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## Chapter One: Sarajevo from its Foundation in 866/1462 until the Sack of 1109/1697<sup>37</sup>

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.<sup>38</sup> 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.<sup>39</sup> 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

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<sup>37</sup> 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*.

<sup>38</sup> Noel Malcolm, *Bosnia: a Short History*, pp. 23, 24.

<sup>39</sup> 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.<sup>40</sup>

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.<sup>41</sup> 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.<sup>42</sup> 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 10<sup>th</sup>/16<sup>th</sup> 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.<sup>43</sup>

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.<sup>44</sup> He became an Ottoman general and acquired huge wealth during successful military campaigns in

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<sup>40</sup> 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.

<sup>41</sup> 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.

<sup>42</sup> Zlatar, *Zlatno doba*, pp. 32, 33.

<sup>43</sup> 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.

<sup>44</sup> 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.<sup>45</sup> 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.<sup>46</sup> 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 10<sup>th</sup>/16<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>47</sup> 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.<sup>48</sup>

### 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.<sup>49</sup> By this stage, the city boasted 20 mosques, 63 masjids, six *takkas*,

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<sup>45</sup> 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.

<sup>46</sup> 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*.

<sup>47</sup> 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.

<sup>48</sup> Zlatar, *Zlatno doba*, p. 38.

<sup>49</sup> 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 18<sup>th</sup> century], in *Prilozi historiji Sarajeva*, ed. Dževad Juzbašić, p. 94. İnalçik 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 İnalçik 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*.<sup>50</sup> 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.<sup>51</sup> This is the period when Sarajevo acquired the monumental Ottoman-era buildings that lend its skyline the aspect of the East in Europe.<sup>52</sup> 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.”<sup>53</sup>

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.<sup>54</sup> By 1012/1604, Sarajevo had over 100 *waqfs*.<sup>55</sup>

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

<sup>50</sup> 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.

<sup>51</sup> Zlatar, *Zlatno doba*, p. 77.

<sup>52</sup> Donia, *Sarajevo*, p. 8.

<sup>53</sup> 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 17<sup>th</sup> 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.

<sup>54</sup> 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, *madradas* 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”<sup>56</sup> thereby facilitating the process of religious conversion.<sup>57</sup> Thus, for example, construction of a dervish hospice (*zāwīya*) often preceded the growth of an urban settlement. Since the land on which *zāwīyas* were built was exempt from taxes, they attracted settlement which led to the creation of new towns.<sup>58</sup>

## 1.2 The Population

The Balkans had few cities before the Ottomans and urbanization was one of the key features of the new order.<sup>59</sup> According to Nikolai Todorov, the number of cities with more than 1,600 households rose from one in the 9<sup>th</sup>/15<sup>th</sup> century to eight in the second half of the 10<sup>th</sup>/16<sup>th</sup>. During the same period the number of cities with 801-1,600 households increased from two to eleven.<sup>60</sup> 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

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

<sup>55</sup> Zlatar, *Zlatno doba*, pp. 12, 13; Donia, *Sarajevo*, p. 22.

<sup>56</sup> Malcolm, *Bosnia: a Short History*, p. 68.

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

<sup>58</sup> 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 15<sup>th</sup> 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.

<sup>59</sup> Zlatar, *Zlatno doba*, p. 12.

<sup>60</sup> 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 *tekālif-i 'örfiye*.'<sup>61</sup>

By the early 10<sup>th</sup>/16<sup>th</sup> century, Sarajevo's population consisted largely of local Slavic converts to Islam, most of whom were immigrants from the surrounding villages.<sup>62</sup> Some were former prisoners of war and slaves who obtained freedom by conversion.<sup>63</sup> 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.<sup>64</sup> The Muslim proportion of the urban population increased from 27 % in 1485 to about 97 % in 1530.<sup>65</sup> The new Ottoman urban centres developed faster as a rule, acquiring a Muslim majority population quicker than older urban centres.<sup>66</sup>

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-10<sup>th</sup>/16<sup>th</sup> century, there were 66 Catholic households in the so-called Latin Quarter, which had its own Catholic church.<sup>67</sup> According to a report by a Catholic bishop, the number had risen to 100 by 1082/1672.<sup>68</sup> Orthodox Sarajevans lived mainly in a quarter not far from the Old Orthodox Church, which was constructed sometime after 926/1520.<sup>69</sup> As for the heretical Bosnian Church of medieval

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

<sup>62</sup> 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.

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

<sup>64</sup> Malcolm, *Bosnia: a Short History*, p. 54.

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

<sup>66</sup> Zlatar, *Zlatno doba*, pp. 12, 13.

<sup>67</sup> Donia, *Sarajevo*, p. 14.

<sup>68</sup> 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.

<sup>69</sup> Donia, *Sarajevo*, pp. 14, 15. According to Malcolm, the first Orthodox church in Sarajevo was built in the mid-16<sup>th</sup> 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.<sup>70</sup>

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.<sup>71</sup>

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*).<sup>72</sup> 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 10<sup>th</sup>/16<sup>th</sup> century, the city had about 100 of them.<sup>73</sup>

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.<sup>74</sup> 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

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<sup>70</sup> Malcolm, *Bosnia: a Short History*, p. 41.

<sup>71</sup> Donia, *Sarajevo*, p. 15.

<sup>72</sup> 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.

<sup>73</sup> Zlatar, *Zlatno doba*, pp. 17, 18, 38, 41.

<sup>74</sup> 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.<sup>75</sup> 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.<sup>76</sup> 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.<sup>77</sup> 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*).<sup>78</sup>

### 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).<sup>79</sup> 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.<sup>80</sup>

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

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<sup>75</sup> 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.

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

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

<sup>78</sup> 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 16<sup>th</sup> century], *Jugoslavenski istorijski časopis* 1-2 (1974), pp. 60-69.

<sup>79</sup> 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] *Anali* XXVII-XXVIII (2008), pp. 5-67.

<sup>80</sup> Malcolm, *Bosnia: a Short History*, p. 50.

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

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.<sup>83</sup> From the 10<sup>th</sup>/16<sup>th</sup> century, Sarajevo also hosted the keeper of the cadastral registers and archives (*defter-i emīn*).<sup>84</sup> Being the centre of regional administration, at least during some periods of its history, undoubtedly contributed to Sarajevo's growth.<sup>85</sup>

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).<sup>86</sup> 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

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<sup>81</sup> 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.

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

<sup>83</sup> Zlatar, *Zlatno doba*, p. 93.

<sup>84</sup> 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*.

<sup>85</sup> Zlatar, *Zlatno doba*, p. 34.

<sup>86</sup> For the development of Ottoman-Dubrovnik relations see: Ivan Božić, *Dubrovnik i Turska u XIV i XV veku* [Dubrovnik and Turkey in the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> 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 18<sup>th</sup> century] (Beograd: Srpska akademija nauka, 1960).

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

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."<sup>88</sup> In addition to those from Dubrovnik, Sarajevo had colonies of merchants from Venice and Florence<sup>89</sup> and attracted merchants from Belgrade, Sofia and Skopje.<sup>90</sup>

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.<sup>91</sup> Guilds were also important in supplying the Ottoman army and cavalymen who acted as patrons of individual shops.<sup>92</sup>

The guilds' role extended beyond their economic activities. Known as *Aħī* brotherhoods, they acted as semi-*Ṣūfī* associations which sought to imbue their members with the ideals of chivalry (Arabic: *futuwwa*; Turkish: *fütüvvet*) and in that way strengthened social solidarity.<sup>93</sup> 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,

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<sup>87</sup> Halil İncalçık, "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*.

<sup>88</sup> İncalçık, "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.

<sup>89</sup> Zlatar, *Zlatno doba*, pp. 172, 173

<sup>90</sup> İncalçık, "Dubrovnik and the Balkans", p. 265.

<sup>91</sup> Zlatar, *Zlatno doba*, pp. 149, 158.

<sup>92</sup> Donia, *Sarajevo*, p. 22.

<sup>93</sup> 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 (16<sup>th</sup>-19<sup>th</sup> Centuries)" in *The Muslim World* 97/2 (2007), pp. 159-173.

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

Travel accounts from the 11<sup>th</sup>/17<sup>th</sup> 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.<sup>95</sup> 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."<sup>96</sup> Similarly flattering reports were left by Western visitors.<sup>97</sup>

#### 1.4 The Reversal of Fortunes<sup>98</sup>

Towards the end of the 10<sup>th</sup>/16<sup>th</sup> 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.<sup>99</sup>

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."<sup>100</sup>

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

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<sup>94</sup> Zlatar, *Zlatno doba*, p. 152.

<sup>95</sup> Evliya Çelebi, *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.

<sup>96</sup> Malcolm, *Bosnia: a Short History*, p. 96.

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

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

<sup>99</sup> Donia, *Sarajevo*, pp. 23, 25.

<sup>100</sup> Donia, *Sarajevo*, pp. 23, 24.

dominated by modern infantry and artillery.<sup>101</sup> 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.<sup>102</sup>

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 (*muḥzır*). 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.<sup>103</sup>

During the 11<sup>th</sup>/17<sup>th</sup> 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.<sup>104</sup>

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.<sup>105</sup> The

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<sup>101</sup> Malcolm, *Bosnia: a Short History*, p. 82.

<sup>102</sup> Malcolm, *Bosnia: a Short History*, p. 83.

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

<sup>104</sup> Malcolm, *Bosnia: a Short History*, pp. 83, 84,

<sup>105</sup> Noel Malcolm, *Bosnia: a Short History*, p. 84; *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire, vol. 2: 1600-1914*, eds. Halil İnalcık 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.<sup>106</sup> 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.<sup>107</sup> 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 Rabī‘ 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 muşhafs<sup>108</sup> and countless books,  
they burned mosques, ravaged mihrabs,<sup>109</sup>*

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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.

<sup>106</sup> Malcolm, *Bosnia: a Short History*, p. 84.

<sup>107</sup> 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.

<sup>108</sup> *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.

<sup>109</sup> *Miḥrāb* = 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.*<sup>110</sup>

Hundreds of Sarajevans were captured and taken away and many buildings destroyed.<sup>111</sup> Some were never restored, among them the city's oldest *madrasa*.<sup>112</sup> 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.<sup>113</sup>

Sarajevo had suffered a similar fate once before, in 884-85/1480, when Hungarian forces burned it down.<sup>114</sup> 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.

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<sup>110</sup> نمچه کافر عسکر ابله یورویوب/کلدی یاقدی کوزل شهر سراپی/قیون کیی انساننی سورویوب/کلدی یاقدی کوزل شهر سراپی/نمچه بک مصحفر حسابتسز کتابی/یاقدی هم جامعلریبیقدی محرابی/هپ اوجدن اوجه شهری ایتدی خرابی/کلدی یاقدی کوزل شهر سراپی. quoted in 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.

<sup>111</sup> 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.

<sup>112</sup> 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.

<sup>113</sup> Mehmed H. Handžić, "Sarajevo u turskoj pjesmi", p. 200, n. 2.

<sup>114</sup> 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),<sup>115</sup> 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.<sup>116</sup> 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 12<sup>th</sup>/18<sup>th</sup> century. Ottoman Bosnia's new borders with the Habsburg Empire would remain fixed right up to the end of Ottoman rule.<sup>117</sup> 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).<sup>118</sup> Moreover, during the 12<sup>th</sup>/18<sup>th</sup> century, the Bosnian population also suffered from frequent outbreaks of plague, claiming as many as 20,000 lives in the 1730s.<sup>119</sup> But the overall Bosnian population increased, especially its

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<sup>115</sup> 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.

<sup>116</sup> 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.

<sup>117</sup> 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.

<sup>118</sup> Malcolm, *Bosnia: a Short History*, p. 95.

<sup>119</sup> Malcolm, *Bosnia: a Short History*, p. 86.



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

As a consequence of the territorial losses, the Bosnian *pashalik* (a province governed by a pasha) was reorganized to comprise five *sanjaks* (districts).<sup>122</sup> 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.<sup>123</sup> 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.<sup>124</sup>

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

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<sup>120</sup> Malcolm, *Bosnia: a Short History*, p. 95.

<sup>121</sup> 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 18<sup>th</sup> 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.

<sup>122</sup> 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*.

<sup>123</sup> Šabanović, *Bosanski pašaluk*, p. 229.

<sup>124</sup> 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.<sup>125</sup> It sought to rebuild itself as best it could, nonetheless, and one of the first measures was to build fortifications against future attacks.<sup>126</sup>

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.<sup>127</sup> 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.<sup>128</sup>

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

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<sup>125</sup> 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.

<sup>126</sup> Donia, *Sarajevo*, p. 26.

<sup>127</sup> Malcolm, *Bosnia: a Short History*, p. 87.

<sup>128</sup> 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.<sup>129</sup>

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).<sup>130</sup> 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.<sup>131</sup> 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.

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<sup>129</sup> Donia, *Sarajevo*, p. 28.

<sup>130</sup> Malcolm, *Bosnia: a Short History*, p. 121.

<sup>131</sup> 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 10<sup>th</sup>/16<sup>th</sup> 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.<sup>132</sup> Moreover, from the 10<sup>th</sup>/16<sup>th</sup> 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.<sup>133</sup> 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.<sup>134</sup> The change reflected improving Ottoman economic fortunes up until the second half of the 12<sup>th</sup>/18<sup>th</sup> century, when signs of economic decline again became noticeable and "the economic cycle moved from prosperity to depression in 1173-1183/1760-1770."<sup>135</sup>

One of the main social changes to occur in 12<sup>th</sup>/18<sup>th</sup> 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.<sup>136</sup> In 1221-22/1807, there were an estimated 78,000 Janissaries in Bosnia, but only 16,000 of them performed any military service.<sup>137</sup> Sarajevo alone had around 20,000 Janissaries, practically its entire Muslim population.<sup>138</sup> In Sarajevo, they appointed the chiefs of the city administration, also known as the *ayans*.<sup>139</sup> Drawing support from the guilds, *sipāhis* and other officials, these *ayans* led the resistance to the central authorities' attempts to curb the

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

<sup>133</sup> 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 İnalcik with Donald Quataert, pp. 961-966.

<sup>134</sup> Pelidija, "O privredi Sarajeva", p. 102.

<sup>135</sup> *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire*, vol. II, eds. Halil İnalcik with Donald Quataert, p. 553.

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

<sup>137</sup> Malcolm, *Bosnia: a Short History*, p. 91.

<sup>138</sup> Malcolm, *Bosnia: a Short History*, p. 91.

<sup>139</sup> Malcolm, *Bosnia: a Short History*, pp. 91, 92.

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

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,<sup>142</sup> with Bosnians travelling to Venice already in the 11<sup>th</sup>/17<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>143</sup> 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.<sup>144</sup>

### 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.<sup>145</sup> Muslim peasant revolts had already taken place in the 11<sup>th</sup>/17<sup>th</sup> century, three in the Sarajevo *kadılık* itself.<sup>146</sup> During the 12<sup>th</sup>/18<sup>th</sup> century, these revolts became bigger and more frequent.<sup>147</sup> The revolt of 1158/1745 even forced the Bosnian governor to flee the province for six months.<sup>148</sup> The Porte managed to regain control in 1181/1768 with the help of a large army.<sup>149</sup> Most of these revolts were launched by Muslims opposed to rising taxes and the loss of

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<sup>140</sup> Pelidija, "O privredi Sarajeva", p. 96.

<sup>141</sup> 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.

<sup>142</sup> Pelidija, "O privredi Sarajeva", p. 98.

<sup>143</sup> Faroqhi, *Subjects*, p. 73.

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

<sup>145</sup> Malcolm, *Bosnia: a Short History*, pp. 86, 87.

<sup>146</sup> Avdo Sućeska, "Sarajevo u bunama", p. 78.

<sup>147</sup> Avdo Sućeska, "Sarajevo u bunama", p. 78.

<sup>148</sup> Malcolm, *Bosnia: a Short History*, p. 86.

<sup>149</sup> 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 Muḥarrāmī, 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.<sup>150</sup> 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.<sup>151</sup> Altogether, there were twelve major fires during the 12<sup>th</sup>/18<sup>th</sup> century, with those on Rajab 4, 1180/December 6, 1766, and Shawwāl 25, 1202/July 29, 1788, particularly devastating.<sup>152</sup>

As already noted, much of the 12<sup>th</sup>/18<sup>th</sup> 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 12<sup>th</sup>/18<sup>th</sup> century has come to be known as “the age of the ayans.”<sup>153</sup>

## 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.

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<sup>150</sup> Malcolm, *Bosnia: a Short History*, pp. 86, 87-92. Several uprisings took place in Mostar, which remained a hotbed of opposition until the 1830s.

<sup>151</sup> *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.

<sup>152</sup> Pelidija, “O privredi Sarajeva”, pp. 100, 101.

<sup>153</sup> 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 10<sup>th</sup>/16<sup>th</sup> 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 12<sup>th</sup>/18<sup>th</sup> 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.