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EDUCATION – BEGINNING AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE OTTOMAN-ISLAMIC LITERACY IN THE BOSNIAN *EYALET*¹

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Introduction

The process of integrating the Bosnian *eyalet* into the Ottoman-Islamic school system and of establishing the Ottoman literacy was gradual and ran parallel to the spread of Islam and establishment of the Ottoman power, first with the foundation of the Bosnian *sanjak* in 1463, and then of the Bosnian *pashalik* in 1580.² That process was accelerated by building *tekkes* and mosques in some towns, and afterwards by building *mektebs* and *medreses*, which gradually introduced that school system. It included a larger part of the Muslim population, whereas the part of the population that did not convert to Islam remained in the system of the Latin church and spreading of literacy which was limited to the church dignitaries. We can thus conclude that with the establishment of the Ottoman rule on the territories of the former Bosnian Kingdom, namely Bosnia, Zahumlje and Travunija, the school system and education developed in three directions: Ottoman-Islamic that included the Muslim population, Orthodox for the Bosnian Orthodox population, and Franciscan-Catholic in the parts inhabited by the Catholic population, where the main apostles of literacy were Franciscan priests. These three kinds of education developed under the influence of the intellectual centers they belonged to. Thus the Muslim school system as a dominant form of education developed under the direct influence of the central Ottoman authorities, which provided financial and organizational support.

The goal of educational institutions in Bosnia, as well as in the entire Ottoman Empire, was to achieve the elements of the Islamic education. Learning about the programs, textbooks and teachers from that period can give us an insight into the basic principles of the Islamic education. The larger part of that education was conducted in *mektebs* as elementary schools and somewhat later in *medreses* as secondary schools and colleges. It is certain that in the very beginning the *mektebs* satisfied the need for education completely and that the

¹ In this work I have made use of a research on the education in the Ottoman period in Bosnia, carried out by my late husband, Dr. Ismet Kasumović, in his book *School System and Education in Bosnian Eyalet in the Ottoman Period*. The book remained unfinished due to his death four years ago. It has been edited by me and published in Mostar in the year 1999. I have also used other works that partly deal with this subject, particularly with the 19th century, by Muhamed Hadžijahić, Hajrudin Ćurić, and other Bosnian authors.

² Hazim Šabanović, *Bosanski Pašaluk*, Sarajevo, 1982, p. 78.

Muslim population in Bosnia was far more affected by the process of spread of the literacy than the non-Muslim. The *mektebs* that were most frequently found there were the so-called *sıbyan mektebs*, in which there was no division into classes (which is the Arabic and Islamic tradition in general), and all the students sat in the same classroom, learning their lessons and making progress individually, according to their individual abilities. The textbooks and methods used in teaching functioned as means of introduction to the basics of the theory and practice of Islam, and the content of the textbooks was suited to the respective age of the students. Whilst the elementary education in provinces like Bosnia was mainly conducted in *mektebs* and orientated towards lower classes, *medreses* produced ulema, and were built in cities by sultans, pashas and members of the ruling class. The ulema was financed by religious endowments (*vakıfs*) established for such purposes. Candidates for the civil service were educated in the centres of the Empire, mostly in Istanbul. The Bosnian *eyalet* was known for the fast spread of Islam in cities as well as in the countryside, which soon made Bosnia an important pillar of the Ottoman Empire. Besides, the Bosnian *eyalet* had always been special in comparison with other *eyalets* of Rumelia in that it had a distinctly border character. Particularly in the 16th century numerous religious and educational institutions along with business offices had been built as a part of the plan of the central authorities for the urban development of cities. The reason for this was the growing number of the Muslim population in this period.³

We could say that the entire population of the 16th century Bosnian *eyalet*, from the poorest citizens to the highest state dignitaries, were included in the process of education which was carried out in mosques, *tekkes*, *mektebs*, *muallimhanes*, and later on in *medreses* and private schools organized by aristocratic families.

Educational Institutions in The Bosnian *Eyalet* in The Ottoman Period

Mosques

The first buildings that were built in the Bosnian *eyalet* after the Ottoman conquest were mosques and *tekkes*. Among the first buildings of this kind in the Bosnian *eyalet* were Altun mosque in Novi Pazar and Hünkâr/Sultan Mehmed's

³ Cf. *Summary Censuses in the Zvornik Sanjak in 1519 and 1533*, ANUBiH, Documents, Book XXVI, Department for the Humanities, Book 22, translated by A. Handžić.

mosque in Sarajevo. Since all these mosques were in most cases erected as the first monumental, sacral, cultural and educational institutions around which towns developed, they generally represented mosque-*mektebs*, so that they functioned not only as places of worship but also as places for further spreading of Islam in the region. Not until the spread of new quarters and new mosques, which were built by means of endowments of some high as well as some subordinate officials and rich individuals, aghas and beys, would *mektebs* as separate buildings be built. They were usually erected next to the mosques and were meant to satisfy the needs for literacy and Islamic education. Thus we can find in some documents that next to Sultan Ahmed's mosque in Bugojno a *mekteb* was erected by the agha of Bâbussaâde Ahmet Agha, who also endowed additional financial means.⁴ However, with the change of the economic situation in the later period many of these mosques received special endowments, so that they were taken off the spending of the Treasury. According to the *sicil* (registers) of the Foča *kadılık* (an administrative unit of a kadi) it was established that the *hatib* of Hünkâr mosque in Foča received a salary of 13 *akçes* as from the *poll-tax* of the Sarajevo *kadılık*, and that some unknown benefactors endowed their real estate in Bileća and Tjentište and some money to provide a regular income for this mosque.

Mosques as religious institutions in the Islamic civilization were from the very beginning cultural and educational institutions as well. Some of the first settlements in Bosnia in which the mosques of the sultan Mehmed II (1451-1481) were built were Sarajevo, Zvornik and Ustikolna. According to Muvekkit, the Bosnian author of a famous chronicle from the Ottoman period, there was in Sarajevo a mosque of another Bosnian governor, built in 856/1452. Nesuh Bey had a *mekteb* and a fountain built next to the mosque near Latinska ćuprija (Latin bridge) and also endowed some money to provide an income for the mosque.⁵ Besides that there was another mosque built in Sarajevo, namely Hünkâr mosque, allegedly erected by the first Bosnian governor Isa Bey Ishaković. Ishaković offered it later as a gift to Sultan Mehmed II (the Conquerer) after the sultan had come to Bosnia in 1463. However, according to Adem Handžić, he built that mosque by the order of the sultan.⁶ In short, this tradition of teaching in mosques continued in the 18th century.⁷

⁴ Cf. Doc. num. 155 from 1184, Cevdet tasnifi in the Prime Ministerial Archive (Istanbul).

⁵ Cf. Sejfuddin Kemura, *Sarajevo Mosques and Other Public Buildings in the Ottoman Period*, Sarajevo, 1911, p. 307.

⁶ See A. Handžić, "About the Development of Some Cities in Bosnia", *POF*, XXV/1975, p. 137.

⁷ There is another example of a mosque functioning as a *medrese*, namely Muhsinzade Abdullah Pasha's mosque in Sarajevo. We can see in the endowment deed from the beginning of December 1812 that both a

A special attention should be paid to the role of the mosque-fortresses, since the religious communities of the garrisons or of the mosques that were built within particular fortresses had an immense importance in spreading Islam and in keeping religious consciousness that was brought to these regions by the Ottoman rulers. Since these were religious communities composed mainly of soldiers, the role of the imam was to lead the Bosnian garrisons in performing religious ceremonies and to work for the preservation and development of the religious, moral and political consciousness of the garrisons. The imam had a religious as well as educational and cultural role within the garrison.

Zaviyes

Besides the mosques there were also *zaviyes*, which during the entire Ottoman period had both religious as well as educational roles. *Tekkes* were places where some basic education was provided, but also places where lectures were delivered by the ulema. Some of the *tekkes*, for instance the *tekkes* of the Halveti order, were organized as *tekke-medreses*, where different scientific disciplines were taught. Such was Gazi Hüsvrev Bey's Hanikah in Sarajevo,⁸ and many other *tekkes*. There was another *tekke* of that kind – Derviš Pasha Bajezidagić's *tekke* in Mostar, where Mesnevi reading was organized.⁹ We can conclude that in the beginning mosques and *tekkes*, besides being religious places, functioned as schools and cultural institutions as well. This fact shows us that their role in the beginning was much more universal and comprehensive than it later was.

Mektebs

In the beginning *mektebs* were built next to the mosques, so the building of mosques meant the building of *mektebs* as well. That is why one should see *mektebs* from the first period of the Ottoman rule in Bosnia and Herzegovina as inseparable part of mosques, of which there were over 1000 built, according to some researches. However, these data are not final and we should take them with reserve, since that list of mosques was made on the basis of the list from the

mülderris (teacher) and an imam held posts in this mosque. This endowment deed decreed that thirty groschen a year be paid to the teacher in this mosque, and this teaching fee was called *dersiye*. It was similar with Yahya Pasha's mosque in Sarajevo. In the archive of Gazi Hüsvrev Bey Library under the number 1180 there is a *berat* from 5th Receb 1188 (12 September 1774), which appoints Hajji Abdulkadir, the son of Ahmed's, as a *mülderris* to that mosque. The *mülderris* of that mosque was paid from the funds of the Herzegovina *voyvuk* (a Slav warrior in the Ottoman service) *mukataa* (tax-farm).

⁸ *Spomenica Gazi Husrev-begove četiristogodišnjice*, Sarajevo, 1932.

⁹ Cf. *Vakufnama Derviš-age, sina Bajezida*, Vakufname iz BiH, ...p. 233-245.

Annals of the Bosnian *vilayet* for 1873 and 1874.¹⁰ *Mektebs* and *muallimhanes* were institutions for elementary education of Muslim children from the age of 6 to the age of 10, whereas mosques, *tekkes* and *masjids* satisfied the religious and educational needs of the adult population. According to the data from the endowment deeds of this period these institutions had different names such as *beytül tâlim*, *beytül ilim*, *muallimhane*, or *mekteb*.

Muallimhanes

Muallimhane was a special kind of a higher *mekteb* in the organization of the Ottoman school system and prepared future imams and *muallims* for *mektebs*. These *mektebs* were a kind of boarding schools, except that the accommodation, clothes and food were free. Davud Pasha's endowment, which was registered in the census of the Bosnian *sanjak* for 1489, was probably such a *mekteb*. The census states "that there is a garden with a vineyard in the center of Sarajevo which was endowed in the name of Allah by Davud Pasha for purposes of *muallimhane*, and one tenth of the money from the vineyard will go to the *muallimhane*".¹¹

Medreses and dershanes

Together with *mektebs* and *muallimhanes* as institutions of elementary education which grew out of the mosques and *masjids*, the first institutions of secondary and higher education, *medreses* and *dershanes* were built in the Bosnian *sanjak* at the beginning of the 16th century. According to the available sources and historical books the first institutions of this type were built as a result of the need for religious education of the converts, the Bosnian Muslims, whose number was growing relatively fast in that period, and the need for the teaching staff (imams and *hatibs*) in the newly built *masjids*, mosques and *mektebs* in the city quarters, *tekkes* and *misafirhanes* (guest houses), or in villages in which new Muslim communities were being formed. The *medreses* as a Bosnian form of secondary schools emerged in Bosnia and Herzegovina at the beginning of the 16th century. Like *mektebs*, *muallimhanes* and other cultural and educational institutions *medreses* were also built on the initiative of some people as endowment buildings, which was customary in the entire Ottoman Empire. Most schools were financed from the fund which was called *Sandık beytül mâl il-*

¹⁰ *Sâlnâme-i Vilâyet-i Bosna*, VIII, 1873: 124-130, and IX, 1874: 130-136.

¹¹ "Nefs-i sarayda Davud paşanın bir bağçe ile bağı vardır, hasbeten lillahi muallimhaneye vakfetmiş uşur sarfolunmağı hasil". OIS, Book I, p.42.

ganâ'im, and which got the money from the booty, the mines and the prisoners. The expenses of the muftis, school system, border guard, charities, civil services, the poor, orphans and travelers were financed from that fund. However, it seems that the money from that fund which went to schools was limited to the main educational institutions in Istanbul and other centers, especially Enderun, Sahnî Seman and Sultan Süleyman's university.¹² According to the available sources the first founders of the schools of this type were mainly state dignitaries, *sanjakbeys*, governors, *vojvodas* (mayors) and others. The task of these people, from *beylerbeys* to *sipahis* (cavalry soldiers), as representatives of the executive power was to establish the Ottoman rule, but also to organize a school system together with ulema, since education was an important part of the social organization. The sultan supported their endeavors in that they were given large estates which they then endowed to provide an income for the buildings they built. The first *medreses* were built in the first big administrative and cultural centres – Skopje, Novi Pazar, Sarajevo, Foča, Mostar, Banja Luka, Livno, Pljevlja/Taslidža, Travnik, Prusac, Zvornik, Čajniče. The first known *medrese* was built by a Bosnian *sanjakey* Firuz Bey in the period from 1505 to 1512. Afterwards, a great number of this type of schools was built in the 16th century. All of them were organized in the tradition of the Ottoman *medreses*, mostly as *hariç* and *dahil medreses*, in the rank of 20 to 50 *akçes*. According to the data from *Rûznâmçe defterleri*¹³ of the Rumelian and Anatolian *kazaskers*, where the appointments of *müderises* and their salaries are recorded, most of the *medreses* in the region were of the lower rank with salaries ranging from 20 to 25 *akçes* a day. Some of these *medreses* eventually became *medreses* of the middle rank with a salary of 50 *akçes* a day.¹⁴

According to the established tradition in the Ottoman *medreses* and in the *medreses* of the Bosnian *eyalet* teaching was carried out in the traditional way which was established in Nizâmiye and somewhat modified according to the needs of the Empire and inclinations of the *müderises* who were the pillars of the educational process. Usually only one *müderis* taught in the *medreses* of the lower rank, and his assistant (*kalfa*) would do the practical work and repeat with the students what was taught. Here, as well as in *mektebs*, the lectures were held in a *dershane* in which students sat in circles and worked individually. The school subjects were similar in the *medreses* of the same rank and the only difference was in the appointment of the *müderis* who would choose a textbook,

¹² Cf. Ahmed Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanunnâmeleri ve Hukukî Tahlilleri*, Fey Vakfı, İstanbul, 1990, p.194-195.

¹³ *Rûznâmçe*: Rough day-book of current financial transactions in a government office. [ed.].

¹⁴ *Rûznâmçe Defterleri*, 1586, 1588, 1624, 1625, 1627, 1737, İstanbul Meşihat Müdürlüğü Arşivi.

according to which a subject was named. Students attended *medreses* between the ages of 12 and 16, depending on their individual abilities. The subjects that were taught in these schools were similar to those in the other Ottoman *medreses*.¹⁵ The scope of the respective subjects was determined by the *müdürris* himself. After finishing a particular school grade a student would receive an *icâzet*. Those who would complete the lower and middle grade would be appointed to the posts in the local administration, such as the posts of imam, *hatib* or *muallim*, or would go to colleges and universities such as Gazi Hüseyin Bey's *medrese* in Sarajevo, Sahni Seman, Sultan Süleyman's university or Ayasofya in Istanbul.¹⁶

It is hard to determine the exact number of the *medreses* in the Bosnian *eyalet* from this period because many documents are either lost or inaccessible. However, according to the endowment deeds, administrative books and censuses we can say that the number of *medreses* was considerable at that time. The censuses from that period mention the endowments of Firuz Bey, Gazi Hüseyin Bey in Sarajevo, Sinan Bey in Novi Pazar.¹⁷ By the end of the 16th century there were endowments for *medreses* in Mostar, Foča and other places. Evliya Çelebi records 39 *medreses* in these parts in the 17th century: 6 in Foča, 3 in Livno, 3 in Zvornik, 3 in Čajniče, 2 in Konjic, 2 in Nevesinje, 5 in Novi Pazar, 3 in Prijepolje, 2 in Pljevlja and 1 in Mostar, Počitelj, Blagaj, Cernica, Ljubinje, Banja Luka, Jajce and Prusac, respectively.¹⁸ He says that Sarajevo had many *müdürrises*, yet he does not mention the number of *medreses*. Not until the second half of the 19th century are there statistics about the number of *medreses* in Bosnia and Herzegovina. According to the available sources we can say that there were over 100 of them. The textbooks in *medreses* were exclusively in Arabic, Turkish and Persian. In order to facilitate the learning of Turkish some *medreses* offered *Potur Şahidija*, a Turkish-Bosnian dictionary by Muhammed Hevaji Uskufija, as a study.¹⁹

In the *medreses* of the 18th century there were teachers who were initiated into astronomy, which was needed for establishing the Islamic calendar, and who taught it to students. In the 18th century Sarajevo had its astronomers:

¹⁵ See Uzunçarşılı, p.586.

¹⁶ About the further development of the graduates from the mentioned schools cf. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinde İlimiye Teşkilatı*, Ankara, 1965.

¹⁷ Cf. B. Zlatar, "Popis vakufa u Bosni iz prve polovine XVI st". POF, XX-XXI, 1970-71, pp. 109-158.

¹⁸ Evliya Çelebi, *Putopis*, Svjetlost, Sarajevo, 1967, translated by Hazim Šabanović.

¹⁹ *Potur Şahidija*, prepared by Muhamed Huković, Ahmet Kasumović, Ismet Smailović: Muhamed Hevaji Uskufi, Tuzla, 1990.

Hajji Husein Muzaferija (d. 1721), a *müderriş* of Gazi Hüsrrev Bey's *medrese*,²⁰ and Ibrahim Effendi Muzaferija (d. 1790), the imam and *hatib* of Gazi Hüsrrev Bey's mosque. Also Mehmed Razi Velihodžić (d. 1785) wrote astronomical works.²¹ However, all this astronomy was hardly more than a knowledge of the practical use of the *rub-tahta* (sextant), an instrument for determining the position of heavenly bodies. The work on the sextant required the knowledge of trigonometry, but it was more a matter of experience than of a precise mathematical calculation. Practical skills taught in *medreses* were the skill of transcribing, calligraphy and bookbinding.

The Main Characteristics of the Islamic-Ottoman Education System in the Bosnian *Eyalet*

The main characteristic of this educational system was that from the very beginning it had a clearly religious character. The school system of the Bosnian Muslims in the 18th and 19th centuries did not change in relation to the previous one. The only change was that the schools in which the teaching was carried out in Bosnian emerged more frequently than at earlier times. The nature of the school system in Bosnia in the Ottoman period is best defined by the classification of knowledge with the division into calligraphic, oral, rational and spiritual sciences. This is also clear from the manuscripts from that period, in which were represented those disciplines that were of the utmost interest in the Bosnian *eyalet* of that time as well as in the entire Ottoman Empire. According to a survey of the collection from the Oriental Institute (which was burnt down during the aggression in 1992) the Arabic manuscripts included about 20 groups with a number of subgroups that contained related disciplines. The groups were as follows:

- I. Qur'an and fragments of Qur'an
- II. Science of Qur'an (*tecvid*, *kiraat* (recitation), *tefsir* (exegesis))
- III. Hadith
- IV. Theology (dogmatics, apologetics, eschatology, ethics, morality, Islamic principles, obligations and catechism)
- V. Law and religious ceremonies (elements of the law, law disciplines, *ferâiz*)
- VI. Prayers
- VII. Sermon and admonitions

²⁰ Zejnil Fajić, *Fragmenti iz Hronike Hadži-Husein-efendije Muzaferije*, Anali GHBL (Gazi Hüsrrev Bey Library) IV, Sarajevo, 1976, 33-38.

²¹ Mula Mustafa Bašeskija, *Ljetopis*, translated by Mehmed Mujezinović, Sarajevo, 1983, 155.

- VIII. Sufism
- IX. Philosophy (theory of cognition, metaphysics, logic, pedagogy, didactics, disputation)
- X. Encyclopedia (lexicons and bibliographies)
- XI. Natural sciences and mathematics (mathematics, astrology, medicine, veterinary science, zoology, chemistry, physics, agronomy, popular medicine)
- XII. Occultism (alchemy, cabalism, chiromancy)
- XIII. Geography
- XIV. History (general history, regional history, biography, genealogy, registers, endowment deeds (*vakıfname* and *kanunnames*))
- XV. Politics
- XVI. Linguistics (grammar, lexicography, meter, rhetoric, stylistics, orthography)
- XVII. Literature (poetry, prose, proverbs, diplomas, calligraphic permits)
- XVIII. Science of the epistle
- XIX. Music
- XX. *Mecmuas* (collections of different content)²²

This list of the main sciences shows the main scientific interest in more than 4 centuries of the Ottoman rule in the Bosnian *eyalet*, but it also shows that Qur'an and Hadith are the basis of that culture. The education went in the direction of the development of the consciousness about the world as God's creation, about harmony in the universe and about the transience of this world.

Emergence of the Lay Intelligentsia

In the 19th century, at the time of the reformation of the school system, Rüşdiyes, law schools, *dârül muallimîn*, *ıslahhanes* and İdadiyes emerged in Bosnia. The most numerous new schools were Rüşdiyes which began to emerge in 1853. There were 12 such schools at the beginning. The following subjects were taught there: Turkish, Arabic, Persian, history of the Ottoman Empire, geography, arithmetic, elements of geometry, composition, drawing, gymnastics and religion. The school for education of civil servants was founded in Sarajevo by Topal Osman Pasha (1860-1869), and it was called *sabah-mekteb*.²³ Arithmetic of *fatwa*, history, geography, Arabic, Turkish, Persian and Bosnian

²² Lejla Gazić and Salih Trako, "Rukopisna zbirka Orijentalnog instituta u Sarajevu", POF/XXV, Sarajevo, 1977, p. 27-43.

²³ "Opširni popis Bosanskog sandžaka iz 1489", translated by Ešref Kovačević, BBA, TD No 24, photocopy 259, p. 148.

were taught there. A school *Dârül Muallimîn* for *muallims* in *mektebs* was founded in 1863. Secular subjects were taught there as well. The *islahhane* school for crafts was founded in 1870, and the *İdadiye* in 1873, whose graduates continued their education in Istanbul. Arabic, Turkish, Persian, geography, history, mathematics, drawing, calligraphy and gymnastics were taught there as general subjects.

Towards the end of the Ottoman rule there were significant efforts to create the first Muslim lay intelligentsia. Thus at the beginning of the Austrian-Hungarian occupation of Bosnia there was a significant number of intelligentsia.²⁴ In the later period, and especially in the period when Bosnia was a part of Yugoslavia, spiritual sciences dealing with *shari'a* law and religious and literary works were studied in groups in private houses and *tekkes*. Literary groups in which Persian classics were studied, and in the first place Celâleddin Rûmî's *Mesnevî*, were of special importance.

The Role of the Endowment in Building Religious-Educational Institutions and Funding of the Educational Institutions

Along with the significant number of mosques, masjids, *mektebs* and *tekkes* which were built by the central authorities in the Bosnian *eyalet* in the 15th and 16th centuries, many facilities came into existence by means of endowment. Actually almost all the above mentioned mosques and masjids, except for mosques-fortresses and sultanic mosques, were built in that way. Most of the mosques called '*cami-i atik*' or '*cami-i şerif*' from the first period were probably sultans' mosques. Such mosques are those in Srebrenica, Donja Tuzla, Bijeljina, Oborci and Foča. The staff in these mosques was in civil service, and in the registers we can find information on them. For instance, it is said in the Comprehensive Census of the Bosnian *sanjak* from the period of the Sultan Ahmed I that the staff of the sultan's mosque in Sarajevo (imam, muezzin and *hatib*) was *timarlis*, whereas the other expenses of the mosque (for lights, rugs, repairs etc.) were paid for from the state revenues. Other sultanic mosques had a similar situation. During the rule of Bayezid II such mosques were built in the following places: Foča, Rogatica, Višegrad, Srebrenica, Travnik, Prusac and Prozor. Later on, during the rule of the Sultan Selim I (1512-1520) mosques were constructed in Knežina and Doboj as well. Most of the mosques were built during the rule of the Sultan Süleyman (1520-1566) in Jajce, Banja Luka, Donja Tuzla, Bijeljina, Gradiška, Kamengrad, Oborci, Glamoč, Drniš, Dobrun on the river

²⁴ This could be the subject of a separate research paper.

Drina, and Zvornik. In some places there were 2 sultanic mosques, e.g. in Rogatica, Bayezid's mosque and Selim II's mosque built in 1573; and in Jajce, Süleymaniye and Sultan Süleyman's masjid in one of the quarters.²⁵ Although in many other places the first mosques were not sultanic mosques, they were usually founded by sultan's order, and their benefactors were different state dignitaries and *sanjakbeys*, mainly of Bosnian origin. Later on, the benefactors were also artisans and officials, and from their circles came many later endowments.²⁶

An endowment was a basis of economical as well as cultural and educational life in Bosnia and in the entire Empire. The endowments were mainly established for the building of mosques, masjids, *mektebs*, *medreses* and *tekkes*, which directly contributed to the spread of Islam and establishment and development of the Ottoman-Islamic model in the region. They served as nurseries of education, which would acquire typical Bosnian characteristics.²⁷

The 17th century-Bosnia, in spite of the military failures that stopped the inflow of booty to the Empire and in spite of the first signals of the crisis in the Ottoman Empire, retained the enthusiasm in the main business centers, which was essential for the further fast development of these cities. A difficult blow to Bosnia was the raid of Eugene of Savoy on Central Bosnia and all the way to Sarajevo in 1697. After this raid the situation in Bosnia considerably changed. However, in spite of this, there were still large endowments such as Ibrahim Elçi Pasha's endowment in Travnik from the beginning of the 18th century, and Mehmed Pasha Kukavica's endowments in Travnik and Foča in the mid-18th century. But in this period the educational institutions in the Bosnian *eyalet* were funded by small and middle endowments. It was not rare in this period that the authorities approached the Treasury for the payment of the salaries of *müderrises*, *muallims* or imams, who were formerly paid from the endowments which were burnt down or perished in some other way. One such case was the appeal of the authorities from Sarajevo to the Imperial Treasury to receive money for the salaries of 32 *müderrises* whose salaries could not be paid because the relevant endowments were burnt down during the raid of Eugene of Savoy on Sarajevo.²⁸ Besides, there were more and more decisions from that period that the

²⁵ Cf. A. Handžić, "Zvornik u drugoj polovini XV i XVI vijeka", GDI BiH, Book XVIII, Sarajevo, 1970, p. 136.

²⁶ Cf. A. Handžić, *Zvornik...*, p. 137.

²⁷ Cf. Available endowment deeds and lists of endowments from the Comprehensive census of the Bosnian *sanjak* from 1540 and 1604. Oriental Institute, Sarajevo, 2000 (translated by A. Handžić, S. Buzar and S. Kupusović).

²⁸ Cf. M. Kadić, *Tarih-i Bosna*, V, p. 30, manuscript in GHBL.

maintenance of people in religious and educational institutions should be transferred to the poll-tax, which under the circumstances of general poverty caused discontent of the Christian subjects who were heavily burdened with taxation. Many *mektebs* were reconstructed in this period, whilst some remained neglected until the beginning of the 19th century. According to the court registers of Blagaj for 1238/1822, a Bosnian governor Celâleddin Pasha sent a rescript (*buyrultu*) to the kadis of Duvno, Ljubuško, Mostar, Blagaj, Počitelj, Ljubinje, Trebinje, Stolac, Cernica, Nevesinje, Bekija-i Nova, Belgradčik/Konjic, Neretva, Prozor; then to *mütesellims*,²⁹ captains, *âyans* (the notables), officers, leaders and clerks informing them

'that many mosques, masjids, *mektebs* and *medreses* are dilapidated and they cannot satisfy the needs of the Muslims anymore. They are ordered to inspect the state of the endowments via courts and in agreement with the trustees of the respective endowments, and to repair all dilapidated objects. Mosques should be repaired so that all the five prayers could be performed there, and *mektebs* should be repaired so that children could attend the classes there. In villages and small towns in which there are no *mektebs*, new *mektebs* should be built.'

Also in the register no. 73 of the court in Sarajevo a rescript of Davud Pasha from 1249/1833³⁰ is mentioned. The rescript ordered the concerned to take care of the goods under the roof of charities, mosques, *mektebs* and *medreses*, i.e. to protect them from dilapidation and ensure that the clerks do their job properly. It also ordered to inspect and report whether all the five prayers were performed in the mosques, whether Qur'an was studied in *mektebs*, and how many imams, *hatibs*, *muezzins*, *müderrises* and others there were, and to send data about trustees of the endowments.³¹

The funding of the *mektebs* and *medreses* in the 18th and 19th centuries came from wealthy individuals, often women, in contrast to the earlier period when the funding had come from large endowments of the high state dignitaries. So the *mektebs* and *medreses* were most frequently funded by endowments. But since the *muallims* were not adequately paid for their job, they often went into additional jobs, like crafts in cities and farming in the country, which was at the expense of quality of teaching. After 1839 special school funds called Maârif Sandığı were established, and teaching staff, servants, inventory, maintenance of the building etc. were financed from those cases.³² Money was collected from the

²⁹ *Mütesellim*: Deputy lieutenant-governor and local collector of taxes and tithes. [ed.].

³⁰ Sidžil sarajevskog suda, no. 73, GHBL.

³¹ Cf. *Tarih-i ...*, GHBL.

³² See Salih Muftić, "Mearif Sanduk", Calendar Gajret 1939, Sarajevo, pp. 341-345.

endowments, gifts, charities, fines that had to be paid by those who broke the school rules, and possible state donations.

Teaching Practice

It is hard to talk about the teaching practice in these *tekkes*, mosques, *mektebs* and *muallimhanes*, because of the communication problems that might have existed due to the language barrier, since the great number of imams and *muallims* came with the Ottoman army. Judging by names and professions of the witnesses of endowments from that period, we could say that a significant number of educated people, kadis, imams, *shaykhs* came along with the Ottoman army at the beginning. On the other hand, bearing in mind the needs of mosques, masjids, *mektebs* as the first religious and educational institutions of the Ottoman Empire in the region, we can assume that the teaching in elementary schools was conducted with minimum conversation, since it was organized for the purpose of acquiring the elementary knowledge of the Islamic religious services. It implied memorizing some passages from the Qur'an, and reciting certain verses during the prayer, which has been done in the same way until today – by the method of demonstration and repetition. Thus the teaching in *mektebs* in the first period could be done independently of the demands of linguistic communication. The methods of teaching in *mektebs* were mainly traditional, with a lot of practical work imposed by the nature of teaching. Since the teaching was not conducted in separate classrooms each student had his/her own program, so-called 'sabab', which s/he mastered according to his/her individual abilities and efforts. This system made it possible for more intelligent and hard-working students to advance faster and at the same time to repeat earlier lessons by listening to the weaker students during the classes. The teacher (*muallim*) had a specific role in that process and created his classes by himself. For instance in Kulen Vakuf this was the way of learning letters:

Elif stretches like a stick; *Be* is like a *tekne* (boat) and a *nokta* (dot) distance to me. *Fe* is like a *tekne* and two *noktas* distance to the teacher. *Hi* is like a sickle and has a *nokta* distance to the teacher. *Ri* is like a hook with which we reach for cherries. *Zel* is like *Zelić's* sabre [Ahmed Zelić was a police officer and had a sabre]. *Ayin* opened its mouth like a wolf. *Gayin* opened its mouth like a wolf and has a *nokta* distance to the teacher. *Nun* is like a bowl from which we eat soup. *Lam elif* looks like Huso Lezić's scissors, [Huso Lezić was a tailor] etc.³³

³³ Husein Alić, "Starinski mekteb", Osvit, no. 42-43, Sarajevo, 1942.

The purpose of *mektebs*, their organization and syllabus were established according to the demands of the Ottoman-Islamic traditional school system as well as the demands of the founders of endowments. In that respect the founders stressed the purpose of their endowments in the endowment deeds, insisting on the need for the religious education of the students. For instance, the endowment deed of Mustafa Bey, the son of Iskender Bey, from Sarajevo which was written in 923/1517 states that the founder “built a *mekteb* near the mentioned mosque in order to teach the Holy Qur’an and instruct the children of the poor.”³⁴ Therefore, as we can see, the *mektebs* were intended for the children of the ordinary Muslim people. At the beginning they were mainly *muallimhanes* for the education of the children of the poor, and later, in the course of time and thanks to the change of the social-historical conditions, there emerged other, so called people’s *mektebs* and occasional *mektebs*. The role of teachers would later be taken over by travelling imams as well, so called *seyyar hocalar*, who would teach in smaller and distant places where there were no *mektebs*.

The teaching process involved a teacher (*muallim*) and his assistant (*kalfa* or *halife*). At the beginning these functions were mainly performed by the imam and muezzin of a mosque, which was explicitly required in some endowment deeds, probably for economical reasons. Thus, for example, the endowment of Hajji-Ejnebegija’s *muallimhane* in Sarajevo stipulated that the duty of *muallim* in this *muallimhane* should be performed by the imam of the Mevlana Arapa mosque, next to which was the *muallimhane*.³⁵ According to the data from the censuses of the Bosnian *sanjak* from 1540 to 1604, and according to the items of the available endowment deeds, the salaries of *muallims* in *muallimhanes* were 5 or 4 *akçes*,³⁶ while in other *mektebs* 4, 3 or 2 *akçes*. Imam’s salary was 3, 4, or 5 *akçes*, and of the *muallim*’s assistant (*halife*) 2 *akçes*, in some more modest *mektebs* even 1 *akçe*.³⁷ However, the salary depended on the size and importance of the *mekteb*. So for instance, *muallim*’s salary in Karagöz Bey’s *mekteb* in Mostar was 5 *akçes*, in his *mekteb* in Konjic 4 *akçes*, and in the *mekteb* in the village of Potoci 2 *akçes*.³⁸ After graduating from *mekteb* a student could go to apprenticeship or to business or continue his education in *medrese*, depending on the social status of his parents. Those who attended special state schools Enderun or others, continued their education within those institutions, learning different skills so that they could be qualified for different jobs at the

³⁴ Cf. “Vakufname from BiH, Xvi XVI vijek”, OIS, Sarajevo, 1985, p. 35.

³⁵ The list of endowments of the Bosnian *sanjak* from 1604.

³⁶ Berat 1252/1836, GHBL, Sarajevo.

³⁷ “Vakufname from BiH...” and *Popis Bosanskog sandžaka 1604*, Sarajevo, 2000.

³⁸ Cf. *Vakufnama zaima Hadži Mehmed-bega, Vakufname...*, p. 165.

court. However, most of the graduates from *mektebs* remained on that level, which included necessary religious education which was useful for them in their everyday life, in performing their prayers, reading Qur'an etc. In the 16th and 17th centuries most of the *mektebs* worked successfully. The number of students was constant, i.e. it grew and dwindled according to the growing or dwindling number of population. In the first period the number of students grew constantly, as the number of Muslim converts grew. The problem of growing number of students was then solved by constructing new buildings and establishing new quarters, which can be seen from the growing number of quarters in some small towns, i.e. by establishing new towns in those parts where Islam was spreading rapidly. The data from the censuses from 1489, 1516, 1540, 1570, 1604 etc. speak clearly about that.

Another kind of education that involved the act of interpreting and understanding of the new religion was performed in direct contact, especially within *tekkes* whose *shaykhs* managed to establish communication quickly. This contact was also evident in mosques and masjids, where the religion was explained within circles/groups, via sermons and admonitions as well as Friday sermons. However, the main factors of the religious education and of the spreading of Islam were everyday practice and personal example. In that respect dervishes and *shaykhs* of the *tekkes* had a special role.

The textbooks that were used in that period were the same as the textbooks that were used in other Ottoman *mektebs* elsewhere. In contrast to the first Arabic *mektebs* (*kuttap*) where the reading of Qur'an, performing prayers, writing, arithmetic, martial arts and swimming were taught, the central place in these *mektebs* was reserved for learning of the Arabic script, for the purpose of enabling students to read Qur'an and to perform prayers. In addition to it, for the purpose of reading Qur'an special rules were taught (*tecvid*). In the collections of the Gazi Hüsrev Bey Library (GHBL) there are preserved manuscripts of works on *tecvid* such as, e.g. the manuscript of the work *Kashf al-asrar fî rasmi masahif al-Qur'an*, by Muhammed Samarkandî (d. 600/1203), then *Kitab al-tajwid fî kalam al-majid* by Ibn Kemal Paşazâde (d. 940/1533), and a great number of manuscripts from the 16th century.³⁹ Among the works about the religious ceremonies the most important work used in this period was *Munyat al-musallî wa ghunyat al-mubtadi* by Sa'duddin Muhammed Kaşgârî (d. 705/1305), which later received its interpretation-commentary by Ibrahim Halebî (d. 1549), known as *Haleb-i kebîr* and *Haleb-i sagîr*. This work was used in *medreses* as the main

³⁹ Cf. Catalogues of GHBL, no 1-7.

textbook on religious ceremonies until the reforms in the 19th century. In the collection of GHBL there are preserved 40 manuscripts of the basic work *Munya* in Arabic. However, from the second half of the 16th century there was the famous *Risâle-i Birgivi* in use in *mektebs*. This textbook was written in Turkish by the well-known theologian Muhammed ibn Pir Ali from Birge in Asia Minor (d.1573). The main work on the didactic-moral rules in teaching, or to be more precise, for teachers, was the work *Ta'lim al-muta'allim* by Burhanuddin Al-Zarnuji, and the textbook on the Arabic language *Alet*, which included grammar and syntax of Arabic, used only in some *mektebs* at that time.

Conclusion

By the end of the 15th century along with the establishment and development of small towns of the Oriental-Islamic type, with bazaars and quarters, the first religious and educational buildings, *tekkes*, mosques and *mektebs* were built on the territories of the Bosnian, Herzegovinan, Zvornik, Klis, and Požega *sanjaks*. This formed the basis for creating the basic conditions for spreading literacy and the development of educational works according to the demands and needs of the new social and political circumstances brought about by the penetration of Islamic civilization and culture.

In the period between 1463 and 1878 a great number of cultural and educational institutions was built. Most of them were built in cities and towns that experienced a very intensive development in that period, such as Sarajevo, Travnik, Banja Luka, Novi Pazar, Foča, Mostar, Hlivno, Zenica, Prozor and Konjic. Most of the available sources about *mektebs* refer to Sarajevo, since it was the administrative, cultural and religious center of the region from the beginning. If we rely on the data that the 17th century Sarajevo had 104 quarters, that means that next to each mosque and masjid there was one *mekteb*. That is why the assumption that Sarajevo at that time had at least 100 *mektebs* looks very realistic. This significant number of mosques and *mektebs* shows that Sarajevo at the end of the 17th century was a city with developed infrastructure, economy, culture and school system. Although there are no precise data from the very beginning about the mosques, *mektebs* and *medreses*, we could say that in the 16th century, Sarajevo, along with Skopje and Novi Pazar, was one of the biggest cultural centers in Rumelia. In the first centuries of the Ottoman rule in the Bosnian *eyalet* Islam was not only a new religion but also a civilizational model and a higher level of culture. In that period, along with religious sciences, there were studies about "those things which were required by the time and place". In the endowment deed, dated 1537, of the most important Bosnian founder of

endowments, Gazi Hüsrev Bey, we can read that “exegesis, hadith, *ahkam*, methodology, *meani* (interpretation) and *beyan* (the parts of rhetorics dealing with comparison and metaphor), theology” were studied in the *medrese* as well as ‘other things required by the custom and time.’ Later, especially in the 18th and 19th centuries, the ulema tried to impose itself as the only interpreter of the religion, so that its interpretation of the religion through the monotonous memorizing of the content without understanding and without taking into consideration things required by place and time led to the distinction between religious and secular education and to the aversion to spiritual disciplines, which gradually formed a different viewpoint that also went in the direction of disharmony. As the entire development of the Ottoman Empire went in the direction of preserving the acquired knowledge and formalistic comments and repetition of the acquired cliches, which were suitable for using in the service of the will for power, which would become one of the main hindrances to the development, so the teaching in *mektebs* was reduced to learning dogmas and limiting Islam to the religion whose interpreters were members of the ulema with an exclusive right to *shari’a*, and that right was based on the claim that they had knowledge of the religion.

Since the purpose of all sciences is the conception of God and the fulfillment of the task of the vicegerency of God on earth, every man, according to Taşköprüzâde, should study all sciences that complement each other and represent one whole, and the man that is dedicated to only one science and kind of knowledge alienates himself from God’s truth. That dedication to only one kind of knowledge was particularly pronounced in the 19th and 20th centuries (as it was the case with the decadence of the Ottoman school system in the 17th and 18th centuries).

All known Ottoman schools as well as those from the later period could be represented individually according to the administrative and cultural centers in which they were built, but this would not belong to the framework of this paper. A separate subject of study could be, with its five centuries of its existence, Gazi Hüsrev Bey’s *medrese* that has educated generations of imams and *muallims* who have guarded and kept for centuries the tradition of the Islamic education alive in these parts of the Muslim world. The program of that *medrese* as well as the programs of other newly opened *medreses* such as Karagöz Bey’s *medrese* in Mostar, Elçi Ibrahim Pasha’s in Travnik, Dželaludin Čaušević’s in Cazin, Behram Bey’s in Tuzla, Redžović Ahmed’s in Visoko and three Islamic academies (in Mostar, Bihać and Zenica) are modernized today, so that along with traditional subjects they teach other important subjects which give their

students a complete education that makes it possible for them to enrol in different kinds of universities. In this paper I have dealt with the organization of the Ottoman-Islamic school system in the Bosnian *eyalet* between 1463 and 1878. Another separate subject of research could be *medreses* and *mektebs* in the period after the Austrian-Hungarian occupation until 1992. Another important topic could be the traditional Islamic education in Bosnia and Herzegovina (*mektebs* and *medreses*) since 1992 .