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## Chapter Five: Kadi Šālih ‘Izzat Ḥromozāde and his Books: a Case Study of Book ownership in Late 12<sup>th</sup>/18<sup>th</sup> and Early 13<sup>th</sup>/19<sup>th</sup> Century Sarajevo

### 5.1 Introduction

The present chapter charts the life and career of Šālih ‘Izzat Ḥromozāde, a court judge (*kadi*) from Sarajevo who lived in the late 12<sup>th</sup>/18<sup>th</sup> and early 13<sup>th</sup>/19<sup>th</sup> centuries and his book collection. The aim is to reconstruct the biography of a book owner and bibliophile and to examine his collection in the light of the book collections registered in the inheritance inventories between 1118/1707 and 1244/1828. A recent study by the Croatian scholar Tatjana Paić-Vukić about another *kadi* from Sarajevo, Muṣṭafā Muḥibbī (d. 1270/1854), has shown how much one can learn about a person on the basis of his or her book collection.<sup>1008</sup> In the literature, *kadi* Šālih ‘Izzat Ḥromozāde’s book collection is mentioned as one of the most important and largest private Bosnian Muslim book collections from the Ottoman period. This claim is made without any attempt to demonstrate its validity.<sup>1009</sup> This chapter endeavours to clarify that claim.

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<sup>1008</sup> Tatjana Paić-Vukić, *The World of Mustafa Muhibbi*.

<sup>1009</sup> “By their size and value the collections of *kadi* Hromić [Ḥromozāde], Muidović, Kasumagić, Muzaferija and Džino particularly stand out”, [translation by Asim Zubčević], Hazim Šabanović, “Gazi Husrevbegova biblioteka u Sarajevu” in *Gazi Husrev-begova biblioteka: pet stoljeća u misiji bošnjačke kulture* [Gāzī Hüsrev-bey Library: Five Centuries in the Mission of Bosniac Culture], ed. Enes Kujundžić (Sarajevo: Gazi Husrev-begova biblioteka, El-Kalem, 1421./2000.), p. 98. The *kadi* Šālih ‘Izzat Ḥromozāde collection is mentioned passingly in the very first volume of the Gāzī Hüsrev-bey manuscript catalogues: *GHL I*, xxiii. The few texts about the collection include: Hatidža Čar-Drnda, “Neki legati Osman-Šehdijine biblioteke“, *Anali XV-XVI* (1990), pp. 244-247. The author gives a brief description of three book charters with book titles in Arabic script: the *kadi* Šālih ‘Izzat charter from 1828; the ḥāfiẓ ‘Uthmān-afandī charter for the endowment of 103 books for the ‘Uthmān Shahdī library on 27 Rajab 1247/ 1 January 1832 (S69/82) and the ḥāj Ibrāhīm-āghā endowment of 171 books for ‘Ayni-bey’s *maktab* in Sarajevo on 19 Rabī‘ al-Ākhir 1252/3 August 1836 (S75/103, 104). See also: Hivzija Hasandedić, “Hromo, Hromozade, Hromići iz Stoca” [the Hromo, Hromozade, Hromići from Stolac], *Hercegovina: časopis za historijsko i kulturno nasljeđe* 11-12 (2000), pp. 95-98; Fehim Nametak, “Važniji legati u rukopisnom fondu Gazi Husrev-begove biblioteke u Sarajevu” [Some major bequests among The Gāzī Hüsrev-bey Library holdings in Sarajevo] in *Gazi Husrev-begova biblioteka: pet stoljeća u misiji bošnjačke kulture*, pp. 170-171. For a more extensive recent treatment of the biography of *kadi* Šālih ‘Izzat Ḥromozāde, see: Asim Zubčević, “Doprinos porodice Hromić bosanskoj kulturi knjige u 19. stoljeću/The contribution of the Hromić family to the culture of the book in 19<sup>th</sup> century Bosnia.”

Before taking a closer look at kadi Şālih ‘Izzat Ḥromozāde’s own life and books, one should first note that, in contrast to the inheritance records which list the books that once formed part of a dead person’s estate and so were eventually sold off or otherwise divided up following the death of their owner, the Şālih ‘Izzat Ḥromozāde collection has been largely preserved together. This is because its owner made it into an endowment, as evidenced by the endowment charter. Today both the book collection and the charter are kept at the Gāzī Hüsrev-bey library in Sarajevo.<sup>1010</sup>

Charters (Arabic: *waqfiyya*; Turkish: *vaqfiye*, *vakıfnāme*; Bosnian: *vakufnama*) issued for the endowment of books are next in importance to inheritance records as sources for studying book ownership. They are much fewer in number than the inheritance records and they cannot compare with them in terms of the numbers of books or book owners they reveal. But, they complement inheritance records with data about books that did not end up as part of an estate.<sup>1011</sup>

Charters reflect a culture in which donating books for public use was considered an act of piety. It was also an act which bestowed a measure of social prestige on the donor. At the same time donating books was probably associated with aspirations of social advance because persons of high social standing would sometimes place books in their endowments. Other motives for endowing books may have been more prosaic, such as keeping a patiently assembled or an expensive book collection intact and safeguarding it against its being divided up or auctioned off by the heirs. These motives did not necessarily exclude one another.

There were several ways in which a book or books could become endowed in Ottoman Bosnia and in the Ottoman Empire in general. Most commonly, a person would simply donate a book to a mosque, *maktab* (elementary school), *madrasa* (school of higher

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<sup>1010</sup> For the kadi Şālih ‘Izzat Ḥromozade charter, see: S66/207, 208. A transcript of the charter is also found in *Tāriḫ-i Anwarī*, XX, pp. 266-269. *Tāriḫ-i Anwarī* is a collection of 28 volumes of documents copied by Muḥammad Anwarī Kadić (d.1931) from the Sarajevo court registers (*sijills*), from various manuscripts and other sources. For its description, see: Ms.7301-7328, *GHL V*, pp. 389, 390. The *Tāriḫ-i Anwarī* covers the period 766/1364-1346/1928. It is written mainly in Ottoman Turkish, with an occasional text in Arabic and Persian. The section from the Austro-Hungarian period is written in the Bosnian language and Roman script. For more on *Tāriḫ-i Anwarī*, see Alma Veladžić-Omanović, *Sarajevo u hronici Muhameda Enverija Kadića u periodu 1839-1878* [Sarajevo in Muhamed Enveri Kadić’s Chronicle 1839-1878] (unpublished M.A. thesis) (Sarajevo, 2009).

<sup>1011</sup> Other sources include wills (*waṣiyyatnāme*), book lists, ownership statements and ownership seals.

learning), *takka* (dervish lodge) or library. In such cases evidence of the bequest is recorded, usually in the form of a short statement, often written in donor's hand, inside the cover pages of the donated book. The manuscripts and books kept in the Gāzī Hüsrev-bey Library in Sarajevo furnish many examples of one-book bequests. Basheskī's *Chronicle*, introduced in a previous chapter, is one example. Its autograph has two notes of bequest. The first is an undated note that reads: "This history book (*tārīkh*) was made an endowment (*waqf*) for the commoners and the elite by the poor scribe (*kātib*) Shawqī mullā Muṣṭafā Basheskī, may God have mercy on him. Recite *al-Fātiḥa*<sup>1012</sup> for his soul in the name of God."<sup>1013</sup> The second note was written in 1917 by one Muḥammad Alajbegović and it reads: "I again endow this personal notebook (*majmū'a*), which comprises the events and the registry of deceased persons recorded by the Sarajevan Basheskī Shawqī mullā Muṣṭafā, which remained in my possession for over 50 years, to the Gāzī Hüsrev-bey library, to be used on condition that it not be removed from the library in any way or be appropriated or exchanged, but is only to be made use of by readers inside the library and let us be mentioned in gentle prayer."

Another example of an endowment accompanied by a short note is provided by the note written into a copy of *Munyat al-muṣallī wa gunyat al-mubtadi'* (Wish of the Worshipper and the Wealth of the Novice),<sup>1014</sup> an instruction manual for performing obligatory prayers, endowed by Fāṭima the daughter of Ḥayḍar Du'ājizāde from the village of Lukovac near Sarajevo.<sup>1015</sup> Sometimes a note of endowment is more elaborate. A copy of *al-Kashf li-Mukhtaṣar al-Qudūrī* (the Unveiling for the Summary by al-Qudūrī)<sup>1016</sup> given by al-ḥāj Muḥammad Bichaqchī to the Gāzī Hüsrev-bey *maktab* in Sarajevo in 1264/1847 has a long note in Ottoman Turkish saying that the manuscript is to be used by the serving *ḥōca*

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<sup>1012</sup> *Al-Fātiḥa* (the Opening) is the seven-line opening chapter of the Qur'an and the most commonly recited portion of the Qur'an in Muslim rituals. Reciting *al-Fātiḥa* for the soul of the deceased is one of principal ways of honouring the dead in Muslim culture.

<sup>1013</sup> *MMB*, fol. 1a. See also: "Reading Molla Muṣṭafā Basheski's *Mecmua*", p. 508.

<sup>1014</sup> *GAL S I*, 659.

<sup>1015</sup> The note reads: *Waqqafa li-llāh ta'āla Fāṭima bint Ḥayḍar Du'ājizāde Luḳovaç karyesinden* (Fāṭima the daughter of Ḥayḍar Du'ājizāde from the village of Lukovac, bequeathed [this ms.] for the sake of God Almighty), Ms.1848, *GHL II*, p. 316.

<sup>1016</sup> This is a commentary on *Mukhtaṣar al-Qudūrī* (the Summary of al-Qudūrī) by an unknown writer, Ms. 96, *GHL II*, pp. 159, 160. *Mukhtaṣar al-Qudūrī* is a work of jurisprudence by Abū al-Ḥusayn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Qudūrī al-Baghdādī (d.428/1039), *GAL G I*, 175; *GAL S I*, 295. It was used as a textbook in Ottoman *madrasas*. In inheritance records it is usually referred to simply as *al-Qudūrī*.

(religious teacher) so long as he is alive and by whosoever succeeds him in the job afterwards. The note also stipulates that the appointed *maktab* teachers are entrusted with supervising the implementation of the endowment.<sup>1017</sup> A beautifully decorated copy of *Minaḥ al-ghaffār li-sharḥ tanwīr al-abṣār* (the Bestowal of the Much-Forgiving to the Explanation of Illuminating the Views),<sup>1018</sup> originally copied by the imam and Friday preacher of the Sultan Eyyüp mosque in Istanbul in 1082/1671, also has a long note of endowment in Arabic. The work was donated to the ‘Uthmān Shahdī library in 1230/1814 by ḥāj ‘Abd al-Fattāḥ, a kadi of Sarajevo, originally from Sofia.<sup>1019</sup>

Sometimes a person would donate a whole collection of books, a charter issued and its text transcribed into court registers. Many Bosnian charters are lost and are known to us only thanks to the fact that they were transcribed into court protocols (*sijills*). There are two book endowment charters recorded in the Sarajevo court protocols for the period 1118-1244/1707-1828, which are now kept at Gāzī Hüsrev-bey library (S33/210, 211; S66/207, 208). The shorter one concerns a collection of 74 manuscript volumes donated by ḥāj ‘Abd al-Qādir, son of ḥāj Ḥusayn-afandī, to Sarajevo’s Simzāde *madrasa* (established 1188/1775).<sup>1020</sup> The note of endowment is quite short and its text does not follow the standard format of an endowment charter. In fact, it should really be regarded as a note of endowment rather than a proper charter. The endowment of this book collection for the Simzāde *madrasa* represents an example of a so-called *waqf khayrī*, i.e. a bequest for the benefit of public.<sup>1021</sup> Alternatively, a donor could name members of his own family as the beneficiaries (*waqf ahlī* or *evlādiyet vakfi*), as was the case with the longer of the two Sarajevo book charters, i.e. the one issued for the endowment of kadi Ṣāliḥ ‘Izzat Ḥromozāde’s books which we shall be considering below. That collection was endowed as a *waqf ahlī* or *evlādiyet vakfi* and was to be kept by an appointed trustee and the male descendants of kadi Ṣāliḥ ‘Izzat Ḥromozāde. Should the male line of the family die out, the collection was to be

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<sup>1017</sup> Ms. 692, *GHL* II, pp. 159, 160.

<sup>1018</sup> This is a commentary on *Tanwīr al-abṣār wa jāmi‘ al-biḥār* (the Illumination of Views and the Gatherer of Seas). Both the commentary and the main text of this work on jurisprudence were written by Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh b. Aḥmad al-Timūrtāshī (d.cca 1007/1598), *GAL* G II, 311; *GAL* S II, 427.

<sup>1019</sup> Ms. 207, *GHL* II, pp. 550, 551. The catalogue entry reproduces the note.

<sup>1020</sup> The charter text is inscribed in the Sarajevo court registers (*sijills*) in the Gāzī Hüsrev-bey library and bears the date of 11 Jumādā al-Ākhir 1207/21 January 1793. See also: Zejnil Fajić, “Originali i prepisi vakufnama sačuvanih do danas”, p. 28.

<sup>1021</sup> R. Peters, “Waqf”, *EI*<sup>2</sup> XI, p. 60.

transferred to a public library. For or a *waqf ahlī* to eventually become a *waqf khayrī* is one of the standard conditions of endowment. The collection remains well preserved today and is kept in the Gāzī Hüsrev-bey library in Sarajevo.

In line with the three main questions posed in the introduction to this dissertation, the present chapter examines the following questions: 1) who was the collection's owner and donor?; 2) which books did he own and endow?; and, 3) what does his collection tell us about the Bosnian book culture of the period? The chapter provides a biography of the owner, an analysis of his collection in terms of its contents, and a comparison with book collections registered in the Sarajevo inheritance records between 1118/1707 and 1244/1828. Finally, a list of the titles from the collection is given in the Appendix in alphabetical order, along with facsimiles of some manuscripts and a transcription and facsimiles of certain documents about the collection's donor.

## 5.2 Şāliḥ 'Izzat Ḥromozāde's Biography

According to the charter of 9 Muḥarram 1244/22 July 1828 (the year which forms the upper watershed for this study into book ownership), written on two pages of the Sarajevo court registers, kadi Şāliḥ 'Izzat-afandī, son of Ismā'īl and a resident of Sarajevo's Ḥallāj Dāwūd quarter (*maḥalla*), endowed a copy of the Qur'an and 158 other codices containing various texts (*bir cild-i Muṣḥaf-ı şerīf ile yüz elli sekiz cild kütüb-ü mütenevvi'a*).<sup>1022</sup> Yūsuf, son of Ḥusayn, was appointed the *waqf* trustee (*mütevellī*), on condition that after kadi Şāliḥ 'Izzat's death, the duty of supervision pass on to his sons Muḥammad Sa'īd and 'Alī Shākīr. They were to be succeeded by their sons, who in turn were to be succeeded by their sons. "Should, God-forbid (*me'āzallāh*), the male line of the family die out," the collection was to be deposited at Sarajevo's 'Uthmān Shāhdī library (established 1170/1757). In other words, the collection was originally defined as *waqf ahlī* and was to become public *waqf* and stored in a public library only if the family's male line ran out. It goes without saying that the provisions of the charter are by no means peculiar to Ottoman Bosnia, but represent a form of endowment with a long established tradition in Muslim culture.

That is all one can learn from the charter about kadi Şāliḥ 'Izzat, whose surname (Ḥromozāde) is not mentioned in the document, due to the fact that there were no official, fixed surnames in Ottoman Bosnia. However, thanks to the fact that his book collection has

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<sup>1022</sup> S66/207, 208. A transcript of kadi Şāliḥ 'Izzat's Ḥromozāde charter is also found in *Tāriḫ-i Anwarī*, XX, pp. 266-269, also quoted in Alma Omanović-Veladžić, *Sarajevo u hronici Muhameda Enverija Kadića*, p. 87.

been preserved and catalogued, it is possible to fill in various biographical details. Additional information is supplied by documents found in the Sarajevo court records and at the Başbanklık Osmanlı Arşivi (the Ottoman Archives of the Prime Minister's Office) in Istanbul.<sup>1023</sup>

The absence of fixed surnames in Ottoman Bosnia can make it hard to piece together information about individuals. It is not unusual to find variation even regarding the first names as they appear in documents. The problem is compounded in the case of people with common names and *Şālih* was certainly such a name.<sup>1024</sup> Identifying kadi *Şālih* 'Izzat *Ḥromozāde* is made somewhat easier thanks to the information that he lived in a particular Sarajevo quarter (*Ḥallāj Dāwūd*) and his being a *kadi* (expressed with the epithet *eşraf-ı kuzāt-ı kirāmdan* meaning "from among the noble judges").<sup>1025</sup> Although the charter gives his father's name (Ismā'il), this information is of limited value, as Ottoman documents do not always give the father's name. As we shall see shortly, the notes and seals on his books reveal his surname to be *Ḥromozāde*. But, before introducing that piece of information let us take a look at some other documents about him.

The obvious starting point in searching for additional information about kadi *Şālih* 'Izzat *Ḥromozāde* is the Sarajevo court registers. The earliest reference to him that can be established with a degree of certainty comes from a document from 1221/1806. It involves the sale of a garden located next to the garden of *Khadija-khānım* "the wife of kadi (*eşraf-ı kuzātān*) *Şālih* 'Izzat-afandī."<sup>1026</sup> If kadi *Şālih* 'Izzat *Ḥromozāde* had a wife by name of *Khadija*, she was not his only wife, since the court protocols also register what appears to

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<sup>1023</sup> Hatt.00429; Hatt.1138/45301-A.

<sup>1024</sup> Although there is no study on the most popular Muslim names in Ottoman Bosnia, after examining Sarajevo inheritance records over a long period of time I can say that *Şālih* was one of the most popular names for Muslim boys in the 12<sup>th</sup>/18<sup>th</sup> and early 13<sup>th</sup>/19<sup>th</sup> centuries. For example, in the inheritance entry for 'Abdallāh bin Muḥarrām of 32 [sic] Rabī' al-Awwal 1212 there were 26 persons who owed this person money and five of them were called *Şālih*, S37/105.

<sup>1025</sup> It is noticeable that many kadis in the Sarajevo court registers have double first names (with or without a surname): Sulaymān Najīb-afandī, 'Abdallāh 'Ākif-afandī, Muḥammad Sa'īd-afandī, 'Uthmān Nūri-afandī, Şidqī Şālih-afandī, Rafdī 'Umar-afandī, etc. In the case of kadi *Şālih* an added reason for having a double name may have been the need to be distinguished among the many other *Şālihs*.

<sup>1026</sup> S46/87.

be his marriage to ‘Azīza, daughter of Aḥmad-afandī Kurkchizāde in Rabī‘ al-Awwal 1230/February-March 1815.<sup>1027</sup>

With regard to his children, we have seen from the charter that kadi Šālih ‘Izzat had two sons. One of them, Muḥammad Sa‘īd, son of Šālih ‘Izzat-afandī from Ḥallāj Dāwūd *maḥalla*, married Hāshima, daughter of Darwish Šālih-bey Bābizāde.<sup>1028</sup> Kadi Šālih ‘Izzat appears to have had at least one daughter, since the court registers show that, on 3 Šafar 1228/5 February 1813, a “virgin of age” (*el-bikrū’l-bāliġa*), one Sharīfa Maryam, daughter of kadi Šālih ‘Izzat-afandī (*bint’l-eṣrāfi’l-kuḏāt Šālih ‘Izzet-efendi*) from Ḥallāj Dāwūd *maḥalla*, represented by kadi Sulaymān Najīb-afandī, did marry kadi Fayḏallāh Rāghib-afandī [Kurkchizāde], son of Aḥmad-afandī, who was represented by Ṣun‘allāh-afandī ibn Aḥmad-afandī from Yaḥyā-pasha *maḥalla*.<sup>1029</sup> The marriage of kadi Šālih ‘Izzat Ḥromozāde’s daughter to a kadi testifies to his family’s connections to the wider network of ‘ulamā’ (scholars) and a prominent Sarajevo family.

Kadi Šālih ‘Izzat Ḥromozāde also figures in a number of other documents. According to the inheritance record for Suleymān-afandī (19 Dhū’l-Ḥijja 1229/2 December 1814), Khadija, daughter of al-Sayyid Muḥammad-afandī and grand-mother of a minor (also called Muḥammad), appointed kadi (*eṣrāf-ı kuḏatan faẓiletlü*) Šālih ‘Izzat-afandī to demand

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<sup>1027</sup> El-zevc en-nākih eṣrāf-i kuḏāt-ı kirāmdan faẓiletlü Sālih ‘Izzet-efendi ibn İsmā‘il Çelebi ‘an maḥalle-i ḥāc ‘İsā, vekil Biçakçı el-ḥāc Muḥammed bin el-ḥāc Muḥarrem-beşe ‘an mahalle-i mezküre el-zevcet el-bikr el-bāliġa ‘Azīza bint Kūrçizāde Aḥmed-efendi ‘an maḥalle-i Yaḥyā-paşa vekiluhā mollā Aḥmed bin mollā Muḥammed ‘an maḥalle-i mezküre bi şehādet-i Pīrāoġli Muṣṭafā ‘alemdār bin Muṣṭafā-āġa ‘an maḥalle-i Mollā ‘Arab Cedid ve mollā Feyzullāh bin el-ḥāc Hüseyin ‘an maḥalle-i Kālīn el-ḥāc ‘Alī el-mehr el-müeccel 75,000 yalnız yetmiş bin akçe dir veḳa‘a el-‘akd fi rā [Rabī‘ al-Awwal] 1230 [February-March 1815], S55/314; *Tārīkh-i Anwarī*, XVIII, p. 386. As we can see, this document gives a different residential quarter (*maḥalla*) as his place of residence from the charter. The Čurčićs are a well-known Sarajevo family of merchants and scholars with a long history of making public endowments. The present day Faculty of Islamic Studies, University of Sarajevo, was originally built as the School for *Sharī‘a* Judges in 1887 on a plot of land donated by the family. For more on them, see: Alma Omanović-Veladžić, *Sarajevo u hronici Muhameda Enverija Kadića*, pp. 68-71.

<sup>1028</sup> *Tārīkh-i Anwarī* XXII, p. 133. I would like to thank Ms Alma Veladžić-Omanović for bringing this information to my attention. If his surname was Babić, he may have been related to Muṣṭafā-bey Babić who endowed 83 codices for a *madrassa* in Visoko, a town just to the northwest of Sarajevo, in 1256/1840. For more on this, see: Osman Lavić, “Muṣṭafā-paşa Babić i njegova rukopisna ostavština” [Muṣṭafā-pasha Babić and his manuscript bequest], *Anali* XXXIV (2013), pp. 59-81.

<sup>1029</sup> S53/133. The dowry (*mehr*) was 71,000 faultly (*çuruk*) akçe. See also: *Tārīkh-i Anwarī*, XXVIII, p. 81.



registration of property.<sup>1030</sup> Kadi Şālih ‘Izzat-afandī Ḥromozāde appears as a witness concerning the property shares of four minor children of Fāṭima bint al-ḥāj Ibrāhīm (wife of al-ḥāj Sulaymān bin Muḥammad) dated of 5 Dhū’l-Ḥijja 1242/30 June 1827.<sup>1031</sup> He is also mentioned as one of the creditors of the deceased, to the amount of 1,800 *guruş*.<sup>1032</sup> In a document (*ḥüccet*) of 25 Rabī’ al-Awwal 1243/16 October 1827, kadi Şālih ‘Izzat-afandī appears as a witness to a marriage annulment and separation (*fesh ve tefrik*).<sup>1033</sup>

#### 5.2.a: The Trouble-maker Kadi?

Three documents from the same period show kadi Şālih ‘Izzat Ḥromozade playing an active role in the political affairs of Sarajevo at the time. The first document, dated 20 Şafar 1242/23 September 1826, is a petition sent by 374 prominent Bosnians, led by several muftis, kadis, imams, *khaṭībs* (the Friday prayer preachers), feudal lords and a commander of the Janissary corps, in which they appeal to the Sultan not to follow through with the “innovations” he had promulgated and to restore the old order and old military formations. In effect, they were petitioning against the abolition of the Janissaries.<sup>1034</sup> One of the petitioners was kadi Şālih ‘Izzatī (a facsimile of the document is given in the Appendix.). As we can see, his name is written with a long “ī” (‘Izzatī).

The second document is a letter of 11 Rabī’ al-Ākhir 1243/1 November 1827, sent by the Bosnian governor ‘Abd al-Raḥīm pasha to inform the Porte about political conditions in Bosnia. The governor accuses various people, including some ‘*ulāmā*’, of trying to undermine the ruling order and even of cooperating with the Austro-Hungarian enemy.<sup>1035</sup>

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<sup>1030</sup> S55/25. In his estate Sulaymān-afandī had 21 volumes of books as well as *awrāq-ı parīshān* (“loose papers”).

<sup>1031</sup> S66/38. Another witness was kadi ‘Uthmān Nūrī-afandī.

<sup>1032</sup> *Der zimmet-i Şālih ‘Izzet-efendī 1,800 guruş* (S55/25).

<sup>1033</sup> S66/88. The document was issued in the presence of ‘Abd al-Raḥīm pasha. The case involves Fatima daughter of a holder of a large estate (*za’im*) Ibrāhīm-āghā from the fortress of Livno (western Bosnia), who was visiting Sarajevo as a guest. Apparently, she was married or, more likely, betrothed to Muḥammad son of Muḥammad Ismā’il[agić] when both of them were minors. She was only 1.5 years old.

<sup>1034</sup> BDA Hatti Hümayün Tasnifi, No.21880 L/1. The translation of the documents is given in: Aličić, *Pokret za autonomiju Bosne od 1831. do 1832. godine*, (Sarajevo: Orijentalni Institut, 1996), pp. 166, 167, but without the names of the 374 petitioners.

<sup>1035</sup> ‘Abd al-Raḥīm pāshā served as Bosnian governor from 22 Jumādā al-Awwal 1242 to 6 Şafar 1244/22 December 1826 to 18 August 1828. For more on him, see: Salih Sidki Hadžihuseinović Muvekkīt, *Povijest Bosne, II* [History of Bosnia], translation by Abdulah Polimac et al. (Sarajevo: El-Kalem, 1999), pp. 883-904. See also:

He singles out a certain kadi Şālih ‘Izzatī the Sarajevan (*Sarāyli Şālih ‘Izzatī*) as one of the ringleaders (*ruasāy*), steeped in vice (*munḥemik-i şerr*) to which people are enticed (*taḥrīk olan*). He recommends that the kadi be transferred to a post outside Bosnia, along with some other troublemakers, but in such a way as to make their transfer appear a reward: “Let them be expelled, so that it will be ordered as a reward for their sincerity and service, which is given them each for a post outside Bosnia and in which [service] they have clearly displayed the intention of sowing discord.”<sup>1036</sup>

The third document is another letter by the governor ‘Abd al-Raḥīm pasha. Dated 29 Jumādā al-Ākhir 1243/17 January 1828, the governor writes as to where the persons in question should be sent. For Şālih ‘Izzat-afandī he recommends the *kadiship* of Kratovo in present day Macedonia.<sup>1037</sup> It is not known whether this recommendation was carried through.

If kadi Şālih ‘Izzatī Sarayli was indeed one and the same person as Şālih ‘Izzat Ḥromozāde, then the circumstances surrounding his charter (its date is 9 Muḥarram 1244/12 July 1828.), i.e. six months after the second letter by ‘Abd al-Raḥīm pasha, place his book endowment in a particular context. Was he motivated by the desire to protect his books knowing that he might not return from what was a form of exile? Without additional evidence we will never know for sure. The letters of ‘Abd al-Raḥīm pasha suggest that kadi Şālih ‘Izzat Ḥromozāde was originally from Sarajevo. This is an important piece of information to which I shall return when discussing his family origins.

#### 5.2.b: Litigation Over a Book

Another document which sheds light on the life of kadi Şālih ‘Izzat Ḥromozāde is a law suit brought against him by the mufti of Sarajevo about six months before his book charter was issued. According to the details of the case, the plaintiff was mufti Muḥammad Shākir, who

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Vedad Biščević, *Bosanski namjesnici osmanskog doba 1463-1878* [Bosnian governors of the Ottoman era] (Sarajevo: Connectum, 2006), pp. 347-351.

<sup>1036</sup> *Bosna'nın gayri meḥallede birer menşab tevcīh ve vuşul-i merām-i mefsedet umniyesiyle zāhiren ibrāz ettikleri hizmet ve şadaqatlarına şüret-i mukāfāt buyurularak tard ve teb'īd olunmaları için*. Hatt.00429. The document is kept in Başbakanlık Arşivi in Istanbul.

<sup>1037</sup> Hatt.1138/45301-A. Kratovo is one of the oldest towns in the present-day Republic of Macedonia. It served as an important economic centre already in Roman times. During the Ottoman period the Kratovo *kadilik* was part of the Ćustendil *sanjak* (region). According to the same letter, ‘Uthmān Nūrī-afandī was to be relocated to Silistra (Bulgaria), while the place of transfer for the third person is illegible.

had sold Šāliḥ ‘Izzat-afandī a copy of *Shāhidī*. The book in question was *Tuḥfa-i Shāhidī*, a popular Persian-Turkish dictionary in verse compiled by Ibrāhīm Shāhidī b. Hudā’ī-dede Mughlawī (d.957/1550).<sup>1038</sup> The dictionary was sold for five *guruşes*, with a delayed payment deadline expiring on 14 Sha‘bān 1243/1 March 1828. In so far as the plaintiff claimed the 14<sup>th</sup> of Sha‘bān to have commenced already, the deadline had expired and payment was due. In his response, the defendant, Šāliḥ ‘Izzat-afandī, acknowledged the debt and the deadline, but claimed as an extenuating circumstance that he had not realised that the 14<sup>th</sup> of Sha‘bān fell the Friday in question. To resolve the case, the court summoned two witnesses (ḥāj ‘Uthmān son of ‘Umar, and mullā Ibrāhīm, son of ḥāj Muştafā). Both testified to having seen the new crescent of the month of Sha‘bān for the year 1243 on the western horizon that Friday, its ends both pointing towards Mecca. Accordingly, it would not be the first day of Sha‘bān until the following day, i.e. the Saturday. In the end, the kadi warned Šāliḥ ‘Izzat-afandī to pay the debt, the deadline for which was to expire the following day. The entry ends with the date: 14 Sha‘bān 1243/1 March 1828.<sup>1039</sup>

What is striking about the case is, first of all, the fact that it involves a book. Second, the speed with which the mufti brought charges against the buyer: the very day the deadline expired. Why such haste? And could Šāliḥ ‘Izzat-afandī really have been unaware of the precise dates? Whatever the circumstances, the court decided in favour of the kadi, giving him an extra day to make payment and save face. Bad relations or a personal fallout between two men seems an obvious reason for the case having been brought to court, except that the two seem to have been close to one another, or at least became so later. Mufti Muḥammad Shākir represented “mullā Muḥammad Sa‘īd, son of ‘Izzat Salih-afandī from Ḥallāj Dāwūd *maḥalla*” during his marriage to Hāshima Bābizāde on 23 Jumādā al-Awwal 1252/5 September 1830.<sup>1040</sup>

Mufti Muḥammad Shākir was a prominent opponent of central government from among the Sarajevo ‘*ulāmā*’ and one of the signatories of the appeal against the abolition of Janissaries along with kadi Šāliḥ ‘Izzat Ḥromozāde (see the Appendix).<sup>1041</sup> He refused to

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<sup>1038</sup> *Flügel* I, 131.

<sup>1039</sup> For a transcription of the document, see *Appendix: Litigation over a book*.

<sup>1040</sup> *Tārīkh-i Anwarī*, XXII, p. 133.

<sup>1041</sup> Mehmed Remzi Delić, “Zašto je šejhul-islam smijenio sarajevskog mufiju Muidovića” [Why did shaikh al-islam sack Sarajevo mufti Muidović], *Gajret* 12 (1936), pp. 189-191, also quoted in Fikret Karčić, *The Bosniaks and the Challenges of Modernity: Late Ottoman and Hapsburg Times* (El-Kalem; Sarajevo, 1999), p. 44. Overall, he served

wear the newly mandated *sārik* (a cap with a piece of clothing wrapped around it) instead of the traditional turban on the grounds that it represented an innovation in religion.<sup>1042</sup> As a result, shaykh al-islam ‘Abd al-Wahhāb dismissed him from his post on 1 Dhū’l-Ḥijja 1245/24 May 1830. Eventually, he changed his mind, agreed to wear the new headgear and was reinstated as Sarajevo mufti 17 Jumādā al-Ākhir 1248/11 November 1832.

A census of Sarajevo’s male inhabitants completed in 1257/1841 shows that Mullā Sa’id, son of Ṣāliḥ-afandī, “tall in stature, beardless, 24 years old” and his brother “Alija [‘Alī] son of Ṣāliḥ-afandī, of medium height, beardless, 21 years old” lived in a household in Ḥallāj Dāwūd *maḥalla*.<sup>1043</sup> There is no mention of their father. Since the census gives the names of absent members of households, the fact that kadi Ṣāliḥ ‘Izzat Ḥromozāde is not mentioned suggests that he must have been dead by then. There is no inheritance entry for him in the Sarajevo court registers, which were kept until 1268/1852, nor is there reference in those records to him ever serving as a kadi in Sarajevo.<sup>1044</sup> Basheskī, who is thought to have died around 1807, does not mention him in the *Chronicle*. However, we can fill in various details about his career path on the basis of the notes about the acquisition of various books.

He bought a copy of a collection of fatwas in Turkish entitled *Fetāvā-yı ‘Alī Efendī*, for 25 *guruş* on 17 Rajab 1209/7 February 1795 and signed himself as a kadi in Bijeljina (Turkish: *Biline*), a town in northeast Bosnia.<sup>1045</sup> His notes also show that he twice served as kadi in Bosna Brodu in central Bosnia. While his first year of service is not stated, his note of 5

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as Sarajevo mufti during the period 1826-1855. Muidović was also a distinguished composer of epitaphs. For more on that, see: Salih Trako, “Kronogrami sarajevskog muftije Muhamed Šakir efendije Muidovića [The chronograms of Sarajevo mufti Muhamed Šakir-afandī Muidović], *Anali* I (1972), pp. 49-65.

<sup>1042</sup> Paić-Vukić, *the World of Mustafa Muhibbi*, p. 66.

<sup>1043</sup> Mula Muhamed Mestvica, *Popis uzajamnog jamčenja stanovništva u Sarajevu iz 1841. godine* [Census on the Occasion of Mutual Guarantees of the Population of Sarajevo in 1841], tr. from Turkish by Derviš Korkut (Sarajevo, 1970), p. 128. This means that at the time of the charter in 1224/1828, his two sons were eleven and eight years old respectively.

<sup>1044</sup> Čar-Drnda states that kadi Ṣāliḥ ‘Izzat served in Sarajevo without offering supporting evidence.

<sup>1045</sup> Ms. 693, *GHL* II, pp. 790, 791. This collection of fatwas was compiled by shaykh al-islam ‘Alī-afandī b. Muḥammad al-Chataljāwī (d.1103/1691); ‘OM II, 61. It was copied by ‘Alī b. Muḥammad from the village of Bila (near Travnik, central Bosnia) on Sunday 22 Jumādā al-Awwal 1137/6 February 1725.

Muḥarriram 1226/30 January 1811 says that he was serving in this town for a second time.<sup>1046</sup>

His note of purchase on a copy of *al-Hidāya fī al-fiqh al-ḥanafī* (Guide to Hanafi Jurisprudence) by shaykh al-islam Burhān al-dīn ‘Alī b. Abū Bakr al-Marghīnānī al-Ḥanafī (d.593/1196)<sup>1047</sup> reads: “By His grace and generosity - glory and exalted is He - [this ms.] entered the possession of poor ‘Izzatī Ṣāliḥ, discharged [kadi] from the kadiship of Aqchaḥiṣār Tīrān [in present-day Albania] by lawful purchase in the year 1217 [1802/1803], the price 150.”<sup>1048</sup> Although the monetary unit is not stated, it can be assumed to be in *guruş*. The manuscript is decorated with an illuminated frontispiece (*unwān*) and has a leather binding. Another manuscript he purchased in the same town was a copy of a work entitled *Sharḥ Mu‘addal al-ṣalāh* (the Balanced in Prayer).<sup>1049</sup>

His notes also show that he served as kadi in the town of Duvno (Turkish: *Duğne*) in western Bosnia: “By the generosity of the Exalted [this ms.] entered into the possession of poor Ṣāliḥ (?) in the *qaḍā’* of Duğne, may he be pardoned.”<sup>1050</sup> He signed himself as kadi of Duvno on the following manuscripts, too:

1) A collective volume (*majmū‘a*)<sup>1051</sup> of several works: a) *Rawḍāt al-jannāt fī uṣūl al-i‘tiqāḍāt* (Garden Meadows on the Principles of Doctrines) by Ḥasan Kāfī al-Aqḥiṣārī al-Būsawī (d. 1025/1616), b) *Ṣubḥa-i sibyan* (A Breakfast for Children), an Arabic-Turkish dictionary in

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<sup>1046</sup> Ms. 687, *GHL* II, p. 408. There are five more manuscripts on which he notes down his serving as kadi in Bosna Brodu without giving the year: Ms. 698, *GHL* I, pp. 327, 328; Ms. 215, *GHL* II, pp. 793, 794; Ms. 2174, *GHL* II, pp. 427, 428; Ms. 697, *GHL* II, pp. 522, 523; Ms. 251, *GHL* II, pp. 813, 814. In the 12<sup>th</sup>/18<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup>/19<sup>th</sup> centuries the *kaḍalīk* of Bosna Brod or Bosna Brodu consisted of two subdistricts (*nāḥiyas*) centering on the towns of Travnik and Zenica in central Bosnia, and so kadi Ṣāliḥ ‘Izzat could have served in either town.

<sup>1047</sup> This is an expanded version of his shorter work entitled *Bidāyat al-mubtadi’* (The Beginning of the Novice), *GAL* G I, 376; *GAL* S I, 644. This is a complete work of two parts in one volume copied by Khiḍr b. al-Sayyid ‘Alī from Istanbul on 12 Jumādā al-Ākhir 1084/24 September 1673, Ms. 435, *GHL* II, pp. 197, 198.

<sup>1048</sup> بفضله وكرمه عز شأنه و تعالى دخل في ملك الفقير عزتي صالح المنفصل عن قضاء اقح حصار نيران بالشراء الشرعي سنة ١٢١٧ قيمت ١٥٠ . *Aqchaḥiṣār* (Turkish: *Akçeḥiṣār*) was the Ottoman name for Krujë, a town situated 32 km northwest of Tirana.

<sup>1049</sup> This is a commentary by Ismā‘īl-afandī Güzelḥiṣārī (d.), *GAL* G II, 440; *GAL* S II, 655. The main text entitled *Mu‘addal al-ṣalāh* was written Muḥammad b. Pīr ‘Alī al-Birkawī (d.981/1573), *GAL* G II, 440, n. 9; Ms. 1593, *GHL* II, pp. 545, 546.

<sup>1050</sup> بكرمه تعالى دخل في يد الفقير صالح الموق بقضاء دوعنة عفى عنه

<sup>1051</sup> Ms. 794, *GHL* I, p. 484.

verse by Abū al-Faḍl Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Rūmī, and c) *al-Tuḥfat al-hādiya – Luḡhat-i Dānistan* (the Leading Gift – Dictionary of Dānistan), a Persian-Turkish dictionary by Muḥammad b. ḥāj Ilyās.

2) *Multaqā al-abḥur* (The Meeting Place of the Seas), a work of jurisprudence by Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥalabī (d. 956/1549), used as a *madrassa* textbook.<sup>1052</sup>

3) *Nuṭaf min al-fiqh* (Drops from Jurisprudence), a work of jurisprudence by Abū al-Ḥasan (Ḥusayn) ‘Ali b. Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad al-Sujdī (d. 461/1068).<sup>1053</sup>

4) *Shamā’il al-nabiyy li al-Tirmidhī*, a work of Hadith, whose full title is: *al-Shamā’il al-nabawiyya wa al-khaṣā’il al-muṣṭafawiyya* (The Prophetic Qualities and the Chosen’s Traits) by Abū ‘Isā Muḥammad al-Tirmidhī (d. 279/892).<sup>1054</sup>

There are also several notes where he signed as the owner, without date or place.<sup>1055</sup>

Kadi Ṣāliḥ ‘Izzat Ḥromozāde’s notes show that he inherited some of his manuscripts. Four manuscripts from his collection bear a note in his hand to this effect (*bi al-‘irth* or *‘irthan*):

1) *Fatāwā-yi Qāḍikhān* (Fatwas by Qāḍikhān), a collection of fatwas by Fakhr al-dīn Ḥasan b. Maṣṣūr al-Ūzjandī al-Farghanī Qāḍikhān (d. 592/1196).<sup>1056</sup>

2) *Mushtamil al-aḥkām* (the Encompasser of Ordinances), a work of law by Yaḥyā b. ‘Abdallāh Fakhr al-dīn al-Rūmī al-Ḥanafī (d. after 880/1475).<sup>1057</sup>

3) *Sharḥ Mu‘addal al-ṣalāh* (Commentary on the Balanced in Prayer), the afore-mentioned commentary on a popular manual for the daily prayer (*ṣalāh*) by Ismā‘īl-afandī Güzelḥiṣārī.

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<sup>1052</sup> Ms. 1376, *GHL* II, p. 492; *GAL G* II, 432; *GAL S* II, 642.

<sup>1053</sup> Ms. 227, *GHL* II, pp. 163, 164; *GAL G* II, 198; *GAL S* I, 657; *GAL S* II, 270, 951.

<sup>1054</sup> Ms. 1790, *GHL* I, p. 269; *GAL G* I, 162.

<sup>1055</sup> Kadi Ṣāliḥ ‘Izzat Ḥromozāde’s service mainly inside Bosnia accords with the fact that “Lower-level kadis often came from families domiciled in the region...”, Suraiya Faroqhi, “Social Life in Cities”, *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire, Volume II 1600-1914*, eds. Halil İncelik with Donald Quataert, p. 576. Kadi Ṣāliḥ ‘Izzat Ḥromozāde’s contemporary, Muṣṭafā Muḥibbī, was a native of Sarajevo who served as a kadi and a court scribe in various capacities at local courts in Bosnia and in the present-day Bulgaria (Lovech) and Albania (Valona). Like kadi Ṣāliḥ ‘Izzat Ḥromozāde, in Bosnia Muḥibbī also served in Bijeljina 1831-32 and 1836-37, in addition to Sarajevo, Jajce, Vlasenica, and Gračanica. See: Paić-Vukić, *the World of Mustafa Muhibbi*, pp. 43, 44.

<sup>1056</sup> Ms. 271, *GHL* II, p. 718. The page with the note comes after the contents, on the left hand side. *GAL* I, 376.

<sup>1057</sup> Ms. 504, *GHL* II, pp. 401, 402; *Ahlwardt* IV, 244.

4) A collective volume (*majmū'a*) which comprises eight texts. In the charter the volume appears under the title of the first work: *Ta'lif Abi 'Abbās Taqiyy al-dīn Aḥmad fī tamyīz awliyā' al-Raḥmān* (the Writing of Abū 'Abbās Taqiyy al-dīn Aḥmad on Distinguishing the Friends of the Compassionate), a treatise by Aḥmad ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/1328) on saints.<sup>1058</sup>

Additional information about kadi Şāliḥ 'Izzat Ḥromozāde comes in the form of three ownership seals impressed on the pages of his books. The first is a small, round seal with the following inscription: '*abduḥ Şāliḥ 1195 [1780-81]*, meaning "His [God's] slave Şāliḥ." This seal is found on 30 codices of the Şāliḥ 'Izzatī Ḥromozāde collection. The second seal is also small, but more oval in shape and it reads: "Lord, make things easy for Şāliḥ".<sup>1059</sup> That seal is stamped on 13 codices in the collection. The third seal, large and oval in shape, has the following inscription: "The endowment of Ḥromozāde Şāliḥ 'Izzat-afandī 1284 [1867/68]."<sup>1060</sup> This seal was probably made at the time of the collection's transfer to the 'Uthmān Shāhdī library.<sup>1061</sup> It is stamped not only on the codices which bear one of the two smaller seals described above, but also on some codices which do not appear on the endowment charter. Those codices must have been added to the collection by Şāliḥ 'Izzatī Ḥromozāde's descendants, such as his son Muḥammad Sa'īd-afandī who signed some of them (see the Appendix for the images of the seals).

### 5.3 The Question of kadi Şāliḥ 'Izzat's Origins

The Gāzī Hüsrev-bey library catalogues often refer to kadi Şāliḥ 'Izzat Ḥromozāde as a native of Stolac, a town some 150 km south of Sarajevo. They also give Slavic form of his family name (*Ḥromozāde*) as *Hromić*.

This hypothesis of kadi Şāliḥ 'Izzat Ḥromozāde being from Stolac seems to rest on two suppositions. The first relates to a note found on the margins of a manuscript from his collection, which reads: "In the year 1116 [1704-05], major snows fell. The wheat crops were great and profitable. Governor İbrāhīm pasha stayed in our town."<sup>1062</sup> (See Appendix for an image of the marginal note). According to the catalogue, "the place to which this note

<sup>1058</sup> Ms. 675, *GHL* III, pp. 96-98; *Ahlwardt*, 2082.

<sup>1059</sup> رب سهل امور صالح.

<sup>1060</sup> وقف حروموزاده صالح عزت افندی ۱۲۸۴.

<sup>1061</sup> The book collection of 'Abd al-Bāqī-afandī Jīnozāde, now kept at the Gāzī Hüsrev bey library, bears a seal with same year of bequest.

<sup>1062</sup> *Bin yüz on altı tārīhinde 'azīm qarlar yağmışdır unlukler 'azīm [ve] 'aziz oldı vāli İbrāhīm paşa kaşabamıza nüzül eyledi.*

alludes is not stated, but it is certainly somewhere in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and the above-mentioned Ibrāhīm-pasha is probably the man from Stolac (*Stočanin*) who became a *silāḥdār* [a sword-bearer] in 1703 in Istanbul and may, within the year, have returned to visit his native place...”<sup>1063</sup>

This argument is hardly persuasive. First of all, the handwriting in the note is quite different from the notes with which Šāliḥ ‘Izzat Ḥromozāde signed as book owner. Second, since we do not know who wrote the note, “our town” could be any town and does even have to be one in Ottoman Bosnia. Even if the note does refer to Stolac, Šāliḥ ‘Izzat Ḥromozāde could have acquired it without having any personal connection with the town, just as he acquired manuscripts which originated in a variety of other places, from Bosnia to Central Asia.<sup>1064</sup>

The reason for this claim that kadi Šāliḥ ‘Izzat Ḥromozāde came from Stolac might be that a number of individuals with the surname *Ḥromizāde* and *Ḥromozāde* from southern Bosnia are recorded in catalogues as book copyists and book owners.<sup>1065</sup> In his study of Bosnian manuscript copyists, Muhamed Ždralović includes one “Abdullah Hromozade,” [‘Abdallāh Ḥromozāde] who copied manuscripts in Mostar, but was probably a native of Stolac, as one of the “excellent book copyists and calligraphers” of Ottoman Bosnia.<sup>1066</sup> A collection of charters from Stolac refers to several persons with the surname *Ḥromizāde* and *Ḥromozāde* who appear as witnesses in various court documents. Since the Slavic variant of these surnames would be *Hromić*, which happens to be the patronymic of a well-known

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<sup>1063</sup> Ms. 271, *GHL* II, p. 718.

<sup>1064</sup> A manuscript of *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* (the Sound of Bukhari), the most important collection of Prophet’s sayings in Sunni Islam, in the Šāliḥ ‘Izzat Ḥromozāde collection was copied by Ilyās b. Yaḥyā b. Ḥamza al-Rūmī (d. 821/1418) in the suburbs of Bukhara in the *khānqāh* (Ṣūfī convent) of Kh<sup>w</sup>āja Muḥammad Pārsā, Ms. 443, *GHL* I, pp. 255, 256.

<sup>1065</sup> For more on the Hromić family in Stolac see Asim Zubčević, “Doprinos porodice Hromić bosanskoj kulturi knjige u 19. stoljeću/The contribution of the Hromić family to the culture of the book in 19th century Bosnia” pp. 412-424. In several endowment charters from Stolac from the 13<sup>th</sup>/19<sup>th</sup> century there is reference to persons whose surname is given as *Ḥromozāde*.

<sup>1066</sup> Ždralović, *Bosansko-hercegovački prepisivači*, I, pp. 294-96. Most of the manuscripts he copied were in Arabic. The copies were made in Stolac’s *darskhāna* (an unspecified type of school, from the Arabic word *dars* = lecture, and Persian *khāna* = house) and in two Mostar *madrasas* (the Karadoz-begova and Roznamedži *madrasas*) between 1834 and 1859, Ždralović, *Bosansko-hercegovački prepisivači*, pp. 248, 250, 295. It is possible that ‘Abdallāh Ḥromozāde also taught at these institutions.



Stolac family, the conclusion reached by the Gāzī Hüsrev-bey Library cataloguers was that the Slavic form of kadi Şālih Hromozāde's surname was *Hromić* and that he came from Stolac.

There is also a collective volume of nine works described as “coming probably from the family of Salih Hromić from Stolac in the 13<sup>th</sup>/19<sup>th</sup> century,”<sup>1067</sup> since one of the works (*al-Qaṣīda al-munfarīja*) was copied by Şālih b. ‘Abd Kh<sup>w</sup>āja Hromizāde in Istolicha (Stolac) in the year 1272/1856. This collection bears none of the seals or signatures of kadi Şālih ‘Izzat Hromozāde, however.

Another branch of the Hromić family hails from Ljubinje, a town to the south of Stolac, and more specifically the village of Orahovi Do, where this family once owned estates or were in trade.<sup>1068</sup> A document from Dubrovnik from 1198/1784 even mentions a young “kadi Hromozade.”<sup>1069</sup> In his entry for the year 1195/1780-81, Basheskī gives the names of Sarajevo kadis and their apprentices (*kādīler ve mülāzımlar*),<sup>1070</sup> including an apprentice called Şālih Lūbinlī, i.e. Şālih of Ljubinje.<sup>1071</sup> The lack of any reference to the young kadi's surname (unlike for some other members of the group: Daftardārīzāde, Qurawīzāde, ‘Alīqāḍīzade, etc) makes it impossible to determine with certainty the apprentice's links to the Hromozāde family.

As to the present day Hromićs of Sarajevo, I was not able to establish with certainty their family origins, beyond a piece of family lore which refers to a family ancestor who “left books to the city” and who died a violent death in some kind of a mob riot.<sup>1072</sup>

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<sup>1067</sup> *GHL* XVII, p. 151

<sup>1068</sup> Hasandedić, *Muslimanska baština u istočnoj Hercegovini*, pp. 117, 289.

<sup>1069</sup> Vesna Miović-Perić, *Na razmeđu: osmansko-dubrovačka granica 1667.-1806*. [On the Border: Ottoman-Dubrovnik Frontier 1667-1806], (Dubrovnik: Zavod za povijesne znanosti Hrvatske akademije znanost i umjetnosti u Dubrovniku, 1997), p. 89. Evliya Çelebi left a description of Ljubinje from the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century. For more on this, see: Čelebi, *Putopis*, pp. 420, 421.

<sup>1070</sup> According to Mujezinović, *kadileleri ve mülazımlerini*, *Ljetopis*, p. 200. The two names on the list have Homarizāde as their surname, but although similar, this is a different Bosnian surname.

<sup>1071</sup> *MMB*, fol. 39b; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 155. He is not the only person in the list from the same town. The other is Lūbinlī Aḥmad-afandī.

<sup>1072</sup> My informant (Mrs Hiba Hadžimujagić, neé Hromić, cca 85 years old) recalled her mother speaking of a kadi family ancestor. However, she was unable to give his name. Mrs Hadžimujagić's grandfather was Ḥilmi-afandī Hromić (died around 1930), a wealthy landowner. According to the 1910 population census for Sarajevo, Ḥilmi-afandī Hromić was a 45 year-old father of nine children (seven boys and two girls) who lived

It is possible that kadi Şāliḥ Ḥromozāde or his ancestors did indeed come from southern Bosnia to settle in Sarajevo, but the absence of a *nisba* (attribution) such as *Istolichawī* or *Lūbīnlī*, both of which are relatively common in the Sarajevo court registers, goes against this possibility.

There is another explanation. Şāliḥ ‘Izzat Ḥromozāde’s family may come from the village of Turovi, several kilometres south west of Sarajevo. In the 12<sup>th</sup>/18<sup>th</sup> and 3<sup>th</sup>/19<sup>th</sup> centuries, the village was part of the Sarajevo subdistrict (*nāḥiye*) and the estates of a dozen villagers were registered in the inheritance inventories. Two of the villagers had copies of the Qur’an.<sup>1073</sup> Basheskī also had a friend who owned a house in the village, which also testifies to the village’s links to the city of Sarajevo.<sup>1074</sup>

Turovi is the ancestral village of the Hromo family. There are some 15 families with this surname in Sarajevo today and they all originally came from the same village. By his Slavic patronymic, a person who signed himself as *Ḥromozāde* could have been either *Hromić* or *Hromo*. With the passage of time, *Hromo* could easily have been transformed into *Hromić*, a development noted among the Hromos of Sarajevo.<sup>1075</sup> As mentioned in Chapter One, much of Sarajevo’s Muslim population owed its origins to immigrant peasants from the

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in Halilbašića Street no. 4, in Kuçuk Kātib *maḥalla*, SUGO-2, “Popis stanovništva u Sarajevu 1910. godine”, [Population census in Sarajevo in 1910], the Historical Archive of Sarajevo. Unfortunately, his father’s name is not stated. If this branch of the Hromić family is descended from kadi Şāliḥ ‘Izzat Ḥromozāde, this begs the question of why his book collection came to be transferred to the ‘Uthmān Shahdī library considering that the male line of the family never died out.

<sup>1073</sup> The owners of the *Muṣḥaf* were: Sulaymān-beşe ibn Janān, whose entry dated is 25 Rabī’ al-Ākhir 1216/4 September 1801 (S41/31, 32) and Mullā Aḥmad bin Sulaymān, whose entry is dated 2 Rabī’ al-Awwal 1229/23 February 1814. Except for two Christians (S41/42; S44/55), the inhabitants of the village mentioned in the inheritance inventories were all Muslims.

<sup>1074</sup> MMB, fol. 98a; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 319. This was a tanner Ḥasan-beşe, originally from Gacko in southern Bosnia, whom Basheskī knew from his youth, and liked for his nature and with whom he enjoyed talking. Ḥasan-beşe had trading connections with Egypt which, in addition to the wealth he inherited from his father, brother, and father-in-law, probably increased his fortune. The houses in Turovi probably served as his summer retreat. His property is mentioned in the inheritance inventories, S28/83.

<sup>1075</sup> According to Bećir Hromo, this is precisely what happened with his cousin Jusuf Hromo, who moved to Sarajevo in 1930 and changed his surname to *Hromić*, while his parents retained the original surname (interview with Bećir Hromo, 4 December 2008).

surrounding countryside.<sup>1076</sup> This would also explain why several documents refer to kadi Šāliḥ ‘Izzat as *Saraylı*, i.e. Sarajevan, which would mean that he was a kadi *from* Sarajevo (and in contrast to being a kadi *of* Sarajevo).

Bosnian Muslim surnames, if they are recorded at all in the court registers, can appear in several forms: with their typical Slavic ending “-ić” or “-vić,” meaning “son of” or “descendant of”, or with the Turkish suffix *oğlu*, or with the Persian suffix *zāde*, as in the case of kadi Šāliḥ ‘Izzat Ḥromozāde.<sup>1077</sup> While there were no official surnames among the Muslims of Ottoman Bosnia, people often went by their more or less informal Slavic patronymic. Given that surnames were not stable and could change from one generation to another, it is not surprising to find that kadi Šāliḥ ‘Izzat’s son Muḥammad Sā‘īd signed himself in one of his father’s books as *Šāliḥ ‘Izzatīzāde Muḥammad Sā‘īd*.<sup>1078</sup> Bosnian surnames became fixed only with the establishment of Austro-Hungarian rule in 1878.<sup>1079</sup> In most of his notes kadi Šāliḥ ‘Izzat refers to himself as *Šāliḥ Izzatī*, reflecting this instability and informality of Ottoman-era Bosnian first names.<sup>1080</sup> Since *Šāliḥ ‘Izzat* is the form used in the only seal which gives his full name and is now accepted in literature, we had decided to stick to it.

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<sup>1076</sup> Behija Zlatar, *Zlatno doba Sarajeva*, p. 21. For example, Basheskī reports the death of a peasant who settled in Sarajevo, *Ljetopis*, p. 182; *Saraybosnalı*, p. 284.

<sup>1077</sup> The two exceptions that comes to my mind are the following surnames: *Begzadić*, a Bosnian family name derived from the words *bak* and *zāde*. Basheskī mentions a kadi with such a name and, rather unusually, gives his surname both in its Ottoman and Bosnian form: *Begzade*, *Begzadić*, *Ljetopis*, p. 354, *Saraybosnalı*, p. 354. Another exception would be the surname *Hafizadić* (combination of *ḥāfiẓ* and *zāde*). In her study of another Sarajevo kadi Muṣṭafā Muḥibbīzade, Tatjana Paić-Vukić argues that adding *zāde* to the surname is “an indication of his elite intellectual and social standing”, Paić-Vukić, *The World of Mustafa Muhibbi*, p. 157, n. 35.

<sup>1078</sup> Ms. R-8976, *GHL XVI*, pp. 488, 489. The manuscript in question is a collection of letters and documents (*Inshā’*). The son signed himself as *Muḥammad*, not *Mehmed*.

<sup>1079</sup> The only study concerning surnames among Slav Muslims, mainly Bosnian Muslims, is: Olga Zirojević, *Islamizacija na južnoslovenskom prostoru: Konvertiti – kako su se zvali* [Islamization in South Slav Area: Converts – What Did They Call Themselves] (Podgorica: Almanah, 2001). A proper study of Bosnian Muslim surnames in the past and today is long overdue. Basheskī’s *Chronicle* offers a wealth of information on all sorts of surnames.

<sup>1080</sup> Ms. 698, *GHL I*, pp. 327, 328; 531; Ms. 251, *GHL II*, pp. 813, 814; Ms. 271, *GHL II*, pp. 717, 718; Ms. 224, *GHL II*, p. 725; Ms. 617, *GHL II*, p. 982; Ms. 1814, *GHL II*, pp. 559, 560; Ms. 675, *GHL III*, pp. 96–98; Ms. 1840, *GHL IV*, p. 192.

#### 5.4 The kadi Şālih ‘Izzat Ḥromozāde Collection

According to the charter, whose text is part of the Sarajevo court registers (*sijills*) kept at the Gāzī Hüsrev-bey library in Sarajevo and dated 9 Muḥarram 1244/22 July 1828, kadi Şālih ‘Izzat endowed 158 codices and a copy of the Qur’an (*Muṣḥaf*), which is mentioned separately and reverentially before all the other books. As regards its contents, the collection has gone through a number of transformations, so that one can speak of:

- 1) the collection according to the charter;
- 2) the collection at the time of its transfer to the ‘Uthmān Shahdī library in 1284/1867, as several titles not mentioned in the charter were probably added then;
- 3) the collection at the Gāzī Hüsrev-bey library as we know it today, given that some of the volumes listed in the charter are no longer extant;
- 4) texts kept outside the Gāzī Hüsrev-bey library, namely: a copy of *Multaqā al-abḥur* (the Meeting Place of the Seas), now kept at the Sarajevo Historical Archives, which bears an ownership note similar to those found on other kadi Şālih ‘Izzat Ḥromozāde manuscripts: “By His kindness and generosity – Exalted is His Being – [this ms.] entered the possession of the poor Şālih ‘Izzatī, may they both be forgiven!”<sup>1081</sup> The manuscript also bears one of the previously mentioned seals reading: ‘*abduh Şālih*, i.e. His slave Şālih.<sup>1082</sup> It is possible that, as the remaining manuscript collections in Sarajevo are catalogued, further manuscripts from the Şālih ‘Izzat Ḥromozāde collection will be rediscovered.

Given the central place of the book in Muslim culture it seems natural that books should have always been subject to endowment. However, one of the conditions for a valid endowment is permanence, a principle that led to the view that “goods whose use consists in their consumption cannot be made into endowment (*waqf*), but most schools allow immovable goods that wear out by their use.”<sup>1083</sup> Although the Hanafi school of law which the Ottomans followed generally takes the view that movable property cannot form an endowment, it makes exceptions in certain cases, including “copies of the Qur’ān to be read

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<sup>1081</sup> بلطفه و كرمه تعالى شأنه دخل في يد الفقير صالح عزتي بالشراء الشرعي غفر لهما

<sup>1082</sup> Ms. R-344, *Catalogue of the Arabic, Turkish, Persian and Bosnian Manuscripts in the Historical Archives Sarajevo*, vol. II, edited by Haso Popara, p. 392. The manuscript was copied on Saturday in the month of Muḥarram 1123/1711 by Muḥammad Jān b. ‘Abd al-Bāqī.

<sup>1083</sup> R. Peters, “*Waqf*”, *EI*<sup>2</sup> XI, p. 60.

in mosques and schools” and this provision extends to all books.<sup>1084</sup> As seen in the previous chapters, books were often incorporated as part of larger religious and educational endowments such as *madrasas*, mosques or *takkas*. The kadi Šālih ‘Izzat Ḥromozāde *waqfiyya* is a charter issued specifically for the endowment of books.

The charter gives us the number of codices it comprised, not of texts. In manuscript culture it is quite common for a volume to comprise several works (*majmū‘a*). There are three *majmū‘as* listed in the charter<sup>1085</sup> one of them containing eight different works.<sup>1086</sup> In some cases a volume can go under a particular title, concealing the fact that it contains one or more additional, shorter works. At the same time some of the listed titles fill more than one volume, as was the case with *Fatāwā-yi Qāḍikhān*, *Wānqūli’s* dictionary, Bukhārī’s *Šahīḥ*, Kirmani’s commentary on Bukhārī’s *Šahīḥ*, and *Hidāyat al-fiqh*. It is also noticeable that two volumes from the charter are listed together, as in the case of a commentary on *Asmā’ al-ḥusnā* and *Ḥilya-i Khāqānī*.

The charter lists a copy of the Qur’an and 158 codices. As already mentioned, the present-day collection differs from the charter list because it includes a number of volumes which do not appear in the charter. It seems that a few volumes were added to the collection at the time of its transfer to the ‘Uthmān Shāhdī library in 1284/1867. Today, there are 127 volumes containing 221 texts bearing the large seal that reads (وقف حروموزاده صالح افندی عزت ) ١٢٨٤) which means “an endowment of Ḥrōmozāde Šālih ‘Izzat-afandī 1284 [1867].”

Going back to the charter list, the first impression is that the original collection consisted entirely of manuscript books. The inheritance records occasionally refer to a printed book by prefixing the title with the word “printed” (*başma*). No such word appears in the charter. Nevertheless, it is possible to identify at least one printed book which at one point formed

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<sup>1084</sup> R. Peters, “Waḳf”, *EI*<sup>2</sup> XI, p.60. For a summary of the arguments concerning the permissibility of endowing books in the Hanafi legal tradition see: Stacy Liechti, *Books, Book Endowments, and Communities of Knowledge in the Bukharan Khanate* (unpublished doctoral thesis), New York University (2008), pp. 48-56.

<sup>1085</sup> Čar-Drnda mentions 164 books (*knjiige*), Čar-Drnda, “Neki legati Osman Šehdine biblioteke”, p. 244.

<sup>1086</sup> Ms. 2100, *GHL* I, p. 530-533. As already mentioned, the word *majmū‘a* can designate a personal notebook such as the one left by Basheski. However, no such *majmū‘a* appears to have been part of Ḥromozāde’s collection. There is a question of whether a notebook full of personal information and observations is meant for wider readership. It is true that Basheski repeatedly states the purpose of his *Chronicle* as to be read by others, yet he was not the one who donated it to a library. For more on this, see: Ždralović, *Bosansko-hercegovački prepisivači*, pp. 105-107; Paić-Vukić, *The World of Mustafa Muhibbi*, pp. 94-97.

part of the kadi Şālih ‘Izzat Ḥromozāde collection: a two volume copy of *Wānqūlī*. These two volumes do not, however, bear notes of ownership by kadi Şālih ‘Izzat Ḥromozāde or his smaller seals, as found on the extant manuscripts.

This particular copy of the dictionary, the oldest printed book in any of the eastern languages kept in the Gāzī Hüsrev-bey library today, came out of Müteferriḳa’s press.<sup>1087</sup> While further research into the early printed books in the Gāzī Hüsrev-bey library might reveal other printed titles from the Ḥromozāde collection, the case remains that the collection belongs largely to the manuscript age of the Bosnian Muslim book culture when printed books were rare and expensive.

As far as the subject matter of the books is concerned, the greatest single group of works belongs to the field of Islamic jurisprudence. This is hardly surprising for a collection that once belonged to a kadi. There are at least 35 volumes of works of law, legal manuals, and collections of fatwas. These are followed by about ten works of Arabic grammar, syntax and morphology. The charter lists four dictionaries including *Wānqūlī*, *Dānistan*,<sup>1088</sup> an unspecified Persian-Arabic dictionary, and *Shāhidiyya*, the popular dictionary in verse.<sup>1089</sup> The prevalence of legal and language-related works is no doubt due to their practical application, since kadis had to be able to consult legal works easily and to clarify important passages in those manuals by resorting to grammar books or by looking up a word in a dictionary. The fact that legal manuals were needed for practical, every day purposes does not mean that they had to be modestly or cheaply made. Some of the most beautifully illustrated works from the Ḥromozāde collection are the works of jurisprudence such as *al-Hidāya fī al-fiqh al-Ḥanafī*.<sup>1090</sup> In one of the inheritance inventories there is a record of a

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<sup>1087</sup> Fatima Tinjak, “Fond orijentalistike u Gazi Hüsrev-beyovoj biblioteci” [Orientalist Holdings in The Gāzī Hüsrev-bey Library], *Anali* XXXIV (2013), p. 144. As the title suggests, the article describes some of the oldest extant printed books in “oriental” languages (Ottoman, Arabic, Persian and Bosnian in Arabic script) in the Gāzī Hüsrev-bey Library. Inexplicably, information about the provenance of printed books is not entered in the catalogues. I only learned about this copy of *Wānqūlī* from the Ḥromozāde collection thanks to Ms Fatima Tinjak of the Gāzī Hüsrev-bey Library to whom I am grateful for sharing this information with me.

<sup>1088</sup> *Lughat-ı Dānistan* is the popular name for a Turkish-Persian dictionary entitled *Tuḥfat al-Hādiya* and composed by Maḥmūd b. al-ḥāj Ilyās, *Flügel* I, 145.

<sup>1089</sup> *Tuḥfa-i Shāhidī*, the popular Persian-Turkish dictionary in verse compiled by Ibrāhīm Shāhidī b. Hudā’ī-dede Mughlawī (d. 957/1550).

<sup>1090</sup> (Guidance to Ḥanafī Jurisprudence) by Burhān al-dīn b. ‘Alī b. Abī Bakr al-Marghīnānī al-Ḥanafī (d. 593/1196), jurisprudence, *GAL* G I, 376; *GAL* S I, 644. For the image of the manuscript, see the Appendix.

collection of fatwas entitled *Fatāwā-yı ‘Abd al-Raḥīm* (the Fatwas of ‘Abd al-Raḥīm)<sup>1091</sup> whose value was 14,640 *akçe*.<sup>1092</sup> Collections of sermons (*maw’īza*) are another type of works with a practical application and there were several of those: *maw’īza* (of which there were two) and *Maw’īzat Rajab Afandī* (the Sermons of Rajab Afandī).<sup>1093</sup> The *Maw’īza ma’ Fiqh-i Akbar* (Sermons with the Greatest Understanding) has not been preserved, but a copy of *Fiqh-i Akbar*<sup>1094</sup> is to be found as one of three texts bound in a single volume, the other two being prayer manuals: *Fiqh al-Kaydānī*<sup>1095</sup> and *al-Muqaddima Abī al-Layth al-Samarqandī fī al-ṣalāt*, a work on the daily prayers by Abū al-Layth Naṣr b. Muḥammad al-Samarqandī (d. 375/985).<sup>1096</sup>

The works of Prophetic traditions (*ḥadīth*) works are represented by eight titles. In one case an extant volume reveals six minor hadith works bound up together. Overall there are about 20 mainly smaller works on hadith, as well as two major hadith collections, *Bukhārī* and *Kirmānī*.

There were two major works of Qur’anic exegesis (*tafsīr*), one by Fakhr al-din al-Razi,<sup>1097</sup> the other by Bayḍāwī in the form of *Hidāyat-i Shihāb*, which is a supercommentary on *Anwār al-tanzīl* by Shihāb al-din al-Miṣrī (d. 1069/1658). Three unidentified Qur’anic commentaries from the charter, which are now lost are: *Tafsīr li Kalām-i qadīm hadiyasi*, *Tafsīr surat-i Naba’*, *Tafsīr-i sharīf li ‘Abdillāh Abī Khayr* and an unspecified, incomplete (*nāqis*) tafsir in Turkish, *Türkī tefsīr-i şerīf*. One collective volume (*majmū’a*) contains several short commentaries on assorted Qur’anic *suras*.

<sup>1091</sup> A collection of fatwas written by shaykh al-islām ‘Abd al-Raḥīm Muntashizāde Brusali (d. 1128/1715), ‘OM II, 27.

<sup>1092</sup> S11/104, 105.

<sup>1093</sup> Ms. 1706, *GHL* III, pp. 225, 226; *GAL* S II, 655.

<sup>1094</sup> *Al-Fiqh al-akbar* is a work of speculative theology (*kalām*) by Abū Ḥanīfa Nu’mān b. Thābit (d. 150/767), one of the founders of the four Sunni schools of jurisprudence, *S I*, 285/1.

<sup>1095</sup> Other titles under which this work appears are: *Mukhtaṣar al-ṣalāt*, *Muqaddimat al-ṣalāt*, *Shurūṭ al-ṣalāt*, *Talkhīṣ al-ṣalāt*, *Muṭālib al-muṣallī*, *Bab shurūṭ al-ṣalāt*. The authorship is ascribed variously to Luṭfallāh al-Nasafī al-Fāḍil al-Kaydānī who lived in the first half of the 10<sup>th</sup>/16<sup>th</sup> century, Muḥammad b. Ḥamza al-Fanārī (d. 834/1431) and Ibn Kemāl-pasha (d. 940/1533); *GAL* G II, 198, 234/4, 451/51.

<sup>1096</sup> *GAL* G I, 196.

<sup>1097</sup> A commentary on the first Qur’anic chapter (*sūrat al-Fātiḥa*) by Fakhr al-dīn Abū ‘Abdallāh Muḥammad b. ‘Umar al-Ḥusayn b. al-Khaṭīb al-Rāzī (d. 606/1209) from his large Qur’anic commentary *Mafātīḥ al-ghayb*, also known as *Mafātīḥ al-kabīr*, *GAL* G I, 506/3

According to the inheritance records, religious primers are the most commonly owned books, after *Muṣḥafs* and *An'āms*, and there were several of these in the original Ḥromozāde collection. They included *Kitāb al-muhimmāt* (Book of Important Things), also known as *al-Muhimmat fi al-'ibādāt* (the Important Things in Acts of Worship), a rare work by Ibn 'Ajīzī al-Barghamī.<sup>1098</sup> Indeed, not a single copy appears either in the inheritance records or in the Gāzī Hüsrev Library collections. Other works of this kind include: *Shir'at al-islām*,<sup>1099</sup> *Zubdat al-kalām*,<sup>1100</sup> *Munyat al-muṣallī*,<sup>1101</sup> *Nūr-i idāh*,<sup>1102</sup> and *Sharḥ Mu'addal al-ṣalāh*.<sup>1103</sup> A translation probably in Turkish of Birkawī's popular work, is listed as *Tercüme-i Muḥammediyye*. The later additions to the collection include a *majmū'a* with a Turkish translation of *Shurūṭ al-ṣalāh* (Conditions of Prayer) and a book of advice for women entitled *Elli dört risālesi* (Fifty-four Epistles).

The collection is remarkable for having very few Ṣūfī works. There is *Durrat al-asrār li fakhr al-amṣār* (the Pearl of Secrets for the Glory of Barriers),<sup>1104</sup> a collection of several fairly short works similar to *Risāla-i Khidr 'alayh al-salām* (the Epistle of Khidr, peace be upon him)<sup>1105</sup> and two copies of *Kimyā-yi sa'ādat* (Alchemy of Happiness), both in Turkish translation.<sup>1106</sup> Two works belong to the field of logic: *Shamsiyya fi al-mantiq* (the Sunny One on Logic),<sup>1107</sup> which

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<sup>1098</sup> Ms. 2476, *GHL* II, pp. 431, 432; *GAL* S II, 692.

<sup>1099</sup> "The Path of Islam", a religious primer written by Muḥammad b. Abū Bakr Imāmzāde al-Ṣaghri al-Ḥanafī (d. 573/1177), *ḤKh* II, 1044.

<sup>1100</sup> Ms. 702, *GHL* III, pp. 398, 399; 'OM, II, p. 50. The full title of the work is *Zubdat al-kalām fimā yahtāj ilayh al-khāṣṣ wa al-'ām* (The Cream of Speech Concerning What the Elect and the Commoners Need).

<sup>1101</sup> *Munyat al-muṣallī wa gunyat al-mubtadi'* (the Wish of the Worshipper and the Wealth of the Novice) by Sadīd al-dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Kashgharī (d. 705/1305), *GAL* S I, 659.

<sup>1102</sup> *Nūr al-idāh wa najāt al-arwāh* (the Light of Clarification and Deliverance of Souls) by Ḥasan b. 'Ammār b. 'Alī b. Yūsuf al-Shurunbulālī al-Ḥanafī (d. 1069/1658), *GAL* G II, 313; *GAL* S II, 430.

<sup>1103</sup> "A Commentary on the Balanced in Prayer", a commentary on the main text by Muḥammad b. Pīr 'Alī al-Birkawī (d. 981/1573), *GAL* G II, 440/9; Ms. 1593, *GHL* II, pp. 545, 546.

<sup>1104</sup> Ms. 2100, *GHL* I, pp. 530-533.

<sup>1105</sup> Ms. 1732, *GHL* III, pp. 236, 237; S, 663.

<sup>1106</sup> Ms. R-628, *GHL* XIII, pp. 298, 299; Ms. R-1668, *GHL* XIII, pp. 300, 301. Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad al-Ghazālī al-Ṭūsī al-Shāfi'i (d. 505/1111), 'OM II, 43.

<sup>1107</sup> The full title of this work is *al-Risāla al-shamsiyya fi al-qawā'id al-mantiqiyya*, written by Najm al-dīn 'Alī b. 'Umar al-Qazwīnī al-Kātibī (d. 675/1276 or 693/1294), *GAL* G I, 466; *GAL* S I, 845.



includes several shorter works in the field, and *Hāshiya-i Quṭb al-dīn Sulṭān Shāh* (the Supercommentary by Quṭb al-dīn Sulṭān Shāh).<sup>1108</sup>

Among the works of poetry (both secular and religious) there are: *Majmū'at-i abyāt* (a Collection of Verses),<sup>1109</sup> *Risāla-i Qaṣīda-i Burda ma' qaṣā'id* (the Epistle of the Mantle Ode with Quatrains), *Dīwān-i Fahīm*, *Dīwān-i Qāsim fārsī*,<sup>1110</sup> *Dīwān musamm'(?)*, *Ḥayriye-i Nābī*, *Ḥilye-i Ḥākānī*,<sup>1111</sup> and *Qaṣīda-i burda*.<sup>1112</sup> A latter addition to the collection includes a copy of *Divān-i 'Imād*.<sup>1113</sup>

The collection has at least four works of history: the second volume of *Tārīkh-i Fīrūz Shāh* (History of Fīrūz Shāh), *Tārīkh-i khulafā* (History of Caliphs), *Tārīḥ-i Ḥasan Bak* (History by Ḥasan Bak), and *Tārīḥ-i Ḷandiya* (History of Crete). Two works with the word *tārīkh* in their title are really literary works: *Tārīḥ-i İskender* (History of Alexander)<sup>1114</sup> and *Tārīḥ-i Shehnāme* (History of Shāhnāme).<sup>1115</sup>

Out of four volumes of medical texts, three bear general titles and give no authorship. The fourth is a treatise written by Muḥammadī, but I have not been able to identify its bibliographical details.

Works which stand out for their rarity in the inheritance inventories are Ibn Taymiyya's treatise on distinguishing saints, *Ta'lif Abī 'Abbās Taqī al-dīn Aḥmad fi tamyīz awliyā' al-Raḥmān* (the Writing of Abī 'Abbās Taqī al-dīn Aḥmad about distinguishing the friends of the Compassionate)<sup>1116</sup> and the afore-mentioned religious primer, *Muhimmāt*.

Like inheritance records, the kadi Şālih 'Izzat Ḥromozāde charter rarely specifies the language of the books. The only two cases are an incomplete (*nāqiş*) *Türkī tefsīr-i şerīf* (the

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<sup>1108</sup> Ms. 1527, *GHL* V, p.73; full title: *Hāshiya 'alā sharḥ al-Shamsiyya li-Sulṭān Shāh*, a supercommentary by Sulṭān Shāh (d. 929/1523) on a commentary by al-Taftazānī on *al-Risāla al-shamsiyya*; *GAL* G I, 466.

<sup>1109</sup> Ms. 1661, *GHL* IV.

<sup>1110</sup> *Dīwān-i Qāsim* or *Dīwān-i Qāsim al-Anwār* is a collection of Persian poetry by Sayyid Mu'in al-dīn 'Alī (d.837/1433), *Flügel* I, 582.

<sup>1111</sup> Ms. 800, *GHL* I, pp. 543, 544. It is a poem in Turkish in praise of the Prophet by Muḥamad-beg Khāqānī (d. 1015/1606), *'OM* II, 163.

<sup>1112</sup> Ms. R-3191, *GHL* XVI, pp. 658, 659.

<sup>1113</sup> A collection of Persian poetry by 'Imād Kh<sup>w</sup>āja Faqīh (d. 773/1372).

<sup>1114</sup> Ms. 1840, *GHL* IV, p. 192.

<sup>1115</sup> Ms. 1802, *GHL* IV, p. 218.

<sup>1116</sup> Ms. 675, *GHL* III, pp. 96-98.

Noble Commentary in Turkish) and *Dīvān-i Qāsim fārsī* (the Collection of Verses by Qāsim in Persian). The language is usually suggested indirectly, as in the case of a work of Arabic grammar (*Tercüme-i Kāfiye*), whose title indicates that it is a Turkish translation of the Arabic original. This is a major weakness of book lists, whether in the form of charters like kadi Şālih ‘Izzat Hromozāde’s or inheritance records. One has to exercise caution in drawing conclusions based on them. This is well-illustrated by *Tārīḥ-i Shehnāme*, a work originally composed in Persian, but as the manuscript has been preserved, we know that what we have is a Turkish translation.<sup>1117</sup> The above-mentioned *Tārīḥ-i Fīrūz Shāh* (in fact *Tārīḥ-i Feyrūz Shāhī*) was composed in Persian.<sup>1118</sup>

It might well have seemed that the collection did not contain any other other Persian works, except that, once again, the extant works include a volume entitled in the charter *Qaṣīda-i burda* which in fact also contains a collection of short works in Persian, including hadith and theology. An occasional verse or proverb (such as the one warning against lending books) may be found in the works in Arabic and/or Turkish.<sup>1119</sup> Still, the absence of Persian classics, whether in the original or in translation, is striking, given the prevalence of ‘Atṭār’s *Pandnāme*, Sa’dī’s *Kulistān* and Jāmī’s *Bahāristān* in the inheritance records.

The kadi Şālih ‘Izzat Hromozāde collection highlights the importance of Ottoman Turkish for the transmission of learning, e.g. by way of Turkish-language religious primers, as well as through works originally composed in Arabic (e.g. *Murshid al-muta’ahhilin*, *Sharḥ-i Kāfiya*, *Türki tafsīr-i shariḥ*) or in Persian (e.g. *Kimyā-yi sa’adat*, *Shāhnāme*). There are no works in Bosnian.

Since the present study is concerned with book ownership in Bosnia, it would be interesting to know whether the collection at any stage contained works by Bosnian authors. No such work can be identified from the charter list. Nonetheless, the extant books do include a popular collection of fatwas entitled *Fatāwā-yi Aḥmadiyya* which was written by a mufti of Mostar, Ahmad b. Muḥammad al-Mūstārī (d. 1190/1776). The extant work listed as *majmū’a-i tāriḥāt* also contains fragments, including two chronograms (for

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<sup>1117</sup> *Shehnāme* is also the title of a number of works by various Ottoman writers such as Mu’ālī, Kāshifi, and Ibn Qiṭfī who wrote them in Persian in imitation of Firdawsī’s epic.

<sup>1118</sup> M. Athar Ali, “Ta’riḥ”, *EP* X, pp. 295, 296.

<sup>1119</sup> The saying is found on the margins of *Bahjat al-fatāwā* (the Pleasure of Fatwas). As Rosenthal stresses: “The failure to return books borrowed from libraries or individuals was often bemoaned in verse and prose”, Franz Rosenthal, “‘Of Making Many Books There Is No End:’ the Classical Muslim View” in *The Book in the Islamic World: the Written Word and Communication in the Middle East*, ed. by George N. Atiyeh, p. 38.

the building of the Blagaj *takka* near Mostar by mufti ‘Alī-afandī and for his death) and poems composed by a Mostar poet, Kūnāhī, most of which are believed to have been taken over from the *majmū‘a* belonging to shaikh Yūyō.<sup>1120</sup>

A *majmū‘a*, whose relation to the original collection is uncertain, includes a copy of *Rawḍāt al-jannāt fī uṣūl al-‘itiqādāt* (Garden Meadows on the Principles of Beliefs), a work of speculative theology (*kalām*) by Ḥasan Kāfī al-Aqḥiṣārī.<sup>1121</sup>

A major difference between a charter book list such as Hromozade’s and a inheritance record is that the charter does not use some of the general terms for books: *kitāb* (book), *kutub* (books), *risāla* (epistle), *nuskha* (copy), and *awraq-i parishan* (loose papers). In general, each volume is identified, even where they comprise several works, with the exception of a few volumes simply labelled *majmū‘as*.

As to the age of the Hromozāde books, based on the catalogue description, seventeen were copied in the 12<sup>th</sup>/18<sup>th</sup> century, eleven in the 11<sup>th</sup>/17<sup>th</sup> century, seven in the 10<sup>th</sup>/16<sup>th</sup> century, and six in the 9<sup>th</sup>/15<sup>th</sup> century. Two are from the 13<sup>th</sup>/19<sup>th</sup> century and one the 8<sup>th</sup>/14<sup>th</sup> century.

#### 5.4.a: Borrowers of Hromozāde Books

In two places in his charter kadi Ṣāliḥ ‘Izzat prohibited lending of the books. The first prohibition extends to so long as the books remain under the supervision of his male descendants. Were the male line of his family to die out, the books were to be transferred to the ‘Uthmān Shahdī library from which they were not to be issued on loan either.

Nonetheless, notes on extant volumes from the collection make clear that the books were borrowed. The name of one particular borrower appears on eleven works. He is ‘Abdallāh Qā’ūqchizāde (d. 1235-1295/1820-1878), the imam of the Gāzī Hüsrev-bey Mosque. A note of his borrowing appears on eleven works and, with slight variations, reads: “This book is from the received possessions of Hromozāde and this book was with me on loan and I am the poor Qā’ūqchizāde al-shaykh ‘Abdallāh.”<sup>1122</sup> ‘Abdallāh Qā’ūqchizāde is best known as

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<sup>1120</sup> Ms. 2106, *GHL* IV, p. 346.

<sup>1121</sup> Ms. 722, *GHL* I, p. 484; *GAL* G II, 443/1.

<sup>1122</sup> . بو كتاب من تملكات هروموزاده و كان هذا الكتاب عندي عارية و انا الفقير قاوقجي زاده الشيخ عبدالله . In all instances Qā’ūqchizāde writes Hromozāde’s surname as هروموزاده .

one of the leaders of military resistance to Austria-Hungary's takeover of Bosnia, for which he was hanged on 24 August, 1878.<sup>1123</sup>

Manuscript books often include sayings or verses against book-borrowing. Persian verses written inside the copy of *Bahjat al-fatāwā* (the Pleasure of Fatwas) from the kadi Šāliḥ 'Izzat Ḥromozāde collection compares book-lending to lending one's beloved:

*Oh you who will demand this book from me,  
if I do not give it to you, sadness will overcome you.*

*The book is the beloved of knowers,  
and you never yield the beloved – that cannot be.*<sup>1124</sup>

#### 5.4.b: The kadi Šāliḥ 'Izzat Ḥromozāde Collection in the Light of Other Book Collections from the Inheritance Inventories

The Ḥromozāde collection is usually described as one of the biggest and most important collections from the Ottoman period of Bosnian history. This may be true in comparison with the extant book collections, but it is interesting to note that when compared with the book collections registered in the inheritance records, the original Ḥromozāde collection as listed in the charter is not particularly large. The following table shows the biggest book collections as recorded in Sarajevo inheritance records, giving the name of the owner, the date of entry, profession (when indicated), the number of volumes or texts (since some entries give us only the number of volumes) and the cash value of the collection:

	Book owner	Date of entry	Profession	No. of volumes or texts	Cash value
1.	Chūqajizāde faḍilatū Muḥammad Jūdi-afandī ibn Muṣṭafā-bak (S55/193-194)	5 Jumādā al-Awwal 1230 / 15 April 1815	kadi	410 vols.	2,548 <i>guruş</i>
2.	'Umar Zuhdī-afandī ibn 'Alī-afandī (S48/72-75)	11 Jumādā al-Awwal 1223 / 5 July 1808		267	51,131 <i>para</i> ; 1,278 <i>guruş</i>
3.	al-ḥāj 'Abdallāh-afandī ibn al-ḥāj Ibrāhīm- afandī (S35/69-73)	10 Jumādā al-Awwal 1209 / 3 December 1794		252	139,193 <i>aḳçe</i>
4.	Foynichawi sābiqan	17 Shawwāl 1184 /		237	114,447

<sup>1123</sup> Donia, *Sarajevo*, pp. 40, 56.

<sup>1124</sup> ای انکه زمن کتاب خواهد گر من نداهم ترا غم اید معشوقه عارفان کتابست معشوقه بکنی دهد نشاید

	Saray muftī al-ḥāj Muḥammad afandī ibn Yūsuf / (S11/104, 105)	3 February 1771			akçe
5.	‘arakiyecī al-ḥāj Ibrāhīm-afandī ibn al-ḥāj Durāq / S18/162-165	11 Rabī al-Ākhir 1191 / 17 May 1777	merchant	219	212, 162 akçe
6.	al-ḥāj Muḥammad-afandī ibn Walī al-dīn Khwāja ibn Durāq / S25/99-101; S25/100-102	25 Jumādā al-Awwal 1200 / 26 March 1786		209	98,289 akçe
7.	Pāralik ḥāfiẓ al-ḥāj Aḥmad-afandī bin Ḥamza (S40/86-88)	29 Shawwāl 1215 / 15 March 1801		204	129,983 akçe
8.	al-ḥāj Dūrāqzāde al-ḥāj Ibrāhīm-afandī (S15/67-69)	7 Muḥarram 1188 / 20 March 1774		188	264,000 akçe or 1,100 guruş
9.	Khayrīzāde Muḥammad Sa’id-afandī (S50/78-82)	15 Şafar 1226 / 11 March 1811	kadi	167 vols	2,787 guruş, 10 para
10.	<b>Şāliḥ ‘Izzat Ḥromozāde</b> / S66 / 207, 208	9 Muḥarram 1244 / 22 July 1828	kadi	<b>159 vols</b>	-
11.	Müstārizāde mullā Muştafā bin Aḥmad-afandī (S39/188-192)	5 Muḥarram 1215 / 29 May 1800		151	157,020 akçe; 654 guruş, 8 para
12.	Müstārī Aḥmad-afandī ibn ‘Umar (S33/56, 57)	21 Şafar 1207 / 8 October 1792		141	60,000 akçe
13.	Lughawīzāde Aḥmad-afandī ibn al-ḥāj Ḥasan-afandī (S14/35, 36)	6 Jumādā al-Ākhir 1186 / 4 September 1772		136	97,200 akçe
14.	mudarris Şāliḥ-afandī ibn Sha’bān (S55/183-185)	3 Muḥarram 1230 / 16 December 1814	professor	115	572 guruş, 30 [para].
15.	Jannatīzāde Ismā’il-bak ibn Aḥmad-āghā / S18/14-16	21 Rabī’ al-Ākhir 1191 / 29 May 1777		97	41,636 akçe
16.	Bāqrīzāde Ibrāhīm-āghā ibn al-ḥāj Muştafā (S66/135-139)	fi gurrat Muḥarram 1243 / 25 July 1827		97	5,397 guruş, 36 para
17.	Muftīzāde Muḥammad-afandī bin Muḥammad-afandī (S45/12)	23 Muḥarram 1220 / 23 April 1805		88	8,800 para.

**Table I: the largest book collections from the Sarajevo inheritance inventories for 1118/1707-1244/1828, ranked by size**

Kadi Şāliḥ ‘Izzat Ḥromozāde’s collection is the 10<sup>th</sup> largest, in other words, not particularly large. But, when compared with other kadis in the inheritance records, it turns out to be

the third largest collection. There were 24 kadis whose inheritance is registered for the period under consideration (see the table on the following page). The earliest dates back to 24 Şafar 1184/19 June 1770 and the latest to 1 Dhū'l-Qa'da 1229/15 October 1814. Of these 24 kadis, nine owned fewer than 25 volumes. Two collections were of middling size, at 51 and 62 volumes respectively. Compared with most other kadis, Şālih 'Izzat Hromozāde comes across as someone who was not just a kadi with books, but someone who was a book collector, a bibliophile. This is supported by the rarity and beauty of some of his books. It is clear that his interests went beyond his immediate professional needs as kadi to include works of religion, poetry, literature, and history. These were not just books for reading, but also possessions to be treasured, something confirmed by his decision to make them into an endowment. The following table lists the largest book collections in the estates left by kadis according to the Sarajevo inheritance inventories for 1118-1244/1707-1828:

	Name & source	Date of entry	Collection	Value
1.	Chūqajizāde faḍilatū Muḥammad Jūdī-afandī ibn Muşţafā-bak (S55/193-194)	5 Jumādā al- Awwal 1230 / 15 April 1815	410 vols	2,548 <i>guruş</i>
2.	Khayrīzāde Muḥammad Sa'īd-afandī (S50/78-82)	15 Şafar 1226 / 11 Mar 1811	167 texts	2,787 <i>guruş</i> , 10 <i>para</i>
3.	<b>Şālih 'Izzat bin Ismā'il Hromozade</b>	9 Muḥarram 1244 / 22 July 1828	<b>159 vols</b>	
4.	Khayrīzāde Ibrāhīm Adham- afandī ibn Muḥammad Sa'īd- afandī (S55/258-261)	fī gurrat Rabī' al- Awwal 1230 / 11 February 1815	94 texts	2,851.5 <i>guruş</i>
5.	Khayrīzāde 'Abdallāh 'Ākif- afandī ibn Muḥammad Sa'īd- afandī / S54/107-9	1 Dhū'l-Qa'da 1229 / 15 October 1814	76 texts	935 <i>guruş</i> , 219 <i>para</i>
6.	al-ḥāj 'Alī-afandī ibn Qāsim- bak (S22/156, 157)	2 Jumādā al- Ākhir 1197 / 5 May 1783	65 texts	17,220 <i>akçe</i>
7.	Chūqajizāde Aḥmad-afandī ibn Muşţafā-bak (S58/89-91)	fī gurrat Jumādā al-Awwal 1233 / 9 March 1818	48 texts	
8.	al-ḥāj Mūsāzāde Darwīsh 'Alī- afandī ibn Sulaymān-afandī (S49/58)	5 Dhū'l-Hijja 1224 / 11 January 1810	43 texts	6,200 <i>para</i>
9.	al-ḥāj Mūsāzāde Sulaymān Najīb-afandī ibn Yaḥyā- afandī ibn Sulaymān-afandī (S36/86-88)	26 Jumādā al- Ākhir 1210 / 7 January 1796	36 texts	44,332 <i>akçe</i>

10.	Bakzāde Ibrāhīm-afandī ibn Ibrāhīm-āghā ibn Muṣṭafā-āghā (S41/190, 193)	23 Muḥarram 1217 / 26 May 1802	35 texts	5,334 <i>para</i>
11.	Ismā'il-afandī (S16/150)		33 texts	14,685 <i>akçe</i>
12.	Sanūnichalī (?) Muṣṭafā 'Arif-afandī ibn 'Alī-afandī (S54/72, 73)	13 Jumādā al-Ākhir 1229 / 2 June 1814	31 texts	15 <i>guruş</i> , 2,282 <i>para</i>
13.	Yūsuf-afandī bin Amīn Muḥammad-afandī ibn Yūsuf-afandī (S11/125, 126)	24 Şafar 1184 / 19 June 1770	25 texts	27,426 <i>akçe</i>
14.	Khālīşī al-ḥāj 'Alī-afandī ibn shaykh Ḥasan (S32/84-85)	fi gurrat Jumādā al-Ākhir 1206 / 26 January 1792	24 texts	20,514 <i>akçe</i>
15.	Yaḥyā-afandī ibn al-ḥāj Aḥmad-afandī (S22/231, 232)	19 Sha'bān 1197 / 20 July 1783	22 texts	25,418 <i>akçe</i>
16.	Fūchawī Aḥmad-afandī ibn 'Umar-afandī (S38/34, 35)	fi gurrat Dhū'l-Ḥijja 1213 / 6 May 1799	20 vols	9,600 <i>akçe</i>
17.	Āghāzāde 'Abdallāh-afandī ibn Muḥammad-afandī ibn 'Umar-afandī / S14/38, 39	27 Jumādā al-Awwal 1186 / 26 August 1772	20 texts	4,300 <i>akçe</i> (?)
18.	Dhū al-Fiqār Fayḍallāh-afandī ibn Aḥmad (s34/68, 69)	21 Jumādā al-Awwal 1208 / 25 December 1793	13 texts	36,720 <i>akçe</i>
19.	ḥāfiẓ Ibrāhīm-afandī ibn al-ḥāj Muṣṭafā-afandī (S39/176-8)	15 Muḥarram 1215 / 8 June 1800	10 texts	22,194 <i>akçe</i> (?)
20.	al-ḥāj Sa'dallāh-afandī ibn Muṣṭafā-afandī (S57/140-139 red ink; 15-16 pencil)	21 Dhū'l-Ḥijja 1231 / 12 November 1816	10 texts	
21.	Kūrkchizāde 'Abdallāh-afandī ibn 'Alī-afandī (S55/253-255)	fi gurrat Muḥarram 1230 / 14 December 1814	7 texts	88.5 <i>guruş</i> 30 <i>para</i>
22.	Lūmlī Sulaymān-afandī ibn Aḥmad-afandī (S54/58)	7 Jumādā al-Ākhir 1229 / 27 May 1814	4 texts	375 <i>para</i>
23.	Ḥasan-afandī ibn Muḥammad-āghā (S31/162)	fi gurrat Sha'bān 1204 / 16 April 1790	1 text	4,800 <i>akçe</i>
24.	'Alī Qāḍizāde Muṣṭafā-afandī ibn 'Alī-afandī (S51/19, 20)	fi gurrat Jumādā al-Awwal 1226 / 24 May 1811	-	-

**Table II: Kadis' book collections according to the Sarajevo inheritance records for 1118-1244/1707-1828**

## Conclusion

The Gāzī Hüsrev-bey Library in Sarajevo holds a collection of books which once belonged to Şāliḥ ‘Izzat Ḥromozāde, a kadi who lived in the second half of the 12<sup>th</sup>/18<sup>th</sup> and the early 13<sup>th</sup>/19<sup>th</sup> centuries. Although described in the literature as a native of Stolac in southern Bosnia, there is no clear evidence to support the claim. An analysis of his surname shows that his family origins may well be from the region of Sarajevo. Şāliḥ ‘Izzat Ḥromozāde served as a kadi in various towns in present-day Bosnia and Albania but not, it seems, in Sarajevo, where he was living at the time of the charter’s issuance. In other words, he was a kadi from Sarajevo, but he never served as a kadi of Sarajevo.<sup>1125</sup> In 1244/1828, he registered his collection as an endowment bequest, one of the only two such bequests recorded in the Sarajevo court protocols for 1118-1244/1707-1828.

Several documents reveal him as an active participant in the struggle between the local Bosnian political forces against the centralizing policies of the Porte and his circle of friends and associates included prominent opponents of the central authorities in Istanbul. Two documents signed by the then Bosnian governor report on kadi Şāliḥ ‘Izzat Ḥromozāde as one of the main instigators of anti-Porte agitation. It is not clear if the governor’s proposal for the transfer of kadi Şāliḥ ‘Izzat to a post outside Bosnia was carried through. The last record of kadi Şāliḥ is a document listing the male inhabitants of Sarajevo in 1257/1841. Apart from the charter, the most interesting document about the kadi is a court case brought against him by another *‘ālim* in a dispute over payment for a dictionary.

Basheskī does not seem to mention him in the *Chronicle*. Whatever his origins, he was socially well-connected, as attested to by his and his children’s marriages into prominent Sarajevo families, some of them of a kadi background.

Kadi Şāliḥ ‘Izzat Ḥromozāde’s collection appears to have consisted exclusively of manuscript books, mainly in Arabic, Ottoman Turkish and Persian. The only clear exception is a printed copy of *Wanqūlī*, which was probably added to the collection by one of his sons.

Several works from his collection also show the importance of Ottoman Turkish in mediating the diffusion of works originally written in Arabic and Persian.

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<sup>1125</sup> In this regard his career is similar to that of Muşṭafā Muḥibbī. See: Tatjana-Paić Vukić, *The World of Mustafa Muhibbi, a Sarajevo kadi*.



It is hard to know to what extent a private book collection turned into a family endowment reflects the reading interests of its former owner. In all likelihood it reflects only one's book ownership.

It would be an exaggeration to say that his collection was outstandingly large in comparison with other book collections of the period (1118/1707-1244/1828), among which it ranks as the 10<sup>th</sup> largest of those known to us from the inheritance records. At the same time, it was the third largest collection belonging to a kadi during the same period.

His collection is important because it represents symbolically a meeting point of various strands in the history of Bosnian libraries. It is a major example of a Bosnian book collection made into an endowment. Later on it was transferred to one of the few purpose-built Sarajevo libraries of the Ottoman era, the 'Uthmān Shahdī library, which unfortunately no longer exists, before being housed in the Gāzī Hüsrev-bey Library, where it now remains.