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the issues related to book culture rather unevenly, ranging in quality from, for example, an important (albeit somewhat outdated) study on the role of scribes in Bosnian Muslim manuscript culture, on the one hand, and the insufficient attention given to the question of literacy, on the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 Ḥusayn 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 Ṣāliḥ Ḥromozāde (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 Ḥusayn 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 Maḥmūd-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 Meḥmed, the future sultan Meḥmed II, participated in the conquest of Constantinople and served as Rumeli chief judge (*ḳażasker*), governor (*beylerbey*) and grand vizier. He also led an Ottoman advance party of 20,000 men against the last Bosnian king before negotating the king's surrender.[157] The grand vizier Aḥmad-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 statemen 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 Fatḥ-i Miṣr* (A History of the Conquest of Egypt), also in Ottoman Turkish.[159]

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[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 Maḥmūd 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 Meḥmed 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. Maḥmūd-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 osmanskom jeziku (prilog književnoj historiografiji)", *Anali* 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 Būsnawī (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-Aqḥiṣārī al-Būsnawī (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-Būsnawī (d. 1054/1644), a commentator on Ibn 'Arabī'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,

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[160] Hazim Šabanović, *Književnost muslimana Bosne i Hercegvine na orijentalnim jezicima*, pp. 89-95. Šabanović corrects the year of his death (1005/1596-97), as reported by Meḥmed Ṭāhir in his *'Oṣmanlı mü'ellifleri, I* (Istānbūl: Maṭbe'e 'Āmire, 1333), p. 324, and Muḥammad Khānjī, in his *al-Jawhar al-asnā' fī tarājim 'ulamā' wa shu'arā' Bosna* [the Most Precious Jewel of the Biographies of Scholars and Poets of Bosnia], ed. 'Abd al-Fattāḥ 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 Aqḥiṣārī's biography see also: Jan Just Witkam, "Ḥasan Kāfī al-Aqḥṣārī and his Niẓām al-'Ulamā' ilā Ḵātam 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-Būsnawī'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 Muhyyiddin 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] Sami'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-Būsnawī. For more on him see: Šabanović, *Književnost,* pp.131-151; *GAL* I, 417; *GAL S*, 740; *ḤKh* VI, 24; Khānjī, *al-Jawhar al-asnā'*, pp. 155-158.

[171] Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte*, *III*, p. 524, 525; Šabanović, *Književnost,* pp. 353-357; Faroqhi 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", Faroqhi, *Subjects of the Sultan*, p. 39. As we can see, such poets had already emerged.

[172] Šabanović, *Književnost*, p. 220.

[173] Muṣṭafā Būsnawī 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 Būsnawī. 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 Būsnawī (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), 'Āṣim 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-Būsnawi (d. after 1162/1749), Shahdī 'Uthmān Qāḍīzāde 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 Muẓaffarī al-Būsnawī 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 (*tevārīḫ-i ġarīb*) 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'līq* scripts. The writer inserts an occasional word, expression or sentence in Bosnian, or a proverb in Arabic, such as: *mā kutib 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 Sarāyīfū*) 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 Ṣafar 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 Ṣūfī, 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 Ṣafar 1187/1 May 1773. On this see: Filan, "Life in Sarajevo in the 18th Century (according to Molla Muṣṭafā'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 Sarajevan 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 miscelanies 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 Būzajīzāde mosque, and as Muṣṭafā-afandī the imam of the Būzajīzāde 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 (*ḫocam)* for a while". The passage reads: خواجه اختيار يحيى پاشا جامع سنده امام پاشا مكتبنده صوختە معلم صبيان خواجه ايدى صوفى ادم ايدى مسحرجى بر وقت خوجم ايدى ارناؤد سليمان افندى (Ṣūḫte mu'allim-i ṣıbyān ḫoca iḫtiyār Yaḥyā-pāṣā cāmi'sinde imām Pāṣa mektebinde ḫoca idi ṣūfī ādem idi masḫaraci bir vaḳit ḫocam 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-yıllıḳ vaẓīfesi on sekiz gurūş illerü aldum*).[188] Basheskī may also have received training to become a maker of silk garments (*ḳazzāz*), but he never practiced the trade.[189]

In addition to being a mosque imam, Basheskī 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 Gāzī 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* Yāsīn for the soul of the dead, to supplement their income (personal communication with İsmail Erünsal, 22 May 2015). Elsewhere, Basheskī mentions the annual salary of a *maktab* teacher as being around 130 *guruş*, *MMB,* fol. 29a; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 129. Lavić writes that ḥāfiẓ Maḥmūd-afandī earned 30 *guruş* per annum as a librarian of 'Uthmān Shahdī 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 *qazzāz* (maker of silk garments) Mahmūd Za'īm-oghlū, who he refers to as "my master craftsman" (*benüm ūstām*) and a *temeccüd-hān* (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 زعیم اوغلی قزاز اسکندریه ده تمجدحون بنم اوستام کزرکن صالنه رق یورردی (Maḥmūd Za'īmōġlı ḳazzāz İskenderiyye'de temeccüd-ḥūn benüm ūstām gezerken ṣallānaraḳ yürürdi), *MMB*, fol. 95a, *Saraybosnalı*, p. 311.

[190] *Ljetopis*, "Uvod", p. 5; Filan, "Reading Molla Muṣṭafā" p. 509. He seems to have seen himself as an imam first and scribe second: حقیر امام کاتب و (*ve ḥaḳīr imām, kātib*): "[I], the indignant person, imam and scribe," *MMB*, fol. 21b; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 115. Also quoted in: Filan, "Reading Molla Muṣṭafā" 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 *cuzḫān* (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 [wanes]."[196] For more than 40 years Basheskī noted down everything he deemed important:

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[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 (*çūḳa*) 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 *cuzḫānlıḳ* 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 *cuzḫān* (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, *džuzhan*s 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], *Anali* IX-X (1983), pp. 315, 316.

[196] مدينهء شهري سراى ده و ايالت بوسنه ده بعضى وقايعي بنيان و تارخينى بيا [ن] ادرم زيرا كل ما كتب قرّ و ما حفظ فرّ (Medīne-i Sarāy'da ve eyālet-i Bosna'da bażı vaḳayı beyān ve tārīḫini beya[n] ederim zīrā kull mā kutib qarr wa mā ḥufiẓ 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

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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 (*niẓāmsızlıḳ*) 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 (*mudarris*es) who lacked inner knowledge (*'ilm-i bāṭın*). 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 Ḥāj Ḥasan 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 *ḳadizādeli*s and zealots (*müte'aṣṣıb*s)[204] and deniers (*münkir*s).[205] In several passages of the *Chronicle* he reports on the conflict between the Ṣūfīs or dervishes and *ḳadizādeli*s, 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'aṣṣıb* 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 *ḳadizādeli*s 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 *ḳadizādeli*s as "people of bigotry" (*ehl-i te'aṣṣub*), Evstatiev, "The Qāḍīzādeli movement", p. 4.

[205] Kerima Filan, "Religious puritans in Sarajevo in the 18th century", *OTAM* 33 (2013), pp. 43-62; Filan, "Reading Molla Muṣṭafā", 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 Ṣūfī 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); Qāḍizāde 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 *ḳadizādeli*s 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 Qāḍīzādeli 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 *ḳadizādeli*s prevented them from performing, so that they had to move to a nearby town, Basheskī was scathing: "Sarajevo is a city where there are *ḳadizādeli*s 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 *ḳadizādeli*s, he was a regular attendee of *dhikr* sessions at the Sinān *takka* and may well have been a member of the Qādiriyya Ṣūfī 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 *maktab*s 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 *maktab*s 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.

cuzḫān 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 *maktab*s 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 centures, 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 centres[213] and because trade and commerce promote literacy generally.

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[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'ż-i defter ve iḳtiżā 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 *berāt*s (documents granting an imperial title, privilege or property), *fermān*s (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 *madrasa* 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 corresopondence. For more on this see: *Bosanska ćirilična 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 (*ḫoca*) 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 (*siḥir*) and sought to separate lovers.[227] Belief in various supernatural beings was clearly part and parcel of the Sarajevan worldview. 'Abd al-Fattāḥ-āghā, who

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

[219] In Bosnian these written talismans are known as *zapisi*, literally "written down texts". The word *hamajlije* (from Turkish *ḥamaylı*) is also used.

[220] It consists of two Qur'anic verses: "Voices wil 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 ġayrı nüsḫalar ve teẕkireleri*, *Saraybosnali*, 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" (*tarġın 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 Kurbegōglı, a *ḥāj* (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 (*oḳur yazar idi*), claimed that fairies (*perīler*) were gathering in his courtyard.[228] Basheskī even reports seeing the Devil himself in the flesh on one occasion.[229]

In inheritance inventories, amulets (*ḥamaylı*) 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 (*tevekkelī ammā gülegen*) Mullā Ṣāliḥ, who divined for women (*ḳarılara güyā fāl açar*).[230] *Fa'l* was apparently used to uncover murderers.[231] In *Tabshīr 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 probhited 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 fīhā 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. *Tevekkelī* 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 *tevećèli* as meaning "emptily, aimlessly" (*naprazno*, *besciljno*) and defines the noun *tevećèlija* 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 Ṣāliḥ..." (*Luckasti mula Salih...*), *Ljetopis*, p. 353.

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

[232] *Tabshīr al-ghuzāt li al-qāḍī al-muḥaddith Muḥammad bin Muṣṭafā al-Aqḥiṣārī al-Būsnawī, 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 Ḥekīmōğlū '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 fīhā taṭayyur bi al-Qur'ān na'ūdh 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 ḥashr*/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'iẓ*), a scribe who prepares petitions (*'arżuḥālcı*), cleric (*ḫoca)*, *madrasa* teacher (*müderris*), elementary school teacher (*ṣibyān-ı mu'allim* or *mu'allim*), book binder (*mücellit*), calligrapher (*ḫaṭṭāṭ*), copyist and/or writer of amulets (*nüshacı*), one who knows the Qur'an by heart (*ḥāfiẓ*), reciter of a portion of the Qur'an (*cuzḫān)*, *madrasa* student (*sūḫte, softa*), etc. Basheskī mentions one scribe by his nickname: the "one dot scribe" (*birnoktaġlı 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*) Kürkīzāde Pasho was "somewhat educated and literate" (*bir parça oḳumaġa ve yazmaġa 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 (*ḫoca*), Imamović (*imām*), Softić (*sūḫte, softa*), Mulić (*mollā*) Muderizović (*müderris*), Mudželitović (*mücellit*), Ćato/Ćatić (*kātib*), Teftedarević (*defterdār*), Muzurović (*muḥżir*), 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 oḳur yazar idi*);[236] Muṣṭafā Bey, a provincial cavalryman (*sipāhī*), was "literate to some degree" (*bir parça oḳur yazar*);[237] Ghazno-oghlū was a dyer (*boyacı*), who had some knowledge (*oḳumaḳ bir parca [sic] bilürdi*);[238] Ḥāj Ibrāhīm-afandī was a maker of coarse woollen cloth (*abacı*), a dervish with some knowledge of astronomy and literate (*nücūmdan medẖal oḳudı hem yazdı*);[239] a young man, by name Bego-oghlū, who was both intelligent (*çelebi'aḳıllu*) and literate (*oḳur yazar*);[240] Pekara Ṣāliḥ-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 (*oḳur yazar idi*);[242] an unnamed man of good reputation from Travnik was also knowledgeable (*pür-ma'rifet*) and had a skilled hand (*kitābet muṣṭalaḥ*).[243] By the same token, Basheskī can describe as uneducated (*cāhil*), a man called Ṣūjūqa, who, in spite of his ignorance, was well-versed in the affairs of the world which he discussed with skill (*ve gāyet umūr-ı vāḳıf idi cāhil idi, ammā vekīl-i kā'inatlık ederdi, māhir idi*);[244] Aḥmad-afandī was a maker of silk garments (*ḳazzaz*) who also served as kadi, but was nonetheless uneducated (*ammā oḳumaḳ 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 oḳumış*).[247]

[236] *MMB*, fol. 73b; *Saraybosnali*, p. 259. Mujezinović thinks this person is listed in the inheritance records as ḥāj 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; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 171.

[238] *MMB*, fol. 85b; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 284.

[239] *MMB*, fol. 92a; *Saraybosnalı*, 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; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 308. His property was recorded in S22/46.

[241] *MMB*, fol. 125a; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 327.

[242] *MMB*, fol. 127a; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 331.

[243] *MMB*, fol. 142a; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 363.

[244] *MMB*, fol. 80a; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 273.

[245] *MMB*, fol. 86b; *Saraybosnalı,* p. 286.

[246] *MMB*, fol. 80a; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 272. He also taught children (*uşaḳları oḳudurdı*), *ibid*.

[247] *MMB*, fol. 133a; *Saraybosnalı*, 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 (*ġassāl*), but who wrote capitulations (*'ahdnāmes*) for Basheskī *('ahde-nāmeleri baŋa yazdururdı)*.[248]

Basheskī mentions dervish Meho (short for Meḥmed), 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.

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[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 İnalcik 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-ḥaqq wa law kān murran" (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-Mahalli (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 Müteferriḳa (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: *kātib* 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 *khaṭṭāṭ* or calligrapher, in contrast to the previous two, usually designates someone with a diploma from a master.[254] Basheskī also uses the term *nüshacı* in the sense of someone who knew how to write amulets.

As a professional scribe and a scholar (*'ālim*), 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'līḳ*, *dīvānī*, and *nesḫ*), but wrote a particularly beautiful *ta'līḳ*. 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] Niyazı Berkes, "Ibrāhīm Müteferriḳa", *EI² III*, p. 997; Günay Alpay Kut, "Maṭba'a", *EI² 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 mansucripsts, 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 *berāt*s (documents granting an imperial title, privilege or property) and *fermān*s (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] Ṣoqo Kūrt 'Alī-oghlū knew how to write *nesḫ*.[260] Others were not so skilled. Muṣṭafā 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 *nesḫ*," 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 ḫoca* (*Ant Ḫoca*) we have already met, who did not know any script, but nonetheless became a famous amulet writer (*nüshacı),* popular with women and villagers unable to recognise his ignorance.[264] Another man who struggled even to write a petition (*maḥżar*) 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: *ṣevāb*). Basheskī reports the death of Muṣṭafā-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 (*ḥāfiẓ*) and who copied

[256] "Ḥaḳīrden çok yazdı ve oḳudı 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 Khʷaja-oghlū who copied out a *Wānqūlī.*[269] The fact that this scholar copied this dictionary, the very first work to come out of Müteferriḳa'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'līḳ,*[271] the poet Maylī who "wrote beautiful *ta'līḳ*" 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 *muṣḥaf*s.[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 (*ḫaṭṭāṭ*), scribe (*kātib*, *mustansiḫ*, *rāḳim*), *madrasa* student (*sūḫte*), dervish, judge (*kadi*), juriconsult (*muftī*), imam, cleric (*ḫoca),*

[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 (*peştaḥta*).

[269] "Vanḳoli luġatını ḳalemīle yazdı," *MMB,* fol. 36a; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 145. His full name is Muḥammad Rāżī Walī Khʷaja-oghlū, in Bosnian sources known as Mehmed Razi Velihodžić.

[270] *EI² 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'iẓ*) caller to prayer (*mu'ezzin*), 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'īm* (*feudal knight*), *sipāhi* (provincial cavalryman), *çeribeşe* (a troop commander), *muḥāfiẓ* (fortress governor), *odobaşı* (Jannissary commander), fortress *āghā* (commander), fortress *ketḥudā* (warden), captain (*ḳapudan*), and *miralāy* (regiment commander).[278] He also mentions the following professions: cook (*aşçı*), merchant (*tācir*), 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 copyied 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], *Anali* 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 *majmūʿa*s, "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 *majmūʿa* also denotes a number of different works bound into a single volume. Some *majmuʿa*s 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 *majmūʿa,* 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 Chalabi, 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 Scientarum 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 (*ḳırā'eṯḫāne*; 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] „...teṣavvuf 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 ġayrı...", *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] "Ṣurū' edelim işbu biŋ yüz yetmiş dört senesinde kime ecel gelürse ḳayd olunsun. Bu defterde ismine naẓr olunduḳda raḥmet oḳusunun içün ve naẓr eylediġümde bu 'āṣī mücrim ve müẕnib ġāfil uyanup kendüne tedārik ve yolcılıḳ ve ölümi sözinde ṭuta," *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] Althought 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 (*ḳalfa-beşe*), a barber, a grocer, a librarian, a scribe (Basheskī), a mosque imam, and two person of unspecified profession. Two men were *hāfiẓe*s (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 *ḥāj* (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 (*ḥācī*) and a mosque imam who could read and write a bit (*bir parça oḳur 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: *khʷāja*; Turkish: *ḫoca*] 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 *akšam* [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 ʻāriyyeten kitābları alup*).[298]

Then, there were those who had some level of reading skills: mullā Ismāʻīl Ghazno-oghlū, a dyer (*boyacı*) who "know how to read a bit" (*oḳumaḳ bir parça bilürdi*).[299] Ibrāhīm Pūḥīk (Bosnian: Puhić) was a maker of jewels from gold and silver (*ḳuyumcu)* who could read books in Turkish (*Türkiyāt kitābları oḳurdı*).[300] Aḥmad-afandī Mosto was a teacher (*muʻallim-i ṣıbyān*) who read Persian books (*Fārsī kitāb oḳur idi*).[301] Others were not so competent. Another Aḥmad-afandī was a haberdasher (*ḳazzāz*) and a former kadi who did not know how to read (*oḳumaḳ 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 *reʻāya* (tax-paying subjects): "Many in our town have no reason and are crazy if they think it is their duty to cause grief to *reʻāya*. As far as I know, such doings are contrary to the

[298] *MMB,* fol. 36b; *Saraybosnalı*, 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; *Saraybosnalı,* p. 284.

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

[301] *MMB*, fol. 129a; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 336.

[302] *MMB*, fol. 86b; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 286.

Qur'an (*kitāba muḫālif*)."[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; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 134.

[304] Jasna Šamić, *Dîvân de Ḳâ'imî: 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; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 206.

[306] *GAL G* I, 416.

[307] "Ḥāfıẓ Toḳatlı, vā'iẓ, tertībile va'ẓ ederken yedi-sekiz yılda Beyżāvī'yi ḫatm eyledi, sene 1170", *MMB,* fol. 6a; *Saraybosnalı*, 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", *EI² 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 *nüsẖaci.*"[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 ṣohbeti*, 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 *madrasa*s and courts. The author was Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥalabī (d.956/1549).[317] Basheskī mentions it in the following passage: "Walī Khʷaja-oghlū al-ḥāj Muḥammad-afandī taught *Multaqā* and astronomy (*'ilm-i nücüm*) 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

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[311] *MMB*, fol. 75a; *Saraybosnalı,* p. 261. Mujezinović translates *nüsẖalar* as "books" (*knjige*). The year of the entry is 1188/1774-45. Basheskī always spells *Malḥama* as *Mahlama.*

[312] *MMB*, fol. 79b; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 271.

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

[314] *MMB*, fol. 32a; *Saraybosnalı,* p. 166.

[315] *MMB*, fol. 38b; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 151.

[316] *MMB*, fol. 144a; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 204.

[317] *GAL G* II, 432; *GAL S* II, 642.

[318] *MMB*, fol. 16a; *Saraybosnalı*, 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 Çelebī in Turkish. Bosnian Turcologist Fehim Nametak has noted the prevalence of Çelebī's *mawlid* in Bosnian libraries' manuscript collections. It is more than likely that the word *mawlid* in Basheskī's Chronicle refers to the *mawlid* by Çelebī: "Zeher Muṣṭafā knew the language of the Jews, a broker (*tellāl*), a joker, he knew *mawlid* by heart (*ḥıfẓ-ı mevlid-i şerīf ezber oḳurdı*)."[320] There was also a certain 'Abd al-'Azīz-afandī, who would recite *mawlid* in the Bey's mosque, where he served as muezzin.[321]

Taqwīm al-tawārīkh (Chronological Tables): in a section of *the Chronicle* miscellanea, Basheskī 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 Muṣṭafā Khalīfa, known as Kātib Chalabī, the author of *Taqwīm al-tawārīkh*, may God's mercy be upon him!"[322]

Usṭuwānī (Ottoman Turkish: *Üsṭuvānī*): the popular religious primer entitled *Risāla-i Usṭuwānī* or *Usṭuwānī risālesi* (the Epistle of Usṭuwānī) was written by Usṭuwānī Muḥammad (d.1072/1661), a preacher from Damascus and a leader of *ḳadizādeli* movement. Reporting the death of a saddler-maker (*sarrāc*), Basheskī describes him as *Üsṭüvānī ḫocası*, i.e. "He taught [the book of] *Usṭuwānī*..."[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. Basheskī 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 Gāzī 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 *maktab*s 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 *khʷāja* (Turkish: *ḫōca*). 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 Rabīʿ 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 ʿAbd al-Ḥayy, but there must have been *maktab*s 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 *maktab*s in 1214/1800-1295/1878.[331]

It is difficult to establish with certainty which books were used for teaching in Bosnian *maktab*s. 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.

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

[327] Ćurić, *Muslimansko školstvo*, pp. 34, 35. Basheskī mentions the annual salary of a *maktab* teacher to be around 130 *guruş*, *MMB,* fol. 29a; *Saraybosnalı*, 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 *maktab*s for 1463-1878, according to Seid M. Traljić, with 35 *maktab*s attended by 1,223 boys and 304 girls based on data for the year 1856; 49 *maktab*s according to the *majmūʿa* of Sayfallāh-afandī Hadžihusejnović, which the author began writing in 1878. Ćurić gives a list of *maktab*s based on these two lists (Table 1, pp. 49-54 and Table II, pp. 55-59). Similarly, the number of *maktab*s 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 *maktab*s. Thus, Khadīja, daughter of Aḥmad, bequeathed a shop and a warehouse (*maġaza*), 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 *maktab*s 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 *maktab*s 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 *maktab*s. There were two *maktab*s 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 Foudation 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 *madrasa* student (*sūḫte*) chats up a girl, comparing her beautiful face to various letters of the Arabic alphabet.[342]

Accordng to the Bosnian scholar Mehmed Handžić (d. 1944), the first Bosnian to try writing religious texts in the vernacular was Muḥammad Rāzī Walī Khʷāja-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'ı ḳunūt*) translated from

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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 *ruždija*s, against strong opposition by some who throught 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 Waṣiyyatnāme-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: Sejfudin Kemura and Vladimir Ćorović, *Serbokroatische Dichtungen Bosnischer Moslims 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 èlif-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 no 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 (*ḫoca*), prompting Basheskī to condemn "malicious and stupid *ḫoca*s."[348]

*Madrasa*s

It is not clear how many *madrasa*s Sarajevo had prior to 1109/1697. As we have seen in the previous chapter, the earliest Sarajevo *madrasa*s 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 *madrasa*s 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 ʻUlamā-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 Ismāʻīl-āghā Miṣrī Madrasa (established around 1124/1712), the Madrasa-i Jadīd, also known as the ʻInādiyya (established 1179/1766-67), and the Sīmzāde Madrasa (established 1188/1775).

The standard accounts of the history of Sarajevo's *madrasa*s 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 *madrasa*s 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 *maktab*s, 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 *majmūʻa*. At the same time he does mention the Firuz-bey and Kemal-bey *madrasa*s, 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 *madrasa*s were built in the 18th century in order to counter the divisive theological tendencies of the *ḳadılzādeli*s and their followers. See Faroqhi, *Subjects of the Sultan,* p. 66.

[353] As with the *maktab*s, the only work to treat the *madrasa* texbooks 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 texbooks 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 *madrasa*s 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 *madrasa*s and *maktab*s 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 *madrasa*s, mosques offered religious instruction to the wider public, through sermons and study circles, as indicated by Basheskī's reference to ḥāfiẓ Ṭoḳatlū'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-Bayḍāwī (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'iẓ*).

Mosques also served as places where women could receive instruction in religion. Basheskī mentions a mosque imam by name of 'Uthmān-kh^{w}āja who taught women in the city quarters or *maḥalla*s (*maḥallelerde zenneleri oḳudurdı*).[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 *maḥalla*s as places of teaching, he probably means by this the mosques in the *maḥalla*s. Basheskī also mentions one Amīr Aḥmad, who would "give sermons to women" (*'avretlere va'ẓ 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; *Saraybosnalı*, 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 *madrasa*s 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-türkī*[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 Kelīla and Dimna by 'Alī Chalabī Kınālızāde (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; *ḤKh*, 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*, *ḤKh*, 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 workh 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

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[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 Muḥamamd 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 Khʷāja-oghlū, the shaykh of the *Khānqāh* whose knowledge Basheskī praises.[378]

*Takka*s

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 (*vefḳ*) and geomancy (*reml*) and knew by heart many supplications (*duʻā*s) 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 *takka*s and those who frequented them (whether as initiates or those whom Basheskī describes as "sympathizers of dervishes" or *muḥibb-i dervīşān*) often found themselves at odds with the *ḳadizādeli*s of Sarajevo. Their informal leader, the preacher Amīr from Amasya, would rant against the *takka*s 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 ʻAlī *takka*, whose history is otherwise unknown.[382]

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[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 Faroqhi about *takka*s 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 Men[383]

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 (*ḳādızāde*) and was himself a courthouse scribe who had proved skilful at his job (*maḥkemede 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 *madrasa*, who "could not be said to be ignorant of any science (*her 'ilmden bilmem demezdi*), but excelled in the knowledge of grammar (*naḥv*) and logic (*mantıḳ*)."[386]

As we have already noted, Basheskī reserves his longest passage on learned Sarajevans for (Muḥammad Rāzī) Walī Khʷāja-oghlū: "He was muderris at the *Khānqāh*. A native [of the city]. Skilled at inheritance law (*ferā'iż*). 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 afore-mentioned 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 Basheskī'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 Basheskī'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 yazusı*) and he copied Wanqūlī's dictionary. Like the two previous *khʷājas*, 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 inviduals, Basheskī criticizes others, like Amīr Amāsyalī, 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, *takka*s, dervish hats (*kulāh*s), 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 (*yanġur yunġur*) 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 Gümüshzāde *madrasa* (which is another name for the Simzāde *madrasa*), lacked the polite manners of a city person. He distinguished himself in logic (*manṭıḳ*), *teṣvvurāt* 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 bunuŋ ṣoḥbeti daḫī 'Arabistān'da gördiġi şeyleri söylemekdür*).[390]

Other learned Sarajevans included:

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[387] "Sūḫtelere ve ṣıbyāna 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.

- Svrāqo-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 vardur*). He taught syntax (*ṣarf*) 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 (*ẓarīf*), and not just a poet (*şā'ir*), but a good one (*şā'ir-i kāmil*), 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 (*ṣarf*) and grammar *(naḥv)*, but less so of Arabic. He was also an artist (*muṣavvir*) and wrote beautiful *ta'līḳ*.[393]

Basheskī's crop of learned Sarajevans includes a librarian whom he calls "our khʷāja" (*ḫocamuz*) Mullā Maḥmūd[394] a librarian (*kütübḫāne ḥāfiẓı*), a teacher (*mu'allim-ı ṣıbyān*), and an imam. His father was a peasant. He knew the Qur'an by heart (*ḥāfiẓ*) 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 siḥr*), in which he could be described as a second Ptolemy. His handwriting was not good, but he had many manuscripts (*nüsḫaları*) in calculus (*'ilm-i ḥesābı*), multiplication (*ḍarb*), extracting (*iḫrac)*, 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 bāṭin*), 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'assıb*). His sermons were delivered in a language that was half-Turkish, half-Bosnian (*yarı Türçe yarı Bosnaca va'ẓ 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 ḳıṭ*);
- 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 Muṣṭafā, also an *abacı* and also educated.
- His brother Mullā Aḥmad. All three of them wore *kh^{w}ājas'* turbans. (*hocalar saruġı*).

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 Muṣṭafā Basheskī's Mecmua" p. 512. Except for the first three sentences, the translation is taken from "Reading Molla Muṣṭafā Basheskī's Mecmua".

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

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

[399] "Reading Molla Muṣṭafā Basheskī's Mecmua", 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 Ṣāḳārāt, a knife-maker (*biçaḳçı*) and a mosque imam, Basheskī says he imagined himself to be "kh^{w}āja 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*, *ẖoca* or *ẖoca ḳadın* 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] *Ḥoca* or *ẖoca ḳadın (Bosnian: hōdža,* as opposed to *hodža* in the sense of Muslim clergyman) is the vernacularized title for a religiously learned woman. Lastly, *baci* (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 ḳadın*, the wife of Ibrāhīm-āghā, who was famous (*meşhūr*) (died 1172/1758-9);[406] and Rajab-dedo's wife (*bacı hoca ḳadın*), 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 Suṣa in the year 1207/1793, he describes him as the husband of a *ẖoca-ḳadın.*[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 svešteničke 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 Ḳadın Pīroḳa, who was a learned woman (*oḳur yazar bir ḫātūnı*) and in Basheskī's view, innocent.[409]

During the Ottoman period, three out of 104 Sarajevo residential quarters (*maḥalla*s) bore the names of women: the Sinān Voyvoda ḫātūnı maḥallesi,[410] the Dūdī-būla maḥallesi,[411] and the Ḥaṣekī ḫātūnı 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 *maḥalla*s (p. 17), Bejtić gives the *maḥalla* name as *Sinān Vojvod maḥallesi,* but in most cases the inheritance records refer to *Sinān Voyvoda ḫatunı 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 Egpyt and from Italian cities. Bashekī 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 Miṣrī (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" (*Bosnalı*, *Boşnaḳça*) 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 ʿAdnī. 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 Muṣṭafā 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 (*faṣīḥ 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-mentoined preacher Amīr Amaysālī.

[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 (*maktab*s and *madrasa*s).[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 *madrasa*s. 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; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 145.

[427] Filan, "Turski jezik u Bosni u osmansko doba", p. 160. Filan mentions the role of *takka*s in the spread of Turkish, quoting Faroqhi on *takka*s 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 *takka*s 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 humours stories in the *Chronicle* about Bosnians who landed themselves in all sorts of awkard 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 utanmayalum*/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 oturmayalum, 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 ketḫüdāsı*), who loved speaking Turkish (*Türkçe söylemek severdi*),[434] a standard-bearer (*'alemdār*),[435] and an army officer (*ḥaseki*).[436] On the other hand, there was the afore-mentioned 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 Vjeroplodnica 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; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 301. He was also a "lover of the 'ulamā', pious and *ḳadizādeli*" (*muḥibb-i 'ulemā, ṣōfī, ḳāḍizādelī*).

[435] *MMB*, fol. 90b; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 297. He also loved the 'ulamā' (*'ulemāyı severdi*). Mujezinović points out that this was probably the same person whose estate was given in S21/155.

[436] *MMB*, fol. 95a; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 311.

[437] *MMB*, fol. 90b; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 297.

"There are many more literate (*oḳur 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 litterature 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'līḳ* 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 *takka*s and Persian is clear. Aḥmad-afandī Mosto was a teacher of children (*mu'allim-i ṣibyān*) who read Persian books (*Fārsī kitāb oḳur 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 ṣey 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 Ṣāliḥ who was taken prisoner during the war against Russia in 1150/1737 and "who knew Russian" (*Mosḳov 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 Ṣārenda, 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 Muṣṭafā 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" (*elīf bi-lisān-i Yehūdiyān*),[449] "the Serbian language alphabet" (*elīf bi-lisān-i Ṣırpça*),[450] and the Italian alphabet (*elīf bi-lisān-i Ṭālyānca*).[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 Muṣṭafā, Yahüd lisānı bilür idi, dellāl, masḫaracı, ḥıfẓ-ı mevlid-i şerīf ezber oḳurdı, mācūı idi, zeyreḳ, her ne ezberlerse unutmazdı, aḳ ṣaḳallı idi. r.h", *MMB*, fol. 73a; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 257. See also: "Reading Molla Muṣṭafā 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: *ḥelvā ṣoḥbeti*, 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 *ḥelvā ṣoḥbeti*, named after the sweet (*ḥelvā*) provided by the host. He writes about a group of young kadis who organized their own *ḥelvā ṣoḥbeti* 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 *ḥelvā ṣoḥbeti* 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 (*ḳahveyi vaḳf eyledi*).[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 *guruşe*s 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 *ḥelvā ṣoḥbeti*", *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 n 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] "Ḳahve-ḫānelerde dā'im yazardı", *MMB*, fol. 96b; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 314.

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

the soul/knowledge, research and conversation: (*'ilm ve baḥṣ ve ḳāle ve ḳīle*)/all are manifest (*beyān*) there."[457]

A Bosnian historian notes that in the coffee houses the "people learned in the Arabic, Turkish and Persian languages would 'tell tavarih' [*tawārīkh*]. 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 tavarih'. 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 exhanged.[459]

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[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 *qīl ü qāl*. Whereas Redhouse translates this as 'tittle-tattle', the late seventeenth-century lexicographer Franciszek Meninski defines it as 'much conversation' or 'loquaciousness, garrulity'. Ṣemseddin Sami includes *qīl ü qāl* 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 *tawārīkh* (Bosnian: *tavarih*) 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 tavarih* 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 Jannissary 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 *ḳādızādeli*s 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 conspiracies[463] 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,

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[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 Qaṣṣāb-oghlū, declared his intention of going on ḥāj and that several people followed his example by making the committment 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 فى نفسى فى شرابها معونتا على مطالعة الكتب و قيام الليل لكونها برافعة الكسل و النوم , R-761, 16v, 17r. See also: Nevena Krstić, "Muṣṭafā ibn Muḥammad al-Aqḥiṣārī (Pruščanin): Rasprava o kafi, duvanu i pićima", [Muṣṭafā ibn Muhammad al-Aqhisari (Pruščanin): 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 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 shorte note about the "appearance of tobacco smoking" (*ẓuhūr-u şerb-i duẖān*) 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 Khʷāja used to teach children in the shops (*dükkānlarda uşaḳları oḳutdurudu*).[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 teṣavvuf*) and the soul (*cān*).[473] Another person he describes as his disciple is a *madrasa* student (*sūẖte*) 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'līḳ, 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; *Saraybosnalı*, 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 (*sūẖte*), from Trebinje (*Trebinelī*), was injured in a coffee house brawl and died some years later. Basheskī calls him "my pupil" (*şāgirdüm*), *MMB*, fol. 75b; *Saraybosnalı*, 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 (*ḳazancı*) and a convert (*poturčenik,* ie. a Turkified person).

[473] *MMB*, fol. 78b; *Saraybosnalı,* p. 268.

[474] *MMB*, fol. 75b; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 262.

[475] *MMB*, fol. 92b; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 303.

nesḫī) 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 *madrasa* 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'līḳ* 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]

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[476] *MMB*, fol. 93b; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 307. The passage reads: "*Ṣatioġlu Mollā Yaṣar ḥaḳīrden çok yazdı ve oḳudı ve büyüdi.*" Mujezinović translates this passage as if the afore-mentioned Mollā Yaṣsar is the subject, i.e. the one who taught Basheskī: "[*Ṣatioġlu Mollā Yaṣar*] 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 *ḥaḳirden*, 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-ḫuṣūṣ '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] "Tārīḫ-i ẓuhūr-i ḳazete fī 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 Bibliograhy 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-muwaḥḥid li al-ṣaḥḥāfat al-'uthmāniyya – al-turkiyya* (*al-dawrāt wa al-ṣuḥuf*) *min al-bidāya ilā thawrat taghyīr 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 *madrasa*s (Firuz-bey, Hüsrev-bey, Kemal-bey, Meḥmed-bey), as well as several *takka*s and many *maktab*s.[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 Khalīfa].[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 (*ketḫüda*) and six had property listed in the inheritance records.[492]

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[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); Ṣōfō 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 Ṣafar 1194/27 February 1780), left some manuscripts (*perīşān nüsḫa*) worth 242 *akçe*. He owned a shop in the Bookbinders Street (S29/65); the afore-mentioned bookbinder al-ḥāj Ṣāliḥ-afandī bin 'Abd al-Mu'min, son of Sulaymān, from the village of Jagrīk (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'īl-beşe son of 'Ūthmān who had only two copies of the Qur'an (S35/119, dated 10 Ramaḍān 1209/31 March 1795); bookbinder mullā 'Abdallāh son of Ismā'īl-beşe was a Sarajevan who died in the town of Zvornik in eastern Bosnia and who owned more than a dozen notebooks (*daftar*s), 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 (*ṣaḥḥāf*s), which explains why Sarajevo did not have *ṣaḥḥāf*s of the sort found in Istanbul[500] 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/nāqiṣ* (damaged),[501] and therefore in need of bookinders' 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 (*kāġıdile kār ederdi*).[503] Another bookbinder who worked with paper (*kāġıtla kār ederdi*) was called Ismail-beşe.[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 kāġıdı*).[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], *Anali* 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 kāġıdı 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 Rabīʿ al-Awwal 1160, addressed to "the beys of Dubrovnik," an Ottoman Bosnan 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 Ṣafar 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 Zaʿīm-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]

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[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 photograh 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, *Dîvân de Ḳâ'imî.*

[519] He rebukes Ḥāfiẓ Ṭoḳatlū-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-ḫāşi‘īn* (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, *maktab*s (elementary schools), *madrasa*s (higher schools), libraries, *takka*s (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 particulierement 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 ẓāhir* (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.