

Cover Page



Universiteit Leiden



The handle <http://hdl.handle.net/1887/36134> holds various files of this Leiden University dissertation.

**Author:** Zubcevic, Asim

**Title:** Book ownership in Ottoman Sarajevo 1707-1828

**Issue Date:** 2015-11-11

# Book Ownership in Ottoman Sarajevo, 1707-1828

Proefschrift  
ter verkrijging van  
de graad van Doctor aan de Universiteit Leiden,  
op gezag van de Rector Magnificus prof.mr. C.J.J.M Stolker,  
volgens besluit van het College voor Promoties  
te verdedigen op woensdag 11 november 2015  
klokke 15.00 uur  
door  
Asim Zubčević  
Geboren te 1968  
in Sarajevo, Bosnië

Promotiecommissie:

Prof. Dr. Frédéric Bauden (Liège)

Dr. Gabrielle van den Berg

Prof. Dr. Léon Buskens, secretary

Prof. Dr. Michael Kemper (Amsterdam)

Dr. Boris Liebrenz (Leipzig)

Promotor: Prof. Dr. Jan Just Witkam

## Contents

List of Abbreviations .....	8
Note on Transliteration and Dates .....	9
Introduction.....	12
01. The Present State of Research.....	13
02. The Main Sources .....	16
0.3 Aims and Methods .....	20
0.4 Terminology.....	22
Chapter One: Sarajevo from its Foundation in 866/1462 until the Sack of 1109/1697.....	28
1.1 The Role of the Charitable Foundations ( <i>waqf</i> ).....	30
1.2 The Population .....	32
1.3 A Centre of Politics, Commerce and Culture .....	35
1.4 The Reversal of Fortunes .....	38
1.5 The Sack of 1697 and its Aftermath .....	39
1.6 The Economy: from Crisis to Recovery and Back .....	46
1.7 Revolts and Natural Disasters.....	47
Chapter Two: Sarajevo and Its Book Culture, 1109-1244/1697-1828 .....	50
2.1 Sarajevo as a Centre of Learning .....	51
2.2 Mulla Muṣṭafā Bashiškī and his “Book” .....	54
2.3 Literacy .....	62
2.4 Scribes, Copyists and Calligraphers .....	70
2.5 Reading .....	74
2.6 Books in Bashiškī’s Chronicle .....	77
2.7 Education .....	80
<i>Maktabs</i> .....	80
<i>Madrasas</i> .....	85
<i>Mosques</i> .....	87
<i>The Khānqāh</i> .....	87
<i>Takkas</i> .....	90
2.8 Learned Men .....	91
2.9 ....and Women .....	95

2.10 Knowledge of languages.....	96
Ottoman Turkish .....	97
Arabic.....	101
Persian .....	102
Other Languages .....	103
2.11 Informal Channels for the Transmission of Learning: <i>helvā ṣohbeti</i> , Coffee Houses, Shops and Warfare .....	104
2.12 “Newspapers” .....	109
2.13 Bookbinders .....	110
2.14 Paper and the Book Trade.....	112
2.15 Printing.....	113
2.16 Social Protest, Censorship and Death: the Case of Hasan Qā’imī and ‘Abd al-Wahhāb Ilhāmī .....	114
2.17 Crosspollination in Book Culture .....	115
Conclusion .....	116
 Chapter Three: The Public and Semi-Public Libraries of Sarajevo, 1118-1244/1707-1828.....	119
1. Mosque Libraries. ....	121
2. <i>Maktab</i> Libraries .....	130
3. <i>Takka</i> Libraries .....	132
4. <i>Madrasa</i> Libraries.....	133
5. Independent Libraries. ....	135
6. Family Libraries.....	140
Conclusion .....	140
 Chapter Four: Books and Their Owners According to Sarajevo Inheritance Inventories 1118-1244/1707-1828.....	142
4.1 Inheritance Inventories as a Source for Studying Book Ownership .....	142
4.2 Basheskī’s Observations on the Property and Inheritance of Sarajevans .....	146
4.3 Reasons for Seeking a Division of Property through the Courts .....	148
4.4 Limitations to Inheritance Inventories .....	150
What Counts as a Book?.....	161
4.5 Book Owners by Gender.....	162
4.6 Christian and Jewish Book Owners .....	166

4.7 A Roma Book Owner.....	166
4.8 Book Owners by Title .....	168
4.9 Book Owners by Profession.....	169
4.10 Quantities of Book .....	170
4.11 Books by Genre.....	171
The Qur'an, Qur'anic Suras and Portions .....	171
Manuals on Qur'anic Recitation ( <i>Tajwīd</i> ) .....	174
Qur'an Commentary ( <i>Tafsīr</i> ) .....	174
Prophetic Sayings ( <i>Hadīth</i> ) .....	176
Jurisprudence .....	177
Theology .....	179
Philosophy .....	180
Sufism .....	181
Devotional Texts.....	182
Religious Primers.....	183
Ethico-didactic Works .....	183
Grammar .....	184
Lexicography .....	185
Literature and Poetry .....	185
History .....	186
Biographical Dictionaries .....	188
Geography.....	188
Mathematics .....	188
Encyclopaedias .....	188
Medicine .....	188
Zoology and Veterinary Science .....	188
Astronomy and Astrology .....	189
Dream Interpretation Manuals .....	189
Occult .....	189
Others.....	189
4.12 Printed Works .....	189
4.13 Works by Bosnian Authors or with Bosnia as their Subject Matter .....	190
Ahmad Sūdī Būsnawī (d. 1006/1598).....	190
Hasan Kāfī al-Aqhiṣārī (d. 1025/1616) .....	191
Shaykh Hasan Qā'imī (d. 1091/1680).....	192
4.14 Books in Persian .....	193
4.15 Books in Turkish.....	197

4.16 The Value of Books .....	198
4.17 Average Values for the <i>Qur'an</i> , <i>Risāla-i Birkawī</i> , <i>Kulistān</i> and <i>Risāla-i Uṣṭuwānī</i> .....	199
4.18 Book ownership in Sarajevo in Comparison with Damascus, Salonica, Sofia and Trabzon.....	201
Damascus (1686-1717) .....	202
Salonica (1828-1911) .....	203
Sofia (1671-1833).....	205
Trabzon (1795-1846) .....	206
Conclusion .....	206
 Chapter Five: Kadi Şālih ‘Izzat Hromozāde and his Books: a Case Study of Book Ownership in Late 12 <sup>th</sup> /18 <sup>th</sup> and Early 13 <sup>th</sup> /19 <sup>th</sup> Century Sarajevo.....	209
5.1 Introduction.....	209
5.2 Şālih ‘Izzat Hromozāde’s Biography .....	213
5.2.a: The Trouble-maker Kadi? .....	216
5.2.b: Litigation Over a Book.....	217
5.3 The Question of kadi Şālih ‘Izzat Hromozāde’s Origins.....	222
5.4 The kadi Şālih ‘Izzat Hromozāde Collection.....	227
5.4.a: Borrowers of the kadi Şālih ‘Izzat Hromozāde Books.....	234
5.4.b: The kadi Şālih ‘Izzat Hromozāde Collection in the Light of Other Book Collections from the Inheritance Inventories .....	235
Conclusion .....	239
 Chapter Six: Bosnian Muslim Written Culture as Reflected in Traditional Oral Poetry and Folklore .....	241
6.1 Oral Poetry on Writing and Book Culture .....	242
1.a Letters .....	245
1.b Administrative Documents.....	246
1.c. Charms and Talismans .....	247
1.d. Scripts .....	248
6.2 References to Book Culture .....	249
2.a Books .....	250
2.b Scriptures.....	251
2.c Book Culture Metaphors .....	252
6.3 Books and Writing in Folklore .....	253
Conclusion .....	257

Dissertation Conclusion .....	260
Appendix.....	270
Sarajevo in the Late 18 <sup>th</sup> Century.....	270
Sarajevo City Centre in the Late 18 <sup>th</sup> Century .....	271
Ottoman Bosnia 1699-1828 .....	272
Sarajevo Court Registers ( <i>sijills</i> ): Inheritance Entries and Book Owners in Numbers and Percentages .....	273
The kadi Şālih ‘Izzat Hromozāde Charter .....	276
Transcription of the kadi Şālih ‘Izzat Hromozāde Charter .....	276
Litigation over a Book .....	281
The Petition by 374 Bosnian Notables to the Porte dated 20 Safar 1242/23 September 1826 Including that of kadi Şālih ‘Izzat Hromozāde.....	282
The Marginal Note about “Our Town” Used to Support the Hypothesis that kadi Şālih ‘Izzat Hromozāde Came from the Town of Stolac.....	283
Reference to a “Newspaper” in the Sarajevo Inheritance Inventories .....	283
The kadi Şālih ‘Izzat Hromozāde Seals .....	284
List of Works in the kadi Şālih ‘Izzat Hromozāde Collection.....	285
Selected Manuscripts from the kadi Şālih ‘Izzat Hromozāde Collection.....	320
Bibliography .....	333
Dissertation Summary.....	356
Dissertation Summary in Dutch .....	357
Curriculum Vitae .....	359
Acknowledgements.....	360

## List of Abbreviations

Ahlwardt	Wilhelm Ahlwardt, <i>Die Verzeichniss der arabischen Handschriften der königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin, I-X</i> , 1887-1899 ( <i>Die Handscriptverzeichnisse d.kgl.Bibliothek zu Berlin</i> )
AM	al-Baghdādī, Ismā‘il pāshā, <i>Hadiyyat al-‘arifīn asmā’ al-mu’allifīn wa āthār al-mušannifīn</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 <sup>2</sup>	<i>Encyclopaedia of Islam</i> , 2 <sup>nd</sup> edition (Brill)
Flügel	Gustav Flügel, <i>Die arabischen, persischen und türkischen Handschriften der kaiserlich-königlichen Hofbibliothek zu Wien, Band I-III</i> , Wien, 1865-1867
GHL	<i>Gāzī Hüsrev-bey Library Catalogues</i> , I-XVIII, Sarajevo, 1963-2014
GZM	<i>Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja</i>
HKh	Muṣṭafā b. ‘Abdallāh Ḥāj Khalīfa Kātib Chalabī, <i>Kashf al-żunūn ‘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 Bāsheskī manuscript, the Gāzī Hüsrev-bey Library
‘OM	Brusalı Mehmed Tahir, ‘Osmanlı mü’ellifleri’, 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*, *madrasa*, 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, ‘avāriż rather than ‘awārid, ‘askeri rather than ‘askari, ḳadızādeli not Qādīzādēlī, 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 *qādī*, 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
ٿ	th	s̤	s̤
ج	j	j	c
ڙ	-	ch	ç
ه	h	h	h
خ	kh	kh	h̤
خوا	khʷā	khʷā	h̤ō
د	d	d	d
ذ	dh	z̤	z̤
ر	r	r	r
ز	z	z	z
ڙ	-	zh	j
س	s	s	s
ش	sh	sh	ş
ص	ş	ş	ş

ض	đ	ż	ż
ط	t̪	t̪	t̪
ظ	z̪	z̪	z̪
ع	'	'	'
غ	gh	gh	g, ḡ
ف	f	f	f
ق	q	q	ḳ
ك	k	k, g	k, ɳ, y, ḡ
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
ئ	ī, ā	ī, ā	ī, i, ī, ā