

## THE ROLE OF WAQF IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF KASABA VISOKO IN BOSNIA

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Some general remarks about the towns of medieval Bosnia

Towns in medieval Bosnia had never reached the level of development as it was the case with Mediterranean or continental cities of Europe. In medieval Bosnia we have three most common types of towns: fortified towns, boroughs and bazaars. Fortified towns were developed for military defense purposes primarily, having their economic purposes put in second place. Such towns are Bobovac, Borač, Jajce, Prusac (Akhisar), Vranduk, Zvornik, Blagaj. Boroughs and bazaars were developed as mining or trading centers. The most important ones in the period of Ottoman arrival were Kreševo, Fojnica, Olovo, Čajniče, Srebrenica, Tuzla and Visoko. All of the named towns apart from Visoko were developed as mining centers.

The area with rich ores was attractive not only for miners, but for traders as well, especially those from Dubrovnik. They used to build their settlements around. But the development of Visoko differed from other cities. Visoko was developing on a trading basis only, and instead of mining. However, it was surrounded with some of the most famous mining places like Kreševo and Fojnica, as well as some less important ones, like Deževica, Ostružnica, Dusina, Busovača.<sup>1</sup> Apart from that, Visoko and its surrounding represented the administrative, cultural and spiritual

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1 Desanka Kovačević-Kojić, Gradska naselja srednjovjekovne bosanske države, Sarajevo 1978.

center of medieval Bosnia. Many important institutions were located there, the central station of the Bosnian Church, the crowning place of Bosnian rulers, and the Bosnian parliament.<sup>2</sup>

In spite of all this the development of the above-mentioned places was fairly limited. It is not possible to determine the exact level of their development on the basis of medieval records only. The results from archeological researches and early Ottoman records confirm that none of the mentioned towns were at a high level of urban or demographical development. From the earliest Ottoman records it is apparent that the most developed town in Bosnia was Fojnica. Out of all documented town areas only Fojnica had more than three hundred households (326), followed by Kreševo with 299 households. The rest of the developed towns had between 200 and 300 households.<sup>3</sup>

The development of towns in Ottoman period

The dynamics of the town development in Bosnia notably increased with the arrival of the Ottomans. Not only did the development of existing towns increase, many brand new towns were founded as well. The main factors that influenced the developing process were: the state, the waqf, roads, dervishes, and muafijet.<sup>4</sup> They determined the development and urban shaping of certain towns and fueled the foundation of brand new ones. In some cases only one of the two factors was instrumental for town development, while in other cases both intertwined and jointly contributed to the faster development.

As we are considering the role of waqf in the development of towns, it is crucial to point out certain cases where waqf played a vital role in building their foundation. Having been founded on the waqf, some towns even today bear the "waqf" entry in their names: Gornji Vakuf, Donji Vakuf, Kulen Vakuf, Skender Vakuf, Vrcar Vakuf. Their names alone explain that those places had been founded on waqf facilities. However, those are not the only ones. The list of places founded on the waqf is a lot broader. There is no city in Bosnia where waqf played a certain role in their developments. Some of those certainly are: Sarajevo, Mostar, Foča, Tuzla, Banja Luka, Travnik, Zenica, Sarajevo, Livno.<sup>5</sup>

The waqf facilities significantly affected the urban physiognomy and shape of towns. They affected the inner urban organization and the course of its further development. Most towns, especially more developed ones, had their residential and commercial areas separated from each other. This was novel in the urban organization of a town and came to the fore particularly in bigger towns. Besides, the town areas became more open and approachable.

Hilly and mountainous relief had caused most of the towns that had already developed their core, like forts, boroughs or bazaars, to spread and develop towards plain fields and river banks. As a result, a new commercial part of each town grew in a lowland area, connected to the old core by developing residential facilities. Commercial facilities (craft or trade) continued to spread in lowlands below the forts. Later, residential facilities developed around.

2 Visoko i okolina kroz historiju I, prehistorija, antika i srednji vijek, Visoko 1984, pp. 105-129.

3 Ahmed S. Aličić, Sumarni popis sandžaka Bosna 1468/69, Mostar, 2005.

4 In Bosnian historiography Adem Handžić had given a particular contribution in these questions. He had treated every of the mentioned factors in the development of Bosnian towns. All of his work on this topic was collected in a book: Adem Handžić, Studije o Bosni, historijski prilozi iz osmansko-turskog perioda, Istanbul 1994 (pp. 91-101, 111-143, 143-151, 151-161, 207-213).

5 More on the topic: A. Handžić, Studije o Bosni, pp. 91-101, 111-143, 143-151, 151-161, 207-213; Alija Bejtić, Spomenici osmanlijske arhitekture u Bosni i Hercegovini, POF III-IV, Sarajevo 1953, pp. 229-299.

## The development of Visoko

### Borough Visoko until the end of 16<sup>th</sup> century

As it was pointed out earlier, Visoko was one of the more developed towns of medieval Bosnia. However, it had only 220 households, comprising around 1000 residents. It had a solid borough base that could further grow into a new type of oriental Islamic town.

The borough of Visoko had 6 streets<sup>6</sup>: Božana, Boljašina, Radiča, Ivana, Nenada and Tvrdislava. During the 15<sup>th</sup> century the number of streets and their names did not change. Later in the 16<sup>th</sup> century the names of the streets changed, but remained non-Muslim names like: mahala Grgura, mahala Pavla Cvitkova, mahala Stipana, mahala Mateja, mahala Radula and mahala Božidara. These names continued to exist until the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century with only one exception – mahala Grgura became mahala Nesuha sina Vladisavova.

The number of households on each street was approximately the same, with between 30 and 40 households per street in the 15<sup>th</sup> century. However, thanks to the positive economic and demographic growth towards the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of 16<sup>th</sup> century, the town notably increased. Its development and expansion were not undertaken by building new residential facilities, but rather by spreading within the existing streets and neighborhoods. The number of households in those streets was now between 40 and 55. Only one street was below that number. At that period Visoko was at its highest point of development. From the 16<sup>th</sup> century onward Visoko borough then continuously decreased because of the migration of the population into a new part of town – kasaba. Such movements caused a two-fold decrease of the borough. Despite this, the borough kept its base with the same urban organization that had consisted of 6 streets. Throughout the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> century the number of households was changing according to the forwarding parameters.<sup>7</sup>

Demographical changes in the borough from 1489 to 1604.

Year	Number of households	difference	Number of residents in borough
1489.	222		1100
1516.	277	+55	1400
1530.	172	-105	860
1540.	228	+58	1150
1570.	160	-68	800
1604.	106	-54	530

### Kasaba Visoko

#### The beginnings of the kasaba

In the first decades of the Ottoman rule, some new urban contents were added to the borough, which determined the course of its further development. In 1477, the sanjakbeg of Bosnia, Ajaspaša had built a hamam, shops, a bridge and a zavija.<sup>8</sup> Vakufnamas and the other records of the 16<sup>th</sup> century do not mention any mosque. But there are indicators that somewhere amongst

6 Street in this context is a neighbourhood, so called mahala.

7 Istanbul, BOA, TD, 18, TD 24, TD 157, TD 56, TD 211, TD 379. Opširni popis Bosanskog sandžaka iz 1604, Sv. I/1, Obradio: Adem Handžić, Sarajevo 2000, pp. 455-652. BOA, TD, 742, 281-393.

8 Vakufname iz Bosne i Hercegovine (XV i XVI vijek), Sarajevo 1985, pp. 30-31.

those objects there was a mosque too. At the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, some records mention a hatib, two mujesins, a waqif of the mosque and waqf officials. The first mentioning of this mosque under its name, Ajas paša's mosque, was found in 1704 after it was demolished by Eugene of Savoy. The only thing that survived the demolishing was the minaret.<sup>9</sup> During the first years of the 16<sup>th</sup> century the town got its new waqf facilities: shops, mekteb, and a bridge that was built by the end of 1526 by the other waqif Muslihudin Čekrekčija.<sup>10</sup> At the same time or a year later mosque Šerefudin was built, as well as some shops.<sup>11</sup> But by the time Alaudin built a mosque in 1540 and a neighborhood formed around it, Visoko could be listed in the most developed towns in Bosnia.

Each of the named waqifs had set the base for the new parts of the town and new neighborhoods. They had given the incentive for immigration of tradesmen and craftsmen from around Visoko. A significant number of the population had moved to the newly formed part of town, the area of casaba. In the middle of the 16<sup>th</sup> century Visoko was promoted into casaba and listed in a group of developed towns. And so, in the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century apart from the old part of the town of the borough, a new and bigger one was formed, more organized and with more urban contents – kasaba. In that period, casaba Visoko had the following streets<sup>12</sup>:

Mahala	Househ. Popul. 1570.		Househ. Popul. 1604.		LOSS Househ. Popul.	
	1. mosques of Šerefudin	139	695	36	180	-103
2. zavije of Ajas-paša	69	345	xx	xxx	xxx	xxx
3. mosques of Alaudin	198	990	70	350	-128	640
4. masjid of tabak h. Muruvet	79	395	35	175	-44	220
5. Čekrekči Muslihudina	59	295	xx	xxx	xxx	xxx
6. masjid of Pir-havadža	xx	xxx	20	100	+20	100
(2 i 5) Mahala of zavija Ajas-paša and mahala Čekrekči Muslihudin	xx	xxx	43	215	-85	425
Total:	544	2720	204	1020	340	1700

Owing it to the waqf institution, during the 16<sup>th</sup> century Visoko got four mosques, Ajas paša's, Šerefudin's, Alaudin's and Ibrahim's, and two masjids, tabaka Muruveta and Pir-havadža's.<sup>13</sup> Along with openings of these facilities, the mektebs were opened as well. So apart from fulfillment of the spiritual needs of the people, the educational ones were also considered.

#### Waqf in public and social life of a town

We have previously presented how and in what order the waqf endowments were established, who were their founders, and what they consisted of. Now we will try to give a general overview on the development and functioning of the endowments in Visoko. First, however, it needs to be clarified who were the founders and what social class they belonged to. Even though some of the waqf endowments are very modest (like water mills) and are of no great significance

9 GHb MD, IV, (AP) 468 (MD, 2942/318-1).

10 Vakufname, p. 44.

11 Istabnui, BOA, 157, 165.

12 Istanbul, BOA, TD 157, TD 56, TD 164, TD 211, TD 379. Opširni popis Bosanskog sandžaka iz 1604, Sv. I/1, Obradio: Adem Handžić, Sarajevo 2000, pp. 600-608; Hatidža Čar-Drnda, Visoko u sastavu Osmanskog carstva – XV i XVI stoljeće, POF, 40, Sarajevo 1991, pp. 199-215.

13 Ajas paša's and Ibrahim's mosque are mentioned indirectly. We have explained in which context was Ajas paša's mosque mentioned, but about Ibrahim's mosque we only know on the basis of one record that was bequeathed for the mosque. The record was from 1571 (GHb R 1044/9).

for Visoko, their waqifs are three sanjakbeys of Bosnia. Those are Isabeg, Ajas-paša and Skender paša. Isa beg and Skender paša had bequeathed a certain number of water mills around Visoko. The most important amongst the endowments were raised by Ajas-paša. Two of the waqifs are craftsmen, one of them being cekrecija (Muslihudin) and the other tabak (Muruvet). Some waqifs were of ulema's class, dervishes to be precise, like Šerefudin and Pir havadže. As for Alaudin, we have no indicators that could help placing him in one of the social classes. Each of them had contributed in various segments of life, not only to its urban expansion but to its economy, communications, and hygiene. For example, a public bathroom in the 15<sup>th</sup> century represented an important civilizational mark. Visoko was one of the first towns after Sarajevo to get one of those facilities.<sup>14</sup> It was the third bathroom facility ever built in Bosnia. Besides that, the town was enriched by facilities such as zavija, three mosques, two masjids and one mekteb, in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Equally important were communications and transport in Visoko, which were improved by endowments like bridges, like those across river Bosna and Zeljeznica/Fojnica. In a segment of economic improvement, the most important are economic and commerce facilities, for trading or craft purposes, like little shops and stores. Thanks to the waqf, Visoko was enriched by at least fifty new shops. There are 44 of them well known, and an unknown number of shops within the Ajas-paša's waqf. Those shops were leased to the tradesmen and craftsmen with the price determined by waqif. The prices were usually very favorable; they varied based on the location and the size of the shop. The annual rent price of one shop was around 96 akce in Šerefudin's street, 75 akces in Ajas-paša's and Muslihudin's street, and up to 45 akces in Pir-havadže's street, which was very affordable and stimulating for tradesmen and craftsmen and for the town both in an economic and a demographic sense.

During the 16<sup>th</sup> century, there was approximately 150.000 akce of cash money bequeathed within the waqf. That money could make a profit for waqfs of at least 15.000 akce per year. Those funds were used to pay various activities and businesses in trade, or the economy in general. On the one hand, the economy had revolving funds and stimulation on the other hand, the profit funds had been used to support the services in various waqfs, for example those from imams, hatibs, muezzins and mutevelis. In that way the waqf's impact was ensured for a long time.

All the income from waqf, rents from shops, bequeathed lands, profits from the cash money, had been used solely for the needs of waqf, that is, for financing various services and commissions within the waqf or for waqf support in some other way. For example, Muslihudin had bequeathed 8.000 akce of cash money. All the profits from those funds were assigned for maintenance and repairing of the bridge he had built across the river Bosna in Visoko. In that way, the maintenance of the bridge was secured for the long run regardless of other factors.

One other thing that could be bequeathed in the waqf was land or land lots that had been usually given on lease under the conditions determined by the waqif. Yet again the profits had been used to support other waqfs as well as to improve the agriculture. Throughout the 16<sup>th</sup> century it is apparent that waqifs were supporting only one waqf from their goods, but that practice was going to change later in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. At the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century we see how one bequeathed land lot makes a profit with which two different waqfs will be funded – the lighting of both Šerefuddin's and hadži Ibrahim's mosque.<sup>15</sup>

Many generations of imams and other waqf officials have been ensuring their existence within the waqf. Their incomes were however conditioned in many ways. Firstly, they depended on the

14 H. Kreševljaković, *Izarana djela*, III, p. 63.

15 H. Kreševljaković, *Visoko*, p. 27.

economic stability of the waqf, and the kind of service they were administering within the waqf. Imams were usually the best-paid officials, followed by muezzins and then mutevelis. During the 16<sup>th</sup> century in Visoko, an Imam's salary was from 3 to 8 akce a day, which is between 1095 and 2920 akces per year. Muallim in Muslahudin Čerekčija mekteb could make 5 akce, which is a medium salary (of around 1825 akce a year) in Visoko. Imams and hatibs were also muallims, and that could improve their material status.

#### Communication infrastructure

There is no doubt that two of the most important element for the expansion and development of one place are its geographical location and its capability to make connections with the broader region. As Visoko was placed on an estuary of Željeznica/Fojnica<sup>16</sup> into the river Bosna, the communication element was one of the most important for this town. It was crucial to systematically solve the problem of crossing these rivers within the planned development of the town. We have no knowledge of how this had been conveyed before 1463, whether there was some kind of a bridge or if transportation was operated by rafts. The fact that the first urban interventions in Visoko involved building bridges suggests that this problem had not been solved properly in the past. Waqifs were taking care of the needs of one place, directing their charity activities according to their wealth possibilities. Amongst those meritorious for solving communicational needs there were a couple of bridge-building waqifs:

Ajas beg: Among all the other endowments in Visoko, Ajas beg had built a bridge in the river Bosna in 1477. We are not familiar with the location or any other details about this bridge. The only thing that is familiar is that from the cash money endowment "three akce daily were meant for the repairing of the mosque, school and a bridge on the river Bosna".<sup>17</sup>

Muslihudin Čekrečija: He is the second most well-known bridge builder In Visoko. His bridge was also built on the river Bosna in 1526. Other details about the bridge are unfamiliar. It is possible that this bridge had been placed on the same spot where there previously was Ajas-beg's bridge that had been destroyed by the river floods.<sup>18</sup> For maintenance of this bridge, there was a sum of 8.000 akce that was bequeathed. The profit of this sum was meant for the bridge's maintenance.

Kara Sudžaa: This bridge was built until the beginning of May 1557 on the river Željeznica/Fojnica. The final constructions were under way at that time. Only a few things were left to be done, like building a protection fence (korkaluk). It is known that the construction works were done by: Alagoz the son of Abdullah and Murat the son of Alija, along with other persons that are not named. The entire construction cost 112 dukats. As a representative of the passed waqif Kara Sudžaa of the court, for the purposes of documenting the waqf was muteveli Hamza the son of Husein.<sup>19</sup> All the construction liabilities were settled at the according cost, as well as the work, apart from the fence. It is not familiar who Kara Sudža was. Presumably he was one of the wealthy respectable people of Visoko. The responsibility for maintenance and repairing of the bridge on river Željeznica until the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century was with the residents of the village Prokos.<sup>20</sup> Even though the record is not precise whether the bridge was the one in Visoko

16 The river was previously called Željeznica, nowadays it's called Fojnica.

17 Vakufname, p. 31; Džemal Čelić-Mehmed Mujezinović, *Stari mostovi u Bosni i Hercegovini*, Sarajevo 1998., pp. 85-87.

18 Dž. Čelić-M. Mujezinović, *Stari mostovi*, pp. 85-87.

19 GHb, Sidžil 1a, s 174. GHb, *Tarih-i Enveri II*, 22, 71, 86.; Dž. Čelić - M. Mujezinović, *Stari mostovi*, p. 87.

20 Opširni popis, I/1, p. 583.

or some other, it is to assume that the obligation for the maintenance was referring to this one, as it was the only one documented in records.

### Summary

On the basis of Ottoman records, we tried to investigate the integration of a town into new socio-economic, cultural and civilizational streams. The waqf played a significant role in the urban, spiritual and economic development of Visoko as well as in other Bosnian towns. While the new part of the town was increasingly developing thanks to the waqfs, the old part, the borough was stagnating. The city got a new urban physiognomy thanks to the waqf, and it got a new part of the town, the casaba, that was organized in six quarts or neighborhoods. Most of those neighborhoods had at least one sacral facility. As for the economic aspect, the town was enriched by fifty shops that were formally waqf property. Their lease under very favorable conditions made the business environment for tradesmen and craftsmen pleasurable. Having in mind that the town was placed on two rivers, building bridges was crucial for the development of Visoko. It simplified the accessibility of certain parts of the town for residents as well as for businessmen that were handling trading or crafts. Compared to the other towns in Bosnia, Visoko was listed in a group of the most developed ones, thanks to the institution of waqf and waqifs that were investing their goods into this town.