turkish and Arabic.



Ms 1732, GHl III, 2273, ff. 2b, 3a, *Risālat al-‘adl fī bayān ḥāl al-Khiḍr ‘alayh al-salām*, a Sufi work in Arabic, by Nu‘mān-pasha b. Muṣṭafā-pasha Köprülü (d. 1132/1720), copied in 1140/1727, with a headpiece and two large Ṣālīḥ ‘Izzat Ḥromozāde seals.

لسم الله الرحمن الرحيم، وبه يقتضى ومنه الإيمانية وعلية الأكمال
 قال القدر السوفى القويطى، ذو العجز والتقصير والتعديط
 الحمد لله الذى قد نشر لنا الحساب والحساب سبيل
 ثم الصلاة على سيدنا محمد، على التيمم والجمعة والآل
واعلم فاعلم أن الحساب، مزيدة لذي الأربى والآل
 وكل تختص جاهل باحتقر، إذ كل علم الحساب يفتقر
 ولم علومه مستفادة، وذلك علم الأدب السادة
 من كل جبر جهيد نقاد، يستبسط الأعمال باجتهاد
 فاهله خرا الامام العالم، خيرا العلوم احمد بن الهامير
 احل من في منه تصرفا، وخير من كتبه قد صنف
 وضيقته الصغيرة اللع، لكثرة العلم الذي به جمع
 مع ما نزل من لطيف حجة، وقد سبقت مدة في نظمه
 فلم احب لما يراى فكرى، مشغولة من كثرة الأعداد
 فخرجت راجع الثواب، والنفق في الدارين بالخساب
 وربنا المسبول في التوفيق، والاحمر والاخلاص والتحقيق

باب بيان العدد

اعدادهم اما ترى اصلية، كما سياتى او ترى فرعية
 فالاعداد الاصلي بالاجماع، تخصر في ثلاثة انواع
 فالاول الاحاد فاعز وجلها، فالعشرات فاليات بعددها

من

من واحد لتسعة احاد، بواحد فواحد تزداد
 والعشرات اعدادها عينا، من عشرة عدات الى تسعينها
 بعشرة فتعبر وتفاضلت، فخر الياء رتبة لها ثلث
 من مائة عدات الى تسع المية، مائة تفاضلت ثمر مئة
 والعدد القرع مائة قرع، انظر الالف مائة فاكثر
 فمرة في اول الادوار، وفي سواه عدات التكرار
 فابدا احاد الالف واحدا وعشراتها ثمر مائة على
 ثمر الثلاث مع الالف اخرى، فاني بها على الولا انتزاعا
 وهكذا مرتبة الفرعية، في سائر الادوار كالاصلية
 واروا العنود مفردا برى، وما عداها منه فلا تنكر
 وثبات لكل نوع منزلة، كذا اثبات وهو عدد المتزلة
 سوى الاصلي او فرعية، وكل نوع اشته سميته
 كالتين والثاني واسم الرابع، اربعة وسعة السابغ
 وفس عليها كل نوع وارد، واسموا احادهم بواحد
 وحيت جا فوطهم الالف، فلفظ احاد اذا محمدوف

باب في ضرب الصحيح

وضربه تضعيف ملا منها، بعدة الاحاد من ثمانية
 فالاحاد المطلوب مائة طهر، كسنة في اثنين فهو ثمان عشر
 وعدد جميعه فثمان مائة ومفرد فالثاني





Ms R 1754, *GHL* XII, 7172, ff. 1b, 2a, the opening pages of *Risālat al-ibāʿ an mawāqīʿ al-wabāʿ* in Arabic by Idrīs b. Ḥusām al-dīn ʿAlī Bitlīsī (d. cca 930/1534), with a headpiece and two large Ṣāliḥ ʿIzzat Ḥromozāde seals.



Ms 1836, *GHL* II, 1513, ff. 2b, 3a, *Shurūṭ al-ṣalāt*, a manual on performing prayers by an unknown writer, Arabic with interlinear Turkish translation.



Ms 1839, *GHL* IV, 2725, ff. 1b, 2a, the opening pages of the *Hayriye*, a popular didactic poem in Turkish by Yūsuf Nābī (d. 1124/1712), copied 1120/1708-09, with two different Şālīh ‘Izzat Hromozāde seals.



Ms 2950, GHl IV, 2873, ff.1b, 2a, *Yūsuf ü Zuleyhā*, a narrative poem in Turkish by Muḥammad Ḥamīdallāh, also known as Ḥamdī (d. 909/1503), with a headpiece, the Gāzī Hüsrev-bey Library seal and the large Ṣāliḥ 'Izzat Ḥromozāde seal. This manuscript is not in the charter and was possibly added to the endowment later.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم **ما ذا ألقى معوفي حكيم**
 یعنی آن که در آن کرده و ازان اندوخته در دین اسلام و مقام
 مصاف محزون که در آنجا ثابت قدم و استوار است اعدای محاکم
 ایشان را پس که در معرکه از دست ایشان بختها دیدند و از
 صولات ایشان جنگها کشیدند و دیر و در و از یکی ایشان از
 اضمایب مشهور بود و ندانستند که از اعدای ایشان که کار بر ایشان
فصل خفیه در بیان اعدای ایشان
 یعنی که اعدای ایشان را که از ایشان و کلام کردند بدست
 ایشان از معرکه سبب و کلام و از کار و بدست و از واقعه
 احوال و خبر و برای تالان و حروب و نگویند و بیان حال خبر کردند و از
 واقعه ایشان و از انواع عفو و سزا و سزا و اعدای هر یک از اعدای
المصدق الیخبر فی خبره **میر العبدی کل سوره فی الدنیا**
 یعنی از ایشان بهرون آمدند و بشمارهای سبید

صفت

صفت از ده سرخ و حون و از بعد از خود و از آن روز
 باز بود و سر سبزه می و دشمنان همچون آب روانست
و انما یبیت فیهم فی خطما تک **افلا یأمنون فیهم فیهم فیهم**
 یعنی آن بهمنانان نویسنده کاند و قلمهای نیزهای خود
 هر یک از اعدای آنها را که هر حرفی از آن حروف اعضایی
 و اعدای آنها شدند یعنی در هر عصری بطعن نیزه نقطه
 زده بود و در هر حرفی از آن حروف اعضایی
شاکل الشاکل فیهم فیهم فیهم **قال فیهم فیهم فیهم**
 یعنی ایشان مستحق اند و از آن حروف و از آن حروف و از آن حروف
 غرات و علامت نصرت و سعادت در حون هر ایشان
 روشن و از علامت نصرت و سعادت در حون هر ایشان
 از آن بی و دو ایشان و ایشان بهمن که کل اند و اعدای ایشان
 در حوت خار و بهمن نسبت ظاهر است و کشف

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Dissertation Summary

This dissertation presents findings on book ownership in Ottoman Sarajevo based on the examination of 59 inheritance inventories recorded in the city court registers (*sijills*) for the period from 1707 to 1828. The inventories are analysed in terms of the social background of the book owners, the books recorded in their estates and the findings from similar studies for Damascus, Salonica, Sofia and Trabzon. The dissertation includes a case study of book ownership, that of Şālih 'Izzat Hromozāde, a kadi from Sarajevo, and the book collection he endowed. His biography is reconstructed on the basis of archival documents, his endowment charter, marginal notes, seals and ownership statements found on his books. The findings enable us to measure his collection against claims about its size and importance in Bosnian history.

In order to place its findings regarding book ownership from the inheritance inventories in context, the dissertation also examines various questions related to Bosnian written culture of the period, including literacy, education, the role of libraries, informal channels for the transmission of knowledge, the use of different languages and scripts, the role of scribes and bookbinders in a largely manuscript culture, and the introduction of print. In the absence of systematic studies of many of these questions, the dissertation draws on the manuscript of the *Chronicle* of Mullā Muṣṭafā Basheskī (d. cca 1802), a minor scholar and professional scribe. His *Chronicle* serves as the major narrative source about the world of learning in Ottoman Sarajevo.

The study also gathers and presents the references to written culture in Bosnian oral poetry and various folk customs revolving around the use of books in order to illustrate one of the many interfaces between the written and spoken word and to demonstrate the range of functions books could play in a largely oral and illiterate society.

By showing the range of subjects, languages and values of the books to be found in the inheritance inventories and by identifying the presence of books in various sections of society, this dissertation fills a major lacuna in our knowledge of the cultural history of Ottoman Bosnia.

Samevatting

Dit proefschrift presenteert de resultaten van een onderzoek naar boekbezit in Osmaans Sarajevo. Het is gebaseerd op de bestudering van 59 boedelinventarissen die in de stadsregisters (*sijills*) over de periode 1707-1828 zijn bewaard. De inventarissen zijn geanalyseerd naar de sociale achtergrond van de boekbezitters, naar de boeken die in hun boedels zijn aangetroffen en volgens de bevindingen van dergelijke research voor wat betreft Damascus, Saloniki, Sofia en Trabzon. Het proefschrift bevat ook een detailstudie van boekbezit, namelijk van Ṣāliḥ ‘Izzat Hromozāde, een *qadi* uit Sarajevo, en van de verzameling die zijn eigendom was. Zijn biografie kon worden gereconstrueerd op grond van archieven, de stichtingsacte van zijn bibliotheek, marginalia in de boeken en eigendomsnotities. Deze gegevens stellen ons in staat om ons een idee te vormen in kwantitatieve zin over de omvang en over het belang van zijn verzameling voor de geschiedenis van Bosnië.

Voor het bepalen van de historische context van boekbezit zoals dat duidelijk wordt uit de bestudering van de boedelinventarissen, wordt in dit proefschrift ook een onderzoek gedaan naar kwesties van Bosnische schriftcultuur, waaronder geletterdheid, onderwijs, de rol van bibliotheken, informele kanalen van overlevering, het gebruik van verschillende talen en schriftsoorten en de rol van copïisten en boekbinders in wat grotendeels een handschriftelijke boektraditie was, en naar de effecten van de invoering van de druktechniek. Aangezien er nauwelijks systematische studies bestaan over deze onderwerpen is in dit proefschrift uitgebreid gebruik gemaakt van de ‘Kroniek’ van Mullā Muṣṭafā Basheskī (gest. ca. 1802), een geleerde van zekere faam en een professionele copïist. Zijn ‘Kroniek’ dient beschouwd te worden al seen belangrijke narratieve bron aangaande de wereld van geleerdheid in Osmaans Sarajevo.

In deze studie bevindt zich ook een verzameling en presentatie van verwijzingen naar schriftcultuur zoals deze voorkomen in Bosnische orale literatuur en ook in de locale folklore betreffende boeken. Daardoor ontstaat een inzicht in de wisselwerking tussen het geschreven en het spoken woord, en het geeft aan op welke talrijke manieren het boek een rol speelde in een grotendeels orale en schriftloze maatschappij.

Door de presentatie van een breed veld van onderwerpen, talen en waarden van de boeken die in de boedelinventarissen kunnen worden aangetroffen vult dit proefschrift een lacuna in onze kennis van de culturele geschiedenis van Osmaans Bosnië op.

Curriculum Vitae

Asim Zubčević was born on the 29th of November, 1968, in Sarajevo, Bosnia. He attended the Gazi Husrev-beg madrasa in Sarajevo from 1983 to 1987, before serving his year of compulsory military service in the Yugoslav National Army. In 1988, he enrolled at the Faculty of Islamic Theology of the University of Sarajevo. The following year, he continued his studies at Aligarh Muslim University, from which he graduated in 1993 with a major in philosophy. In 1993, he was won Lord Mayor of Oxford's scholarship and was a visiting fellow at the Oxford Centre for Islamic Studies. Thanks to a scholarship from the Centre, he completed an M.Phil. in Medieval Arabic Thought at Worcester College, Oxford University, in 1996. He worked at the Oxford Centre for Islamic Studies from 1996 to 1998, before returning to Sarajevo at the end of 1998 to work as a freelance translator. From 2002 to 2004, he was based at the Centre for Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies of the University of Cambridge, as the Secretary of the Centre and coordinator of the Sunna Project. Since 2005, he has been Librarian at the Faculty of Islamic Studies, University of Sarajevo. In 2004, he enrolled as a part-time PhD candidate at Leiden University.

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