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Chapter Four: Books and Their Owners According to Sarajevo

Inheritance Inventories 1118-1244/1707-1828

This chapter begins by introducing inheritance inventories, with their strengths and limitations, as our main source for studying book ownership. This is followed by a presentation of Sarajevo book owners in terms of their backgrounds. Certain categories of book owners are accorded special attention (e.g. women and Roma). Lastly, data on books are presented and analysed in terms of genre, language, and value. At that point, a number of additional questions is raised about the prevalence of printed works and rare works, the most commonly-owned books, works by Bosnian authors and works with Bosnian themes.

4.1 Inheritance Inventories as a Source for Studying Book Ownership

In the preface to his translation of ‘Umar Khayyām’s *Rubā‘īyyāt* (the Quatrains), the Bosnian scholar Safvet Bašagić (1870-1934) describes buying a particularly valuable manuscript of the work at an auction in Sarajevo.⁶³³ The purchase was made in 1915, in what turned out to be the final years of Austro-Hungarian rule in Bosnia (1878-1918). The anecdote well illustrates how the Ottoman-era practice of auctioning off estates lasted well into modern times thanks to the continued application of Muslim personal law. It also underlines the vital role of auctions for the circulation of books, a role which must have been even greater during the age of the manuscript book and no bookshops.⁶³⁴ Notes about book purchases written inside the covers of extant manuscripts sometimes reveal that they were purchased from estates (*mukhallafāt*).

⁶³³ Omer Hajjam, *Rubaije* (Sarajevo: Tugra, 2009), pp. 5, 6. Ghiyāth al-dīn Abū al-Faṭḥ ‘Umar ibn Ibrāhīm al-Nīsābūrī also known as ‘Umar Khayyām (d. 517/1123). In the English-speaking world his *Quatrains* became popular thanks to Edward FitzGerald’s translation published in 1859 as *the Rubā‘iyāt of Omar Khayyām*. The street in which Bašagić purchased the manuscript is still known as *Telali* (Arabic: *dallāl*; Turkish: *tellāl*), though it no longer serves as a venue for auctions. During the Socialist period, the street hosted a flea market. *Shar‘a* courts continued to operate under the Yugoslav Kingdom (1918-1945) and very briefly under Communist rule before being closed down in 1946.

⁶³⁴ So far as can be gleaned from the sources, Sarajevo did not have specialised booksellers (*ṣaḥḥāfs*) of the type found in large Ottoman cities. On Istanbul booksellers see: Erünsal, *Osmanlılarda sahaflık*. Damascus had a book market near the Kallāsa *madrassa* just north of the Umayyad mosque with a broker whose job was the evaluation and sale of books from the inheritance inventories, Colette Establet et Jean-Paul Pascual, “Les livres des gens à Damas vers 1700”, *Revue des mondes musulmans et de la Méditerranée* 87-88 (1999), p. 145.

Known variously as *mukhallafāt daftars*, *qassām daftars*, or *taraka daftars*, Ottoman inheritance inventories are lists of “goods left by the deceased, including both movable property and real estate, but not state-owned agricultural land (*mīrī*).”⁶³⁵ They were usually entered into court registers (*sijills*), which were themselves kept at the local courts.⁶³⁶

The Sarajevo court registers are elongated codices with thick brown paper and written in black ink. They can range in size from less than one hundred to well-over 300 hundred pages of hand-written text in Ottoman Turkish. The registers are records of the various documents transcribed by court scribes: marriages, divorces, disputes, sales, loans, agreements and transcripts of official documents sent by the Imperial Council to local kadis and governors. Each court register has two sections: the beginning and the end pages are taken up by entries of marriages, while the pages in the middle are reserved for other documents, including the inheritance inventories.

The inheritance inventories are particularly valuable for the light they shed on everyday life, living standards, family structure, etc. An important question, to which we shall return when examining what moved some people to register their family members’ estates with the court, is how representative they are of the overall population. For our purposes here, the important fact is that, given that such estates sometimes included books, the inventories are a major source for studying book ownership in the Ottoman Empire.⁶³⁷

The vast majority of the surviving Sarajevo court registers contain inheritance inventories. Of a total of 88, three belong to the 10th/16th and 11th/17th centuries, with the remainder covering the second half of the 12th/18th and the first half of the 13th/19th century.⁶³⁸ Furthermore, the registers for 1176-1268/1762-1852 run continuously, year on year,

⁶³⁵ Suraiya Faroqhi, “Sidjill”, *EP* IX, p. 540.

⁶³⁶ Suraiya Faroqhi, “Sidjill”, *EP* IX, p. 540. Apparently, some of the more populous cities, like Cairo and Bursa, had separate registers for inheritance inventories, while Istanbul and Edirne kept separate inheritance inventories for the *‘askerī* class. See further: Suraiya Faroqhi, *Approaching Ottoman History: an Introduction to the Sources* (Cambridge; Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 56.

⁶³⁷ For studies into book ownership for various Ottoman cities, please see the bibliography compiled by Orlin Sabev, “Osmanlı toplumsal tarihi için değerli kaynak teşkil eden tereke ve muhalefat kayıtları”.

⁶³⁸ For a general description of the Sarajevo *sijills* and their content, see: Azra Gadžo-Kasumović, “O sidžilima u Gazi Hüsrev-beyovoj biblioteci” [On the *sijills* in the Gāzī Hüsrev-bey Library], *Anali* XXI-XXII (2003), pp. 41-83. For a review of the Bosnia-wide *sijills*, see: Hatidža Čar-Drnda, “Šerijatski sidžili i njihova zastupljenost u Bosni i Hercegovini” [*Shari‘a sijills* and their prevalence in Bosnia-Herzegovina], *Anali* XIII-XIV (1987), pp. 53-67.

without interruption, and all contain inheritance inventories.⁶³⁹ The key advantage of studying inventories over such an extensive period of time is that it provides a wide net for capturing book ownership. Consequently, the inheritance inventories enable us to reconstruct various aspects of book ownership, whether in terms of the owners or their books.

Reflecting the division of society into a political class (*‘askerī*) and the non-political, tax-paying mass of the population (*re‘āya*), the Ottoman administration in principle kept separate registers for them. In practice, this does not seem always to have been strictly observed. While the Sarajevo court registers are all labelled *‘askerī*, they often include inheritance inventories for categories of the population that would not usually be considered members of the political class, including Roma and peasants (both Muslim and non-Muslim). This might have to do with the fact that the inhabitants of Sarajevo had been granted tax-privileges because of the services they, and especially the artisans, rendered the Ottoman military. Such people became a category that was not strictly speaking *‘askerī*, but was practically treated as such.

Entries in the inventories follow a pattern. They begin with the place of residence and name of the deceased.⁶⁴⁰ The cause of death may be stated (e.g. plague, drowning, murder, but not if the person in question died of natural causes or illness). If a person died away from home, the place of death is usually mentioned. This information on the deceased is followed by the names of the legal heirs and their degree of relation to the deceased. At the end of the introductory part, the date of entry in the inventory is normally given, but not the date of death. The second part of the entry consists of a list of the movable/personal and immovable/real property in the estate and of assigned values based on sale or assessment. If the deceased person had books, they tended to be listed first, with copies of the Qur’an coming top of the list. This rule was not always followed strictly and one has to read carefully through the whole list to make sure that a book is not missed, in case it appears elsewhere in the list, mixed up with other movable items. In some cases, books even come at the end of the list. Thus, Khadija bint ‘Umar’s copy of the Qur’an was listed,

⁶³⁹ The court registers were discontinued in 1268/1852 following administrative reforms.

⁶⁴⁰ Where surnames are mentioned at all, they usually have a Turkish ending (*oğlu*). In rare cases the Slavic surname ending “-ić” (written “-ik”) is used. It is not uncommon for the name to be preceded by a nickname, indicated by the statement *demekle ma‘rūf*, which corresponds to the English expression “also known as”.

along with prayer beads (*tasbīh*), at the end of her estate list.⁶⁴¹ The same was true for Muḥammad-beše bin Muṣṭafā.⁶⁴² A gross value for the inheritance is given in the third section. Once outstanding debts, court expenses and discretionary disposal or bequests (which could not amount to more than one third of the property) had been subtracted, a net value was given for the estate and the shares of the individual heirs recorded. Should new facts about the deceased or his property come to light later (e.g. proof of a debt or claim against the deceased), the new division would be recorded in a separate entry.⁶⁴³

The registers were kept at a court-house (*maḥkama*) headed by a kadi, who was assisted by scribes. The scribes copied the inheritance inventories into the registers. Sometimes the services of independent professional scribes, like Basheskī, were used in writing down the property lists.⁶⁴⁴ There would normally be at least two more people involved in winding up an estate. The first was the assessor responsible for establishing its value. Basheskī reports the death of one such man.⁶⁴⁵ The second was the broker or executor (Arabic: *dallāl*; Turkish: *tellāl*), that is the official responsible for managing the public sale of the estate, before the proceeds could be divided up among the heirs. The broker thus played an important role in facilitating the trade in second-hand books.⁶⁴⁶ In Istanbul, the *dallāl* would

⁶⁴¹ S60/138-139 (27 Shawwāl 1236/28 July 1821).

⁶⁴² S18/25 (18 Dhū'l-Ḥijja 1190/28 January 1777). According to İsmail Erünsal, in 11th/17th century inventories, books could be listed anywhere (the beginning, the middle or the end) and were sometimes mixed with other items. In the 12th/18th and 13th/19th centuries, they were usually listed at the beginning of the inventory. At the end of the 13th/19th and in the early 14th/20th century, there were again inconsistencies in the ways books were listed, Erünsal, *Osmanlılarda Sahafılık*, p. 317.

⁶⁴³ Such entries are usually short and begin with: *ba'de hitāmi'd-defter...* i.e. “after the closure of the inventory...”

⁶⁴⁴ *MMB*, fol. 73b; *Saraybosnali*, p. 259.

⁶⁴⁵ *MMB*, fol. 69a; *Saraybosnali*, p. 249. The sentence appears incomplete. With regard to the process of property division, Ždralović notes as one benefit of the inheritance inventories the fact that they reveal the principal heir (*prvi nasljednik*) which enables us to register the new owner of the book collection or the private library, Ždralović, *Bosansko-hercegovački prepisivači*, p. 12. It is not clear to me why Ždralović thought so. The heirs were usually apportioned the sum they received after the property was sold. There are cases of family members who bought up books or other items from the estate at auction, but as far as I am aware, there is nothing to suggest that the “first heir” had some sort of a privileged right to receive his or her inheritance in goods.

⁶⁴⁶ Erünsal, *Osmanlılarda Sahafılık*, p. 220.

sometimes go from shop to shop offering the books for sale.⁶⁴⁷ His fee (*dallāliyya*) would be included in the court expenses to be paid out of the estate. The broker's commission was 1-2% of the amount realised for the books sold.⁶⁴⁸

4.2 Basheskī's Observations on the Property and Inheritance of Sarajevans

As a scribe who sometimes drew up the property lists for estates, Basheskī was naturally curious about other people's property and inheritance. In his entry for the year 1207/1792-93, he writes of an unnamed person's estate: "I came across some interesting and valuable data in a *qassām daftar* from Brestovsko [a village near Sarajevo] written in 1088 [1677], which I am reporting here."⁶⁴⁹ He goes on to produce a rather short and unremarkable list of items which, however, contained no books. Elsewhere, Basheskī writes that the money used to rebuild two damaged minarets (one of them cost 500 *guruş*) came from the estate of the calligrapher ḥāj Ḥasan.⁶⁵⁰ Reporting deaths, Basheskī occasionally relates how the deceased had themselves previously received large inheritances:

"...old man Chorbich-oghlū inherited property from the rich kadi Gümüşzāde. He was generous, but he liked a drink."⁶⁵¹

"The brother of Sulaymān-afandī...he inherited a good deal of wealth from his brother Muştafā."⁶⁵²

Basheskī also notes cases of people supposed to have married for money. There was the case of a man who married a rich widow. She died a few days after the wedding, so that he inherited her fortune: "He was greedy and for a full 40 years never missed a fair."⁶⁵³ Similarly, shaykh mullā 'Alī Gorājdelī, also known as Ucha, lived inside the *Khānqāh* (the Şūfī convent built by Gāzī Hüsrev-bey) and became rich by marrying a wealthy widow.⁶⁵⁴ In

⁶⁴⁷ Erünsal, *Osmanlılarda Sahaflık*, p. 220.

⁶⁴⁸ Erünsal, *Osmanlılarda Sahaflık*, pp. 221-223.

⁶⁴⁹ *MMB*, fol. 146b; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 212. According to Basheskī, the list was compiled by Aḥmad, he chief judge (*kāzasker*) in the town of Kreševo, near Sarajevo.

⁶⁵⁰ One was the minaret of the Sagraqçı mosque (*MMB*, fol. 15a; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 97) and the other was the mosque in the 'Īsā-bey *maḥalla*. I was unable to identify the 'Īsā-bey *maḥalla* passage in *Saraybosnalı*.

⁶⁵¹ *MMB*, fol. 78a; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 267.

⁶⁵² *MMB*, fol. 77a; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 266.

⁶⁵³ *MMB*, fol. 92b; *Saraybosnalı*, pp. 303, 304.

⁶⁵⁴ *Ucha* is here probably short for *uĉitelj* (teacher) in Bosnian. *MMB*, fol. 93b; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 307. Basheskī often mentions the Bosnian nicknames of the deceased Sarajevans.

another example, “Ḥasan-beşe the cap-maker (*araçacı*)....married a widow, the daughter of Dahi ḥāj Ibrāhīm, with the intention of inheriting her wealth.”⁶⁵⁵

If wealth could affect choice of spouse, it could also lead people to crime and, in one case, Basheskī implies that a woman was murdered for her inheritance.⁶⁵⁶

In another case, he complains about people getting into the habit of giving false testimony out of greed for wealth before reporting about a group of people who claimed that the wealthy ḥāj Şāliḥ left them one third of his property by will. Following litigation, their claim was rejected and they sought pardon from the rightful heirs.⁶⁵⁷

A running theme in the several of his references to people’s inheritance is the fleeting nature of material riches:

“Pāzār-beşe, with sick eyes. He received a legacy (*mīrāth*), but died soon afterwards.”⁶⁵⁸

“Aḥmad Qurbagh-oghlū, he drank a lot and so squandered his inheritance from his father.”⁶⁵⁹

“Ḥāj Mūlo, young, inherited a great fortune, but did not live long.”⁶⁶⁰

The same thing happened to a man called Vīlā, who died suddenly, less than a year after inheriting great wealth.⁶⁶¹

Basheskī narrates the case of one Mullā-afandī who set out on a journey from Sarajevo to Istanbul. Having decided against travelling by land for fear of robbers, he set off for the coastal city of Dubrovnik instead, with the intention of continuing his voyage by sea: “But, given that the roads near Dubrovnik are rocky and steep, his horse tripped, brought him down and killed him. The kadi recorded the property of the late Mullā-afandī, including the more than 40 purses of coin found on him.”⁶⁶²

⁶⁵⁵ MMB, fol. 78b; *Saraybosnali*, p. 268.

⁶⁵⁶ MMB, fol. 13b; *Saraybosnali*, p. 89.

⁶⁵⁷ MMB, fol. 41a; *Saraybosnali*, pp. 161, 164.

⁶⁵⁸ MMB, fol. 97a; *Saraybosnali*, p. 315.

⁶⁵⁹ MMB, fol. 127a; *Saraybosnali*, p. 332.

⁶⁶⁰ MMB, fol. 129a; *Saraybosnali*, p. 336.

⁶⁶¹ MMB, fol. 141a; *Saraybosnali*, p. 361.

⁶⁶² MMB, fol. 147a; *Saraybosnali*, p. 213.

Basheskī does on occasion mention books as forming part of legacies. Reporting on the death of Gharibī al-ḥāj Aḥmad-afandī, one of the Sarajevans he includes in his set of learned people, he notes that his estate contained many books (*çok kitāb kaldı*).⁶⁶³

4.3 Reasons for Seeking a Division of Property through the Courts

There was no legal requirement to register an estate with the court, even when a person died intestate. So long as the family could agree a mutually satisfactory division of property, they did not have to go to a kadi. In certain cases, however, the kadi could intervene without having to be asked by family members. Were a member of the political (*askeri*) class to die without issue, the kadi had to ensure the estate was sold and proceeds transferred to the treasury (*Beytü'l-māl*). The kadi could also intervene to ensure that the rights of minors to inheritance were not violated.

There were various reasons why family members and other individuals might seek a court division of property. Perhaps one of the most common was to settle debts.⁶⁶⁴ Debts figure prominently in many inheritance inventories, whether as claims against the deceased by his or her creditors or by the family against people who had borrowed money from the deceased during his or her lifetime. Sometimes creditors were close family members.⁶⁶⁵

Basheskī reports on people he knew who died in debt:

“Darwīsh-bey, who died drowning in debt.”⁶⁶⁶

“The yellow-moustached Yūwājī-oghlū, who died in debt (*medyūnen*), even though he owned farmland and gardens.”⁶⁶⁷

⁶⁶³ *MMB*, fol. 87b; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 289. According to Basheskī, Aḥmad-afandī used to be a fanatic (*müte'aşşib*), the term he applies to *kadizādelis*, but then became a Sufi. For more on Gharibī al-ḥāj Aḥmad-afandī see the section on *Learned Men* in *Chapter Two*. His estate does not figure in the inheritance inventories.

⁶⁶⁴ There seem to be two different groups of cases: one involving smaller debts, the other where debts are so great that there is nothing left for the heirs. In the latter case, the formula “bundan terekesinden ez yed olduĝu” is inserted in the introduction.

⁶⁶⁵ In a few cases, the creditors were the wives of the deceased.

⁶⁶⁶ *MMB*, fol. 128b; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 334. Mujezinović points out in a footnote that the man's full name was Darwīsh Muştafā-bey, son of Ismā'īl-bey, who died in the town of Sorguç on the way back from Vidin and whose estate was recorded in S22/125, *Ljetopis*, p. 300, n. 7.

⁶⁶⁷ *MMB*, fol. 131b; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 341. Mujezinović identifies him as Şālih-beşe son of İbrāhīm, S34/95 *Ljetopis*, p. 316, n. 9.

Basheskī also writes of two cases of a debtor’s property being sold off to pay his debts. One was the case of the “handsome *dellāk* (shampooer in a public bath) Muştafā” who robbed two shops. On being caught, at first he accused another person of the crime, but eventually confessed. To recoup what he had stolen, his property was auctioned, “as though he were dead” (*māl-ı meyyit gibi*).⁶⁶⁸ In another case, a group of *āghās*, ‘*alemdārs* and *yamaks* realized that their salaries had not been paid in full and so sent a representative to Istanbul to collect on their claims. The man fell sick on the way and had to return to Sarajevo. A second individual was then dispatched, but he, too, returned from Istanbul without having completed his task. It was then decided that his property should be sold off to settle the claims of the group.⁶⁶⁹

Another motive for demanding a division of property was to ensure an unborn child or a minor would receive their share of the wealth. Non-Muslims seem to have resorted to court on occasion, possibly to secure a better deal for their daughters.⁶⁷⁰

Under Islamic law, up to one third of the estate can be set aside for charitable purposes at the testator’s discretion. In such cases, it was necessary to register and divide up the estate. Several deaths occurring close together within a family (perhaps especially during epidemics and war) could also prompt demands by potential heirs for a division of the estate.⁶⁷¹

Another common reason for seeking formal division of the estate was prolonged absence by a family member (usually the husband), expressed by the phrase “out of station” (*ğā’ib ‘ani’d-diyār*). This was especially so in cases where the person in question had disappeared or gone missing (*mefkūd*) on a business trip or a war campaign or similar misadventure.

Lastly, court division of an estate could be required in cases of shared ownership, when one of the owners had died.

⁶⁶⁸ MMB, fol. 44a; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 174.

⁶⁶⁹ MMB, fol. 153b; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 219.

⁶⁷⁰ Based on the inheritance inventories, one could argue that female heirs are overrepresented in entries for the non-Muslim deceased.

⁶⁷¹ Every now and then we come across entries for a given individual, where we read in the introductory material: *ķable’l-ķismetil-mezbūre Fāţima daķi fevt olup* (“before the afore-mentioned division Fatima also died”) (S30/39). In other cases, we read: *ba’de ķitāmi’d-defter so-and-so daķi fevt olup* (“after the closure of the inventory so-and-so also died”). In cases like these one wonders whether the death of the second person may not already have been known at the time the first was registered.

4.4 Limitations to Inheritance Inventories

Inheritance inventories pose two sets of limitations for the researcher. One concerns the deceased and the other the books.

Regarding the deceased, the main problem with inheritance inventories is that they may not be representative of the population in the place or area involved. Since there was no legal requirement to resort to courts for the division of property, there is no telling what proportion of the residents of the Sarajevo subdistrict (*nāḥiye*), including some book owners, remained outside of records and unknown to us. Even those whose property did come up for division before the court may have owned books which they had sold or donated beforehand. The book collection of kadi Ṣāliḥ ‘Izzat Ḥromozāde is a case in point. It is, in any case, hard to estimate what percentage of the population resorted to the courts to settle such issues. Suraiya Faroqhi thinks it was no more than a small percentage of all those who died.⁶⁷² Others, however, take the view that such recourse to the courts was by no means so rare.⁶⁷³

Certain social strata are probably overrepresented. These would include merchants, especially those who died on business trips,⁶⁷⁴ people in polygamous marriages,⁶⁷⁵ and people who either owed or were owed debts which would prompt their legal heirs to approach the court. On the other hand, women and poor people would have had less incentive to go to court, since any inheritance due to them would be further diminished by court fees. Lastly, some people may also have avoided the courts because they wanted to deprive minors of their rightful inheritance.

⁶⁷² Suraiya Faroqhi, “Sidjill”, *EP IX*, p. 540.

⁶⁷³ For example, Professor Fikret Karčić of the University of Sarajevo, the leading scholar on the history of *sharī‘a* law in Bosnia, is of the view that the complexity of Muslim laws of inheritance was an inducement for people to turn to the courts and that the number of such cases was not as low as sometimes thought (personal communication with Professor Karčić, 25 April 2011).

⁶⁷⁴ Suraiya Faroqhi, “Sidjill”, *EP IX*, p. 540.

⁶⁷⁵ According to Muhamed Hadžijahić, polygamy was rare among Bosnian Muslims in Ottoman times. The exceptions were found amongst the higher nobility (*beys*) and Muslims of the Cazin border area in northwest Bosnia. Fikret Karčić refers to European travellers in the first half of the 19th century in support of this view. See: Fikret Karčić, *Šerijatski sudovi u Jugoslaviji 1918-1941* [*Sharī‘a Courts in Yugoslavia 1918-1941*] 2nd edition (Sarajevo: Fakultet islamskih nauka and El-Kalem, 2005), p. 138.

The other set of limitations concerns the books themselves, which are almost never listed by full title, short or popular titles being preferred. Thus, *Dalā'il al-khayrāt wa shawāriq al-anwār fī dhikr al-ṣalāt 'alā al-nabiyy al-mukhtār* (Proofs of Blessings and Rays of Lights in Remembering the Prayer on the Chosen Prophet) is usually listed as *Dalā'il al-khayrāt* or *Dalā'il al-sharīf* (The Noble Proofs).⁶⁷⁶ Works are also sometimes listed under just the author's name. We have seen how Basheskī refers to a book called *Bayḍāwī*, by which he means the Qur'anic commentary by Abū Sa'īd 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Shirāzī al-Bayḍāwī entitled *Anwār al-tanzīl wa asrār al-ta'wīl* (Lights of Revelation and Secrets of Interpretation).⁶⁷⁷ Bayḍāwī's commentary can also serve as an example of a work that appears under an alternative title, in this case *Tafsīr-i Qāḍī* (The Kadi's Commentary).⁶⁷⁸ Different texts can also share the same title. Is the '*Ajā'ib al-makhlūqāt* (the Wonders of Creation) in the inventories the work by al-Qazwīnī or the one by Aḥmad Bijān Yazījī-oghlū?⁶⁷⁹ Similarly, how are we to tell whether a given *Iskandarnāme* (The Book of Alexander) in the inventories is the one by the Ottoman poet Aḥmadī or that by the Persian poet Nizāmī? Nonetheless, it is possible in most cases to identify the work in question, mainly because they were well-known works.

Another limitation in evaluating book ownership on the basis of inheritance inventories is due to books not always being listed by title at all, but just placed under one of the following generic terms:

Kitāb (pl. *kutub*; Turkish: *kitāb*; pl. *kitaplar, kütüb*) – book. This is the most common generic label found in the inventories, with 1,371 volumes listed under this label. They range from one book to dozens and even hundreds of them. The largest book collection to come under this label comes from an estate whose owner had 408 books (*kutub*).⁶⁸⁰ Another estate

⁶⁷⁶ A collection of prayers and blessings invoked on the Prophet and composed by Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Jazūlī (d. 870/1465), *GAL G*, II, 252.

⁶⁷⁷ *GAL G I*, 416.

⁶⁷⁸ S25/99, 100. This title appears twice in the legacy of Muḥammad Rāzī Walī Kh^wāja-oghlū. Similarly, there is a reference to *Fātiḥa-i sharīfīla sūrat-i Baqara tafsīr li al-Qāḍī*, S11/104, 105.

⁶⁷⁹ '*Ajā'ib al-makhlūqāt wa gharā'ib al-mawjūdāt* (Wonders of Creation and Peculiarities of the Existent Things) by Zakariyyā al-Qazwīnī (d. 681/1283).

⁶⁸⁰ S55/193-194 (5 Jumādā al-Awwal 1230/15 April 1815). The owner was kadi Chōqajizāde Muḥammad Jūdī-afandī ibn Muṣṭafā-bey and, as the inheritance entry shows, 162 of his books were found in Travnik and 246 more in Sarajevo. Along with two copies of the Qur'an listed separately, his books were worth a small fortune of 2,548 *guruş* in total,

contained 141 unspecified book (*kitāb jild 141*).⁶⁸¹ One wonders whether these collections were sold at auctions for a lump sum. In these cases, at least, we have information about the owner and the total value of the book collection, but there is no way of knowing any further details about the books themselves. It is worth noting that such generic terms as *kitāb/kutub* are regularly used to describe books belonging to non-Muslims, eg, a Jewish book (*kitāb yahūdī*), books of Christians (*kütüb-ü naşārā*). A singular exception is the books of Rufā'il Yahūd, whose estate included an unspecified number of "doctor's books" (*ḥekīm kitapları*).⁶⁸²

In addition to knowing nothing about their contents or genre, using the blanket term *kitāb* or *kutub* to refer to a whole lot means that we do not know the value of each volume.⁶⁸³ According to İsmail Erünsal, court scribes tended to use the terms *books* or *Turkish books* for works of history, geography and literature, with which they were less familiar than with the religious titles they knew well.⁶⁸⁴

Risāla, pl. **rasā'il** (Turkish: *risāle*, pl. *risāleler*) - epistle, treatise. Shorter, less well-known works seem to have been more readily labelled *risāla* or *rasā'il*. Sometimes the label was qualified by subject, e.g. *Risāla min al-aḥādīth*⁶⁸⁵ (Treatise of ḥadīth) or *Risāla min mūsīqā*⁶⁸⁶ (Treatise on music), or by language, e.g. *Farsī risāla*⁶⁸⁷ (Persian treatise) or *Türkī risāle*⁶⁸⁸ (Turkish treatise). İbrāhīm Kh^wāja had a book collection of respectable size, comprising 50

⁶⁸¹ S33/56, 57 (21 Şafar 1207/8 October 1792). The collection belonged to Mūstārī Aḥmad-afandī ibn 'Umar.

⁶⁸² S22/235. Apparently he died in the Ćurčića inn (*ḥān*), where he was staying as a traveller. The proceeds from his modest belongings went to the treasury (*Beytü'l-māl*).

⁶⁸³ Erünsal notes the use of the term *alayı*, for "multitudes of" books, in Istanbul inheritance inventories, Erünsal, *Osmanlılarda Sahaflık*, p. 174. I have not come across this term in the Sarajevo inheritance inventories.

⁶⁸⁴ Erünsal, *Osmanlılarda Sahaflık*, p. 318.

⁶⁸⁵ S11/104, 105 (17 Shawwāl 1184/3 February 1771).

⁶⁸⁶ S25/99-101 (25 Jumādā al-Awwal 1200/26 March 1786). This is the same Muḥammad Rāzī Walī Kh^wāja-oghlū whom Basheskī praises for his erudition and includes among the learned Sarajevans.

⁶⁸⁷ I have counted ten instances of *fārsī risāla* (Persian treatise) in the Sarajevo inventories during the period covered by this study.

⁶⁸⁸ I have counted twenty-three instances of *türkī risāla* (Turkish treatise) in the Sarajevo inventories during the period covered by this study.

volumes, with 15 *risālas*, worth 744 *akçe* in total.⁶⁸⁹ The estate of Muḥammad Rāzī Walī Kh^wāja-oghlū included 36 *risālas* worth 1,200 *akçe*.⁶⁹⁰

Nuskha (Turkish: *nüşha*) - a piece of writing, a manuscript. While sometimes used for a known text (e.g. *Sherḥ-i Merāḥ nüşhası*⁶⁹¹), this term was more commonly applied to unidentified works. For example, a Janissary officer (*serṭurnā'i*) al-ḥāj Ja'far-āghā bin Dhū al-Fiqār had nine works labelled as an “unbound manuscript” (*perīṣān nüşha*).⁶⁹² As with *kitāb* or *risāla*, the subject is sometimes indicated, e.g. *Fıkh-i mute'allik 'arebī nüşha* (an Arabic manuscript on jurisprudence)⁶⁹³ or *Şarf nüşhası* (a manuscript on syntax),⁶⁹⁴ or *Namazlık nüşha*⁶⁹⁵ (a manuscript on daily prayers). The term is also one of the generic terms for Christian scriptures. For example, *nüşha-i neşārā* (a manuscript of the Christians) is listed in the inheritance of the fur-maker Petre, son of Vāşil-oghlū.⁶⁹⁶ “One volume of a manuscript of the Christians” (*neşārā nüşhası cild 1*) is registered as part of the inheritance of Vāsīl, son of Mārḡo, originally from the southern Bosnian town of Trebinje.⁶⁹⁷ Qūrnīch Petre, son of Yovān, had four “manuscripts of the Christians” (*nüşha-i neşārā*).⁶⁹⁸ Abū Bakr b. Ḥasan had 17 manuscripts, including five pieces of black manuscripts (*siyāh nüşha*).⁶⁹⁹ There is also a unique case of manuscripts belonging to the estate of Ḥāmida, the daughter of kadi Khayrīzāde Darwīsh 'Alī, and listed as follows: “writings in the possession of Naẓīf-afandī” (*nüşhalar der yed-i Naẓīf efendī: 1,420 para*); “writings in the possession of Şālīḥ-afandī”

⁶⁸⁹ S9/83 (10 Ramaḍān 1182/18 January 1769).

⁶⁹⁰ S25/99-101 (25 Jumādā al-Awwal 1200/26 March 1786).

⁶⁹¹ S55/137. This was the only book in the possession of Kātīk [Ćatić] 'Abdallāh-beşe ibn al-ḥāj Şālīḥ.

⁶⁹² S62/45-51 (25 Muḥarram 1238/12 October 1822).

⁶⁹³ S48/58, 59 (9 Jumādā al-Awwal 1223/3 July 1808). Its owner, Bālīzāde Muşṭafā-bey ibn Aḥmad-bey, had four more *nuskhas*, out of the total of 26 works in his estate.

⁶⁹⁴ S22/123 (6 Jumādā al-Awwal 1197/9 April 1783). This unspecified work of Arabic syntax is listed along with *Pand-i 'Atṭār* (written Etār, with “elif” and “ta”) *nuskhası*, which is an illustrative example of a scribal error in writing book titles and is indicative of the modest educational level of some scribes.

⁶⁹⁵ S10/49, 48 (19 Şafar 1177/29 August 1763), the estate of mullā Ḥasan ibn Ḥayḍar, who had five works in total.

⁶⁹⁶ S62/92, 93 (27 Dhū'l-Qa'da 1238/5 August 1823). It was the only book in the possession of this fur-maker.

⁶⁹⁷ S42/69, 70 (15 Dhū'l-Qa'da 1217/9 March 1803). He also had various types of paper including paper for covering window panes (*penceri kājidi*). As he had no known heirs, his belongings went to state treasury.

⁶⁹⁸ S14/18 (13 Şafar 1186/16 May 1772).

⁶⁹⁹ S18/157 (15 Jumādā al-Awwal 1191/21 June 1777). Their owner was from the town of Visoko. He died in the village of Lipljan, in the Priştina *każā'* (district) in Kosovo, while returning from pilgrimage to Mecca.

(*nüshalar der yed-i Salih efendî: 2,800 para*); and “writings in the possession of ‘Ā‘isha” (*nüshalar der yed-i ‘Āyisha: 2,400 para*).⁷⁰⁰ Presumably, all these writings were books belonging to Ḥāmida but borrowed by the others to read or copy and registered as being in their possession at the time of her death. In at least one case the word *nüshā* is used for an inscribed amulet: *ḥamāyli nüshā*.⁷⁰¹

Majmū‘a or **majmū‘** (Turkish: *mecmū‘a, mecmū‘*) - a miscellany or a collection of texts. This term usually designates either several texts bound into a single volume or a collection of personal notes and observations. Some *majmū‘as* consist largely of stories and anecdotes, while others are collections of poetry. As collections of personal notes, *majmū‘as* were often interspersed with prose and poetry from various sources, as was the case with the *majmū‘a* written by Basheskī. The term can also be used for collections of fatwas, usually referred to as *mecmū‘a-yı fetāvā*, or for collections of chancery manuals (also known as *inṣā‘*). The *majmū‘as* are sometimes qualified with reference to the main subject matter of their contents, e.g. *Fıkh mecmū‘ası*.⁷⁰² Altogether, 287 works are listed simply as *majmū‘as* in the Sarajevo inheritance records.

Daftar (Turkish: *defter*) notebook. Occasionally one comes across notebooks listed in the inventories. Sometimes, they are labelled as *beyāz defter* (blank notebook), as with bookbinders who probably used to make them for sale.⁷⁰³ Basheskī refers to his *Chronicle* as *daftar/defter* at one point. Other uses of the term, including the expression *defter-i mufredāt*, appear occasionally in the inventories with reference to the deceased’s debts: *zımem-i nās ber müceb defter-i mufredāt* or *zımem der dükkān bā-defter* (debts in the shop as *per* the

⁷⁰⁰ S49/66, 67 (25 Dhū‘l-Qa‘da 1224/1 January 1810). This Ḥāmida was the sister of another kadi, Khayrīzāde Muḥammad Sa‘īd-afandī, who left a large book collection, including some of the most expensive books among Sarajevo book owners (S50/78-82).

⁷⁰¹ S32/95 (11 Rajab 1206/5 March 1792). No books are recorded in this inheritance entry.

⁷⁰² S41/62, 63 (3 Rajab 1216/9 November 1801), the estate of al-Sayyid Ishāq-afandī b. al-Sayyid Muḥammad-afandī who had 45 text in his estate.

⁷⁰³ S21/147, 148 (17 Shawwāl 1196/25 September 1782). The owner (al-Sayyid Aḥmad ibn Muṣṭafā) is not explicitly referred to as a bookbinder, but the content of his property indicates this and he had dozens of *defters*; S22/140 (21 Jumādā al-Awwal 1197/24 April 1783) the owner was Şōfō Mullā Muṣṭafā bin Sulaymān/Salmān who had over 50 volumes, including several *defters*, one described as big (*kebīr defter*), as well as the following two items: *Luġat me‘a beyāz* (dictionary with blanks); S35/138, 139 (7 Dhū‘l-Qa‘da 1209/21 May 1795) the owner, bookbinder mullā ‘Abdallāh ibn Ismā‘īl-beşe, had several *defters*, various kinds of paper and writing implements, but no books.

notebook). A term used at least once is *defter-i ferādā*.⁷⁰⁴ Sometimes, there is a marginal note in the inventory, e.g. *ḥabbāz Aḥmed-beşe'nin defterdir* (the [inheritance] inventory of baker Aḥmad-beşe). The word is also used in the sense of inheritance inventory when new circumstances come to light, requiring a new redistribution of property: *ba'de ḥitāmi'd-defter...* (after the closing of inventory...). In one particular case, a copy of the Qur'an came to light as part of the property of Şalqūna daughter of Ḥasan, the sole book in her estate.⁷⁰⁵ Also, *ḥarc-ı defter* or *ḳaydıye-i defter* are referred to in the expenses. The largest book collection in the inventories relates to books listed not by title, but collectively as *Trāvnīk'te mevcūd būlunān envā'-ı kütüb bā-defter cild a. 162* (162 volumes of various kinds of books in [the town of] Travnik, according to the notebook) and *Envā'-ı kütüb bā-defter cild a. 246* (246 volumes of various books, according to the notebook). Along with two copies of the Qur'an, these 408 books were worth a small fortune of 2,548 *guruş*.⁷⁰⁶ A person by the name of Mullā Muştafā had an estate containing 30 books, in addition to a copy of the Qur'an and a *daftar* co-owned with his brother Muḥammad.⁷⁰⁷ In addition to twenty books, al-Sayyid Muḥammad-bey also had two paper notebooks (*kāğid defter*).⁷⁰⁸ The listing for Mīchō, son of Bōjō, included a sword together with a notebook (*kıld me'a defter*).⁷⁰⁹ The tailor (*terzī*) al-ḥāj Hasan-āghā ibn Maḥmūd, who died at sea during voyage to Mecca, had two blank notebooks (*beyāz defter*).⁷¹⁰ Similarly, Mullā Ibrāhīm ibn al-ḥāj Mūsā had a plain notebook

⁷⁰⁴ S55/46 (25 Dhū'l-Ḥijja 1229/8 December 1814).

⁷⁰⁵ S11/111. The first entry bears the date of 17 Dhū'l-Ḥijja 1184/3 April 1771, while the second, which includes a copy of the Qur'an (*Muşḥaf-i sharīf*) is dated 18 Dhū'l-Ḥijja 1184/4 April 1771.

⁷⁰⁶ S55/193, 194 (5 Jumādā al-Awwal 1230/15 April 1815).

⁷⁰⁷ S40/136, 137 (8 Dhū'l-Qa'da 1215/23 Mar 1815). The value of the *daftar* was quite high (720 *akçe*) when compared to some of his other books, eg: *An'ām-i sharīf* (720), *Tafsīr Yāsīn-i sharīf* (234), *Ḥamza-afandī risālasī* (192), *Pand-i 'Aṭṭār* (434). But, it was well behind the most expensive books: *Kalām-ı qadīm* (8,400), *Ibn Malik* (4,500), *Multaqā al-abḥur* (2,328), etc.

⁷⁰⁸ S4/74-77 (fī gurrat Shawwāl 1240/19 May 1825).

⁷⁰⁹ S26/25 (14 Muḥarram 1201/6 November 1786). This Christian maker of military caps (*ḳalpāḳçı*) had no other books.

⁷¹⁰ S18/88, 89 (21 Sha'bān 1190/5 October 1776). He also had five books, in addition to "papers" (*evrāk*) and "unbound papers" (*evrāk-i perişān*); S39/ 119, 120 (25 Shawwāl 1214/22 March 1800), the owner, Ġavrīl veled-i 'ācī 'Aleksa, had a new blank notebook (*cedīd beyāz defter*), but no books and was in debt; S62/31, 32 (19 Şafar 1238/5 November 1822). The owner was Cānpō (?) mullā Ismā'il who had eleven other books.

(*sāde defter*).⁷¹¹ In another case, there is a *defter* listed alongside other books: *inṣā' ve mevlūd ve namazlık ve defter* (an epistolography manual, a poem about the Prophet, a religious primer and a notebook).⁷¹²

Jild (Turkish: *cild*) - volume. The numbers of books in a given inventory is often expressed using the word *jild*. Sometimes the related term *mujallad* or bound (Turkish: *mücellet*) is used as in *Zād al-masīr fī al-tafsīr mujallad 3* (Provisions for the Journey into Exegesis bound in three).⁷¹³

Jarīda (Turkish: *cerīde*) - notebook, journal. This term is used rarely in the inventories and its meaning is not entirely clear, but it seems to refer to a kind of notebook. It should not be confused with the modern meaning of the word *journal* in English. The term appears twice in the inventories.⁷¹⁴ In at least one case, it is used for what appears to be a work on inheritance (*ferā'iz cerīdesi*).⁷¹⁵

Safar, pl. **asfār** (Turkish: *sefer*, pl. *esfār*) - scroll, scripture. This term is generally employed to refer to Christian and Jewish scriptures. For example, Selāḳ ācī Yovān, son of Tōdor, had 34 *sefer-i neṣārā* and *esfār-i neṣārā* along with over 50 icons.⁷¹⁶ In another case, a Jewish man

⁷¹¹ S22/154,155 (3 Jumādā al-Ākhir 1197/6 May 1783). He did not have other books, but he did have an expensive silver talisman (*sīm ḥamāyli*, 6,000).

⁷¹² S21/130 (3 Rajab 1196/14 June 1782). The deceased was Muḥammad-āghā ibn Maḥmūd, “the fortress commander in the mentioned fort” (*medīne-i mezbūre-i ḳal'ası dīzdār*) whose estate included eight books.

⁷¹³ S11/140, 141 (7 Jumādā al-Ākhir 1184/28 September 1770). The full title of the work is *Zād al-masīr fī 'ilm al-tafsīr* (Provisions of for the Journey into the Science of Exegesis), which was written by Abū al-Faraj ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Jawzī (d.597/1200).

⁷¹⁴ S12/54, 55 (14 Dhū’-Qa’da 1183/11 March 1770), the owner was Bolozāde al-ḥāj Ḥusayn ibn al-ḥāj Aḥmad b. Ismā’īl, who had over 21 texts, including three *majmū’as*; S13/74 (2 Dhū’ al-Qa’da 1185/6 February 1772), the owner was Nu’mān-afandī ibn al-ḥāj Sulaymān-afandī, who had more than 40 works.

⁷¹⁵ S41/44, 45 (27 Rabī’ al-Ākhir 1216/6 September 1801). The work is listed together with a work of astrology or astronomy (*ferā'iz cerīdesi me'a devr-i dā'im nucūm*). It belonged to Qurawīzāde Muḥammad Sā'id-afandī ibn ‘Abd al-Karīm-afandī, who shared (*munāṣafeten*) several books with his brother ‘Abdallāh-afandī.

⁷¹⁶ S50/64-66 (11 Rajab 1225/12 August 1810).

had *esfār-i Yahūd* (the scriptures of the Jews).⁷¹⁷ There were exceptions: *Kitāb al-asfār* (Book of Scrolls) is the title of a book owned by a Muslim Sarajevoan.⁷¹⁸

Şahā'if (Turkish: *şahāyif*) - pages, scrolls. Again, used for Christian scriptures: *şahāyif-i neşārā cild 1* (one volume of the scrolls of Christians).⁷¹⁹

Matn (Turkish: *metn*) - text. For example: *matn-i Manār* (the text of the Lighthouse),⁷²⁰ *matn-i Majma' al-baḥrayn* (the text of the Meeting of the Seas),⁷²¹ or *matn-i Birkawī* (the text of Birkawī).⁷²² It is also used to distinguish the main text from a commentary: *sharḥ-i Birkawī ma' matn-i Birkawī* (the commentary of Birkawī with the text of Birkawī),⁷²³ or *matn ma' sharḥ-i 'aqā'id jild 1* (text with a commentary on the doctrines volume one).⁷²⁴

Yazılı - writing. This Turkish expression occurs several times. *Yazılı kıt'a 2* (writing, two pieces)⁷²⁵; *Yazılı kıt'a 4* (writing, four pieces)⁷²⁶; *Yazılı kıt'alar* (pieces of writing);⁷²⁷ two copies of

⁷¹⁷ S58/26, 27 (fi gurrat Rabī' al-Awwal 1233/9 January 1818) the deceased Sunbul-oghlū Solomon. There are exceptions, as was the case with the book entitled *Kitāb-i esfār* in the legacy of blacksmith (*tīmūrcī*) al-ḥāj Ḥasan ibn Rustam, who had over 30 works.

⁷¹⁸ S21/150, 151 (fi yawm salḥ min Shawwāl 1196/8 October 1782).

⁷¹⁹ S22/241 (9 Ramaḍān 1197/8 August 1783). The owner, 'Aleksa son of Jīvḳō, had two of these *şahā'if*, along with several icons (*taşvīr* and *taşvīr-i neşāra*) and a monk's gown (*rāhib kaftānı*), but he was probably not a monk himself since he had a wife. Al-ḥāj 'Abdallāh-afandī ibn al-ḥāj Ibrāhīm-afandī's book collection of over 200 works included one entitled *Şahā'if al-ḥasanāt* (Pages of Good Deeds), S35/69-73 (10 Jumādā al-Awwal 1209/3 December 1794).

⁷²⁰ S48/72-75 (11 Jumādā al-Awwal 1223/5 July 1808). The work appears twice in the estate of 'Umar Zuhdī-afandī, who had one of the largest book collections in Sarajevo during the period covered by this study. The term *matn* is used for as many as six different works in the estate of a maker of coarse woollen cloth (*abacı*) 'Abdallāh-afandī ibn Aḥmad-afandī: *Matn-i Talkḥiṣ*, *Matn-i Şadr al-sharī'a*, *Matn 'arabī*, *Matn-i Niqāya*, *Matn-i Şāfiya*, *Matn-i sirājiyya*, S66/82, 83 (11 Rabī' al-Awwal 1243/2 October 1827). See also the estate of former Sarajevo mufti Foynichawī al-ḥāj Muḥammad-afandī ibn Yūsuf where it is used for seven different works S11/104, 105 (17 Shawwāl 1184/3 February 1771).

⁷²¹ S25/99-101 (25 Jumādā al-Awwal 1200/26 March 1786).

⁷²² S39/188-192 (5 Muḥarram 1215/29 May 1800), the owner was Mūstārīzāde Mullā Muṣṭafā b. Aḥmad-afandī.

⁷²³ S57/85-86 (27 Dhū'l-Qa'da 1232/8 October 1817), the owner was Rāghibzāde *serserdengeçti* Ibrāhīm-āghā ibn 'Abdallāh, who also had a copy of the Qur'an.

⁷²⁴ S23/113 (21 Shawwāl 1198/7 September 1784), the owner was Durriya-qadın bint al-ḥāj Ḥusayn-afandī, the wife of Ibrāhīm-afandī ibn al-ḥāj Şāliḥ, whose estate included the single largest book collection for a woman. For more on this, see subsection: 4.5 Book Owners by Gender.

⁷²⁵ S41/44, 45 (27 Rabī' al-Ākhir 1216/6 September 1801).

Çetîn yâzılı Kelâm-ı kadîm⁷²⁸; yâzılı kıt'a 23 (23 pieces of writing)⁷²⁹; The word kıt'a can also denote a calligraphic text, as in hüsn-ü hatt kıt'a (a piece of calligraphy).

Several other terms for some form of written text appear in the inheritance inventories, but only once, e.g. hatt-i şerîf (Ottoman imperial decree; literally: noble script),⁷³⁰ 'ahdnâme (capitulation),⁷³¹ sicill (court protocol)⁷³² and mekâtib (letters).⁷³³

Sharh (Turkish: *şerh*) - commentary: Many works in the inheritance inventories are commentaries on other texts. This is indicated by titles which include the word *sharh* (commentary), e.g. *Sharh-i hadîth al-arba'in*, an unspecified commentary on a collection of 40 hadiths,⁷³⁴ or *Sirâjiyya ma' sharh*, a work on Islamic inheritance with a commentary.⁷³⁵ Sometimes the commentary is clearly attributed, as in the case of *Sharh-i Shamsiyya li Yūyī Mūstārī* (A commentary on the Sunny One by Yūyo of Mostar) or *Sharh-i Manār li Ibn Farashta* (A commentary on the Lighthouse by Ibn Farashta). As we know from extant manuscripts, the main text and the commentary usually come together in a single volume, with the commentary inserted into the body of the main text or written interlinearly.

Hāshiya (Turkish: *hāşiye*) - supercommentary. Some works are listed as supercommentaries, i.e. commentaries on commentaries, e.g. *Hāshiya-i 'Azmī 'alā Ibn Malik* (A commentary by 'Azmī on Ibn Malik),⁷³⁶ or *Hāshiya-i Yā'qūb Pāshā 'alā Şadr al-sharī'a* (A

⁷²⁶ S40/36-38 (5 Jumādā al-Ākhir 1215/24 October 1800), the owner's name was 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh, who was a standard bearer ('*alamdār*).

⁷²⁷ S41/62, 63 (3 Rajab 1216/9 November 1801).

⁷²⁸ S64/33, 34 (25 Jumādā al-Awwal 1240/15 January 1825) 'Abdallāh-āghā ibn Muşţafā-sipāhī.

⁷²⁹ S39/188-192 (5 Muḥarram 1215/29 May 1800) Mūstārīzāde mullā Muşţafā b. Aḥmad-afandī.

⁷³⁰ S16/137 (15 Dhū'l-Ḥijja 1188/16 February 1775), the owner of the document referred to as *Khatt-i sharīf-i Sulţān Aḥmad* was Mullā Muşţafā ibn Ibrāhīm.

⁷³¹ S39/188-192 (5 Muḥarram 1215/29 May 1800), the estate of Mūstārīzāde mullā Muşţafā bin Aḥmad-afandī. This was part of a collection of 151 works worth 157,020 *akçe* or 654 *guruş* and 8 *para*. The Gāzī Hüsrev-bey Library catalogues refer to at least two '*ahdnāmas*: Ms. 3003/11, *GHL* IV, p. 283; Ms. 9689/6, *GHL*, p. 369. Both these '*ahdnāmas* are texts of the Habsburg-Ottoman peace treaty of 1739.

⁷³² S22/156, 157 (2 Jumādā al-Ākhir 1197/5 May 1783). The term comes at the end of the list of books in the estate of kadi al-ḥāj 'Alī-afandī ibn Qāsim-bey: *funūn nev'i me'a sicill ve hikāyāt*.

⁷³³ S25/99-101; S25/100-102, part of the estate of al-ḥāj Muḥammad-afandī ibn Walī al-dīn Kh'āja ibn Durāq.

⁷³⁴ S48/72-75 (11 Jumādā al-Awwal 1223/5 July 1808).

⁷³⁵ S48/72-75 (11 Jumādā al-Awwal 1223/5 July 1808).

⁷³⁶ S35/69-73 (10 Jumādā al-Awwal 1209/3 December 1794).

supercommentary of Ya'qūb Pāshā on *Ṣadr al-sharī'a*.⁷³⁷ In many cases the work is listed simply as *ḥāshiya*, making identification impossible.

Sometimes the presence of a commentary or a supercommentary is indicated simply with the word 'alā (on), as in *Abū Muntahā 'alā al-Fiqh al-akbar* (Abu Muntahā's commentary/supercommentary on the Greatest Understanding), the main text being the famous statement of the Sunni creed by Abū Ḥanīfa.⁷³⁸

Tarjama (Turkish: *tercüme*) – translation. Some titles indicate that the work in question is in fact a translation, e.g. *Tercüme-i Ṭarīkat*⁷³⁹ (A translation of the Path), the main text being *al-Ṭarīqa al-Muḥammadiyya* (the Muhammadan Path) by Birkawī. Since the main text is in Arabic, the translation was most likely in Turkish, the language of the vast majority of translations from Arabic to be found in the extant manuscript collections in Sarajevo.

Books are occasionally given an epithet describing their condition: *parīshān* (loose, unbound), *nāqiṣ* or *nuqṣān* (deficient), *nātamām* (incomplete).

Books are sometimes entered under a general subject-heading, like *tafsīr* (Qur'anic commentary), *luḡhat* (dictionary), *tārīkh/tawārīkh* (history), *dīwān* (a collection of poetry), etc. In these cases, we at least know the field.

In some cases, it is not clear whether the item in question is actually a book. *Namazlıq* could be a prayer mat or it could be a manual on how to pray.⁷⁴⁰ Similarly, *Ḥilya-i sharīf* could be a calligraphic description of the Prophet Muhammad's physical appearance or the book of the same title.

Finally, the inventories are full of items made of inscribed paper which are not books. They include talismans (*ḥamaylı*) and unbound papers (*awrāq-i parīshān*) or simply papers (*awrāq*).

Unless it is specified, we cannot always tell the language of the book from its title. Thus, *Ta'līm al-muta'allim* or *Ta'līm-i muta'allim* (Teaching the Learner) could have been in the

⁷³⁷ S39/188-192 (5 Muḥarram 1215/29 May 1800).

⁷³⁸ The work is listed in the Simzāde *madrassa* note of endowment, S33/210, 211.

⁷³⁹ S16/143 (25 Dhū'l-Ḥijja 1188/26 February 1775).

⁷⁴⁰ In the Sarajevo inheritance inventories, it appears almost only with reference to books. In Bosnian, the word *namazlıq* for prayer mat does not exist, but there is *namazbaz* for a woman's prayer scarf. This suggests that in Bosnian texts it always refers to a book, i.e., to a prayer manual or even to the prayer manuals as a generic term.

original Arabic, or equally well in a Turkish or even Bosnian translation.⁷⁴¹ *Bahjat al-tawārikh* (the Pleasure of Histories) is a work of history originally composed in Persian, but with Turkish translations also available, etc. As we shall see, in those cases where language is indicated, it can reveal important information about the works in question.

Another limitation concerns the value of the books. Each book is usually followed by a money valuation. It is, however, quite common for two or more books to be placed under a single sum. In one case, as many as five books are given a joint price. Obviously, in such cases it is impossible to determine the individual value of each. Books are also sometimes priced together with another item. These are generally leather satchels or metal caskets, sometimes in silver and elaborately engraved, for carrying *An'ām-i sharīf* (Turkish: *En'ām-i şerīf*) a prayer-book containing selections of the Qur'an and various prayers, which was considered to have talismanic powers. In rare cases, other books also come with a pouch, as in the case for a copy of *Manāsik-i ḥajj* (Stations of Pilgrimage) or for one of *Dalā'il al-khayrāt* (the Noble Proofs), accompanied by *Ḥizb-i A'zam* (the Greatest Portion)⁷⁴² or *Anwār al-'āshiqīn* (The Rays of Lovers).⁷⁴³ Other items often priced together with books include book-holders (*raḥle*)⁷⁴⁴ or boxes *şandık* or *sepet-i şandık*, presumably for carrying the books. In rare instances, it is stressed that the *An'ām* book was in a satchel (e.g. *En'ām-ı şerīf der kise*, “the Noble *En'ām* in a satchel”). Where a satchel is mentioned on its own, it is often safe to assume that it contained a copy of the *An'ām*.

Given that the books mentioned in the inheritance records were normally in Arabic, Ottoman or Persian, we can assume that by and large they would have been written in Arabic script. Rarely the type of script is emphasised, as for example with a Qur'an written in “Persian script” (*'ajam ḥaṭṭīle Kalām-ı qadīm hediyesi*), which is another term for the

⁷⁴¹ Nijaz Šukrić, “Jedan stari srpskohrvatski rukopisni prevod udžbenika pedagogije u našim medresama” [An old Serbo-Croatian manuscript translation of a pedagogical textbook from our *madrasas*], *Zbornik radova Fakulteta islamskih nauka u Sarajevu*, 1 (1982), pp. 135-175.

⁷⁴² S56/40-45 (15 Rabī'al-Awwal 1231/14 February 1816).

⁷⁴³ S66/188, 189 (15 Dhū'l-Ḥijja 1243/28 June 1828). The estate belonged to military commander (*binbaşı*) Muḥammad-āghā ibn Ḥasan-āghā, originally from the town of Dīvrık in Anatolia. He was in the service of the Bosnian governor 'Abd al-Raḥīm pasha. His another book was a copy of *An'ām-i sharīf*.

⁷⁴⁴ “Kalām-ı qadīm hediyesi ma' raḥla” in the estate of Darwīsha bint al-ḥāj 'Umar (fi gurrat Ramaḍān 1236/2 June 1821), S10/131, 132.

nasta'liq script.⁷⁴⁵ In a further two cases, works are listed as “translation in the language of Greece” (*tarjamat-i lisān-i Yunān*), which both belonged to *kadis* from the same family, possibly father and son.⁷⁴⁶ Were these works in “the language of Greece” written in Greek script or in the Greek language, but in Arabic script? There is no way of knowing. Finally, there is also a case of a book in the Bosnian language, but probably written in Arabic script: *Tarjama-i Birkawī bi-lisān-i Bōsna*, “a translation of Birkawī in the language of Bosnia.”

It is worth noting that these issues are hardly peculiar to Ottoman inheritance inventories. For instance, the practice of listing books by author instead of title is encountered in book inventories drawn up in the Latin West. While some works are easily identifiable by the short-hand titles used in the inventories, the lack of a full title can hamper identification.⁷⁴⁷

What Counts as a Book?

One should distinguish “between texts, composed of words, and books, composed of paper and ink, which act only as vehicles for texts.”⁷⁴⁸ In line with this definition, the present study excludes *evrāk* (papers) or *evrāk perīṣān* (unbound papers) and *hamaylı* (in the sense of written amulets) from the category of book, so that individuals whose estates list only these lesser forms are not considered book owners, even though these items do also often appear listed among books. What they do share with books proper is that, as the bearers of texts, they seem to have been accorded the reverence reserved for written texts in traditional Muslim culture. Moreover, references to paper (*kāğid*) are also excluded from consideration. Writings that come under the following labels are included: *safar* (pl. *asfār*), *ṣahā'if*, *nuskha*, *daftar* and *yazılı kıt'a*. The inventories further include various items which could bear texts, such as calligraphic pieces, icons, maps, pictures, ring-seals, carpets, furniture, dishes, and astrolabes, etc. In fact, there is an entire material culture of reading

⁷⁴⁵ S47/35, 36 (25 Muḥarram 1222/4 April 1807). The owner was Shāhīnpāshāzāde Muṣṭafā-bey ibn Ḥaydar-bey.

⁷⁴⁶ The first was Khayrīzāde Muḥammad Sa'īd-afandī, whose entry is dated 15 Ṣafar 1226/11 March 1811, S50/78-82. The other copy belonged to Khayrīzāde 'Abdallāh 'Ākif-afandī ibn Muḥammad Sa'īd-afandī whose entry is dated 1 Dhū'l-Qa'da 1229/15 October 1814, S54/107-109. It is possible that this is the same work which was part of the father's estate before it was inherited or bought by his son. In any case, there are quite a few works in both collections which bear the same titles.

⁷⁴⁷ Benito Rial, “Sixteenth-century private book inventories and some problems related to their analysis”, *Library & Information History* 26/1 (2010), p. 74. It goes without saying that, in contrast to Ottoman inheritance inventories, Western book inventories of the same period are concerned largely with printed books.

⁷⁴⁸ *The Book History Reader*, 2nd edition, eds. by David Finkelstein and Alistair McCleery, Introduction, p. 1.

and writing, as registered in the inventories, including paper⁷⁴⁹, ink, ink-pots, pens, writing desks, pointers for reading, the satchels or purses, etc., all of which merit special and separate consideration, but which do not fall within the purview of this dissertation.

4.5 Book Owners by Gender

In total, the Sarajevo inventories for 1118-1244/1707-1828 include property lists for 4,376 persons, of whom 1,236 or 27.86% were book owners. This compares to the following results for the Ottoman cities discussed as comparative cases below: Trabzon (1210-1262/1795-1846): - 22% (81 book owners out of 369 entries); Sofia (1671-1833) - 16.2% (180 book owners out of 1,111 entries); Damascus (1686-1717) - 11.56% (52 book owners out of 450 entries); and Salonica (1828-1911) - 6,46% (54 out of 835 entries).

A breakdown by gender reveals that these 1,236 Sarajevans book owners included 928 men and 308 women. Women thus constituted 24.92% of the book owners registered in the inheritance inventories. The figures for our sample of Ottoman cities were as follows: Sofia 22,35% (40 out of 179); Salonica 14,8% (eight out of 54); Damascus 3,85% (two out of 52); the information on Trabzon is not clear.

The total number of entries for women in the Sarajevo inheritance inventories was 1,521. As we have seen, there were 308 women book owners, accounting for 20.25% of the women listed in the inheritance inventories.

Most of these women book owners of Sarajevo had only one book. This includes a Jewish woman, the only non-Muslim female book owner mentioned. When Muslim women owned just one book, it tended to be a Qur'an. There are, however, also cases of women whose estates included relatively large book collections. The four largest are described below:

1) *Durriya-qadın*, daughter of al-ḥāj Ḥusayn⁷⁵⁰ had 46 volumes, comprising at least 63 different works and worth 41,124 *akçe* or 12.33% percent of her net estate and almost 12% of

⁷⁴⁹ The difference between *kāğid* and *awrāq* seems to be that the former means any paper, usually blank, while the latter implies papers or sheaves of paper with writing on them. *Kāğid* could be paper used for covering windows, as we have seen, or to be used in craft, for example in book or candle making.

⁷⁵⁰ S23/113 (21 Shawwāl 1198/7 September 1784). She was survived by her husband Ibrāhīm-afandī ibn al-ḥāj Ṣāliḥ-afandī, mother Ṣafiyya, and a daughter who was underage. Her dowry (*mahr*) was relatively large: 12,000 *akçe*.

her gross estate. The most valuable book was a volume of *Durar*,⁷⁵¹ a work of jurisprudence (6,120 *akçe*),⁷⁵² followed by a copy of the Qur'an entitled *Kalām-ı qadīm* (4,800 *akçe*), *Bazzāziyya*⁷⁵³ (3,480 *akçe*) and *Muṭawwal*⁷⁵⁴ (3,366 *akçe*). The prevalence of works of jurisprudence suggests she may have inherited the books from a kadi father, brother, uncle or grandfather. She also had works on grammar and several dictionaries. Literary works included *Yūsuf ve Zuleyhā*⁷⁵⁵ (480 *akçe*), an unspecified volume of stories (*ḥikāyāt*) (worth 240 *akçe*, together with *Majmū'a-yi Nāzijāt*), two works of medicine (*Ṭibb Qalsūnizāde* and *parīshan min ṭibb*)⁷⁵⁶ and a work of astronomy (*Jadwal az nujūm*). Considering that she hailed from a well-off 'ulamā' family (both her husband and father bore the title *afandī*) one cannot exclude the possibility that she may well have herself received a sound education and had a mastery of Arabic, Ottoman and Persian. Lastly, her inheritance also included a volume including no fewer than 18 different treatises (*rasā'il mutafarriqa 'adad 18 jild 1*) worth 1,080 *akçe*.

2) 'Arifa daughter of Mīshcho Muṣṭafā-bey⁷⁵⁷ had 45 volumes (if we include four cases of *parīshān*, but not the *awrāq-i parīshān*). Apart from works of jurisprudence and language, she owned several religious primers, a *mevlud* (a poem on the life of the Prophet), and several Ṣūfī works: *Pand-i 'Aṭṭār* (The Advice of 'Aṭṭār)⁷⁵⁸, *Ayyuhā al-walad* (O, young man),⁷⁵⁹ and

⁷⁵¹ *Durar al-ḥukkām fī sharḥ ghurar al-aḥkām* (Pearls of Judges in Explaining Risks of Decisions) by Muḥammad b. Farāmurz b. 'Alī Monlā Khusraw (d.885/1480), *GAL G II*, 226; *GAL S II*, 316. The work is a commentary on *Ghurar al-aḥkām* by the same author.

⁷⁵² Unless stated otherwise, the figures in brackets, when placed after a book title, indicate the price in *akçe*.

⁷⁵³ *Al-fatāwā al-bazzāziyya* (the Draper's Juridical Opinions) or *al-Jāmi' al-wajīz* (Comprehensive Summary) by Ḥāfiẓ al-dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Shihāb ibn al-Bazzāzī al-Kardarī al-Ḥanafī (d. 827/1424), a legal manual for *muftis*, *GAL G II*, 225.

⁷⁵⁴ *Al-Muṭawwal* (the Comprehensive) by Sa'd al-dīn Mas'ūd ibn 'Umar al-Taftazānī (d. between 791/1389 and 797/1395) is a commentary on Khāṭib al-Qazwīnī's work of rhetoric *Talkhīṣ al-miftāḥ* (Abridgement of the Key).

⁷⁵⁵ Written by Nūr al-dīn 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Jāmī (d. 898/1492) in Persian.

⁷⁵⁶ This was probably a work by the Ḥakīmbaşı Qaysūnizāde Muḥammad-afandī (d. 976/1569). For more on him, see: Ahmet Özel, "Kaysūnizāde", *İA*, 25, pp 105-107.

⁷⁵⁷ S38/125-7 (29 Rabī' al-Ākhir 1213/10 October 1798).

⁷⁵⁸ *Pand-nāme* by Farīd al-dīn 'Aṭṭār Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Nīsābūrī (d. 627/1230 or 629/1232), *Flügel I*, 516/1 and 517/2.

⁷⁵⁹ *Ayyuhā al-walad* is a letter of advice written by the theologian Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad al-Ghazālī (d.505/1111) to his disciple, *GAL G I*, 423/32.

sharḥ-i Fuṣūṣ (Explanation of the Bezels).⁷⁶⁰ The most valuable book was a copy of the Qur'an (6,060 *akçe*).

3) Țaṭli daughter of Sulaymān-afandī⁷⁶¹ owned 29 works, including an expensive copy of the Qur'an (4,740 *akçe*) and works on jurisprudence and Sufism, some dictionaries and at least one work on medicine. Interestingly enough, her husband, al-ḥāj Ṣāliḥ bin Ṣādiq Chalabī, left only five books in his estate, including a copy of the Qur'an (1,560) and four religious primers (*Namazlık*).⁷⁶²

4) Nafīsa-ḥātun is mentioned as one of three co-owners, together with her two sons (mullā Aḥmad and mullā Muṣṭafā, both sons of al-ḥāj mullā Muṣṭafā) of 22 volumes, including a copy of the Qur'an (a *Muṣḥaf* worth 2,400 *akçe*) and 21 other unspecified volumes (*kitab jild 6*⁷⁶³ and *kitab jild 15*), worth a modest 3,800 *akçe*.⁷⁶⁴

There was a middle ground of women with up to 10 books in between these few women with relatively large book collections and the majority with just one. For comparative purposes, it is worth noting that the largest collection in the study on book ownership in Ottoman Salonica relates to the estate of a women who had 50 volumes, while another had nine volumes, and the rest just one or two.

Perhaps the most interesting case of a female book owner in the Sarajevo records concerns a Muslim woman with just one book, which was not, however, a copy of the Qur'an. Her name was Nafīsa, daughter of Faḍlallāh. She was survived by her husband, her maternal grand-mother and a small son, suggesting she died relatively young. Registered on 5 Şafar 1225/12 March 1810, her property included a book entitled: *Tarjama-i Birkawī bi-lisān-i Bōsna* (A translation of Birkawī into the language of Bosnia). This is the only case in the inventories where the "language of Bosnia" is mentioned specifically. As we have seen, if inheritance inventories mention the language of the books at all, they refer to Arabic, Turkish and Persian. It is also remarkable in that the owner is a woman. The book in

⁷⁶⁰ *Al-Fuṣuṣ al-ḥikam* (The Bezels of Wisdom) by Muḥy al-dīn Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn al-'Arabī al-Ḥātimī al-Ṭā'ī Ibn al-'Arabī (d. 638/1240). It is not clear which commentary this is.

⁷⁶¹ S19/165 (4 Sha'bān 1192/28 August 1778).

⁷⁶² S19/164, 165 (4 Sha'bān 1192/28 August 1778). He died while returning from pilgrimage to Mecca. As one can see, his entry bears the same date as his wife's.

⁷⁶³ This could be read either as six (6) or one (1), but given the price (1,200) I am more inclined to consider six (6) the right number. In this regard, one should note that the fifteen volumes are worth 3,600 *akçe*.

⁷⁶⁴ S22/187 (3 Rajab 1197/4 June 1783).

question, which was probably in manuscript form, was a work by Birkawī Muḥammad-afandī (d. 981/1573), an Ottoman religious scholar who wrote on different subjects and became very influential thanks to a religious primer he composed, entitled the *Waṣīyyatnāma* (the Book of Testament), but more commonly known as the *Risāla-i Birkawī* (the Epistle of Birkawī). This religious primer was the most commonly-owned book among Bosnian Muslims after the Qur'an.⁷⁶⁵ Originally written in Turkish, we have here evidence of its translation into the vernacular. With regard to female literacy, it should be recalled that Bosnian Cyrillic continued to be used among Muslim women well into the 20th century, albeit mainly in personal correspondence.⁷⁶⁶ While Arabic script was learned in the *maktab*, Cyrillic was learned informally within the household and was passed on from generation to generation. The continued use of Bosnian Cyrillic among women and this case of a work by Birkawī in translation in the estate of a woman both suggest that Bosnian Muslim written heritage was cultivated in different ways by women and men. In general, female children were not expected to acquire book learning beyond the basic literacy in Arabic script required for them to “read” the Qur'an. They did not attend *madrasas*, nor did they learn Arabic, Turkish and Persian. This does not mean that there were no religiously educated women. Scholars have recorded the presence of the so-called *badžijanis*, from Turkish *bācī* meaning “a sister, an elder sister, a wife, a midwife.” In Sarajevo the term was used for female spiritual masters who provided guidance to women and whose practices are almost invisible in the written documents, but are well preserved in oral tradition.⁷⁶⁷

All the female book owners mentioned were Muslim except for a lone Jewish lady. She was Rayna, daughter of Miyāmad and her estate contained an unspecified Jewish book (*kitāb yahūdī*).⁷⁶⁸ It is impossible to know which book it was. Traditionally, studying the Torah was the prerogative of Jewish men, so that this could have been any text in Hebrew.

⁷⁶⁵ For a review of the extant works of Birkawī in Bosnia and neighbouring countries see: Muhamed Ždralović, “Bergivi u Bosni i Hrvatskoj” [Birkawī in Bosnia and Croatia] in *Trava od srca Hrvatske Indije, II* (Zagreb: Sekcija za orijentalistiku Hrvatskoga filološkog društva i Filozofski fakultet Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, 2000), pp. 207-229.

⁷⁶⁶ Muhamed Hadžijahić, “Građa o posljednjim ostacima bosančice kod nas” [Materials about the last remnants of the *bosančica* among us], *Anali XI-XII* (1985), pp.101-112.

⁷⁶⁷ Hadžijahić, “Badžijanije u Bosni”, pp. 109-133.

⁷⁶⁸ S35/174 (17 Šafar 1210/2 September 1795).

4.6 Christian and Jewish Book Owners

Overall, there were fifteen Christian book owners in the inheritance inventories, all of them male. This number cannot be taken to reflect book ownership patterns among Sarajevo Christians, but only the small proportion of those who would have approached the *sharī'a* court to divide up their inheritance for some reason. Of those fifteen book owners, four had one volume, five owned two to five volumes, three had six to ten volumes, one had thirteen volumes, and two had more than 26 volumes. The largest book collection belonged to Salāk Yovān, son of Todor, who had 34 Christian books (*ṣafar-i naṣāra* or *asfār-i naṣāra*).⁷⁶⁹ He used to be a wealthy man who fell on hard times due to large debt, which is what promoted the division of his property to be requested.

The inventories refer to two Jewish men with books, in addition to the one woman already mentioned. Rūfā'il Yahūdī had an unspecified number of “doctor’s books in a box” (*hekīm kitāpları der şandıķ*) and another “doctor’s book” (*hekīm kitābı*) listed separately.⁷⁷⁰ Solomon, the brother of Sunbul-oghlū Bārū, had “scriptures of the Jews” (*esfār-ı Yahūd*).⁷⁷¹

4.7 A Roma Book Owner

One category of the population which does occasionally figure in the inheritance inventories, but whose members are rarely noted as possessing books, is the Roma. There is one exception, however. An individual by the name of Ḥasan, son of Ḥasan, from Sarajevo’s Ṭawīl al-ḥāj Muṣṭafā *maḥalle* had a copy of the Qur'an or *Kalām-ı qadīm* (720).⁷⁷² We know that he was Roma because his name is accompanied by the word *qibtī* (Gypsy). While it falls outside the scope of the present study to discuss the place of the Roma in Ottoman Bosnia, several points are worth making. First, all the Roma whose estates were registered in the

⁷⁶⁹ S50/64-66. He also had over 50 icons. He bore the title of *ājī* (derived from Arabic *ḥāj*) to designate a Christian who went on pilgrimage to the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem.

⁷⁷⁰ S22/235 (14 Ramaḍān 1197/13 August 1783).

⁷⁷¹ S58/26, 27 (fī gurrat Rabī' al-Awwal 1233/9 January 1818). In their study of book ownership in Damascus around the years 1686 and 1717 Establet and Pascual found a Torah and a set of “unknown books” (*kutub majhūla*) which the authors suggest were probably in Hebrew, in the estate of a Jewish Damascene: Colette Establet et Jean-Paul Pascual, “Les livres des gens à Damas vers 1700”, p. 156

⁷⁷² S25/108 (7 Sha'bān 1200/4 June 1786). His heirs were a son and three daughters. There was also the case of Muḥarrām son of Muṣṭafā whose estate included a sheaf of loose papers (*awrāq-i parishan*), S36/16 (23 Rabī' al-Ākhir 1210/6 November 1795).

inventories were Muslim and they included both men and women.⁷⁷³ Despite their religious affiliation, the Muslim Roma were treated as a distinct population, as seen by the fact that their names are accompanied by the appellation *qibṭī* (Gypsy). Another mark of their separate status was their obligation to pay the poll-tax levied on non-Muslims. This was a general policy, to which there were exceptions, partly pertaining to book culture.

There was a perception on the part of the authorities that Muslim Roma were often religiously lax, their women morally loose, and that some of them were involved in criminal activities. Those who could show that they led religiously observant lives could be exempt from poll-tax. A Sarajevo court document from 1104/1693 involves the case of a Roma man, Salīm, son of ‘Uthmān, who was seeking an exemption from the poll-tax. In his suit, he stated that he was a Muslim and the son of a Muslim, that he lived in a Muslim quarter and was paying the usual taxes collected from Muslims, that he performed his five daily prayers, together with other Muslims, that he was sending his children to the *maktab*, so that they could learn to read from the Qur’an, that he supported himself by his own work, that his wife stayed away from strangers and, moreover, that he possessed an official document exempting him from the poll-tax. In other words, a Muslim Roma could petition the authorities to be freed from poll-tax.

It has been suggested that the authorities used the poll-tax as a way of encouraging the Roma to take up a sedentary lifestyle. For much of the Ottoman period, the Roma followed their nomadic way of life. A Western traveller's account from 1065/1655 notes that they are found “everywhere.”⁷⁷⁴ By the 19th century, several Bosnian towns, including Sarajevo, had Roma quarters (*maḥallas*).

Discussing the Bosnian Roma in his history of Bosnia, British historian Noel Malcolm notes: “Their society produced very few buildings, written records or indeed literate people.”⁷⁷⁵ What our documents show is that, in an age when most people were illiterate, Roma were not necessarily so and could well possess books. Of course, possessing books does not necessarily entail the ability to read or recite from them, but the records nonetheless

⁷⁷³ For a discussion of the Roma in Ottoman Bosnia, see: Muhamed A. Mujić, “Položaj Cigana u jugoslovenskim zemljama pod osmanskom vlašću” [The position of Gypsies in the Yugoslav lands under the Ottoman rule], *POF* 3-4 (1952-53), pp. 137-193.

⁷⁷⁴ Malcolm, *Bosnia: a Short History*, p. 116.

⁷⁷⁵ Malcolm, *Bosnia: a Short History*, p. 114.

demonstrate that, in principle, the Roma could take part in Bosnian Muslim book culture, no matter how exceptional the example presented here.⁷⁷⁶

4.8 Book Owners by Title

The inheritance entries often give the deceased person's titles, where they had any. It is difficult to know how meticulous the kadi or scribes were in making sure titles were recorded. The 907 book-owning Muslim men have the following titles (in Ottoman Turkish): 219 are referred to as *ḥāc* (pilgrim); 213 as *beşe* (Janissary commander); 177 as *mollā* (lord, master); 104 as *āġā* (lord, master; a petty gentleman), 84 as *efendī* (scholar); 36 as *'alemdār* (standard-bearer); 28 as *bey* (lord); 25 as *serdengeçti* (a member of special Janissary units); 22 as *sipāhī* (cavalryman); *kadi* (judge); 16 as *seyyid* (master/lord/a descendant of the Prophet); fifteen as dervish; 13 as *ḥoca* (religious teacher); 12 as *ḥāfiẓ* (one who has memorized the Qur'an); eight as *shaykh* (a scholar and spiritual teacher); five each as *imām* and *munlā* (lord/master); four as *çelebī* (gentleman of the pen); three each as *sūkhṭe* (student), *ḥānim* (lady), *müderriṣ* (professor), *serṭurnā'ī* (Janissary officer), *mütesellim* (regional administrator), and *ḥaseki* (army officer); two each as *odobaşı* (Janissary officer), *ser'atīk*, *müfti* (juriconsult), *şerīf* (a descendant of the Prophet), and *za'im* (a holder of a medium fief); and one each as *belukçu* (a company commander), *hācca* (female pilgrim), *muḥaşşil* (tax-collector), *ṭurnacı* (keeper of the Imperial cranes in the early period; a member of the 73rd Janissary regiment), *serḥathl* (fighter on the frontier), *bekār* (bachelor), *kethüdā* (a guild warden), *kaşşāb-beşe* (superintendent of the butcher's guild), *binbeşe* (military commander), *emīn serṭurnā'ī* (chief Janissary officer), *tācir* (merchant), *paşa* (a senior honorific title), *fahru'l-e'imme* (the glory of the imams), *serdengeçdi āġā* (head of special Janissary units), *serdār* (captain), *kaḷfa* (a guild-master), *nūbetcī* (sentry), *başeskī* (a low-ranking Janissary officer), *kaḷfa-beşe debbāġān* (representative of the master of the tanners guild). The preponderance of book owners with some version of the titles *beşe*⁷⁷⁷ and *āġā*⁷⁷⁸, which indicate Janissary status, offers

⁷⁷⁶ Basheskī reports the death of a Roma individual, by the name of Ṭūrgūt, who was a good man (*şuleḥādan olup*) and from among the people of the truth (*ehl-i ḥaqq*), and who also owned some property, *MMB*, fol. 79b.

⁷⁷⁷ Škaljić gives the following meanings of the word: 1) superior, leader, 2) a title for a distinguished or wealthy man, 3) Janissary, the title of a simple Janissary, Škaljić, *Turcizmi*, p. 122. It seems that it is the third meaning that is applied in the inventories, reflecting the large number of Sarajevo artisans who claimed Janissary status. The possessors of the title are usually artisans: bakers (*ḥabbāz*), tailors (*terzi*), grocers (*baqqāl*), etc.

further proof of the large number of members of the janissary class among Sarajevo's craftsmen.

In contrast to the men, women were rarely given a title in the inheritance inventories and their social status tends to be determined by their husband's and/or father's names. Of the 305 Muslim women, very few bear any title: three are *hānım*, two are *şerife*, two are *kadın*, and there is one *hāca*. Overall, there were 295 women and 409 men without any title.

More than a fifth of all book owners had been on pilgrimage to Mecca. There is an obvious correlation between wealth and book ownership here. Pilgrimage to Mecca was also an opportunity to engage in trade, partly in order to finance the cost of the pilgrimage itself.⁷⁷⁹ There is evidence that Bosnian pilgrims bought books on the way home. In one case, a Bosnian who died while returning from Mecca had 15 *An'āms* on him.⁷⁸⁰ These were almost certainly meant for sale. But, one should not make too much of pilgrim status, because the individuals whose inventories contained no books included 297 pilgrims. Out of the 516 pilgrims (*hāj*) in the inventories, 42.44% owned at least one book.

4.9 Book Owners by Profession

In most cases, the occupation of the deceased is not stated. Those book owners whose profession is mentioned include: seventeen saddlers (*sarrāc*); sixteen haberdashers (*qazzāz*); fifteen boot-makers (*çizemci*); thirteen tanners (*debbāg*); ten barbers (*berber*) and ten tailors (*terzi*); nine makers of coarse woollen cloth (*abacı*); seven makers or sellers of knives (*biçaqçı*); six makers or sellers of copper caldrons (*qazgancı*) and six grocers (*baqqāl*); five bakers (*habbāz*) and five goldsmiths (*quyūmcu*); four makers or sellers of cymbals (*zilci*), four makers or sellers of caps (*araqiyeci*), four reciters of the call to prayer (*muezzin*), four clock-makers (*sa'ātçi*), four traders (*tācir*), four shoe-makers (*haffāf*); three calligraphers (*hattāt*), three cleaners or dressers of cotton-wool (*hallāç*), three bookbinders (*mücellit*), three blacksmiths or dealers in iron (*timurcu*); two teachers of children (*mu'allim-i şibyān*); and one each of the following: a dyer (*boyacı*), a farrier (*nalbent*), a felter (*kebeci*), a bathhouse keeper

⁷⁷⁸ Škaljić gives the following meanings: 1) landlord, a well-off person; master, leader, 2) a commander of the paid Turkish army, 3) honorary title for anyone belonging to the intelligentsia and nobility, Škaljić, *Turcizmi*, p. 72.

⁷⁷⁹ Suraiya Faroqhi, *Pilgrims and Sultans: the Hajj under the Ottomans* (I.B.Tauris, 1994), p. 160.

⁷⁸⁰ Aladin Husić, *Hadž iz Bosne za vrijeme osmanske vladavine* [Hāj from Bosnia under Ottoman rule] (Sarajevo: El-Kalem, 2014), pp. 137, 143, 144.

(*ḥamāmci*), a tobacco-seller (*tutuncu*), an apothecary (*‘aṭṭār*), a maker or seller of felt caps (*kā’ūḳçu*), a candle-maker (*mumcu*), a goldsmith (*zeger*), a maker or seller of copper pots (*ḳazançı*), a stone-mason (*tāsçı*), a coffee-shop keeper (*ḳahveci*), a boatman (*çamcı*), a butcher (*ḳaşşāb*), a quilt-maker (*yorgancı*), a shampooer at the public baths (*dellāk*), a copper-smith (*baḳırcı*), a maker of iron heels (*na’lçacı*), a soup-monger (*çorbacı*), an inn-keeper (*ḥāncı*), a broker (*tellāl*), a linen-draper (*bezeci*), an artist who embellished surfaces, an illuminator or embroiderer (*naḳḳāş*), a maker of leather shoes (*mestveci*), a tinsmith (*ḳalāyıcı*), a gate-keeper (*bevvāb*), a maker or seller of lanterns (*fenerci*), and the post-master (*menzilci*).

4.10 Quantities of Book

The following table presents a quantitative breakdown of book ownership for the 1,212 Muslim book owners:

Number of books	Male book owners (Muslims)	Female book owners (Muslims)
1	345 (38%)	232 (76%)
2-5	321 (35.40%)	64 (21%)
6-10	90 (9.9%)	5 (1.6%)
11-25	74 (8.2%)	2 (0.7%)
26-50	38 (4.2%)	2 (0.7%)
51-100	25 (2.8%)	-
101-200	6 (0.7%)	-
Over 200	8 (0.9%)	-
Total book owners	907 (74.8%)	305 (25.2%)

Table: Book numbers in Muslim inheritance records

The table shows that, while female book owners are hardly rare – they constitute a quarter of all Muslim book owners – three quarters of them had only one book, in almost all cases a copy of the Qur’an. Another 21% had up to five books, while just 3% had between six and fifty books. There were, however, women book owners with more than 50 books in their

estate. Among Muslim men, a smaller proportion owned just one book or up to five, with the main difference relating to the number with six books or more.

4.11 Books by Genre

Books can be classified in many different ways and in Muslim intellectual history the classification of sciences (*iḥṣā' al-'ulūm*) was considered a genre in itself.⁷⁸¹ In presenting the works from the Sarajevo inventories, I broadly follow the classification of the Gāzī Hüsrevbey Library catalogues. Depending on the classification one adopts, some works may come under different categories. Classification can also be hampered where the writing is not sufficiently legible to allow a clear reading of the title. In cases where books are listed under a generic label like book (*kitāb*), treatise (*risāla*), notebook (*majmū'a*), etc. it is clearly impossible to determine the genre.

The Qur'an, Qur'anic *suras* and Portions: By far the most commonly owned book is the complete Qur'an. If one adds popular portions from the Qur'an which were sometimes bound separately, like the *An'ām*, 'Ammā juz', *Yāsīn*, etc., the proportion of Qur'anic texts in one form or another is even higher (see below). The prevalence of the Qur'an is also reflected in the fact that in the vast majority of cases where people owned just one book it was the Qur'an. Having said this, it is by no means uncommon to find book owners even with relatively large book collections who did not have a single copy of the Qur'an. Such cases are perhaps more jarring when the owners were 'ulamā', for whom one would think that owning a Qur'an came with the job.⁷⁸² Some of the bigger book collections without even a single Qur'an came from the following estates (the number of volumes is given in brackets): al-ḥāj Muḥammad-afandī ibn Walī al-dīn Kh^wāja ibn Durāq (168);⁷⁸³ kadi Khayrīzāde Ibrāhīm Adham-afandī ibn Muḥammad Sa'īd-afandī (96);⁷⁸⁴ al-ḥāj 'Abd al-Fattāḥ-afandī ibn Muḥammad Chalabī (85).⁷⁸⁵ Examples of medium size book-collection

⁷⁸¹ See, for example: *Organizing Knowledge: Encyclopaedic Activities in the Pre-Eighteenth Century Islamic World*, ed. Gerhard Endress, preface by Abdou Filali-Ansary (Leiden: Brill, 2006).

⁷⁸² Tatjana Paić-Vukić also notes the absence of a copy of the Qur'an in the book collection of the Sarajevo kadi Muṣṭafā Muḥibbi: "...it is somewhat surprising that there is not a single *muṣḥaf*, a complete copy of the Qur'an, among Muḥibbi's manuscripts", Paić-Vukić, *The World of Mustafa Muhibbi*, p. 82.

⁷⁸³ S25/99-101 (25 Jumādā al-Awwal 1200/26 March 1786).

⁷⁸⁴ S55/258-261 (fī gurrat Rabī' al-Awwal 1230/11 February 1815).

⁷⁸⁵ S11/140, 141 (7 Jumādā al-Ākhira 1184/28 September 1770).

without a Qur'an include: 'Uthmān-afandī ibn Muḥammad-afandī (57);⁷⁸⁶ al-ḥāj Ibrāhīm-afandī ibn al-ḥāj Muṣṭafā (36);⁷⁸⁷ kadi Ismā'īl-afandī (32).⁷⁸⁸

In the inheritance inventories, copies of the Qur'an tend to be listed as *Kalām-i qadīm* (Eternal Speech), an expression which comes from early Muslim creedal statements like Abu Hanifa's *al-Fiqh al-akbar* (the Greatest Understanding). The Qur'ans were often listed as *Kalām-ı qadīm hadiyasi* (the gift of Eternal Speech) expressing symbolically the idea that the word of God is really a gift from God and is essentially priceless even when it has to be evaluated or sold. Other terms used for the Qur'an were: *Kalām-ı izzat* (Speech of Glory), *Kalāmullāh* (Speech of God), *Muṣḥaf* (Collection) or *Muṣḥaf-i sharīf* (Noble Collection). The inventories include at least one *Ḳur'an sancığı* (Flag Qur'an). These were miniature Qur'ans attached to flags during war campaigns.⁷⁸⁹

The copies of the Qur'an rank among the most expensive books, which does not mean that they were always expensive. The inheritance inventories include 1,180 copies of the Qur'an. The second most common book in the inheritances was the *An'ām-i sharīf* (the Noble An'ām), of which there were 384 copies. The *An'ām-i sharīf* is a prayer-book containing selections of the Qur'an and various prayers. In the 12th/18th and 13th/19th century Ottoman Empire, *An'āms* gradually evolved to include representational images: the Prophet's hand, footprint, his mantle, sword, and other objects associated with the Prophet. The *An'ām-i sharīfs* were considered conduits for transmitting Divine grace (*baraka*)⁷⁹⁰ and were often carried as amulets, placed in a special pouch or a silver casket.⁷⁹¹

⁷⁸⁶ S14/67, 68 (14 Dhū'l-Qa'da 1186/6 February 1773).

⁷⁸⁷ S22/170 (17 Jumādā al-Ākhira 1197/20 May 1783).

⁷⁸⁸ S16/150 (27 Dhū'l-Ḥijja 1188).

⁷⁸⁹ For a description and photographs of such a *muṣḥaf* now kept at the Sarajevo Historical Archives, see: Ms. R-144, *Catalogue of the Arabic, Turkish, Persian and Bosnian Manuscripts in the Historical Archives Sarajevo*, vol. II, edited by Haso Popara (Sarajevo: Al-Furqan Islamic Heritage Foundation and Sarajevo Historical Archive, 1433/2011), pp. 1, 2. The images of this particular *muṣḥaf* and its leather pouch and silver box are reproduced in the Supplement which is listed at the end of the Catalogue.

⁷⁹⁰ Alexandra Bain, *The late Ottoman En'ām-ı şerif: Sacred Text and Images in an Islamic Prayer Book* (unpublished doctoral thesis) University of Victoria, 1999. Bain places the evolution in the content of the Ottoman *Anām-i sharīf* in the context of the ideological challenge posed by Wahhabism to Ottoman Şūfī Islam. See also the paper based on her dissertation: Alexandra Bain, "The En'ām-ı şerif: Sacred Text and Images in a Late Ottoman Prayer Book", *Archivum Ottomanicum* 19 (2001), pp. 213-238; Christiane Gruber, "A Pious Cure-All: the

There are also numerous copies of individually bound Qur'anic *suras*, especially the *Yāsīn*, the 36th *sura*. Finally, portions of the Qur'an are also sometimes listed as *thirtieths*, i.e. the Qur'an divided into 30 portions (Arabic: *juz'*, pl. *ajzā'*; Turkish: *cuz*, pl. *cuzlar*), each about 20 pages long. The reason behind this division was to facilitate the recitation of the whole of the Qur'an during the month of Ramaḍān, the month in which Muslim tradition held the revelation of the Qur'an to have begun.⁷⁹² Particularly popular were volumes of five thirtieths listed as *Beş cuz'* (Five portions) or *Ḳur'andan beş cuz'*, of which there were 49 examples. The final or 30th portion, known as '*Amme cuz'*, after the first word of the *sūra* with which it begins,⁷⁹³ was also popular, with 35 examples. There were six instances of the *Tebāreke cuz'u*, the 29th portion of the Qur'an which begins with *sura al-Mulk* (Kingdom, 67th *sura*), but which is popularly known by the opening verses ("Blessed [*tabāarak*] be He in whose hand is the Kingdom..."). As we have seen, Basheskī was a *cuzḥān*, someone who participated in the daily recitation of the Qur'an with a group of men, each of whom recited a portion for the soul of Gāzī Hüsrev-bey, as stipulated in his charter.

Among the works listed is *Tāj al-tarājim* (the Crown of Translations). While one cannot exclude entirely the possibility of this being a Persian translation of the Qur'an,⁷⁹⁴ this is more likely to be one of the bibliographical dictionaries whose title begins in the same way, e.g. *Tāj al-tarājim fī ṭabaqāt al-ḥanaḥīyya* (the Crown of Biographies for the Classes of Hanafites).⁷⁹⁵ Some form of Turkish translation may have been part of the short commentaries of assorted *suras* like the *tafsīr-i Yāsīn-i türki* (Commentary on the *sūra* *Yāsīn* in Turkish).

Ottoman Illustrated Prayer Manual in the Lilly Library" in *the Islamic Manuscript Tradition: Ten Centuries of Book-Arts in Indiana University Collections*, edited by Christiane Gruber (Indiana University Press, 2009).

⁷⁹¹ Alexandra Bain, "The En'ām-ı şerīf: Sacred Texts and Images in a Late Prayer Book", pp. 213-238.

⁷⁹² Angelika Neuwirth, "Ramaḍān", *The Encyclopaedia of the Qur'ān*, vol. IV, edited by Jane Dammen McAuliffe (Brill: Leiden, Boston, Köln, 2001), p. 347. See also: Frederik Leehmuis, "Codices of the Qur'ān", *The Encyclopaedia of the Qur'ān*, vol. I, p. 347; François Déroche, "Manuscripts of the Qur'ān", *The Encyclopaedia of the Qur'ān*, vol. III, pp. 271, 272.

⁷⁹³ '*Amma yatasā'alūn* (Qur'an 78:1), translated by Arberry as "Concerning what are they disputing?"

⁷⁹⁴ S60/129, 130 (5 Rajab 1236/8 April 1821). The full title of the work is *Tāj al-tarājim fī tafsīr al-Qur'ān li al-a'ajim* (the Crown of translations in the Qur'an commentary for the Persians) and was composed by Shāḥfūr Abū al-Muẓaffar Ṭāḥir b. Muḥammad al-Isfarā'inī (d. 471/1078), *ḤKh* I, 268.

⁷⁹⁵ Abū al-Fidā Zayn al-dīn Qāsim b. 'Abdallāh al-Quṭlūbughā al-Sūdūnī (d. 879/1474).

Manuals on Qur’anic Recitation (*Tajwīd*): Learning how to “read” the Qur’an according to an elaborate set of rules is one of principal expressions of Muslim piety and a key skill acquired in the *maktab* from a teacher. The inheritance listings include manuals on Qur’an recitation referred to generically as *Tajwīd* (the Art of Qur’an Recitation) (seven copies), *Qawā’id-i tajwīd* (the Principles of Art of Qur’an Recitation (six copies), *Fawā’id-i tajwīd* (the Benefits of Art of Qur’an Recitation) (fifteen copies), and *Qawā’id-i Qur’ān* (the Principles of the Qur’an) (seven copies). There is one copy registered for each of the following: *Jawāhir al-‘uqbān (?) min al-tajwīd*,⁷⁹⁶ *Tajwīd-i Qur’an*,⁷⁹⁷ *Qirā’at*,⁷⁹⁸ and *Qirā’at risalesi*. Some recitation manuals go by their writer’s name, e.g. *Tajwīd-i Ḥamza-afandī*⁷⁹⁹ and *Tajwīd-i Qarabāşı*.⁸⁰⁰ The most common manual on Qur’an recitation referred to by author was *al-Jazarī*,⁸⁰¹ of which 19 copies are listed. Overall, there were 46 works of *tajwīd* in the inventories, one in the estate of a woman.⁸⁰²

Qur’an Commentary (*Tafsīr*): The three most commonly owned *tafsirs* were: Bayḍāwī’s *Anwār al-tanzīl wa anwār al-ta’wīl*⁸⁰³, usually listed as *Tafsīr-i Bayḍāwī* or *Tafsīr-i Qāḍī* (six copies),⁸⁰⁴ *Tafsīr-i Abū Layth* (five copies),⁸⁰⁵ *Tafsīr-i Jalālayn* (four copies),⁸⁰⁶ followed by

⁷⁹⁶ S66/135-139 (fi gurrat Muḥaram 1243/25 July 1827). The owner was Bāqirzāde Ibrāhīm-āghā ibn al-ḥāj Muṣṭafā.

⁷⁹⁷ S27/23 (11 Sha’bān 1201/29 May 1787).

⁷⁹⁸ S10/16 (28 Jumādā al-Ākhir 1176), the owner was Kanīrzade (?) al-ḥāj Şāliḥ-afandī ibn al-ḥāj Muṣṭafā.

⁷⁹⁹ S40/86-88 (29 Shawwāl 1215/15 March 1801), the owner was Pāralik ḥafiz al-ḥāj Aḥmad-afandī b. Ḥamza.

⁸⁰⁰ The writer is shaykh ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Qarabashī (d.904/1498), ‘OM I, 148.

⁸⁰¹ Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Jazarī al-Shāfi’ī (d. 833/1429), GAL G I/113; GAL S II, 275/8.

⁸⁰² S27/23 (11 Sha’bān 1201/29 May 1787). The owner was Maryam bint ‘Uthmān, the wife of al-ḥāj Ḥasan b. Ḥasan. This was one of three books in her estate, in addition to her copy of the Qur’an, the *Risāla-i Birkilī* (Epistle of Birkilī or Birkawī) and a bunch of scattered papers (*awrāq-i parīshān*).

⁸⁰³ Its author was Abū Sa’īd b. ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Umar b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Shirāzī al-Bayḍāwī (d. 685/1286 or 692/1292), GAL G I, 416.

⁸⁰⁴ *Tafsīr-i Qāḍī jild 2* (3,600), *Tafsīr-i Qāḍī jild thānī* (840) and *Qāḍī üzerene Şeyḫzāde ḥāşiyesi cuzāları nātemām* (3,606) all three in the estate of al-ḥāj Muḥammad-afandī ibn Walī al-dīn Kh^wāja ibn Durāq, S25/99-101; *Tafsīr-i Qāḍī Bayḍāwī jild 1* (60 *guruş*) in the estate of the merchant (*tājir*) al-ḥāj ‘Uthmān-beşe bin Yaḥyā (S46/98-100); *Tafsīr-i Qāḍī Bayḍāwī a. 1* (2,000 *para*) in the estate of ‘Umar Zuḥdī-afandī ibn ‘Alī-afandī (S48/72-75); *Jild-i awwal min Tafsīr-i Qāḍī* (3 *guruş*) in the estate of professor (*mudarris*) Şāliḥ-afandī ibn Sha’bān (S55/183,185); *Tafsīr-i Qāḍī Bayḍāwī jild 2* (5 *guruş*, 1 *para*) in the estate of Fāṭima bint al-ḥāj Muḥammad, the wife of an illuminator or embroiderer (*naḳḳāş*) and a standard bearer (*alemdār*) Muḥammad (S56/100-103); *Tafsīr-i Qāḍī Bayḍāwī 1* (19,080); the cap-maker (*‘arākiyecī*) al-ḥāj Ibrāhīm-afandī ibn al-ḥāj Durāq (S18/162-165). The same person had a *Tafsīr gharā’ib al-Qur’ān* (504) in his estate.

Kashshāf (two copies)⁸⁰⁷ and Suyūṭī's *Itqān* (one).⁸⁰⁸ Other works of the genre include *Tafsīr gharā'ib al-Qur'ān*,⁸⁰⁹ *Tafsīr-i taysīr*,⁸¹⁰ and *Takmilat al-tafāsīr*.⁸¹¹

Of the five *tafsirs* of Abū al-Layth, at least two appear to have been in Turkish. Another two, unidentified commentaries in Turkish were referred to as *Tafsīr türkī* (Turkish Qur'an commentary)⁸¹² and *Tafsīr Yāsīn-i sharīf türkī parishan* (unbound commentary on the *sura* Yāsīn in Turkish).⁸¹³ Many books from this category seem to have been short works of exegesis on popular short *suras* or Qur'anic passages: *Sūra-i Mulk tafsīri*,⁸¹⁴ *Tafsīr-i sura-i Qadr* (50),⁸¹⁵ *Tafsīr Fātiḥa-i sharīf* (306),⁸¹⁶ *Yāsīn-i sharīf tafsīri* (120),⁸¹⁷ *Tafsīr Āyat al-Kursī*.⁸¹⁸ Two

⁸⁰⁵ *Tafsīr-i Abū al-Layth* by Abū al-Layth Naṣr b. Muḥammad al-Samarqandī al-Ḥanafī (d. 373/983), GAL G I, 196; GAL S I, 347; *Tafsīr-i Abū al-Layth* (300) in the estate of al-ḥāj Muḥammad-afandī ibn Walī al-dīn Kh^wāja ibn Durāq, (S25/99-101); *Tafsīr-i Abū al-Layth a. 1* (63 para), *Tafsīr-i Qādī Bayḍāwī a. 1* (2,000 para) in the estate of 'Umar Zuhdī-afandī ibn 'Alī-afandī (S48/72-75); *qit'a az Tafsīr-i Abū al-Layth* (480) in the estate of al-Sayyid Mullā Muḥammad bin al-ḥāj Ḥusayn (S8/96); *Tafsīr-i Abū Layth türkī parishān* (1,320) in the estate of Şāghirjī-oghlu 'Alī mullā Aḥmad b. Ismā'īl Chalabī (S16/6, 7).

⁸⁰⁶ *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn* (the Commentary by the two Jalāls), a short Qur'anic commentary written by Jalāl al-dīn Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Maḥallī (d. 864/1459) and Jalāl al-dīn 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abū Bakr al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505), GAL G II, 145/6; *Tafsīr-i Jalālayn* (1,920) belonged to al-ḥāj 'Abdallāh-afandī ibn al-ḥāj Ibrāhīm-afandī (S35/69-73); a copy of it also belonged to al-ḥāj 'Abdallāh-afandī ibn al-ḥāj Ibrāhīm-afandī (S35/69-73); *Tafsīr-i Jalālayn jild 1* (2,160) belonged to the cap-maker ('*arakiyecī*) al-ḥāj Ibrāhīm-afandī ibn al-ḥāj Durāq (S18/162-5).

⁸⁰⁷ *Tafsīr-i Kashshāf* (960), in the estate of al-ḥāj Muḥammad-afandī ibn Walī al-dīn Kh^wāja ibn Durāq (S25/99-101; S25/100-102). Full title of the work is *al-Kashshāf 'an ḥaqā'iq al-tanzīl wa 'uyūn al-aqāwīl fī wujūh al-ta'wīl* (the Revealer of the Truths of Revelation and the Choicest Sayings Concerning the Ways of Interpretation), GAL G I, 290/1.

⁸⁰⁸ S27/27 (15 Şha'bān 1201/3 May 1787).

⁸⁰⁹ (A Commentary on the Strange Words in the Qur'an) S18/162-5 (11 Rabī' al-Ākhir 1191/17 May 1777).

⁸¹⁰ S57/132-130 (25 Muḥarram 1232/15 December 1816).

⁸¹¹ S66/82, 83 (11 Rabī' al-Awwal [12]43/2 October 1827).

⁸¹² S17/160-163 (28 Şafar 1190/18 April 1776), the estate belonged to al-ḥāj Muṣṭafā ibn al-ḥāj Ismā'īl.

⁸¹³ S14/60 (26 Ramaḍān 1186/21 December 1772). Its owner was a Janissary commander (*serdengeçti āğālarından*) Şālīḥ-āghā ibn al-ḥāj 'Abd al-Qādir-āghā, who had six books including a set of "loose papers" (*awrāq-i parishan*). He died at Klōdkin Alaca Hişār (present-day Kruševac, Serbia) while returning from a military campaign against Russia.

⁸¹⁴ S11/104, 105 (17 Shawwāl 1184/3 February 1771).

⁸¹⁵ S11/140, 141 (7 Jumādā al-Ākhir 1184/28 September 1770). The owner was al-ḥāj 'Abd al-Fattāḥ-afandī ibn Muḥammad Chalabī who had a collection of about 90 works.

conclusions may be drawn: Bayḍāwī's commentary was the most commonly owned,⁸¹⁹ and Turkish and possibly even Persian were the medium through which knowledge about the content and meaning of the Qur'anic text was mediated.⁸²⁰ The fact that the *tafsir* of Abū al-Layth was written in Turkish might explain its attraction, since it made the Qur'anic text accessible to Sarajevans who knew Turkish better than Arabic or who did not know Arabic at all.⁸²¹

Prophetic Sayings (*Ḥadīth*): There are a few works in this genre specified by title. These include two copies of *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* (The Correct of Bukhārī) and four copies of *Nukhbat al-fikr* (Cream of Reflection).⁸²² The most commonly owned collections of hadith are *Ḥadīth-i arba'īn* (40 Hadith), a generic term for various hadith collections of forty hadiths that were compiled by different authors (34 copies), *Shamā'il-i sharīf* (Noble Characteristics)⁸²³ by Tirmidhī (18 copies), *Shifā'-i sharīf* (Noble Shifā')⁸²⁴ by Qaḍī 'Iyāḍ (12copies) and the

⁸¹⁶ S14/38 (27 Jumādā al-Awwal 1186/26 August 1772). Its owner was a kadi Āghāzāde 'Abdallāh-afandī ibn Muḥammad-afandī, who died in the eastern Bosnian town of Čayniče (Bosnian: Čajniče).

⁸¹⁷ S14/66 (25 Shawwāl 1186/19 January 1773). The copy belonged to Ṣāliḥ-beşe ibn mullā Aḥmad, who had five works and an amulet (*Ḥamā'il-i sharīf*).

⁸¹⁸ S11/140, 141 (7 Jumādā al-Ākhir 1184/28 Septembar 1770), part of 85 works in the estate of al-ḥāj 'Abd al-Fattāḥ-afandī ibn Muḥammad Chalabī.

⁸¹⁹ Sarajevo poet Narkasī is reported to have copied Bayḍāwī's *tafsir* in 40 days, Šabanović, *Književnost*, p. 240. Also quoted in Enes Karić, *Traditional Bosnia: Islamic Theological, Philosophical and Logical Studies From the 15th Century Onwards* (in manuscript), p. 9. I am most grateful to Professor Karić for making this work available to me.

⁸²⁰ Interestingly, in his *Islam and Culture*, a book written as an apologia against a text by a Serb author who describes Islam as holding back the cultural advancement of Muslims, the author Osman Nuri Hadžić, one of the pioneers of the Muslim cultural renaissance in Bosnia, mentions "Kazi Bejzavi" [Qaḍī Bayḍāwī] as a great mind whom Westerners have come to admire along with Ibn Sīnā, Fakhr al-din Rāzī, Abū Ḥanīfa, Ghazālī, Suyūṭī, Zamakhsharī, imam Qazwīnī, Ibn Athīr "and countless others", Osman Nuri Hadžić, *Islam i kultura* (Zagreb, 1894), p. 25.

⁸²¹ This *tafsir* was translated into Ottoman Turkish by Ibn 'Arabshāh (d. 854/1450-51), J.Schacht, "Abu'l-Layth al-Samarkandī", *EP I* (1986), p. 137.

⁸²² *Nukhbat al-fikr* was written by Shihāb al-dīn Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī (d.852/1448). There is also a work listed simply as *Nukhba*, but this could be the literary work, *Nukhba-i Wahbī* (the Cream by Wahbī), of which there were two other copies.

⁸²³ GAL G I, 162.

⁸²⁴ *Al-Shifā' bi-ta'rīf ḥuqūq al-Muṣṭafā* (Healing by Recognising the Rights of the Chosen One) by Abū al-Faḍl 'Iyāḍ b. Mūsā al-Yaḥṣūbī al-Sabtī (d. 544/1149), GAL G I, 369/1.

biographies of the Prophet entitled *Siyar-i Nabī* (five copies). The remaining hadith texts in the inheritance lists come under one of the following general labels: *Ḥadīth* (four), *Ḥadīth-i nabawī* (Prophetic ḥadīth), *Ḥadīsten risāle aḥkam-i ḥamse* (Treatise from ḥadīth on Five Rulings), *Khayr al-bashar* (the Best of Mankind),⁸²⁵ *Risāla min aḥādīth* (a Treatise from ḥadīth), *Risāla min uṣūl al-ḥadīth* (Treatise from Root of ḥadīth) or *Uṣūl al-ḥadīth* (three copies), *Rumūz al-ḥadīth* (Signs of ḥadīth), *Selāsumi-e (?) ḥadīth*, *Risāla fī al-ḥadīth* (Treatise on ḥadīth), *Innamā al-a'māl bi al-niyyāt* (Actions are according to intentions).

Jurisprudence: Works of jurisprudence are among the most commonly represented in the inheritance inventories. They may be divided into three groups: kadi manuals, collections of fatwas, and *madrassa* textbooks. The most commonly owned works of jurisprudence were: *Ṣadr al-sharī'a* or *Ṣadr-ı sharī'a* (51 copies)⁸²⁶, *al-Ashbāh wa al-naẓā'ir*⁸²⁷ (the Similar and the Like, 17 copies), *Durar sharḥ-i Ghurar*⁸²⁸ (the Pearls: a Commentary of Ghurar, 10 copies), *Tarjīh al-bayyināt* (Measuring the Clear Proofs, six copies),⁸²⁹ *Sayyid 'Alī 'alā al-miftāḥ* (Sayyid 'Alī on the Key, eight copies), *Mu'in al-ḥukkām*⁸³⁰ (Aid to the Judges, three copies), *Jāmi' al-fuṣūlayn*,⁸³¹ (Gatherer of Two Parts, three copies),⁸³² *Lisān al-ḥukkām*,⁸³³ (Language of the

⁸²⁵ *Khayr al-bishar bi khayr al-bashar* (the Best of Tidings Concerning the Best of Mankind) by Muḥammad b. Muḥammad ibn Ḥafṣ al-Ṣāqalī (d.565/1169), a work about the fortelling of the Prophet in non-Islamic sources, *GAL G I*, 352; *GAL S I*, 595.

⁸²⁶ The full title of the work is *Ṣadr al-sharī'a sharḥ al-Wiqāya* (Ṣadr al-sharī'a's Commentary on the Safeguard), a commentary by Ṣadr al-sharī'a al-thānī (al-Aṣḡhar) 'Ubaydallāh b. Mas'ūd b. Burhān al-sharī'a Maḥmūd b. Ṣadr al-sharī'a al-Awwal (al-Akbar) Aḥmad b. Jamāl al-dīn 'Ubaydallāh al-Maḥbūbī al-Ḥanafī (d. 747/1346), *GAL G I*, 377.

⁸²⁷ A work of jurisprudence by Zayn b. Ibrāhīm Ibn Nujaym al-Miṣrī al-Ḥanafī (d.970/1563), *GAL G II*, 310; *GAL S II*, 425.

⁸²⁸ The full title is *Durar al-ḥukkām fī sharḥ-i ghurar al-aḥkām* (the Pearls of Judges in Explaining the Risks of Decisions), Ms. R-8073, *GHL IX*, p. 251.

⁸²⁹ The full title of the work is *Tarjīh al-bayyināt wa tawjīh al-muhimmāt li al-quḍāt* (Favouring the Proofs and Addressing the Important Things for Judges), written by Muḥammad b. Muṣṭafā al-Wānī al-Wānqūlī (d. 1000/1591), *AM II*, 260; *HKH I*, 398.

⁸³⁰ S36/86-88 (26 Jumādā al-Ākhira 1210/7 January 1796); S40/86-88 (29 Shawwāl 1215/15 March 1801); S52/62, 63 (15 Jumādā al-Awwal 1227/27 May 1812). The full title is: *Mu'in al-ḥukkām fī mā yataraddad bayn al-khaṣamayn min al-aḥkām* (Aid to the Judges in Matters Between Two Parties Which Cause Concern About Legal Issues), *GAL G II*, 82; *GAL S II*, 91.

⁸³¹ A work of jurisprudence by Badr al-dīn Maḥmūd Isrā'īl ibn Qāḍī Samāwina or Samana (d.823/1420), *GAL G II*, 224, 225; *GAL S II*, 314, 315.

Judges, two copies), and one each of *Muī'in al-mufti*⁸³⁴ (Aid to the Mufti), *Biḍā'at al-qāḍi*⁸³⁵ (Commodities of the Judge), *Durrat al-fatāwā* (the Pearl of Fatwas), *Durr al-mukhtār*⁸³⁶ (Pearls of the Selected), *Mirqāt al-adab*⁸³⁷ (Ladders to Etiquette), and *Biḍā'at al-ḥukkām*⁸³⁸ (Commodities of Judges).

Particularly numerous were works on inheritance law of which there were about 130. The majority (89) are listed under the generic terms *Farā'id* (Distributive Shares in Estate) or *sharḥ-i farā'id* (Explanation of Distributive Shares in Estate). In several cases, the language of the text is stressed, as in *Türki farā'id* or *Türki sharḥ-i farā'id*. In rare instances, the author's name is mentioned, as in *Sharḥ-i Farā'id li Kamālpāshāzāde*, *Shihāb al-dīn sharḥ-i Farā'id*, *Farā'id li Sujāwandī* or *Farā'id-i Sayyid*. The most popular work of this genre was *Farā'id Sirājiyya* (20 copies).

Another well-represented area of jurisprudence was the collections of forms used by kadis for administrative purposes known as *ṣakks*. Most of them are listed under the generic term (*ṣakk*), accompanied by the name of the compiler: *Ṣakk-i Hājibzāde*, *Ṣakk Mişri*, *Ṣakk-i*

⁸³² S36/86-88 (26 Jumādā al-Ākhir 1210/7 January 1796); S48/72-75 (11 Jumādā al-Awwal 1223/5 July 1808); S66/82, 83 (11 Rabī' al-Awwal 1243/2 October 1827).

⁸³³ *Lisān al-ḥukkām fī ma'rifat al-aḥkām* (Language of Judges in Knowing Ordinances) is a work of jurisprudence by Abū al-Walīd Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad Ibn al-Shihna al-Ḥalabī (d. 882/1477), *GAL G II*, 97; *GAL S II*, 115; S54/107-109 (1 Dhū'l-Qa'da 1229/15 October 1814); S55/258-261 (the date is unclear, but the year is 1230).

⁸³⁴ S11/104, 105 (17 Shawwāl 1184/3 February 1771), Ms. R-4016, *GHL II*, p. 555.

⁸³⁵ This work could not be identified.

⁸³⁶ *Durr al-mukhtār fī sharḥ tanwīr al-abṣār* (Pearls of the Selected Concerning Explanation of the Illumination of Views) by 'Alā' al-dīn Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥīm al-Ḥaskafī al-Ḥanafī (d. 1088/1677) *GAL G II*, 311. It is a commentary on a work of Hanafi jurisprudence entitled *Tanwīr al-abṣār wa jāmi' al-biḥār* (Illumination of Views and Gatherer of Seas) by Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. Aḥmad al-Tīmūrtāshī al-Ghazzī al-Ḥanafī (d.cca 1007/1598).

⁸³⁷ S11/104, 105 (17 Shawwāl 1184/3 February 1771); S18/162-5 (11 Rabī' al-Ākhir 1191/17 May 1777); S66/135-139 (fī gurrat Muḥarrām 1243/25 July 1827). The full title of the work is *Mir'āt al-uṣūl sharḥ mirqāt al-wuṣūl* (Mirror of Root, Explanation of the Ladders to Arrival), *GAL G II*, 227/2.

⁸³⁸ A work of jurisprudence in Turkish, whose full title is *Biḍā'at al-aḥkām fī iḥkām al-ḥukkām* (Commodities of Judges in Strengthening Rulings) by Muḥammad b. Muṣṭafā b. Maḥmūd Ḥājibzāde al-Iṣṭanbūlī (d.1100/1688), 'OM, I, 280.

Mūsāzāde, *Şakk-i Shānīzāde*, *Şakk-i Wahbī*, etc. One such collection is entitled *Rawḍat al-quḍāt* (Meadow of Judges).⁸³⁹ Overall, there were more than 30 of them.

There were around 100 collection of fatwas by various authors. Some rank among the most expensive books in the inventories. A much used and well-represented collection of *fatāwā* was codified under the patronage of Sultan Suleyman (hence his epithet the Law-giver or *Qānūnī*). There were 43 of these *Qānūnnāmes* (Books of Law), as they are known.

With 60 copies, *Mukhtaṣar al-Qudūrī* (the Concise of al-Qudūrī)⁸⁴⁰ is the single best represented work of jurisprudence in the inventories. It was a standard text-book in Ottoman *madrāsas*.⁸⁴¹ Other textbooks include *Multaqā al-abḥur* (the Meeting Place of the Seas)⁸⁴² (38 copies), *Ḥalabī ṣaghīr*⁸⁴³ (the Little Ḥalabī, nineteen copies) and *Halabī kabīr* (the Great Ḥalabī, eleven). Another well-represented work was, with 27 copies, was *Ḥamza-afandī risālesi* (Treatise of Ḥamza-afandī). The manual on the ritual of the pilgrimage to Mecca (*Manāsik-i ḥajj* or Stations of Pilgrimage) is listed 32 times. There are several works under this title by different authors and so it represents a genre, rather than a particular work.

Theology: The great majority of works in this field come under one of the following generic terms: *‘aqā’id* (doctrines), *sharḥ-i ‘aqā’id* (commentary on doctrines), *ḥāshiya-i sharḥ-i ‘aqā’id* (supracommentary on the commentary on doctrines), and *rasā’il-i ‘aqā’id* (epistles of doctrines). It is possible that all these works (two of them in Turkish) refer to a

⁸³⁹ S16/150 (the date is unknown); S22/156, 157 (2 Jumādā al-Ākhir 1197/5 May 1783). *GHL II*/1933. But, this could also be another work with a similar title: *Rawḍat al-quḍāt wa tariq al-najāt* by Abū al-Qāsim ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Simnānī al-Ḥanafī (d.499/1105), *GAL G I*, 373; *GAL S I*, 638, 639. Kasim Dobrača disputes Ḥājī Khalīfa’s claim that the author is Fakhr al-dīn al-Zaylā’ī and the year of death given by Brockelman (i.e. 493/1100).

⁸⁴⁰ Its author was Abū al-Ḥusayn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Qudūrī al-Baghdādī (d.428/1039), *GAL G I*, 175; *GAL S I*, 295.

⁸⁴¹ Ms. 1601, *GHL I*, p. 133, 134; *HKH II*, pp. 1631-1634; *GAL G I*, 175; *GAL S I*, 295.

⁸⁴² A highly popular *madrāsa* textbook on Hanafi jurisprudence by Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥalabī (d. 956/1549), *GAL G II*, 432; *GAL S II*, 642.

⁸⁴³ The popular name for an abridged version of a work of jurisprudence entitled *Gunyat al-mutamallī fī sharḥ Munyat al-muṣallī* (popularly also known as *Ḥalabī kabīr*). This abridged text was written by al-shaykh Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥalabī, *GAL G I*, 383.

commentary (*sharḥ al-‘aqā’id*) by Sa’d al-dīn al-Taftazānī⁸⁴⁴ and commentaries and supracommentaries on this text. This work by Taftazānī is explicitly named in four instances as ‘*aqā’id-i Sa’d al-dīn*’ or ‘*aqā’id-i Taftazānī*’. Other works with the author or commentator’s name to it include ‘*aqā’id-i Ramaḍān*’ or *ḥāshiya-i Ramaḍān-afandī ‘alā al-‘aqā’id*’ (supra-commentary by Ramaḍān-afandī on doctrines, four copies), *sharḥ-i ‘aqā’id-i Nasafiyya* (commentary on the Doctrines of Nasafī, one copy), ‘*aqā’id-i Aqirmānī*’ (doctrines by Aqirmānī, one copy). There were also three copies of Nasafī’s *Bahr al-kalām* (Sea of Speech).⁸⁴⁵ Another standard textbook from the genre used in Ottoman *madrasas* was *Sharḥ-i Mawāqif* (Commentary on Stations) by Sayyid Sharīf al-Jurjānī (with four copies in the Sarajevo inventories). There is a solitary listing of a work entitled *I’tiqād (?) dā’ir muzūn nuskha*.⁸⁴⁶

One of the best represented works of theology is *Fiqh-i Akbar* (Greatest Understanding) by Abū Ḥanīfa⁸⁴⁷ (11 copies), most of which include a commentary (*sharḥ*).

There were three copies of a work entitled *Ishārāt* (Allusions). This may have been *Ishārāt al-marām min ‘ibārāt al-imām* (Allusions of Aspiration from the Expressions of the Imam) by Aḥmad ibn Ḥusām al-dīn Bayāḍizāde al-Būsnavī (d. 1098/1687).⁸⁴⁸

Most of these works were used as *madrasa* textbooks. Religious primers also had theological content, but they have been dealt with separately.⁸⁴⁹

Philosophy: The study of philosophy in Ottoman Bosnia consisted primarily of logic, as confirmed by the book titles listed in the inheritance inventories. The most commonly owned work of logic was the *Īsāghūji*, usually with a commentary. In some cases the

⁸⁴⁴ *Sharḥ ‘aqā’id al-Nasafī li al-Taftazānī*, a commentary by Mas‘ūd b. ‘Umar al-Taftazānī (d. 791/1389) on *al-‘Aqīda al-nasafiyya* or ‘*Aqā’id al-Nasafī*’ by Najm al-dīn Abū Ḥafṣ ‘Umar b. Muḥammad al-Nasafī (d.537/1142), *GAL G I*, 427.

⁸⁴⁵ Abū Mu‘īn al-dīn Maymūn b. Muḥammad al-Nasafī al-Ḥanafī (d.508/1114), *GAL G I*, 426/7.

⁸⁴⁶ S52/118 (27 Dhū’l-Ḥijja 1226 [sic!]/12 January 1812).

⁸⁴⁷ *GAL S I*, 285/1.

⁸⁴⁸ This is a commentary on Abū Ḥanīfa’s *al-Fiqh al-Akbar*. According to Dobrača, the work was mistakenly ascribed to Abū Ḥanīfa, *GHL I*, p. 402.

⁸⁴⁹ On the study of works of ‘*ilm al-kalām*’ in Bosnia see: Karić, *Traditional Bosnia*, pp. 25-65.

commentary is specified, as in the work referred to after its author as *Ḥusām al-Kātī*.⁸⁵⁰ Another well-represented work is *Shamsiyya min al-mantiq* (the Sunny One on Logic) with 14 copies, one by a Bosnian scholar Muṣṭafā Ayyūbizāde, also known as shaykh Yūyō. The work is cited as *Sharḥ-i Shamsiyya li-Yūyī Mōstārī*.⁸⁵¹ There are nine works of logic in the inventories entitled *Risāla-i mantiq* or *Risāla min al-mantiq* (Epistle of Logic). The work *Tadhhib-i mantiq* (the Gilding of Logic) is listed four times.⁸⁵²

Very few works of philosophy appear in the inheritance inventories. There were five copies of works entitled *Ḥikmat* (Wisdom), which is presumably short-hand for *Ḥikmat al-‘ayn* (Wisdom of the Eye).⁸⁵³ However, the word *ḥikma* could also signify a genre, i.e. works of philosophy in general. Two works I could not identify and which are probably philosophical in content are entitled: *Ibn Sīnā*, *Awwaliyyāt*, and *‘Aqliyyāt*.

Sufism: There were four copies of Ghazali’s *Ayyuhā al-walad* (O, son), a letter to a disciple by Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad al-Ghazālī (d.505/1111)⁸⁵⁴ one in Turkish translation,⁸⁵⁵ and one of his *Kimyā-yi sa‘ādat* (Alchemy of Happiness).⁸⁵⁶ There were three copies of Ibn ‘Arabi’s *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam* (Bezels of Wisdom).⁸⁵⁷ On the other hand, works with a Ṣūfī ethos include the *Ṭariqat-i Muḥammadiyya* (the Muhammedan Path)⁸⁵⁸ by Birkawī and Persian classics such as Rumi’s *Mathnawī*, Ḥāfiz’s *Dīwān*, Sa’dī’s *Kulistān* and Jāmi’s *Bahāristan* (more on them in the

⁸⁵⁰ The title of the work is *Sharḥ al-Isāghūjī li al-Kātī* (Commentary on Isagoge by al-Kātī) and was written by Ḥusām al-dīn Ḥasan al-Kātī (d. 760/1359), *GAL G I*, 464; *GAL S I*, 841. For the use of this work in Bosnian *madrasas*, see: Karić, *Traditional Bosnia*, p. 41.

⁸⁵¹ S48/72-75 (11 Jumādā al-Awwal 1223/5 July 1808). See also: Karić, *Traditional Bosnia*, p. 90. This is one of the four works of logic written by shaykh Yūyō. Another Bosnian scholar who wrote a commentary on *al-Risāla al-Shamsiyya* was Muḥammad Mūsik ‘Allāmak, *ibid*, p. 89. For more on Bosnian scholarly writings on logic, see: Amir Ljubović, *The Works on Logic by Bosniac Authors in Arabic* (Brill, 2008).

⁸⁵² There are about 50 copies of this work by Sa’d al-dīn al-Taftazānī (d. 792/1389) in the manuscript form in Bosnian libraries today, Karić, *Traditional Bosnia*, p. 87, n. 332.

⁸⁵³ Its author was Najm-al dīn Abū Bakr al-Kātībī, *GAL G I*, 466; *GAL S I*, 847; *GAL S II*, 297. The work is mentioned in Isa-bey’s charter, Karić, *Traditional Bosnia*, p. 28.

⁸⁵⁴ *GAL G I*, 423/32.

⁸⁵⁵ S89/18 (9 Shawwāl 1182/16 February 1768); S10/16-18 (28 Jumādā al-Ākhir 1176/14 January 1763); S15/56 (13 Muḥarram 1188/7 April 1774); S18/14-16 (21 Rabī’ al-Ākhir 1191/29 May 1777).

⁸⁵⁶ S18/167 (22 Jumādā al-Awwal 1191/28 June 1777).

⁸⁵⁷ S35/69-73 (10 Jumādā al-Awwal 1209/3 December 1794); S38/125-127 (29 Rabī’ al-Ākhir 1213/10 October 1798); S39/188-192 (5 Muḥarram 1215/29 May 1800).

⁸⁵⁸ Muḥammad b. Pīr ‘al Birkawī (d.981/1573).

section on Persian works). Works in this category include the four copies of *Muzakkī al-nufūs* (Purifier of Souls).⁸⁵⁹ Works of unknown provenance include two copies of *Su'āl-i šūfiyya* (the Šūfī question),⁸⁶⁰ a copy of *Risāla min al-taṣawwuf* (a Treatise on Taṣawwuf),⁸⁶¹ and of *Dhikr-i karāmāt* (Remembrance of Miracles).⁸⁶²

The inventories are remarkable for the absence of such Šūfī works as Ghazali's *Ihyā' 'ulūm al-dīn* (Revival of Religious Sciences). One reason may be that Birkawī's *Ṭariqat-ı Muḥammediyya*, one of the more popular works to be found in the inventories, was in terms of content an abridged *Ihyā'*.⁸⁶³

Devotional Texts:⁸⁶⁴ The two most commonly owned books of this type were *Dalā'il al-khayrāt* or *Dalā'il-i sharīf* (67 copies) and *Mawlūds* (33 copies). They were followed by collections of supplications or *du'ā'* (ten copies), listed variously as *du'ā'llar*, *du'ā'nāme*, *awrād*, *awrād-i adhkār*, *awrād-i yawm-i sab'a*, *ad'īya*, *ba'd ad'īya*, *ad'īya-i manthūra*, *majmū'a-i ad'īya*, *munājāt*, *munājāt du'āsī*. Rarely does a collection have a more precise designation of the sort given for *Du'āname-i Abū Su'ūd-afandī* (the Book of supplications by Abū Su'ūd-afandī). There is no information on the composers of the *mawlūds*, although one can assume that the famous *mawlūd* of Sulaymān Chalabī in Turkish comprised the majority. *Al-Ḥizb al-a'ẓam* (the Greatest Portion) is listed eight times,⁸⁶⁵ and *Sharaf al-insān* (the Glory of the Human Being) twice.⁸⁶⁶

⁸⁵⁹ S4/29-31 (13 Muḥarram 1141/19 August 1728); S18/167 (22 Jumādā al-Awwal 1191/28 June 1777); S25/99-101 (25 Jumādā al-Awwal 1200/26 March 1786); S58/21, 22 (fi gurrat Ṣafar 1233/11 December 1817). *Muzakkī al-nufūs* is a Šūfī work in Turkish by 'Abdallāh b. Ashraf b. Muḥammad al-Miṣrī al-Rūmī better known as Ashraf-oghlū or Ashrafzāde, 'OM I, 17.

⁸⁶⁰ S48/72-75 (11 Jumādā al-Awwal 1223/5 July 1808); S49/69 (29 Shawwāl 1224/7 December 1809). This might be *al-Risāla al-maymūna wa al-šūfiyya fi al-su'āl wa al-radd* by an unknown writer, *GHL III*, p. 147.

⁸⁶¹ S47/132 (15 Jumādā al-Awwal 1222/21 July 1807).

⁸⁶² S11/140, 141 (7 Jumādā al-Ākhir 1184), part of 85 works in the estate of al-ḥāj 'Abd al-Fattāḥ-afandī ibn Muḥammad Chalabī.

⁸⁶³ Karić, *Traditional Bosnia*, p. 25.

⁸⁶⁴ For the place and range of devotional texts in Muslim culture see: Constance E. Padwick, *Muslim Devotions: a Study of Prayer-Manuals in Common Use* (London: Oneword Publication, 1996).

⁸⁶⁵ *Al-ḥizb al-a'ẓam wa al-wird al-afkham* (the Greatest Portion and the Splending Watering Place) is a collection of *du'ās* compiled from various sources by shaykh 'Alī b. Sulṭān Muḥammad al-Qārī al-Harawī (d. 1014/1605-6), *GAL G II*, 396/51. Although the basic meaning of the word *wird* (pl. *awrād*) is "a watering place," it actually signifies a "specified time of day or night devoted to private worship (in addition to the five prescribed prayers); a section of the Koran recited on this occasion..." , Hans Wehr, *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic*

Religious Primers: After the Qur’ans, whether complete (*muṣḥaf*) or in various shorter forms (*An’ām*, *Yāsīn*, *ajzā’*), the most frequently found texts in the inventories are religious primers *ilm-i ḥāl*) and manuals on how to perform the daily prayers. With 298 copies in the inventories, by far the most popular work of this type was *Risāla-i Birkawī* or *Bergivī risālesi* (the Treatise of Birkawī) or simply as *Birkawī*, *Bergivī*, and *Birgili*. The text is often listed as *sharḥ-i Risāla-i Birkawī* which means that the main text of the *Risāla* is accompanied by an unspecified commentary. Next most numerous is the text by Muḥammad Uṣṭuwānī, a disciple of Birkawī. There were 121 copies of his *Risāla-i Uṣṭuwānī* or *Uṣṭuwānī risālesi* (the Treatise of Uṣṭuwānī)⁸⁶⁷ The most popular prayer manuals are: *Namazlık* (75 copies); *Munyat al-muṣallī* [*wa gūnyat al-mubtadi’*] (Wish of the Worshipper [and the Wealth of the Novice], 71 copies); *Shir’at al-islām* (the Path of Islam, 17 copies); and the *Shurūṭ al-ṣalāt* (Conditions for Prayer, seven copies). Other religious primers include the *Āmant sharḥi* (seven copies), which got its name from the first article of Muslim creed, *Āmant billāh* (“I believe in God”), the *Jawāhir al-islam* (Jewels of Islam, six copies), the *Tbādāt badaniyya* (Bodily rituals, five copies), a religious primer in Turkish.⁸⁶⁸ A rare work in this genre was the *Khudā rabbum* (God is my Lord), a religious primer in Turkish verse (one copy).⁸⁶⁹ Altogether there were 667 identifiable copies of *ilm-i ḥāl*s and prayer manuals listed in the inventories.

Ethico-didactic Works: Most of the works in this category come under the generic term *maw’īza* (a sermon, a homily), of which there were 23 copies. Three of these are described as being in Turkish (*türki Maw’īza*), but their actual number may well-have been higher. Several other collections of sermons have a more specific title such as *Maw’īza-i Khālīṣāt al-ḥaqā’iq* (Sermon of Pure Essences);⁸⁷⁰ *Maw’īza-i Najāt al-muttaqīn* (Sermon of the Deliverance

(*Arabic-English*), edited by J Milton Cowan, fourth edition considerably enlarged and amended by the author (Ithaca, NY: Spoken Language Services, Inc), p. 1243.

⁸⁶⁶ By Maḥmūd b. ‘Uthmān b. ‘Alī b. Ilyās al-Brusawī al-Şūfī al-Lāmi’ī (d.940/1533), a work in Turkish, *ḤKḤ* II, 1044.

⁸⁶⁷ A popular religious primer by Uṣṭuwānī Muḥammad-afandī (d. 1072/1661).

⁸⁶⁸ S66/135-139 (fī gurrat Muḥarram 1243/25 July 1827). This was the estate of Bāqirzāde Ibrāhīm-āghā ibn al-ḥāj Muṣṭafā who owned 91 works. Three of them were kept separately in the village of Trnovo, south of Sarajevo. These were *Dalā’il al-khayrāt*, *An’ām-i sharīf*, and a copy of the Qur’an (*Kalām-i qadīm*).

⁸⁶⁹ A religious primer in verse in Turkish by Ibrāhīm Ḥaqqī Arzarūmī (d.1195/1780) and it forms part of another work by the author, *Ma’rifatnāme* (Book of Knowledge).

⁸⁷⁰ The full title is *Khālīṣāt al-ḥaqā’iq li mā fih asālīb al-daqa’iq* (Sermon of Pure Essences Concerning That Which Has Methods of Intricacies) by Maḥmūd b. Aḥmad b. Abū al-Ḥusayn al-Fāryābī (d. 607/1210), *GAL G* II, 472.

of the God-fearing), *Zubdat al-wā'izīn* (Cream of Preachers)⁸⁷¹ or bear the name of their writer or compiler, e.g. *Maw'iza-i Sināniyya*. Other works in the genre are: *Bustān al-ārifīn* (Garden of Knowers),⁸⁷² *Murshid al-muta'ahhil* (a Guide for the Married),⁸⁷³ and *Tanwīr al-qulūb* (Illuminating Hearts).

One of the most popular works in this genre was *Ta'līm al-muta'allim*⁸⁷⁴ or *Ta'līm-i muta'allim*, of which there were 46 copies. As with many other works, it is often listed with its commentary. Another popular work was *Daqā'iq al-akhbār wa daqā'iq al-āthār*⁸⁷⁵ (Intricacies of the Matters and Intricacies of Traces, fourteen copies). Other works in the field include: *Akhlāq-i 'Ālā'ī* (Ethics by 'Ālā'ī),⁸⁷⁶ *Ādāb-i manzil* (Etiquette of Dwelling),⁸⁷⁷ and *Ādab-i Mas'ūd* (Etiquette by Mas'ūd).⁸⁷⁸

Grammar: Nearly all the works on various disciplines related to the study of language (grammar, syntax, metrics, etc) are for Arabic, none for Turkish and only a few for Persian (more on this in the Persian books section). Most of the works listed in the inventories were *madrasa* text-books. The study of grammar, rhetoric and the art of letter-writing was considered particularly useful for reaching senior positions in the Ottoman bureaucracy.⁸⁷⁹ The most common works in the fields of Arabic grammar, syntax, morphology and prosody were: *Asrār al-arabiyya* (Secrets of Arabic, four copies), *al-'Izzī fī al-taṣrīf* or *sharḥ 'Izzī* (al-'Izzī on Conjugation or Commentary on al-'Izzī, seven copies), *Kifāyat al-naḥw* (Sufficiency in

⁸⁷¹ Writer unknown, *ḤKh* II, 954.

⁸⁷² It was composed by Naṣr b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm Abū Layth al-Samarqandī (d. 373/983), *Ahlwardt* VII, 8322.

⁸⁷³ It is a work of advice on marriage by Shaykh Muḥammad Quṭb al-dīn al-Izniqī (d. 821/1418), *GAL* G II, 225. Sometimes it is listed as *Murshid al-muta'ahhilīn* (a Guide to the Married).

⁸⁷⁴ A work on the merits of knowledge and the right ways to acquire it by Burhān al-dīn al-Zarnūjī (d.cca 600/1203), *GAL* S I, 837.

⁸⁷⁵ Also known as *Daqā'iq al-akhbār fī dhikr al-janna wa al-nār* (Intricacies of the Matter of the Remembrance of Paradise and Hell) by 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad al-Qāḍī (lived in the 11th century AH), *GAL* S II, 420.

⁸⁷⁶ S57/87, 88 (21 Ramaḍān (?) 1232/4 August 1817); S66/71 (15 Muḥarram 1243/8 August 1827). The author is Qinālīzāde 'Alā al-dīn 'Alī b. Chalabī b. Muḥammad (d. 979/1571-72) *ḤKh* I, 37.

⁸⁷⁷ S40/86-88 (29 Shawwāl 1215/15 March 1801). On the duties of the wife to her husband and of children to their parents, *GHL* III, p. 450.

⁸⁷⁸ S29/138, 139 (3 Ṣafar 1194/9 February 1780).

⁸⁷⁹ *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire: 1600-1914*, vol. 2, eds. by Halil İnalcik with Donald Quataert, p. 536.

Grammar),⁸⁸⁰ *‘Ilm-i şarf* (Science of Syntax), *Iftitāh* (Opening, five copies), *Eski nahv* (Old Grammar), *Esās-ı şarf* (Basis of Syntax), *Kāfiya* (the Sufficient, 79 copies), *Izhār* (Disclosure, 20 copies),⁸⁸¹ *Lubb al-albāb fī ‘ilm al-‘rāb* (Pith of the Intelligent in Science of Desinential Inflection),⁸⁸² *Mu‘rib ‘alā al-‘Awāmil* or *‘Avāmil mu‘ribi* (20 copies), *Muṭawwal min al-ma‘ānī* (the Comprehensive of Rhetoric, 17 copies), *‘Arūd andalūsī* (Spanish Metrics, 13 copies), *‘Awāmil al-mi’a* (Regents of One Hundred), *‘Awāmil al-jadīd* (Regents of the New), and *Bad’ al-amālī* (*Beginning of Hopes*), often with a commentary (16 copies).

Lexicography: Some of the dictionaries in the inventories are not specified by title, being instead listed under the generic term *lughat* (dictionary). In a number of cases, the language is specified, as in *türkī lughat* (Turkish dictionary), *fārsī lughat* (Persian dictionary) or *lughat-i ‘arabī* (Arabic dictionary). When they are named, it is often by a popular rather than the proper title. The following dictionaries are mentioned: *Tuḥfa-i shāhidī* or just *Shāhidī* (73 copies), *Lughat-i Wanqūlī* (nine copies), *Lughat-i Ḥalīmī* (seven), *Lughat-i Ni‘matallāh*⁸⁸³ (five), *Akhtarī kabīr* (four), *Lughat-i Dānistan* (four), *Ibn Firishta*⁸⁸⁴ (three), *Farhang-i shu‘ūrī*, also known as *Lisān al-‘ajam* (two), and one each of *Lughat-i Qarahiṣārī*, *Lughat-i Ḥusām*, *Lughat-i Chalabī*, *Lughat-i Bābus*, *Tuḥfa-i Wahbī*, and the Bosnian-Turkish dictionary *Maqbūl al-‘arīf* (also known as *Potur şāhidī*) compiled by the Bosnian Muḥammad Hawāyī Uskūfī (d. after 1061/1651).⁸⁸⁵

Literature and Poetry: Works of literature and poetry often come under the generic labels of “stories” (*ḥikāyāt*), collections of poetry (*dīwān*), or verses (*abyāt*). The following divans are listed in the inventories: *Dīwān-i Ḥāfiẓ*⁸⁸⁶ (eight copies), *Dīwān-i Yaḥyā*⁸⁸⁷ (three), *Dīwān-i*

⁸⁸⁰ This might be the same work as *Kifāyat al-mubtadi’* (Sufficiency of the Novice) by Muḥammad b. Pīr ‘Alī al-Birkawī (d.981/1573).

⁸⁸¹ *Izhār al-asrār* (Disclosure of Secrets) is Birkawī’s work on Arabic syntax.

⁸⁸² Written by Abū Sa‘īd Nāṣir al-dīn ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Umar b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Bayḍāwī (d.685/1286), *GAL G I*, 418.

⁸⁸³ A Turkish-Persian dictionary by Ni‘matallāh b. Aḥmad b. Qāḍī Mubārak al-Rūmī (d. 969/1561), *Flügel I*, 137.

⁸⁸⁴ *Lughat-i Firishta-oghlū* is an Arabic-Turkish dictionary in verse by ‘Abd al-Laṭīf b. ‘Abd al-Majīd Firishta-oghlū (d.before 879/1474), Ms. 2005 in: Fehmi Edhem Karatay, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi Türkce Yazmalar Kataloğu, II* (İstanbul: Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, 1961), p. 9.

⁸⁸⁵ S15/67-69 (7 Muḥarram 1188/20 March 1774). It was translated into German: *Bosnisch-Türkische Sprachdenkmaler*, Leipzig, 1868. Quoted in Karić, *Traditional Bosnia*, p. 10, n. 56.

⁸⁸⁶ Shams al-dīn Muḥammad Ḥāfiẓ Shīrāzī (d. 921/1389-90), *H.Kh. I*, pp. 783, 784.

Bāqī⁸⁸⁸ (two), *Dīwān-i Jāmī*⁸⁸⁹ (two), *Dīwān-i Nafī*⁸⁹⁰ (two), *Dīwān-i Naylī* (two), *Dīwān-i Qāsim*⁸⁹¹ (two). The following collections are listed once each: *Dīwān-i Amrī*,⁸⁹² *Dīwān-i Fahīm*,⁸⁹³ *Dīwān-i Hudāyī*⁸⁹⁴ *Dīwān-i Ibn Fāriḍ*, *Dīwān-i Maḥfūz*, *Dīwān-i Mişrī*, *Dīwān-i Nābī*,⁸⁹⁵ *Dīwān-i Najātī*,⁸⁹⁶ *Dīwān-i Nasīmī*,⁸⁹⁷ *Dīwān-i Nash'āt*, *Dīwān-i 'Urfī*, *Dīwān-i Rāghib*,⁸⁹⁸ *Dīwān-i Rāshid*, *Dīwān-i Şā'ib*,⁸⁹⁹ *Dīwān-i Thābit*.⁹⁰⁰

History: There are about 100 works with *tāriḫ* (history) or *tawāriḫ* (histories) in their title. In fact, some of them are listed simply as *tāriḫ* or *tawāriḫ*. Occasionally, this general title is qualified by language: Turkish history (*türkī tawāriḫ*), Persian history (*fārsī tawāriḫ*). One of the few volumes to be clearly listed as printed is an unspecified work of history (*başma tawāriḫ*). However, the terms *tāriḫ* and *tawāriḫ* can also designate works of literature or some other genre, as in the following cases: *Tāriḫ-i Iskandar* (History of Alexander), *Tawāriḫ-i Wuḥūsh wa Ṭuyūr wa 'Ajā'ib-i makhluqāt* (Histories of Beasts, Birds and of Wonders of Creation), *Tawāriḫ-i Sīmurk Anqā* (Histories of Sīmurk Anqā), *Tawāriḫ-i Aḥmad Bījān* (Histories of Aḥmad Bījān) and the previously mentioned *Tawāriḫ-i Ibn Sīnā* (History of Ibn Sīnā).

⁸⁸⁷ Probably the *Dīwān shaykh al-islām Yaḥyā* by shaykh al-islām Zakariyyāzāde Yaḥyā-afandī, Ms. 2398-2401, Karatay, *Toplakpı Sarayı Müzesi, II*, pp. 145-147. There is also a lesser known work the *Dīwān-i Yaḥya* by Yaḥyā Dukajinzāde (Ṭāshlijālī) (d. 990/1582), *HKh I*, p. 820.

⁸⁸⁸ 'Abd al-Bāqī Muḥammad Bāqī (d. 1008/1600), *Flügel I*, 648-650.

⁸⁸⁹ Nūr al-dīn 'Abd al-Raḥmān Jāmī (d. 898/1492), *Flügel I*, 570-572.

⁸⁹⁰ 'Umar Nafī (d. 1044/1634-35), ms. 2395-2397, Karatay, *Toplakpı Sarayı Müzesi, II*, p. 145.

⁸⁹¹ *Dīwān-i Qāsim* or *Dīwān-i Qāsim al-Anwarī* by Sayyid Mu'in al-dīn 'Alī also known as Qāsim al-anwār or Qāsimī (d. 837/1433), *Flügel I*, 582.

⁸⁹² A collection of poetry by Amrallāh Adirnavī, known as Amrī (d.983/1575/6), *HKh I*, 776, 777.

⁸⁹³ A collection of poetry composed by Muşṭafā Chalabī Unghūzāde, also known as Fahīm (d. cca 1054/1644), *Flügel I*, 206, p. 659.

⁸⁹⁴ Composed by shaykh Maḥmūd Hudā'ī Üskūdārī (d. 1038/1628).

⁸⁹⁵ Yūsuf Nābī (1124 /1712) was a major Ottoman poet, best known for his *Dīwān* in Turkish, *HKh, Dhayl I*, p. 532; *Flügel I*, 722, 723.

⁸⁹⁶ Najātī b. Nūḥ ('Isā) (d. 1509), *Flügel I*, 661; Ms. 2309-2310, Karatay, *Toplakpı Sarayı Müzesi, II*, p.110.

⁸⁹⁷ Sayyid 'Umar 'Imād al-dīn Nasīmī (d. 820/1417). He wrote two *dīwāns*, one in Turkish, the other in Persian, Ms. 2262, Karatay, *Toplakpı Sarayı Müzesi, II*, p. 92.

⁸⁹⁸ Muḥammad Rāghib-pasha, Ms. 2541-2547, *Toplakpı Sarayı Müzesi, II*, pp. 202-204.

⁸⁹⁹ Muḥammad 'Alī Şā'ib (d. 1087/1676), *Flügel I*, 597.

⁹⁰⁰ A collection of poetry by 'Alā' al-dīn 'Alī Thābit Ujichawī (d. after 1124/1712), *Flügel I*, 677-679.

Works of history from the Sarajevo inventories also include the following: *Tārīkh-i Āl-i ‘Uthmān* (A History of the House of ‘Uthmān), *Tārīkh-i Akvān*, *Tārīkh-i Faransa* (History of France), *Tārīkh-i Ghāzī ‘Uthmān-pāshā* (History of Ghāzī ‘Uthmān-pāshā), *Tārīkh-i khulafā* (History of Caliphs), *Tārīkh-i ‘Izzī* (History of ‘Izzī), *Tārīkh-i Makka* (History of Mecca),⁹⁰¹ *Tārīkh-i Khamīs*,⁹⁰² *Tārīkh-i Mişr-i ‘Atīq wa Jadīd* (History of Old and New Egypt),⁹⁰³ *Tārīkh-i Naw Ḥadīth*, *Tārīkh-i Rāshid* (History of Rāshid), *Tārīkh-i Ṭabarī* (History of Ṭabarī), *Tawārīkh-i Altı parmaq* (Histories of Altı parmaq),⁹⁰⁴ *Tawārīkh-i Baghdādī* (Histories of Baghdād),⁹⁰⁵ *Tawārīkh-i umam* (Histories of Nations), *Tārīkh-i Na‘īmā* (History of Na‘īmā), *Tārīkh-i Āyā Şufiya* (History of. Aya Sofiya).⁹⁰⁶

The estate with probably the largest number of works of history was that of kadi Khayrīzāde Muḥammad Sa‘īd-afandī.⁹⁰⁷ He had eight works of history, including *Tawārīkh-i Banā Lūqa* (Histories of Banja Luka). Other works included the *Akḥbār al-mulūk* (the News of Kings), *Jāmi‘ al-akḥbār* (Gatherer of News),⁹⁰⁸ *Ḥābnāme* (Book of Dreams).⁹⁰⁹

⁹⁰¹ Also known as *Tārīkh-i Makka-i Muakarrama*, by Suhaylī (d. 1039/1630), Babinger, *Die Geschichtsschreiber*, p.162; Muḥammad b. Muşţafā Baldirzāde (d. 1059/1649) might be the author of a work entitled *Tārīkh-i Makka*, Babinger, *Die Geschichtsschreiber*, p. 192.

⁹⁰² *Tārīkh al-ḥamīs (al-khamīs) fī aḥwāl nafs al-naḥīs* by Qāḍī Ḥusayn (d. 966/1558), Babinger, *Die Geschichtsschreiber*, pp. 88, 89.

⁹⁰³ *Tārīkh-i Mişr-i Jadīd* by Şāliḥ b. Jalāl (d. 973/1565), Babinger, *Die Geschichtsschreiber*, p. 100. See also: GAL G II, 298. Aḥmad b. ‘Alī b. Aḥmad Nūr al-dīn Ibn Zünbül (d.after 951/1544) wrote *Faṭḥ Mişr (tārīkh ‘ahd Mişr min al-Jarākisa)* which was printed under the title *Tārīkh-i Mişr-i Jadīd* in Istanbul in 1142, Babinger, *Die Geschichtsschreiber*, pp. 56-58.

⁹⁰⁴ *Dalā’il-i nubuwwat-i Muḥammadī wa shamā’il-i fuutwwat-i Aḥmadī* (Proofs of Muhammadan Prophecy and Characteristics of Ahmadian Chivalry) is a Turkish translation of *Mi‘rāj al-nubuwwa fī madārij al-futuwwa* (Ascension of Prophecy Concerning Ways of Chivalry), a work on the Prophet’s biography (*sīra*) in Persian by Mū‘in al-dīn Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al Farāḥī also known as Munlā Miskīn (d. 954/1547). The Turkish translation was made by Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Altı Parmaq (d. 1033/1623).

⁹⁰⁵ At least three works by three different authors are known under the title *Tārīkh-i Baghdād*, Babinger, *Die Geschichtsschreiber*, pp. 180-182. Most probably the work written by Muşţafā b. Riḍwān, also known as *Faṭḥnāme-i Baghdād*, Babinger, *Die Geschichtsschreiber*, p.181/1.

⁹⁰⁶ Written by Aḥmad b. Aḥmad Jīlānī, Babinger, *Die Geschichtsschreiber*, pp. 27-31.

⁹⁰⁷ S50/78-82, (15 Şafar 1226/11 March 1811). He owned 167 works.

⁹⁰⁸ I have not be able to identify the work. It might be a collection of sermons entitled *Jāmi‘ al-azḥār wa laṭā’if al-akḥbār* (Gatherer of Flowers and Anecdotes of News) by Rajab b. Aḥmad al-Brusawī (d.1087/1676), GAL S II, 655.

⁹⁰⁹ ‘Uways b. Muḥammad Waysī (d.1037/1628), Babinger, *die Geschichtsschreiber*, pp. 152-154.

Overall, there were 104 works with the word *tārīkh* or *tawārīkh* in the title, one of them printed.⁹¹⁰

The note of endowment for Basheski's *Chronicle*, probably written by another person, refers to it as *Tawārīkh-i gharīb* i.e. strange histories.

Biographical Dictionaries: There were three copies of *al-Shaqā'iq al-nu'māniyya* of Ṭāşköpruzāde and a number of *manāqibs*: *Manāqib-i awliyā* (Exploits of Saints),⁹¹¹ *Manāqib-i Ḥavrān* (Exploits of Ḥavrān), *Manāqib-i Ḥaḍrat-i Mawlānā* (Exploits of Ḥaḍrat-i Mawlānā), and *Manāqib-i A'zam* (Exploits of A'zam).⁹¹²

Geography: The following works have been identified as geographical: *Tuḥfat al-kibār li-asfār al-bihār* (the Gift to the Great Ones on Naval Campaigns) by Kātip Çelebī (three copies) and *Jihānūma* (View of the World, also three copies).

Mathematics: Only two works have been identified as belonging to this genre: *Ilm-i ḥisāb* (Science of Mathematics) and *Risāla fī al-ḥisāb* (Treatise on Mathematics).

Encyclopaedias: The only work of this genre in the inheritance inventories is the *Unmūdhaj al-'ulūm* (Model of Sciences).⁹¹³

Medicine: Most of the works in the field have the generic title of *ṭibb/ṭip* (Medicine), as in: *ṭiptan risāle* (a Treatise from Medicine), *risāla-i ṭibb* (a Treatise of Medicine), *fārsī ṭibb* (Persian Medicine), *ṭibb kitābi* (the Book of Medicine), *ṭibb risālesi* (a Treatise of Medicine), *Risāla min al-ṭibb* (a Treatise from Medicine), *ḥekīm kitābı* (a Doctor's Book), *majmū'a-yi ṭibb* (a Collection of Medicine), *ḥekīm kitapları* (Doctor's Books), *ḥekīm kitābi*, and (a Doctor's Book). In rare instances, medical texts bear a more specific title: *Ṭibb Kaysūnizāde* (Medicine by Kaysūnizāde), *Nidā'ī az ṭibb* (Nidā'ī on Medicine), *Mūjaz min al-ṭibb* (the Summary from Medicine), *sharḥ-i Mūjaz min ṭibb* (a Commentary on the Summary from Medicine).

Zoology and Veterinary Science: The inventories contain one identifiable work of zoology, namely *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān*⁹¹⁴ (Life of Animals). There were six further works from the field of

⁹¹⁰ S63/51 (15 Dhū'l-Qa'da 1239/12 July 1824).

⁹¹¹ The work was composed by Jamāl al-dīn Muḥammad al-Nūrī, whose biography is unknown, *GHL* XIII, p. 393.

⁹¹² *Manāqib al-imām al-a'azam Abī Ḥanīfa* is a biography of Abū Ḥanīfa Nu'mān b. Thābit by Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad b. Şalt al-Ḥamānī (d. 308/920), *GHL* III, p. 298.

⁹¹³ S66/135-139 (fī gurrat Muḥarram 1243/25 July 1827); S39/188-192 (5 Muḥarram 1215/29 May 1800). The full name of the work is *Unmūdhaj al-'ulūm al-arba'a wa al-'ishrūn*, *GHL* I, p. 4.

⁹¹⁴ Written by Kamāl al-dīn Muḥammad b. 'Īsā al-Damīrī al-Shāfi'ī (d.808/1405), *GAL* G II, 172/138; *GAL* S II, 171.

veterinary science, all listed under the generic term *Baytar-nāme* (Book of Veterinary Science) or, in one case, *Ṭibb bayṭarī* (Veterinary Medicine).

Astronomy and Astrology are not always clearly distinguished and often come under one of the following generic titles: *nujūm* (Stars), *nujūmdan risāla* (Treatise on Stars), *nujūm-u muta'alliqa nuskha* (Manuscript About Stars), *Dawr-i dā'im-i nujūm* (Perpetual Rotation of Stars). *Risala-i muqaṭṭara* is a Turkish work about astrolabes. There were also two copies of *Risāla 'an al-hay'a* (Treatise on Celestial Bodies). The most popular astrological work was the *Malḥama* (Heroic Epic) of which there were eleven copies.

Dream Interpretation Manuals were clearly popular, with 26 listed in the inventories under the generic term *ta'birnāme*. At least two are explicitly described as being in Turkish.

Occult: This genre is represented by a copy of *Raml risālesi* (Treatise on Geomancy) and three copies of *Fāl-nāme* (Book of Divination).

Others: Among the rarer works one should mention a copy of a treatise on music (*Risāla min mūsīqā*),⁹¹⁵ a work on calligraphy (*Ḥüs-n-ü khatt*), and several works listed simply as *türkiyyāt* (i.e. *turcica*).

4.12 Printed Works

A few books are mentioned explicitly as printed: *Başma tawārikh* (a printed history) (180)⁹¹⁶; *Başma tawārikh jild one* (printed histories, volume one) (85 *para*)⁹¹⁷; *Lughat-i Wanqūlī başma cild 2* (the *Wanqūlī* dictionary, two printed volumes) (7,740).⁹¹⁸ This dictionary must have come out of İbrāhīm Müteferriḳa's printing press, as it was the first and the best selling

⁹¹⁵ S25/99-101 (25 Jumādā al-Awwal 1200/26 March 1786). The work belonged to Basheskī's friend al-ḥāj Muḥammad-afandī ibn Walī al-dīn Kh^wāja ibn Duraq (in Bosnian known as Mehmed Razi Velihodžić).

⁹¹⁶ S22/193 (22 Jumādā al-Ākhir 1197/25 May 1783). The owner was Mullā Muṣṭafā ibn Sulaymān-afandī, the owner of six books (if we count in the loose papers or *parīshāns*). This appears a rather cheap copy for a printed work.

⁹¹⁷ S63/51 (15 Dhū'l-Qa'da 1239/12 July 1824). The owner was the standard bearer (*'alamdār*) Penez-oghlū (?) mullā İbrāhīm b. 'Abdallāh, whose estate was worth 60,204 *para* in total. His modest collection of five works included a copy of *Qaṣīda-i Qā'imī* (the Qasida of Qā'imī) and *awrāq-i parīshān* (loose papers).

⁹¹⁸ S9/72 (9 Shawwāl 1182/16 February 1769), the owner was "the glory of imams" (*fakhr al-a'imma*) Ḥusayn-afandī ibn Muṣṭafā ibn 'Abdallāh.

work he printed.⁹¹⁹ The high price of this dictionary reflects the generally high cost of Müteferrika's printed books, especially the early prints.⁹²⁰

4.13 Works by Bosnian Authors or with Bosnia as their Subject Matter

Given that the present study concerns Bosnian book owners, it is natural to wonder to what extent books by Bosnian scholars or writers are to be found in the inheritance inventories.⁹²¹ Bearing in mind the limitations posed by the sources, one can only establish with certainty such provenance only where the title or the author's name are well-established.

Aḥmad Sūdī Būsawī (d. 1006/1598) wrote on Persian language and literature and on Arabic grammar. He is best known for his Turkish commentaries on the Persian literary classics, *Kulistān*, *Būstān* and Ḥāfiẓ Shrāzi's *Dīwān*.⁹²² His works were clearly well received and widely circulated as the Sarajevo inheritance registers mention twelve copies:

	Book Title	Value
1.	Sūdī Kāfiya üzereine türki	300
2.	Sūdī sharḥ-i Gülistān	4,200
3.	Sūdī sharḥ-i Ḥāfiẓ	966
4.	Sūdī	486

⁹¹⁹ Orlin Sabev, "Formation of Ottoman Print Culture (1726-1746): Some General Remarks", *New Europe College: Regional Program 2003-2004, 2004-2005*, ed. Irina Vainovski-Mihai (Bucharest, 2007), pp. 299, 307.

⁹²⁰ Sabev, "Formation of the Ottoman Print Culture (1726-1746)", p. 303.

⁹²¹ The most important works on the subject are: Safvet-beg Bašagić, *Bošnjaci i Hercegovci u islamskoj književnosti* [Bosniaks and Herzegovinians in Islamic literature], (Sarajevo, 1912); Muḥammad al-Khānjī al-Būsawī, *al-Jawhar al-asnā' fi tarājim al-'ulamā wa shu'arā' Būsna* (Cairo, 1930); Hazim Šabanović, *Književnost Muslimana BiH na orijentalnim jezicima* (Sarajevo, 1973).

⁹²² These three commentaries were even translated into Persian in the 20th century and are well-known among scholars of Persian both in Iran and internationally. For more on this see: Namir Karahalilović and Munir Drkić, *Aḥmad Sudi Bošnjak: komentator perzijskih klasika* [Aḥmad Sūdī Bošnjak: commentator of the Persian classics] (Mostar, 2014), p. 8; Bećir Džaka, "Sudijevi komentari na perzijskom jeziku" [Sūdī's commentaries in Persian], *POF* 39 (1989), pp. 173-181.

5.	Sūdi Dīvān-ı Hāfiż	606
6.	Sūdi Sharḥ-i Būstān (s39/188-192)	14,430
7.	Sūdi ‘alā al-Kāfiya	1,380 [8,280 akçe]
8.	Sūdi Kulistān	540 para [3,240 akçe]
9.	Kulistān ma’ Sūdi	7 guruş [1,680 akçe]
10.	Kulistān sharḥ-i Sūdi	1,800 para [10,800 akçe]
11.	Sūdi	1,380 para [8,280 akçe]
12.	Sūdi sharḥ-i Būstān (s66/135-139)	30 guruş 7 [para] [7,242 akçe?]

Table: Works by Aḥmad Sūdi Būsnavī in the inheritance inventories

In two cases, books were entered just as *Sūdi* and there is no way to determine the works actually in question. Sūdi’s commentaries on Hāfiż Shirazi’s *Dīwān* and on Sa’dī’s *Kulistān* are said to be his best works. Looking at the values given for the books in the table, it is worth noting that no. 5 is actually the second most expensive book in a collection of 151 volumes after a copy of the Qur’an: *Kalām-ı qadīm 1* (19,200). The case is similar for book no. 9, also the second most expensive book in a collection of 26. Its value was 1,800 *para*, just after a copy of the Qur’an (*Kalām-ı qadīm hediyesi*, worth 2,600 *para*). Finally, book no. 10 is the third most expensive in a collection of 76 works, after two copies of the Qur’an (priced at 8,500 and 7,680 *para*, respectively). These prices indicate richly decorated and bound manuscripts.

Judging by the number of works in the inheritance inventories, Sūdi is the most frequently owned Bosnian author. Presumably, this had nothing to do with his Bosnian origins, but was based rather on the quality and popularity of his writings.

Ḥasan Kāfi al-Aqḥiṣārī (d. 1025/1616) was a scholar and kadi best known for his mirror-for-princes work *Uṣūl al-ḥikam fī nizām al-‘ālam*⁹²³ (Foundations of Wisdom in Ordering the

⁹²³ The full name of the writer is: Ḥasan b. Tūrkhān al-Aqḥiṣārī al-Būsnavī, *GAL G II*, 443; *GAL S II*, 659.

World), which he wrote in Arabic and then translated and expanded in Turkish.⁹²⁴ There were five copies of these works in the inventories.⁹²⁵ If one includes what appear to be misspellings of the same work (*Awsile-i hikam*),⁹²⁶ the total tally is seven.

Even better represented is his work of theology, the *Rawḍāt al-jannāt fī uṣūl al-ʿitiqādāt* (Meadows of Gardens Concerning Principles of Doctrines),⁹²⁷ which appears nine times, under the following, shorter titles: *Rawḍāt al-jannāt* (114),⁹²⁸ *Rawḍāt al-jannāt maʿ Saznāme* (?) (180),⁹²⁹ *Rawḍāt al-jannāt (2 guruṣ)*,⁹³⁰ *Rawḍāt al-jannāt jild 1 (7 guruṣ, 10 para)*,⁹³¹ *Rawḍāt al-jannāt a. 1 (3.5 guruṣ, 5 para)*.⁹³² The same work also appears under the title *Rawḍāt al-jinān* twice: *Rawḍāt-ı jinān*⁹³³ and *Rawḍāt al-jannāt* (138).⁹³⁴ We know this is the same work, because in one case it is clearly ascribed to Hasan Kafi: *Rawḍāt-i jinān li al-Aqḥiṣārī* (720).⁹³⁵

Shaykh Ḥasan Qāʿimī (d. 1091/1680) was the 11th/17th century Sarajevo poet who paid with exile for his bold criticism of the ruling authorities. His collection of poetry (*dīwān*) was known to Basheskī as he reports the death of a Sarajevan who copyied the work by hand.⁹³⁶ The *dīwān* and a *qaṣīda* (quatrain) under Qāʿimī’s name appear in the inventories as follows:

⁹²⁴ Šabanović, *Književnost*, p. 189; Amir Ljubović and Fehim Nametak, *Hasan Kafija Pruščak* (Sarajevo Publishing, 1999), pp. 119-148. For a study of al-Aqḥiṣārī’s biography see: Jan Just Witkam, “Ḥasan Kāfī al-Aqḥiṣārī and his Niẓām al-ʿUlamāʾ ilā Kātām al-Anbiyāʾ: a facsimile edition of MS Bratislava TF 136 presented, with an annotated index”, *Manuscripts of the Middle East* 4 (1989), pp. 85-114. In his study of Bosnian Muslim writings in “Oriental languages” Bašagić laments that the average Bosnian youth can name and describe all the heroes of Bosnian epic songs down to their horses’ fittings, but has never heard of Ḥasan Kāfī al-Aqḥiṣārī.

⁹²⁵ S14/67, 68 (14 Dhūʿl-Qaʿda 1186/6 February 1773); S15/67-9 (7 Muḥarram 1188/20 March 1774); S25/99-101 (25 Jumādā al-Awwal 1200/26 March 1786) where it appears twice; S35/69-73 (10 Jumādā al-Awwal 1209/3 December 1794); S64/33, 34 (25 Jumādā al-Awwal 1240/15 January 1825).

⁹²⁶ Both titles appear in: S18/162-5 (11 Rabīʿ al-Ākhir 1191/17 May 1777).

⁹²⁷ GAL G II, 443/1. It has been ascribed to Muḥammad Birkawī, *GHL* I, p. 484.

⁹²⁸ S12/28 (20 Rabīʿ al-Ākhir 1183/23 August 1769).

⁹²⁹ S25/99-101 (25 Jumādā al-Awwal 1200/26 March 1786).

⁹³⁰ S55/258-261 (the date unclear, the year is 1230/1814-15).

⁹³¹ S50/78-82 (15 Šafar 1226/11 March 1811).

⁹³² S54/107-109 (1 Dhūʿl-Qaʿda 1229/15 October 1814).

⁹³³ S16/41 (5 Rabīʿ al-Awwal 1188/16 May 1774).

⁹³⁴ S40/86-88 (29 Shawwāl 1215/15 March 1801).

⁹³⁵ S11/104, 105 (17 Shawwāl 1184/3 February 1771).

⁹³⁶ *MMB*, fol. 131a; *Saraybosnalt*, p. 340. For more on Qāʿimī’s *Dīwān*, see: Šamić, *Dīwān de Kāʿimī*.

Shaykh Qā'imī (114),⁹³⁷ *Qaṣīda-i Qā'imī* (306),⁹³⁸ *Qaṣīda-i Qā'imī* (144),⁹³⁹ *Qaṣīda-i Qā'imī* (priced at 2 *guruṣ* and 30 *para*, together with several other works and an *awrāq-ı parīshān*),⁹⁴⁰ *Qaṣīda-i Qā'imī* (priced at 359 *para*, along with an *An'ām-i sharīf* and a *Namazliq*).⁹⁴¹

The inheritance inventories record several works on Bosnian history. There are two works on the history of the north central Bosnian town of Banja Luka, probably describing the battle of Banja Luka in 1737: *Benā Lūka tawārīkhī* (91 *para*)⁹⁴² and *Tawārīkh-i Banā Lūqa jild* (2 *guruṣ*, 12 *para*).⁹⁴³ A work of general history of Bosnia entitled *Tārīkh-i Bosna* (4 *guruṣ*)⁹⁴⁴ is either *Tārīkh-i diyār-i Bōsna* (History of the Lands of Bosnia) by Ṣāliḥ Sidqi Muwaqqit,⁹⁴⁵ or *Tārīkh-i Bōsna dar zamān-i Ḥakīmōglū 'Ali-pāshā* (History of Bosnia at the Time of Ḥakīmōglū 'Ali-pāshā) by 'Umar-afandī Novljanin (i.e. from the town of Novi in northern Bosnia) which has been translated into English, French and German.⁹⁴⁶

4.14 Books in Persian

It has already been pointed out that in general the language of the books listed in the inventories is not stated. When we take into account works we know were written in Persian (e.g. Jalāl al-dīn Rūmī's *Mathnawī*) and works whose language was specified (e.g. *Fārsi risāla*), we can conclude that of the three main languages (Arabic, Ottoman Turkish and Persian), Persian is the least well represented. This is not surprising, given the

⁹³⁷ S22/174 (21 Jumādā al-Ākhir 1197/24 May 1783).

⁹³⁸ S12/28 (20 Rabī' al-Ākhir 1183/23 August 1769), one of 35 works in the estate of Iskandar Kh^wājā ibn 'Abdallāh.

⁹³⁹ S23/42, 43 (fi gurrat Rabī' al-Awwal 1198/24 January 1784).

⁹⁴⁰ S61/71, 72 (fi gurrat Ramaḍān 1237/22 May 1822).

⁹⁴¹ S63/51 (15 Dhū'l-Qa'da 1239/12 July 1824).

⁹⁴² S48/72-75 (11 Jumādā al-Awwal 1223/5 July 1808).

⁹⁴³ S50/78-82 (15 Ṣafar 1226/11 March 1811).

⁹⁴⁴ S55/258-261 (the exact date is unclear, but the year is 1230/1814-15).

⁹⁴⁵ Šabanović, *Književnost*, p. 594.

⁹⁴⁶ Babinger, *Die Geschichtsschreiber*, pp. 276, 277. Babinger gives the following details: *History of the War in Bosnia during the years 1737-1738 and 1739*, translated by Charles Fraser (London, 1830); *Relation de la dernière guerre entre les Allemands et les Turcs*, translated by Cardone, (manuscript), Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris; and *Die Kriege in Bosnien in den Feldzügen 1737, 1738 und 1739, beschrieben von dem zu Novi in Bosnien bestellt gewesenen gelehrten Kadi Omer Efendi* by Johann Nepomuk Dubsky (Wien, 1789). The translations are also cited in Karić, *Traditional Bosnia*, pp. 10, 11. The work was published by Ibrāhīm Müteferriḳa's printing press as *Aḥvāl-i ğāzevāt der diyār-i Bosna* in 1154/1771.

importance of Arabic and Turkish as the languages of religion, scholarship and administration in Ottoman Bosnia. What is perhaps surprising is that, contrary to the oft-repeated adage about Persian being the language of poetry in the Ottoman period, the inventories reveal a certain number of prose works, which are not always works of literature.⁹⁴⁷ As already mentioned, some of the works of classical Persian literature are translations, almost certainly into Turkish, as they are listed as e.g. *tercüme-i Bahāristan* or *tercüme-i Mathnawī* or *Kulistān tercümesi*. At least one copy of the *Kulistān* has a commentary in Arabic (*sharḥ Kulistān ‘arabi*). Many Persian classics come with a commentary: *sharḥ-i Ḥāfiẓ Surūrī*, *Sham‘ī sharḥ-i Behāristān*, *Kulistān üzerine Sūdi*, etc. Especially popular were Sudi’s commentaries, of which eight are listed (one for the *Būstān*, three for the *Dīwan of Ḥāfiẓ*, four for the *Kulistān*). Presumably the commentaries in Turkish and Arabic include the original text in Persian. Ignoring the distinction between works of Persian literature, which may be in translation, and works in the Persian language, then the most commonly owned works are: the *Kulistān* and the *Pand-name* with 53 copies each, followed by the *Bahāristan* (fifteen copies), *Ḥāfiẓ* (fourteen copies), *Mathnawī* (seven copies) and *Gulshan-i rāz* (six copies). Other literary works in Persian include: *Kulliyāt-i Sa’dī*,⁹⁴⁸ *Risala-i Sa’dī*,⁹⁴⁹ *Khamsa-i Niẓāmī*,⁹⁵⁰ *Kitāb-i Niẓāmī*,⁹⁵¹ Non-literary works include what appears to be a translation of Nasafī’s work of theology (*fārsi Nasafī*).⁹⁵²

Quite a few works in Persian are listed under some generic term: *Fārsī risāla* (Persian treatise),⁹⁵³ *Fārsī risāleleri* (Persian treatises),⁹⁵⁴ *Fārsī nuskhā* (Persian manuscript),⁹⁵⁵ *Fārsī*

⁹⁴⁷ “That is why literacy, education and literature could only develop among our Muslims under those new conditions within the framework of a new comprehensive, Islamic culture and in the main Islamic languages: Arabic, which was the language of science, law and theology; Turkish, which was the language of administration and secular literature; and Persian, the language of poetry [translated by Asim Zubčević],“ Šabanović, *Književnost*, p. 14.

⁹⁴⁸ S50/78-82 (15 Šafar 1226/11 March 1811).

⁹⁴⁹ S55/183-85 (3 Muḥarram 1230/16 December 1814).

⁹⁵⁰ S40/86-88 (29 Shawwāl 1215/15 March 1801).

⁹⁵¹ S22/199 (29 Jumādā al-Ākhir 1197/1 June 1783).

⁹⁵² S35/69-73 (10 Jumādā al-Awwal 1209/3 December 1794).

⁹⁵³ S52/90-92 (5 Jumādā al-Awwal 1227/17 May 1812); S22/261 (20 Shawwāl 1197/27 September 1783). Alltogether, there were eleven cases of *fārsī risāla* (Persian epistle) recorded in the inventories.

⁹⁵⁴ S40/86-88 (29 Shawwāl 1215/15 March 1801). It is listed twice.

⁹⁵⁵ S52/64, 65 (25 Jumādā al-Awwal 1226/17 June 1811; S35/102-104 (17 Sha‘bān 1209/9 March 1795).

majmū‘ (Persian collection),⁹⁵⁶ and *qawā‘id-i Fārisiyya* (Principles of Persian).⁹⁵⁷ Other works in Persian without a precise title but with a generic label include *Fārsī tawārīkh* (Persian history),⁹⁵⁸ *Fārsī Dīwān* (Persian collection of poetry),⁹⁵⁹ *Fārsī binā’ amthila*.⁹⁶⁰

Several other works are probably Persian, even though their language is not specified, e.g. a translation of the Qur’an into Persian: *Tāj al-tarājim* (Crown of Translations/Biographies)⁹⁶¹ and a work of history entitled *Bahjat al-tawārīkh* (Pleasure of Histories).⁹⁶²

In addition to the word *farsi* in the sense of Persian, the word *‘ajam* (Turkish: *‘acem*) is used in three cases: *Ḥāfiẓ bi-lisan-i ‘ajam* (Ḥāfiẓ in th language of Persians),⁹⁶³ *Ṣiḥāḥ ‘ajam* (the Soundness of Persians),⁹⁶⁴ and *‘ajam khaṭṭīle Kalām-ı qadīm hediyesi* (the Gift of Eternal Speech in Persian script).⁹⁶⁵ A total of 95 entries had at least one work in Persian (not including dictionaries).⁹⁶⁶ The largest number of identifiably Persian words are found in the estates of the following three Sarajevans:

- 1) Ḥāfiẓ al-ḥāj Aḥmad-afandī bin Ḥamza, who had at least twelve works in Persian in his collection of 204 works.⁹⁶⁷

⁹⁵⁶ S4/22, 23 (13 Sha‘bān 1140/25 March 1728).

⁹⁵⁷ S16/143 (25 Dhū‘l-Ḥijja 1188/26 February 1775).

⁹⁵⁸ S35/79 (9 Jumādā al-Ākhir 1209/1 January 1795).

⁹⁵⁹ S39/188-192 (5 Muḥarram 1215/29 May 1800).

⁹⁶⁰ S39/188-192 (5 Muḥarram 1215/29 May 1800).

⁹⁶¹ S60/129, 130 (5 Rajab 1236/8 April 1821).

⁹⁶² S25/99-101 (25 Jumādā al-Awwal 1200/26 March 1786).

⁹⁶³ S22/174 (21 Jumādā al-Ākhir 1197/24 May 1783).

⁹⁶⁴ S39/188-192 (5 Muḥarram 1215/29 May 1800); S16/138 (22 Dhū‘l-Ḥijja 1188/23 February 1775).

⁹⁶⁵ S47/35, 36. A person by the name of ‘Ajamzāde al-ḥāj Sulaymān-āghā ibn al-ḥāj Ḥusayn, who had the title of standard-bearer (*‘alamdār*) had ten works, none of which were in Persian; S58/35, 36 (5 Rabī‘ al-Ākhir 1233/12 February 1818).

⁹⁶⁶ S11/104-5 (17 Shawwāl 1184/3 February 1771); S14/67, 68 (14 Dhū‘l-Qa‘da 1186/6 February 1773); S15/64 (13 Muḥarram 1188/26 March 1774); S16/143 (25 Dhū‘l-Ḥijja 1188/26 February 1775); S18/14-16 (21 Rabī‘ al-Ākhir 1191/29 May 1777); S18/162-5 (11 Rabī‘ al-Ākhir 1191/17 May 1777); S25/99-101 (25 Jumādā al-Awwal 1200/26 March 1786); S55/183-5 (3 Muḥarram 1230/16 December 1814); S57/76, 77 (15 Sha‘bān 1232/30 June 1817); S58/21, 22 (fī gurrat Ṣafar 1233/11 December 1817); S62/63-8 (3 Jumādā al-Ākhir 1238/15 February 1823); S66/135-9 (fī gurrat Muḥarram 1243/25 July 1827).

⁹⁶⁷ S40/86-88 (29 Shawwāl 1215/15 March 1801).

- 2) The cap-maker (*‘arāḳiyecī*) al-ḥāj Ibrāhīm-afandī ibn al-ḥāj Duraq, had eleven Persian works (excluding a translation of *Pand-i ‘Aṭṭār*) among his 219 books. They included eight *Kulistāns*;⁹⁶⁸
- 3) ḥāj Muḥammad-afandī ibn Walī al-dīn Kh^wāja ibn Durāq had ten works in Persian in his collection of 208 works.⁹⁶⁹

The highest proportion of Persian works was to be found in the estates of the following: Muṣṭafā-āghā ibn Qarakh^wāja al-ḥāj Ḥusayn had four Persian works among his collection of 26 works (15,38%);⁹⁷⁰ *madrasa* professor (*mudarris*) ‘Īsāzāde Muḥammad Amīn-afandī ibn Ismā‘īl-afandī had seven works in Persian among his collection of 78 works (8,97%);⁹⁷¹ Tuffāḥzāde al-ḥāj Ḥasan bin ‘Alī-afandī had seven works in Persian (including a work of medicine) among his collection of 83 works (8,43%).⁹⁷²

As we can see, it was rare for a person to own more than ten works in Persian or for Persian works to constitute more than 10 % of the works in an estate. The great majority of the book owners of Persian works were *‘ulamā’*. Even small book collections could include at least one Persian work, however. For example, the book-collection of six works in the estate of Niẓāma bint al-ḥāj Sulaymān-afandī included a commentary on the *Pand-nāme* (*sharḥ-i Pand-i ‘Aṭṭār*).⁹⁷³ Similarly, Pāṣo al-sayyid mullā ‘Abdallāh bin Ṣāliḥ-afandī had a copy of *Kulistān* as one of the two works in his estate.⁹⁷⁴ Al-ḥāj Durāqzāde mullā ‘Abdallāh bin al-ḥāj ‘Abdallāh had a *Pand-i ‘Aṭṭār* among his collection of seven works.⁹⁷⁵

‘Aṭṭār’s *Pand-nāme* and Sa’dī’s *Kulistān* are the most commonly owned books of Persian literature (53 copies each). *Pand-nāme* is often listed together with the dictionary popularly known as *Shāhidīyya* (*Pand-nāme ma’ Shāhidī* or *Shāhidī ma’ Pand-i ‘Aṭṭār*). The reason *Shāhidī* and the *Pand-nāme* were sold together may have been due to the use of ‘Aṭṭār’s work as a text-book for learning Persian. Some *Pand-nāmes* are described as translations (*tercüme-i*

⁹⁶⁸ S18/162-5 (11 Rabī‘ al-Ākhir 1191/17 May 1777).

⁹⁶⁹ S25/99-101 (25 Jumādā al-Awwal 1200/26 March 1786).

⁹⁷⁰ S62/63-68 (3 Jumādā al-Ākhir 1238/15 February 1823).

⁹⁷¹ S58/21, 22 (fī gurrat Ṣafar 1233/11 December 1817).

⁹⁷² S57/76, 77 (15 Sha‘bān 1232/30 June 1817).

⁹⁷³ S30/160-163 (15 Rabī‘ al-Ākhir 1203/13 January 1789).

⁹⁷⁴ S55/151, 152 (27 Rabī‘ al-Awwal 1230/9 March 1815).

⁹⁷⁵ S31/105 (fī gurrat Jumādā al-Awwal 1204/17 January 1790).

Pand-i 'Attār), underlying once again the role of Ottoman Turkish as the language of mediation for works originally written in Arabic and Persian.

In general, the Ottoman elites are said to have prized Persian works and richly illuminated Persian manuscripts even more so.⁹⁷⁶

4.15 Books in Turkish

Bearing in mind the fact that the language of the books listed in inheritance inventories is not usually specified, the prevalence of works in Turkish is nonetheless remarkable, particularly of works which were originally written in Arabic or Persian, but circulated in Turkish translation. The most commonly used Turkish translations from Arabic are of religious primers and juridical manuals such as fatwas. The former include *tercüme-i Ẓarīkat* i.e. *Tarīkat-ı Muḥammediyye* (the Muhammadan Path), *tercüme-i Şir'atü'l-islām* (translation of the Path of Islam), *Kitāb-ı 'ibadat-ı bedeniye türki* (the Book of Bodily Acts of Worship in Turkish), *Namazlık türki* (Prayer manual in Turkish) or *Türki Namazlık*. Works of jurisprudence specifically mentioned as translations into Turkish include: *tercüme-i Ḥalebī* (translation of Ḥalabī), *Türkiyyāt mine'l-fikh* (Turcica in jurisprudence), *Türkçe mesā'il-i fikhīyye* (Juridical Questions in Turkish), *Türkçe fetāvā* (Fatwas in Turkish), *Risale-i türkiyye fī 'ameliyyāt* (a Turkish treatise on Deeds), *Türki ferā'iz* (Laws of inheritance in Turkish), and *Türki Ḳudūri* (Quḍūrī in Turkish). There are also relatively common works of homiletics (*türki mev'ize*).

⁹⁷⁶ Laie Uluç, "Ottoman Book Collectors and Illustrated Sixteenth Century Shiraz Manuscripts". Persian classics were taken as booty in wars against the Ottomans and used as diplomatic gifts by Safavid envoys to the Ottoman court. They were also sought after by Ottoman officials partly because "they could be owned or used as gifts, sometimes to the sultan himself". Uluç notes a marked presence of Persian classics in the property registers, confiscation registers, and gifts registers of the high ranking officials. Her claim that "copies of Persian classics were often found in the private collections of individuals from the elite military classes (askeri straf), but rarely in the libraries of the *ulema* or in the *medreses*" (unless the *madrasa* libraries received donations in the form of private collections which may have had such works, reflecting the donor's reading interests), is not applicable to Sarajevo. She mentions the terms *musavver* [muşawwar] (illustrated) and *muzehheb* [mudhahhab] (illuminated) as being used in book lists. None of these terms appears in my research on Sarajevo book owners, generally suggesting more modest copies of these works. See also the books sent by 'Uthmān Shāhdī for his library as discussed in *Chapter Three: The Public and Semi-Public Libraries of Sarajevo 1118-1244/ 1707-1828*.

Other works in Turkish translation include: Qur'an commentaries (*tefsir türki*, *tefsir-i Yāsīn-i türki*); theology (*'aqāyid türkçe*, *'aqāyidten türki risāle*), *ḥadīth* (*tercüme-i ḥadīs*), and dream interpretation (*türki ta'birnāme*).

There is also an interesting case of the “translation of a section of the Psalms” (*tercüme-i cuz'-i Zebūr*).⁹⁷⁷ Although the language of the translation is not mentioned, it is most probably Turkish. After all, a Bosnian Muslim who was interested in Christian texts could have read the books produced by the Bosnian Franciscans in the vernacular (the first Bosnian printed book was a Catholic religious primer from 1611).⁹⁷⁸ In any case, obtaining a copy of parts of the Bible in Turkish translation suggests more than a passing interest in the religion of one's neighbours.

4.16 The Value of Books

The value of books is stated usually in *akçes*, sometimes in *paras* and *guruşes*. The period covered by the Sarajevo inheritance inventories largely coincides with the monetary crisis and the debasement of the Ottoman currency from the 1760s onwards. This is evident from the fact that the price of books is often given in the debased or damaged (*çuruk*) *akçes*. After introducing a new monetary system in the 1690s based on the *guruş*, the value of the Ottoman currency was: 1 *guruş* = 40 *paras* = 120 *akçes*.⁹⁷⁹ However, after the 1760s, the *guruş* depreciated by half of its previous value, so that the exchange rate for our period was 1 *guruş* = 80 *para* = 240 *akçe* (these were the so-called the *çuruk* or damaged *akçe*).

When it comes to the price of books in the inheritance inventories, it ranged greatly from the modestly priced religious primers, collections of supplications (*du'ā'*), and *madrassa* textbooks at one end to the expensive copies of the Qur'an and some works of jurisprudence at the other. The value of a book depended on its condition (we have seen some books are described as *naqış* or *nuşān* i.e. deficient or incomplete), binding (some books are described as *parīshān*, i.e. unbound), decoration (which could consist of illustrations and ornate embellishments), the date of the copy, the rarity of the work, the quality of calligraphy or the fact that the manuscript was copied by a famous

⁹⁷⁷ S11/104, 105 (17 Shawwāl 1184/3 February 1771). This work was part of the estate of the former Sarajevo mufti Foynichawī al-ḥāj Muḥammad-afandī Yūsuf.

⁹⁷⁸ The work's title is *Nauk karstianski za narod slovinski* (Christian teaching for the Slav people) by Matija Divković (d.1631), Lovrenović, *Bosnia: a Cultural History*, p. 135.

⁹⁷⁹ Şevket Pamuk, “Money in the Ottoman Empire, 1326-1914”, p. 966.

calligrapher.⁹⁸⁰ The presence or absence of these factors explains why copies of one and the same work could carry different price-tags. For example, two copies of one work, from the same estate, could vary in value by a factor of ten: a copy of *Ḥadiqat al-su'adā'* (Garden of the Blessed) was priced at 1,920 *akçe*, while another copy of the same work, listed right next to it, was worth just 174 *akçe*.⁹⁸¹ The same development is observable in other parts of the empire. An Istanbul book-seller's estate included several copies of Ḥāfiẓ Shirāzī's collection of poetry (*Dīwān*) at prices varying from 150, 300, 320, 350, 550 and 1,000 to a full 2,000 *akçe*.⁹⁸² As Erünsal notes, books had quite a wide range in value. Works of literature and history were considerably cheaper than those of religious scholarship.⁹⁸³ He explains this by the fact that the former were meant for a wider section of the population.

Books could be among the most expensive portable items, which otherwise usually included jewellery, weapons, clocks and horse tack. In one case, a copy of the Qur'an worth 1,800 *akçe* was the single most expensive item in the estate of Āmina bint Muṣṭafā, constituting more than one third of the net value of the entire estate, which was valued at 5,162 *akçe*.⁹⁸⁴

4.17 Average Values for the Qur'an, *Risāla-i Birkawī*, *Kulistān* and *Risāla-i Uṣṭuwānī*

As we have seen, Qur'ans were often the most expensive books in the inventories. With 1,133 copies of the Qur'an, excluding *An'āms* and part Qur'ans (*juz'*, pl. *ajzā'*), they are also the most commonly owned books. The most expensive copy of the Qur'an was valued at 400 *guruş* and belonged to al-ḥāj Muṣṭafā-afandī, son of Ibrāhīm. To put the price of this copy of the Qur'an in perspective, it should be pointed out that the net value of his entire estate was 809 *guruş* and 30 *para*. In his collection of 55 works, the next text in value was a commentary on a work of Arabic grammar (*Sharḥ Mashāriq li Ibn Malik*) worth 37 *guruş*. His Qur'an is in fact the second most expensive book in the inventories, after a work of

⁹⁸⁰ Erünsal, *Osmanlılarda sahafılık*, pp. 171, 172.

⁹⁸¹ S18/14-16 (21 Rabī' al-Ākhir 1191/29 May 1777). This work, written in Turkish by the Ottoman poet Meḥmed b. Suleymān Fuẓūlī (d.963/1556), is about prophets and in particular about the martyrdom of the Prophet's grandson Ḥusayn, *HKh* I, 926; *Flügel*, II, 213.

⁹⁸² Erünsal, *Osmanlılarda sahafılık*, p.172.

⁹⁸³ Erünsal, *Osmanlılarda sahafılık*, p. 175.

⁹⁸⁴ S29/74 (fī gurrat Rabī' al-Awwal 1194/7 March 1780).

jurisprudence entitled *Minaḥ al-ghaffār*, valued at 433 *guruş*⁹⁸⁵ and ahead of *Fatāwā-yı ‘Abd al-Raḥmān*, worth 310 *guruş*.⁹⁸⁶ The average value of a copy of the Qur’an was a relatively high 14.26 *guruş* or 3,422 *akçe*.

Out of the total number of 213 copies of Birkawī’s *Risāla* (listed as *Risāla-i Birkawī*, *Birkawī risālesi* or simply *Birkawī* or *Birkilī* or even *Birjiwī*), 70 copies were listed in tandem with one or more other works, making it impossible to calculate their individual value. For the remaining cases, where this work was given a price of its own, we find that the average value of the work is 3 *guruş* or 690 *akçe*. There are a further 91 copies of *sharḥ-i Birkawī* in the inventories, which means two texts in one volume: the original *Risāla-i Birkawī* and a commentary (*sharḥ*). If we disregard the nineteen cases in which this work is priced together with another text or texts, the average price for *sharḥ-i Birkawī* is 8.5 *guruş* or 2,040 *akçe*.

Sa’dī’s *Kulistān* is definitely one of the more popular works of Persian literature in the Sarajevo inventories. There were 42 copies, eight of which were listed and priced together with another book, making it impossible to determine the value of these copies of the *Kulistān*. The most expensive individual copy was priced at 3,240 *akçe* or 13.5 *guruş*, while the cheapest cost only 50 *akçe*. The average *Kulistān* was 2.1 *guruş* or 520 *akçe*. *Sharḥ-i Kulistān*, i.e. the *Kulistān* with a commentary, appears 11 times, twice together with another work. The average price for the remaining nine cases was 2.3 *guruş* or 575 *akçe*.

Among religious primers, *Risāla-i Uştuwānī*⁹⁸⁷ ranks next to *Risāla-i Birkawī* in popularity. Out of 126 copies, 43 were listed together with other texts. Among those listed separately, the most expensive copy was priced at 14.5 *guruş* or 3,480 *akçe*. The cheapest copy was worth 150 *akçe* or 0.62 *guruş*. The average price for the work was 3 *guruş* or 720 *akçe*.

The following table shows the prices of the most expensive works as listed in the inheritance inventories, starting from the most expensive:

⁹⁸⁵ *Minaḥ al-ghaffār fī sharḥ Tanwīr al-abşār* (Bestowal of the Much-Forgiving Concerning the Explanation of Illuminating the Views), S55/258-261 (fī gurrat Rabī’ al-Awwal 1230/11 February 1815).

⁹⁸⁶ S66/135-139 (fī gurrat Muḥarram 1243/25 July 1827).

⁹⁸⁷ A popular religious primer by Uştuwānī Meḥmed-afandī (d. 1072/1661), one of the leaders of the puritan *ḳadizādeli* movement.

	Title	Value	Subject	Owner
1.	Minaḥ al-ghaffār [fī sharḥ Tanwīr al-abṣār]	433 <i>guruş</i>	Jurisprudence	quḍāt-i kirmādan Khayrīzāde İbrāhīm Adham-afandī ibn Muḥammad Sa'īd-afandī (S55/258-261)
2.	Kalām-ı qadīm hediyesi	400 <i>guruş</i>	Qur'an	al-ḥāj Muşafā-afandī ibn İbrāhīm (S52/71, 72)
3.	Fatāwā-yi 'Abd al-Raḥīm-afandī	310 <i>guruş</i>	Jurisprudence	Bāqrīzāde İbrāhīm-āghā ibn al-ḥāj Muşafā (S66/135-139)
4.	Minaḥ al-ghaffār fī sharḥ Tanwīr al-abṣār	302 <i>guruş</i>	Jurisprudence	ashrāf-i quḍāt-i kirāmdan faḍīlatlū Khayrīzāde Muḥammad Sa'īd-afandī (S50/78-82)
5.	Hidāya min al-fiqh	300 <i>guruş</i>	Jurisprudence	quḍāt-i kirāmdan Khayrīzāde İbrāhīm Adham-afandī ibn Muḥammad Sa'īd-afandī (S55/258-261)
6.	Ma'rifatnāme-i Ḥaqqī	250 <i>guruş</i>	Encyclopaedia	quḍāt-i kirāmdan Khayrīzāde İbrāhīm Adham-afandī ibn Muḥammad Sa'īd-afandī (S55/258-261)
7.	Kalām-ı qadīm hediyesi	160 <i>guruş</i>	Qur'an	Aḥmad bin 'Uthmān (S66/183)
8.	Qur'an	150 <i>guruş</i>	Qur'an	Diyāb mullā 'Alī bin 'Abd al-Ghānī (S54/37, 38)
9.	Fatāwā-yi 'Abd al-Raḥīm	150 <i>guruş</i>	Jurisprudence	quḍāt-i kirāmdan Khayrīzāde İbrāhīm Adham-afandī ibn Muḥammad Sa'īd-afandī (S55/258-261)
10.	Ma'rifatnāme-i Ḥaqqī	150 <i>guruş</i>	Encyclopaedia	quḍāt-i kirāmdan Khayrīzāde İbrahim Adham-afandī ibn Muḥammad Sa'īd-afandī (S50/78-82)

Table: The most expensive books in the Sarajevo inheritance inventories 1118-1244/1707-1828

4.18 Book ownership in Sarajevo in Comparison with Damascus, Salonica, Sofia and Trabzon

Research into book ownership on the basis of Ottoman inheritance inventories has steadily increased in recent years.⁹⁸⁸ This makes it possible to draw certain comparisons between various towns and cities. However, the lack of a common comparative framework poses a

⁹⁸⁸ As noted in the introduction, an extensive bibliography of works on book ownership studies, book studies and studies into Ottoman cultural history on the basis of inheritance records is provided in: Orlin Sabev, "Osmanlı toplumsal tarihi için değerli kaynak teşkil eden tereke ve muhalledat kayıtları" in *Osmanlı Coğrafyası Kültürel Arşiv Mirasının Yönetimi ve Tapu Arşivlerinin Rolü Uluslararası Kongresi/International Congress of 'The Ottoman Geopolitics Management of Cultural Archive Heritage and Role of Land Registry Archives*, 21-23 Kasım/November 2012 Istanbul, cild 1 (Ankara, 2013), pp. 259-272.

serious obstacle to arriving at meaningful conclusions. If one adds to that different time periods covered in those studies, one can see why drawing comparisons is fraught with danger. Some studies are based on a sampling of inheritance records over a longer time span, while others cover all the extant inventories for a given city. While some studies place greater emphasis on the socio-economic background of book owners, with little attention paid to books, others place greater focus on the subject matter of the books, etc. Nevertheless, it is important to situate book ownership findings for Sarajevo within a wider context. For this purpose I have selected four studies and their book ownership findings as follows: Damascus, Salonica, Sofia and Trazbon.

Damascus 1686-1717⁹⁸⁹: Establet and Pascual examined 450 inventories from two court registers for the civilian population (*re āya*) of Ottoman Damascus for the period 1686-1717. They counted 1,100 book titles, out of which 90 were placed under generic terms like *kitāb* (book) or *majmū'ā* (collection). For 190 of the books, there was no way to determine the price or value. The largest book collection belonged to sayyid Faḍlallāh-afandī al-Uṣṭuwānī with 266 books comprising 285 works. Next was Sāliḥ al-Shaykh Muḥammad al-Hilālī, a Shāfi'ī kadi who owned 215 books.

Out of 174 women only two had left books in their estates - 16 volumes worth three *piaster* and thirteen volumes worth six *piaster*.⁹⁹⁰ One of them was a widow of a shaykh, the other the daughter of a shaykh. In other words, both women came from the families of scholars (*'ulamā'*). Out of 275 inventories for men, 50 had at least one book, i.e. 18.2% of all men.⁹⁹¹ These included two Christians and a Jew, while the rest were Muslims. Thirty-three of them or 80.5% of the total had up to 20 titles (seven had just one), while four had 21-40 titles (9.8%), one person had 41-100 titles, and three persons owned over 100 books (7.3%) - 266, 215 and 111 books, respectively.⁹⁹² Here it should be noted that the authors of the study seem to use the terms title (*titre*) and book (*livre*) interchangeably. Clearly, the largest collections belonged to members of the *'ulamā'*. Among the inheritance inventories examined, occupation is given for 37 persons, twelve of them *'ulamā'* and 26 merchants or craftsmen. The latter had an average of seven books each comprising a total of 0.7% of the

⁹⁸⁹ Colette Establet et Jean-Paul Pascual, "Les livres des gens à Damas vers 1700", *Revue des mondes musulmans et de la Méditerranée* 87-88 (1999), pp. 143-175.

⁹⁹⁰ *Piaster* is another name for Ottoman monetary unit of *guruş*.

⁹⁹¹ Establet and Pascual, "Les livres des gens à Damas vers 1700", p. 147.

⁹⁹² Establet and Pascual, "Les livres des gens à Damas vers 1700", p. 148.

total average value of their property. On the other hand members of the *'ulamā'* owned 67 titles on average and they could account for a significant proportion of the total value of their property. Indeed, for 9% of them, books constituted 20% or more of their property. The most exceptional case was of Khalīl b. shaykh Muḥammad al-Hilālī whose books comprised 56% of the total value of his estate.⁹⁹³ There is a prevalence of writers from the Mamlūk period⁹⁹⁴ and nearly all the books were in Arabic, with only nine books in Turkish and four in Persian.

Salonica (1828-1911):⁹⁹⁵ Using random selection, the study into Salonican book owners suggests that, generally speaking, book owners were relatively rare. Only 54 out of 835 inheritance entries or 6.46 % included books, with a total of around 100 titles. The author concludes that these are “extremely low numbers” when compared with the findings for private libraries in Western Europe.

Eight of the book owners were women (14.8%). Four of these eight women ha no husband, meaning they were either widows or had never married. The largest collection owned by a woman consisted of 50 books. One woman had nine books and the rest had one or two. All eight female book owners were well-to-do.

When it comes to the men, it is remarkable that nearly all the book owners have some title (*afandī*, *āghā*, *bey*, *pāshā*, etc), whereas otherwise people with a title are generally a minority in the Salonica inventories (the author does not say how much of a minority). Out of the 46 book owners, only seven bear no title. The author has also looked at those whose father's name was given as *'Abdallāh* (i.e. slave of God), taking this to indicate converts from Christianity. They accounted for 20-35% of the general inheritance listings, but only 13% of book owners, as the author identifies only six book owners with a father called *'Abdallāh*. The book owners with titles included 19 *afandīs* (more than half), while there were only 30 *afandīs* without books. No profession is known for nearly half the entries.⁹⁹⁶ The Salonica study includes a table about the size and value of the book collections belonging to the *afandīs*, with the largest collection consisting of 42 books. Another table gives the number

⁹⁹³ Establet and Pascual, “Les livres des gens à Damas vers 1700”, p. 152.

⁹⁹⁴ The Mamlūk dynasty ruled Egypt and Syria 1250-1517.

⁹⁹⁵ Meropi Anstasiadou, “Des défunts hours du comun: les possesseurs de livres dans les inventaires après décès musulmans de Salonique”, *Turcica* 32 (2000), pp. 197-152.

⁹⁹⁶ Anstasiadou, “Des défunts hours du comun: les possesseurs de livres”, p. 213.

and value of books belonging to those with the title of *āghā*⁹⁹⁷ and showing that only 10% of the *āghās* in the inheritance lists possessed a book of any sort. In the case of the *āghās*, there is a clear correlation between wealth and owning expensive books. The *beys* rarely appeared in the inheritance lists.⁹⁹⁸ Three of them had books, including one Kudret-bey who had 129 volumes, the largest book collection found in the study.⁹⁹⁹ The four book-owning pashas had only 15 volumes between themselves, including one with an eight-volume collection. Profession is stated for 28 book owners (out of 54). There is an evident presence of military men in the Salonica inventories, which the author explains on the grounds that nine of the twelve of them died without an heir and that in such cases property had to be registered, sold and the proceeds paid into the state treasury. Of the 12 officers with books, nine had only one, but the largest collection consisted of 40 volumes. The study identifies nine civil servants among the book owners (i.e. secretaries, treasurers, etc). Unlike the military men, they always had a few volumes. The largest collection consisted of 35 books. Finally, the study gives data on book ownership among the “Unclassifiables”, i.e. those whose profession is not stated. Quite a few of them had what the author describes as medium size collections; the largest consisted of 131 volumes and belonged to a merchant, one Emin-*āghā*. Of about 100 artisans, only five had books. The author notes the absence of books among professions which would be expected to have them (engineers, accountants, and even “not a negligible number of men of religion”).¹⁰⁰⁰ The study has a section about the geographic distribution of book owners showing that even though book owners were spread all over Salonica, the larger collections were clearly concentrated among what she calls the privileged neighbourhoods. At the same time, books were least likely to be found in the quarters inhabited by artisans and merchants (with the notable exception of the aforementioned Emin-*āghā*, who may have used his books for trade). Lastly, the study compares book ownership with levels of wealth, but concludes that there is no clear link between the size of a book collection and the wealth of its owner.¹⁰⁰¹ The study also shows how greatly the value of books could vary: Mustafā Nuri-bey’s Qur’an was four times more valuable than the entire collection of 35 volumes that belonged to Husayn Husni-*afandī*, which was worth 413 *piasters*.

⁹⁹⁷ Anstasiadou, “Des défunts hours du comun: les possesseurs de livres”, pp. 215-218.

⁹⁹⁸ Anstasiadou, “Des défunts hours du comun: les possesseurs de livres”, pp. 219-221.

⁹⁹⁹ Anstasiadou, “Des défunts hours du comun: les possesseurs de livres”, p. 219.

¹⁰⁰⁰ Anstasiadou, “Des défunts hours du comun: les possesseurs de livres”, p. 232.

¹⁰⁰¹ Anstasiadou, “Des défunts hours du comun: les possesseurs de livres”, p. 240.

Sofia (1671-1833):¹⁰⁰² Orlin Sabev's study covers the period from 1671 to 1833, comprising 58 court protocols (*sijills*) with 1,212 inventories, 1,111 of which were for Muslims and 101 for non-Muslims. Only three of the non-Muslims had books at all.¹⁰⁰³ Out of the 1,111 Muslim inventories, 752 were for men (nearly 70 %) and 358 for women (nearly 30%). Out of these, 180 or 16.2% included books. There were 139 Muslim male book owners (18.5% of all the entries for men), while 40 women owned books (11.2% of 358 entries for women). Out of the 180 Muslim book owners, 130 men and 34 women possessed only one or two books. The study analyses book ownership in terms of the size of book collections vs. genre variety, revealing that those who had only one or two books usually had a copy of the Qur'an or *An'ām*. The Qur'an is the most expensive book and we learn its average prices for different epochs compared with the average price for a cow. The poem *Muḥammadiyya* by Yazījī-oghlū was next in popularity.¹⁰⁰⁴ Among 43 members of the military and administrative class (*'askerī*), 32 had just one or two books, three had between three and six books, and eight had more than six books. The *'ulamā'* possessed the "most considerable book collections," so that sixteen out of 25 *'ulamā'* had more than six books, six had between one and two books, and three had between three and six books. Artisans were more humble book owners: 15 out of 20 had between one and two books each and the other five owned between three and six books each. The occupation of 49 book owners is unspecified. Eight of the male book owners bore the title *sayyid* (i.e. master, usually indicating a descendant of the Prophet), 23 the title of *al-ḥāj* (one who performed pilgrimage to Mecca). Three book owners died during pilgrimage to Mecca. Pilgrims had the most expensive copies of the Qur'an, reflecting the fact that only well-to-do could afford the pilgrimage. There were 30 large book collections, but full information is available only for the books of 19 collections. Among those 19 collections, nine belonged to members of the scholarly (*'ulamā'*) class, six to those performing military or administrative duties (bearing the title *āghā*), one was a *chalabī*, while three had no occupation indicated, but given that their books were mainly from *madrassa* curriculum, they were probably *'ulamā'*. The military men's tastes were more diverse than those of the *'ulamā'*, with less jurisprudence and more history and poetry and even some medical treatises, surprisingly. Table no. 5 lists the nineteen collections by

¹⁰⁰² Orlin Sabev, "Private book collections in Ottoman Sofia, 1671-1833 (Preliminary Notes)", *Études Balkaniques* 1 (2003), pp. 34-82.

¹⁰⁰³ Sabev, "Private book collections", p. 39.

¹⁰⁰⁴ Sabev, "Private book collections", p. 42.

subject. There are few books of philosophy, a little on science, but less poetry in the collections of the ‘*ulamā*’, along with two works of geography and some works of medicine. The cost of books was relatively high.¹⁰⁰⁵ Books in Arabic vastly outnumbered those in the vernacular. As we have noted, the members of the ‘*ulamā*’ had the largest collections.¹⁰⁰⁶ On 2 Dhū’l-Ḥijja 1190/12 January 1777, the mufti of Sofia, Abū Bakr-afandī, turned his collection of 174 volumes, comprising some 159 works, into an endowment for a semi-public library of which he was the trustee and librarian. His collection was the biggest and most varied in the study.

The study has a table comparing book ownership rates for Bursa, Istanbul, Russe, Sofia and Salonica. The rate of book ownership is higher for Sofia than for Salonica, but lower than for Istanbul.

Trabzon (1795-1846):¹⁰⁰⁷ For the period covered in this study there is a seven year gap (1812-1818) for which records are deficient. The author gives a breakdown of inheritance entries by year, quarter, level of wealth, and house ownership. Of the 369 inheritance entries, 81 include book owners (22%). Of these 81 book owners, 35 had only one book and eight had two, so that a total of 43 persons or more than half of all book owners (53.1%) had at most two books. A further ten people had three to five books. No female book owner possessed more than six books. Only three women had books other than the Qur’an or *An’ām-i sharīf*. There were 20 persons with more than ten books, fifteen people with more than 20, and twelve people with more than 30 books.

Conclusion

The Sarajevo inheritance inventories show that book ownership was not confined to a particular social stratum. Book owners included men and women, townsfolk and villagers, ‘*ulamā*’ and artisans, rich and poor. The price of books could vary considerably from religious primers and collections of *du’ā*’ at the cheaper end of the spectrum to richly decorated Qur’ans and works of jurisprudence which could cost a fortune and were comparable in value to jewellery, weapons, clocks and decorations for horses, at the other. The affordability of at least some books explains their relatively wide diffusion in society. However, the fact that access to books was limited to those with literacy in Arabic, Turkish

¹⁰⁰⁵ Sabev, “Private book collections”, p. 46.

¹⁰⁰⁶ Sabev, “Private book collections”, pp. 46, 47.

¹⁰⁰⁷ Abdullah Saydam, “Trabzon’da halkın kitap olma düzeyi (1795-1846)”, *Millî Eğitim* 170 (2006), pp. 187-201.

and Persian meant that in practice books were useful to only a small minority. As a result, the great majority of book owners were male town-dwellers who had received instruction in Arabic, Turkish or Persian, whether by attending *madrassa* or through less formal channels of education.

In terms of division by subject, the most common book was the Qur'an in one form or another. This was followed by religious primers (especially *Risāle-i Birkawī* or *Waṣīyyetnāme*) books on Arabic grammar, dictionaries, and works of jurisprudence. In other words, these were books with either religious value or practical application. Nevertheless, inventories register a considerable number of works on other subjects, especially literature and history.

Unfortunately, the types of works owned by non-Muslims remain obscure, as they are usually registered as “books of the Christians” or “a Jewish book.” The only exception is in the case of a Jewish book owner reported to have owned medical books.

The inventories show that works by Bosnian authors were relatively rare, with Sūdī's commentaries on Persian classical works being the most common. Remarkably, a Bosnian translation of the *Risāla-i Birkawī* from 1225/1810 belonged to a woman.

In general, women owned just one book (the Qur'an) or at best a few books. However, there were four cases of women with medium-size collections, ranging from 22 to 64 works.

Inheritance inventories reveal what was probably only a fraction of the books in private hands, many of which have not survived the ravages of time and unfavourable historical circumstances. They do, however, provide unique evidence of the circulation of books and their value. Data from the Sarajevo inheritance inventories also demonstrate that books had a wide diffusion in society and the idea that Bosnia under Ottoman rule was a cultural wasteland – a view one still encounters at the popular level – is completely without foundation. Some of the biggest book collections belonged not to 'ulamā', but to craftsmen and merchants. The Ottoman Turkish language played an important role in the transmission of works originally written in Arabic and Persian, but Persian was not solely the language of poetry, but was occasionally used for composing theological and historiographical works. Evidence from the inventories also shows interest on the part of ordinary people in the religions and cultures of “the other” (the Psalms in Turkish translation and two cases of books in “the language of Greece”). The notion that no cultural

exchange took place at the level of “high culture” is therefore at the very least not fully accurate.