



Cash Waqf Formation in Sarajevo, 1526-1921: A Temporal Analysis

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Abstract

This study conducts a quantitative investigation of the temporal fluctuations in cash waqf formation within the Ottoman context, employing a long-term perspective. By examining the cash waqf deeds (waqfiyya) of Sarajevo, this study reveals a decline in the real capital levels of cash waqfs over time. The results further indicate that titled individuals and males were more inclined to participate in cash waqf formation than commoners and females were. In terms of services financed by cash waqfs, religious services held a larger share than the other services. Education and support for the poor were notable components of services financed by Sarajevo cash waqfs, whereas commercial facilities and infrastructure investments had lower shares of all services. The study also contributes to the ongoing debate on the emergence of family waqfs, revealing that although family waqfs were present within the institutional framework, their capital levels were relatively lower than those of non-family waqfs.

Keywords: The Ottoman Empire, Cash Waqfs, Sarajevo, Capital, Family Waqf

Saraybosna'da Para Vakfı Oluşumu, 1526-1921: Zamansal Bir Analiz

Özet

Bu çalışma, uzun vadeli bir perspektif kullanarak, Osmanlı bağlamında para vakfı oluşumundaki zamansal dalgalanmaların niceliksel bir araştırmasını yürütmektedir. Saraybosna'daki para vakıflarını vakfiyeler üzerinden inceleyen bu çalışma, para vakıflarının gerçek sermaye düzeylerinin zaman içinde azaldığını ortaya koymaktadır. Sonuçlar ayrıca unvanlı bireylerin ve erkeklerin nakit vakıf oluşumuna katılmaya haktan ve kadınlara göre daha yatkın olduklarını göstermektedir. Para vakıfları tarafından finanse edilen hizmetler arasında din hizmetleri diğer hizmetlere göre daha büyük bir paya sahiptir. Saraybosna para vakıfları tarafından finanse edilen hizmetlerin önemli bileşenleri arasında eğitim ve yoksullara destek yer alırken, ticari tesisler ve altyapı yatırımlarının tüm hizmetler içindeki payı daha düşüktü. Çalışma aynı zamanda aile vakıflarının ortaya çıkışı konusunda süregelen tartışmalara da katkıda bulunarak aile vakıflarının kurumsal çerçevede mevcut olmasına rağmen sermaye düzeylerinin aile dışı vakıflara göre nispeten daha düşük olduğunu ortaya koymaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Osmanlı İmparatorluğu, Para Vakıfları, Saraybosna, Sermaye, Aile Vakıfları

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Introduction

Beginning in the sixteenth century, cash waqfs emerged as philanthropic and financial institutions within the institutional environment of the Ottoman Empire. Through the utilization of primary sources such as waqf deeds, accounting books, and court records, recent scholarship has sought to understand the proliferation and operation of these privately funded organizations over time (Barkan & Ayverdi, 1970; Çizakça, 1995; Özcan, 2003; Çiftçi, 2004; Orbay, 2014; Altay & Bulut, 2017; Gürsoy, 2017, 2021; Adıgüzel & Kuran, 2021; Altay, 2022; Gürsoy & Özdeğer, 2022; Özvar & Yıldırım, 2022). Additionally, this literature has investigated the key characteristics that enable these organizations to contribute to the development of provinces and the social welfare of society (Barkan, 1940; Mandeville, 1979; Peri, 1992; Çizakça, 2000; Shatzmiller, 2001; Shechter, 2005; Singer, 2013; Khan, 2015). These studies provide the analytical methods and foundational knowledge necessary for those interested in examining cash waqfs in the Ottoman Empire and other societies. Although there is a greater understanding of the general features of cash waqfs primarily located in Istanbul, the existing literature remains limited regarding the various provinces of the Ottoman Empire (Karaman, 2003; Alkan, 2006; Aydın, 2014; Ferlibaş, 2015; Kıvrım, 2016; Atar, 2019; Çağlar & Dağtekin, 2022; Taşkaya, 2022). This notable gap in recent scholarship highlights the significance of examining the distinct characteristics of cash waqfs in other provinces, as such research can yield valuable insights into the socioeconomic variations among these organizations in different parts of the empire.

This study employs cash waqf deeds (waqfiyya), as recorded in waqf registers, to illustrate the proliferation and characteristics of cash waqfs in Ottoman Sarajevo, a medium-sized urban center situated in southern Bosnia-Herzegovina. Ottoman Sarajevo shared similarities with other provincial towns in the Ottoman Empire in terms of size, economic, and demographic features. The findings of this study indicate that the real average capital levels of cash waqfs declined, and further elucidate the influence of socioeconomic status on the capital levels of cash waqfs and the functions of these private institutions.

Bosnia had been under the rule of the Ottoman Empire for nearly 400 years, during which a significant portion of society was Muslim. Bosnia was an important sanjak in 1463 and its strategic location made it one of the most crucial regions for the Ottoman Empire. It played a crucial role in military campaigns, and the governor of Bosnia Sanjak, Isa Bey, held tax-farming rights worth over one million akçe, which was higher than the revenue of the governors in Anatolia (Oruç, 2005, p. 251). Bosnia was also rich in financial resources, such as mines, agriculture, and commerce, from the late fifteenth century. The development of Bosnia towns increased under the rule of the Ottoman Empire, with waqfs playing a crucial role in improving towns. These organizations provided not only religious facilities but also social and commercial structures, such as educational organizations, bedestens, bazaars, roads, bridges, and waterways. The role of waqfs in town development from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries was highlighted by Husic (2012, pp. 384-387), which resulted in increasing economic exchanges over time. The town of Sarajevo rose to prominence as a preeminent hub in this region. The proportion of cash waqfs in this town should be sufficient to justify the focus of this study on this

case. Approximately 32 percent of the 198 cash waqfs were in Sarajevo, comprising 63 cash waqfs in total, from 1526 to 1921 (Altay, 2022, p. 59).

During the fourteenth century, Bosnia's economy experienced significant growth due to the abundance of silver mines in the region, which attracted merchants who administered the mines and improved their commercial activities. One estimate suggests that Bosnia and Serbia minted one-fifth of Europe's silver in the early fifteenth century (Fine, 1987, pp. 283-284). The growing economy also attracted Jewish merchants until the nineteenth century (Husic, 2020). When the Ottoman Empire arrived, timar and tax-farming institutions dominated the economic environment and focused on increasing agricultural production. During the eighteenth century, agriculture and stock raising generated a significant proportion of the economic output, with products such as wheat, corn, and barley being important commercial goods (Akbel, 2017, p. 7). In the nineteenth century, the stock-raising ratio in gross output increased from 50.5 percent in 1865 to 62.4 percent in 1873 (Palaret, 1997, p. 140). The exports of cattle, sheep, and pigs also increased from 32.9 percent to 22.9 percent of the total export during the period between 1858 and 1864 (Palaret, 1997, p. 140). For instance, the growth of commercial activities also led to an increase in credit relations, which sometimes resulted in disputes, as evidenced by court registers in Livno Town (Akbel, 2017, pp. 8-9). It could be contended that cash waqfs, as financial institutions, adopted a more significant position in credit relationships due to the growth of agricultural and commercial activities.

Considering recent scholarly consensus regarding the role of cash waqf organizations in providing public goods and financing various services that promote societal well-being, it would be superfluous to delve into these functions. Nevertheless, in the subsequent section, an exploration of these functions, alongside their attendant characteristics, is undertaken, with a specific focus on the cash waqfs of Sarajevo. This study has two main goals. The first is to investigate the socioeconomic characteristics of cash waqfs in Sarajevo. The second aim is to analyze capital levels and their temporal shifts. The findings of this research also contribute to the existing literature on the subject, which has long assumed that the proliferation of cash waqfs accelerated from the eighteenth century and that the participation of women and commoners increased during the same period. Additionally, the study finds that cash waqfs tended to finance religious services rather than other services during the nineteenth century. By examining the long-term changes in these variables in the context of Sarajevo, this study provides new historical evidence and contributes to the field through a novel dataset for a province that has not been previously studied.

Data: Cash Waqfs of Sarajevo

This study utilizes information derived from 63 cash waqf deeds spanning a significant period of time from 1526 to 1921. To create the dataset, the study consults primary sources stored in the Gazi Husrev Bey Library and T.R. Directorate General Foundations (VGMA). Additionally, a reliable secondary source contributes to this study by providing a comprehensive dataset of Sarajevo cash waqfs. Prepared by Ottoman courts at the request of founders, cash waqf deeds

present information about the location, socioeconomic status of founders and functions of organizations, including monetary variables such as capital, profit rates (ribh), and wages of waqf employees. Consequently, this study employs these data to conduct a long-term temporal analysis of cash waqfs in Sarajevo.

The historical analysis of cash waqfs is subject to certain limitations. First, it is challenging to ascertain the long-term survival of cash waqfs from their establishment, which directs this study to focus solely on newly established cash waqfs in Sarajevo. In other words, the number of cash waqfs provided for each period represents only newly formed organizations (as depicted in Figure 1). The second limitation relates to the allocation of cash waqfs among the different social groups. Cash waqf deeds often underrepresent women and commoners, leading to an imbalance in the distribution of these resources. As a result, this uneven distribution may inflate the real capital averages of social groups. The third limitation pertains to the uneven distribution of the newly established cash waqfs across different periods. This limitation also has implications for the calculation of the real average capital levels over extended periods. During periods with lower cash waqf amounts, capital averages are higher than those in periods with greater cash waqf amounts. The fourth limitation pertains to distinguishing between honorary and substantive titles bestowed on the founders. It is challenging to discern whether these titles have been granted by a central authority or whether they are merely nominal designations conferred locally. Although this study incorporates all titles within the same category to mitigate these uncertainties, it simultaneously presumes that these groups were wealthier than the others. Therefore, these limitations should be considered when interpreting findings based on Sarajevo's cash waqfs.

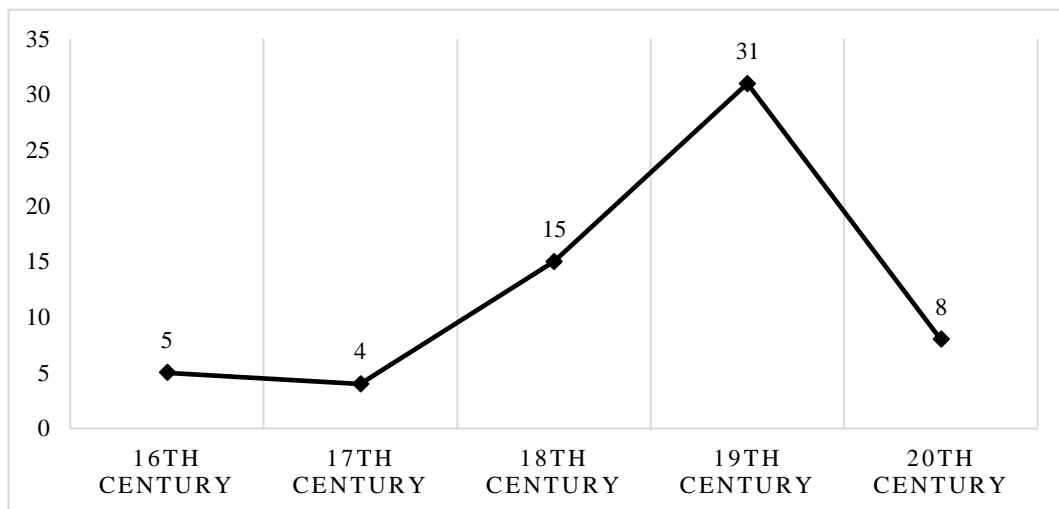


Figure 1. Newly established cash waqfs by periods

Figure 1 shows the long-term trends of newly established cash waqfs in Sarajevo. A casual inspection of the figure reveals three principal patterns in cash waqf formation. During the first two sub-periods, the number of new cash waqfs remained steady and relatively low compared to subsequent periods. In the eighteenth century, there was a noticeable upward trend in the total number of new cash waqfs. This trend persisted in the nineteenth century and the number of new cash waqfs doubled. Although a decline was observed in the early twentieth

century, this trend was limited to a shorter timeframe, covering the first 21 years of the century. From a different vantage point, the average number of cash waqfs in the nineteenth century was 0.31 per year, while in the early twentieth century, it was 0.38 per year. This suggests that the annual average rate of cash waqf formation was higher in the early twentieth century than that in the nineteenth century.

Why has the number of new cash waqfs increased since the eighteenth century? As a comprehensive analysis of these trends exceeds the scope of this study, these changes mostly coincided with the periods when agricultural production and commerce increased, as discussed above. Another possible explanation could be the gradual expansion of cash waqfs to provinces far from Istanbul. Further investigations into the aforementioned reasons will provide a better understanding of the emergence of cash waqf in the different provinces of the Ottoman Empire.

Table 1. The allocation of founders by social groups

	Titled Individuals	Commoners	Males	Females
16th Century	4	1	5	-
17th Century	4	-	4	-
18th Century	13	2	13	2
19th Century	19	12	26	5
20th Century	5	3	7	1
Total	45	18	55	8

Table 1 provides a long-term perspective on the number of cash waqfs newly established by different social groups. This table categorizes social groups into two main categories: founders with titles and those without titles, as well as founders classified by gender. The distribution of cash waqfs among these social groups is uneven, as evidenced by the allocations in Table 1. Overall, titled individuals comprised approximately 71 percent of the sample, while commoners made up approximately 29 percent. Unfortunately, allocation is even more disparate among males and females. Specifically, the share of males was approximately 87 percent, whereas the share of females was approximately 13 percent of the entire sample.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, almost no cash waqfs were established by commoners or females. However, from the eighteenth century onwards, the data improved for these groups. The observations for the first two periods were dominated by organizations established by titled individuals and males. Although the number of cash waqfs established by social groups increased

in the nineteenth century, the last period showed a more equitable distribution of cash waqfs among these groups, except for female cash waqfs.

The present findings are also consistent with recent scholarship on the distribution of cash waqfs among various social groups. Research conducted between 1867 and 1912 in Manisa revealed that commoners established approximately 28 percent of cash waqfs were established by commoners (Çağlar & Dağtekin, 2022, p. 16). Sarajevo had an approximate figure of 39 percent during a similar period. Notably, commoners on Rhodes Island established a significant share of cash waqfs at 79 percent (Taşkaya 2022, 65). In Salonica's cash waqfs during the eighteenth century, titled individuals' share was estimated to be lower than that of commoners at 32 percent compared to 68 percent (Aydın, 2014, p. 99). This trend was also observed in Bursa during the same period, where the share of titled individuals was approximately 31 percent, while commoners accounted for 69 percent (Çiftçi, 2004, pp. 87-88). In terms of gender, the share of females among cash waqfs established in Salonica during the eighteenth century was approximately 21 percent (Aydın, 2014, p. 92). This figure was approximately 14 percent for Sarajevo in the same period. In conclusion, the institutional environment in Sarajevo was dominated by cash waqfs established by titled individuals and males from a long-term perspective.

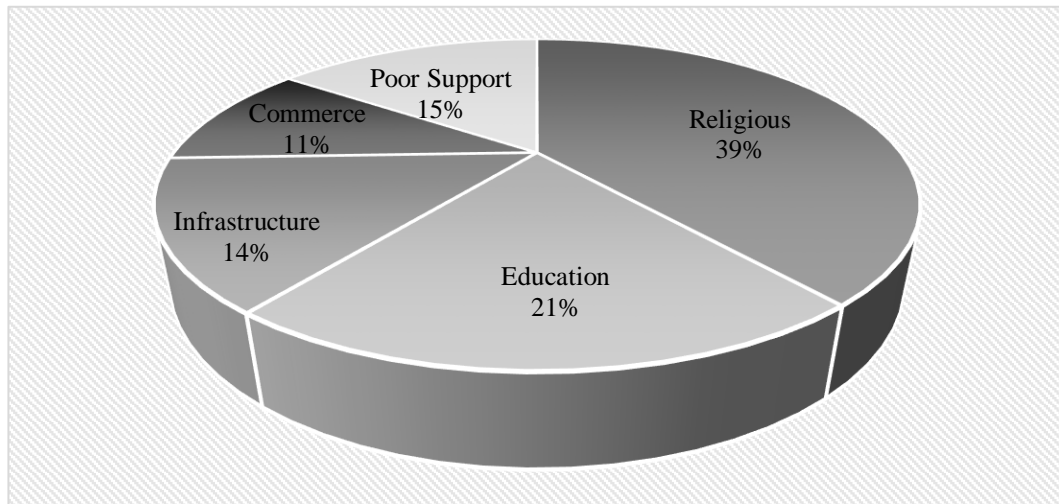


Figure 2. Shares of services financed by Sarajevo cash waqfs

Figure 2 illustrates the proportion of services financed by cash waqfs. As previously noted, cash waqfs are believed to have various functions. As their primary function is to extend loans to borrowers, the revenue generated from these credit relationships is utilized to fund a range of services. These organizations play a vital role in the growth of urban areas, enhancing societal well-being, and financing public goods. This study classifies these functions into five categories based on Sarajevo's cash waqf deeds. The first category includes religious services, which cover the costs of maintaining religious facilities, paying for Quran readings, and employee salary. The second category pertains to financing education by providing resources for facilities and employee salary. Cash and in-kind aid to students are also considered part of these services. Cash waqfs also allocate funds for infrastructure investments that cater to society's local needs and commercial

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facilities. Providing financial support to the poor through revenue generates a separate category.

The data presented in Figure 2 reveals that the total share of services exceeds 100 percent because of the capacity of certain cash waqfs to provide financing for multiple services. In Sarajevo, approximately 64 percent of the cash waqfs allocate financial resources to support two or more services. In this context, religious services were the most prevalent category, accounting for 39 percent of the total, followed by education at 21 percent. The remaining three categories had lower percentages and were found only in a few cash waqfs. Among these services, poor support had the highest share at 15 percent, followed by infrastructure investment at 14 percent. Commercial services had the lowest share of 11 percent. These findings suggest that the founders of these cash waqfs generally opted to finance religious services and education, whereas commercial services were relatively uncommon.

Table 2. Share of services by periods

	Religious	Education	Infrastructure	Commerce	Poor Support
16th Century	100%	100%	60%	100%	20%
17th Century	100%	25%	50%	50%	25%
18th Century	80%	53%	40%	13%	27%
19th Century	74%	35%	26%	13%	29%
20th Century	100%	38%	-	13%	63%

The information displayed in Table 2 illustrates the long-term changes in services financed by cash waqfs in Sarajevo. As previously mentioned, religious services were predominantly funded. However, the limited number of cash waqfs that emerged in the sixteenth century provided financial resources for various services. All cash waqfs financed religious services, education, and commercial facilities, while approximately 60 percent of them funded infrastructure investments. The proportion of funds allocated to poor support remained low (20 percent) during the same period. In the seventeenth century, religious services continued to receive the highest level of funding, while the share of other services declined, except for poor support. From a long-term perspective, poor support remained at the same level with a significant increase in the early twentieth century. The remaining three categories (education, infrastructure, and commerce) showed a declining trend in the long term. However, the share of religious services displayed an inverted U-shaped pattern in the long term. As recent scholarship has been insufficient to examine temporal shifts in services financed by cash waqfs, these findings contribute to the literature by offering a new method and perspective.

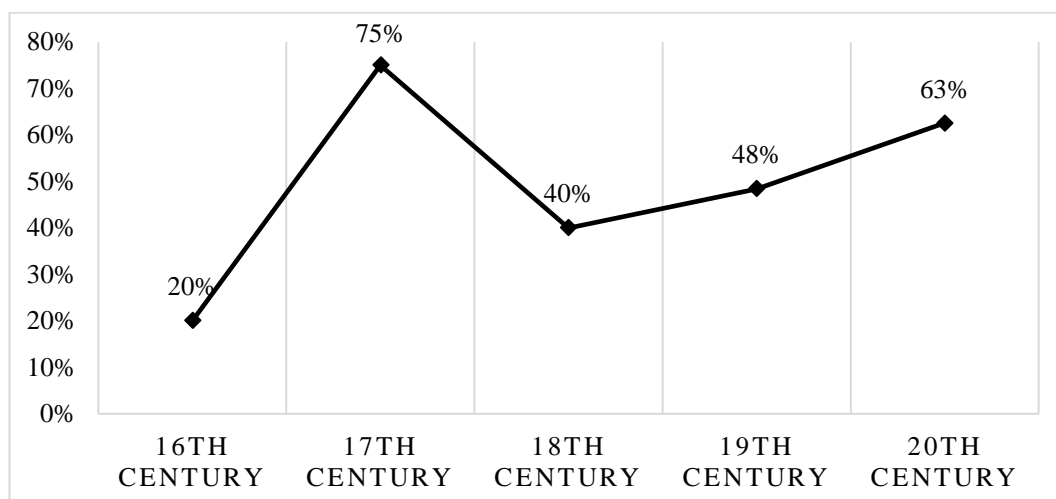


Figure 3. Share of family waqfs from a long-term perspective

One of the significant roles of waqfs is to offer support to family members and founder relatives, which has been widely explored in recent scholarship (Barkan 1940; Layish 1997; Kuran 2005). Family waqfs are established in the institutional environment for two primary reasons. First, they are created to provide financial support to family members by assigning them to organizations. Second, they aimed to prevent the fragmentation of wealth due to the implementation of an egalitarian inheritance law. The motivation for establishing waqf organizations is rooted in these functions, as discussed in various academic sources (Çizakça 2000, p. 24; Kuran 2005, p. 800; Singer 2013, p. 352).

The figure 3 presented in this study displays the proportion of family waqfs over a long-term perspective. The overall distribution of family waqfs is approximately 48 percent. This study categorizes family waqfs based on cash waqf deeds, which contain information regarding the support of family members and founder relatives. Upon initial examination of Figure 3, three key trends emerged in the distribution of the family waqfs. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the proportion of family waqfs increased from 20 percent to 75 percent. The second trend occurred in the eighteenth century when the share of family waqfs decreased to 40 percent. Finally, family waqfs gradually increased to 63 percent until the early twentieth century. These findings suggest that family waqfs were not commonly chosen by founders in certain periods but were more prevalent in other periods. These findings provide a basis for further examination of the reasons for the temporal shifts in family waqfs.

In sum, this part provides a long-term temporal analysis of cash waqfs in Sarajevo, focusing on the primary characteristics of these waqfs. These characteristics can be categorized into three main areas. The first pertains to the founders' socioeconomic composition. In Sarajevo, titled individuals and males exhibit greater participation in waqf formation over time. Conversely, commoners and females were more inclined to establish these organizations from the eighteenth century onward. The second relates to the services financed by cash waqfs. Although Sarajevo cash waqfs financed services similar to those provided by cash waqfs in other provinces, the shifting patterns of these services revealed novel findings. As religious services comprised the largest proportion of all services,

Sarajevo cash waqfs tended to finance education and provide poor support in the long term. While financing commerce and infrastructure appeared to be more prominent in earlier periods, the share of these services declined significantly, even as the share of education and poor support increased. Third, based on family support, indicates that family waqfs were less common in the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries among newly established cash waqfs. These figures were higher in the seventeenth century and in the final two periods.

A Temporal Analysis of Cash Waqfs in Sarajevo

This part focuses on the capital levels of the cash waqfs in Sarajevo, with the aim of presenting a long-term perspective and examining capital levels by social group. To achieve this, two main objectives were outlined. The first objective is to present the capital levels based on the entire cash waqf, while the second objective is to analyze the capital levels by social group. To present long-term trends in capital levels, two different values are employed. Although the study extracts nominal values from cash waqf deeds, these values are converted into real values by utilizing the consumer price index (Özmucur and Pamuk, 2002). This index is used to deflate nominal values, as it is based on prices in Istanbul and is limited to foodstuffs. However, a study of the price history of the Ottoman Empire suggests that price movements in different provinces were similar to those in Istanbul, despite minor differences in the prices of goods (Ceylan, 2016). Thus, although the use of this price index is considered a limitation of the analysis, it is the only available index for deflating nominal values.

Table 3. Capital levels of cash waqfs (in akçe, real values in 1469 prices)

	Average Capital (Nominal)	Average Capital (Real)	Sum of Capital (Nominal)	Sum of Capital (Real)
16th Century	2.540.889	1.346.450	12.704.446 (10,15%)	6.732.248 (91,95%)
17th Century	291.600	47.504	1.166.400 (0,93%)	190.018 (2,60%)
18th Century	129.333	12.362	1.940.000 (1,55%)	185.423 (2,53%)
19th Century	998.400	5.137	30.950.400 (24,74%)	159.261 (2,18%)
20th Century	9.794.400	6.847	78.355.200 (62,63%)	54.772 (0,75%)

The data presented in Table 3 reveal long-term trends in capital levels, both nominal and real values, for cash waqfs in Sarajevo. These values demonstrate two distinct trends in the capital level of cash waqfs in Sarajevo. In nominal terms, average capital levels exhibit a U-shaped pattern dating back to the sixteenth century until the early twentieth century. This pattern is generated by two major trends: a significant declining trend in average capital levels from the sixteenth century onwards and an upward trend from the nineteenth century onwards. A

similar pattern is observed for the aggregate capital levels. The figures in parentheses indicate the share of cash waqf capital by century. Cash waqfs established in the sixteenth century accounted for approximately 10 percent of the total capital. The shares of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries remained low, while the shares of the last two periods were significantly higher, with approximately 63 percent of the capital belonging to cash waqfs established in the last period.

Contrary to trends in nominal values, real average capital levels showed a solid declining trend from the sixteenth century to the early twentieth century. This decrease also appears in the capital shares of the different periods. An interesting finding in Table 3 is that the share of cash waqfs established in the sixteenth century was about 92 percent, whereas this figure was only about one percent for the early twentieth century. It is expected that this declining trend will not be sharp, as shown in Table 3. This is because there was an uneven distribution among the observations. Furthermore, increasing the participation of commoners and females in cash waqf formation would probably decrease the average capital levels. Although these limitations exist for the data, it could be argued that a declining trend still appears in real capital averages (Karagedikli & Tunçer, 2018).

Table 4. Capital levels by social groups (in akçe, real values in 1469 prices)

	Average Capital (Nominal)	Average Capital (Real)	Sum of Capital (Nominal)	Sum of Capital (Real)
Titled Individuals	2.436.887	158.322	109.659.926	7.124.503
Commoners	858.696	10.957	15.456.520	197.219
Males	2.077.772	132.033	114.277.446	7.261.840
Females	1.354.875	7.485	10.839.000	59.882

The data presented in Table 4 pertain to the capital levels of various social groups, which were as anticipated. The capital levels of cash waqfs established by titled individuals and males were the highest, surpassing those of commoners and females. Unfortunately, due to the absence of cash waqfs for commoners and females in certain periods, there are insufficient data to conduct a temporal analysis of capital levels by period. Nonetheless, the results in Table 4 suggest that the results would be the same for the capital levels of different social groups.

Table 5. Capital levels by the number of services (in akçe, real values in 1469 prices)

	Average Capital (Nominal)	Average Capital (Real)
One Service	454.722	3.294
Two Services	696.758	11.523
Three Services	4.005.745	82.213
Four Services	11.920.000	1.373.852
Five Services	109.000	14.983
Family Support	1.935.451	11.890
Non-Family Waqf	2.031.907	211.061

Table 5 illustrates the correlation between services financed by cash waqfs and capital level. As previously mentioned, cash waqfs in Sarajevo financed five services. The outcomes were consistent with expectations for the first four services financed by cash waqfs, demonstrating a positive relationship between the number of services and capital level. However, this trend was reversed for cash waqfs financing the five services, as they had lower average capital levels. It is noteworthy that only two of the cash waqfs provided financial resources for the five services. This suggests that these cash waqfs primarily finance employee wages, rather than investments and facilities.

The information presented in Table 5 reveals a noteworthy finding pertaining to cash waqfs in Sarajevo. It is observed that the shares of family and non-family waqfs were nearly equal in this region, and as a result, the average capital levels of non-family waqfs were greater than those of family waqfs. Furthermore, the real average capital of non-family waqfs is significantly higher than that of family waqfs. Contrary to what could be assumed, the capital levels of family waqfs were unexpectedly lower in relation to the founders' motivation. This discovery provides further insight into the emergence and proliferation of family waqfs. One might argue that family waqfs are more prevalent among less-wealthy individuals than among wealthier groups. However, a more comprehensive analysis is required to confirm this hypothesis, and it is anticipated that the findings of this study will serve as a starting point for future research.

All in all, the proliferation of cash waqfs accelerated in Sarajevo town from the eighteenth century onwards. The growth in the number of cash waqfs during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was substantial. While there was an approximately fourfold increase in the number of founders between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, this figure increased almost eight-fold between the

seventeenth and nineteenth centuries. Similarly, the number of founders increased significantly across socioeconomic groups. While the number of founders with titles increased by approximately five-fold, the rate for male founders was 6.5 times higher. Meanwhile, the number of commoners increased approximately six times between the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, but this figure was only 2.5 times higher for female founders. There were different trends in the types of services provided by the waqfs. Although religious services did not decrease significantly, educational services decreased approximately 2.5 times in the long term. This decrease was approximately twice that of infrastructure investments and approximately eight times that of commercial investments. Meanwhile, the only service that increased was aid to the poor, an increase of approximately three times. The rate of self-support and family waqfs increased slightly from the sixteenth century to the early twentieth century, growing more than three times over this period. Finally, the real capital of cash waqfs decreased significantly over the same period, decreasing approximately 120 times from the sixteenth to the early twentieth century. Although there was an increase in the nominal values, the inflation-adjusted values showed a different trend.

Conclusion

Using data sourced from cash waqf deeds of Sarajevo, Bosnia, this study aimed to analyze the long-term patterns of cash waqf formation. The analysis presented in this study identifies major trends in cash waqf formation, including the socioeconomic composition of founders and services financed by these organizations. Additionally, this study examines trends in the capital levels of cash waqfs and their correlation with founders and services. The findings of this study provide new insights into cash waqfs and raise questions for future research. Further research utilizing cash waqf data and the methods employed in this study will be instrumental in elucidating the factors contributing to the temporal shifts observed in these organizations.

The results of the data analysis suggest that the formation of cash waqfs accelerated from the eighteenth century onwards. Prior to this period, these organizations were primarily established by titled individuals and males. However, during the eighteenth century, commoners and females began to participate in cash waqf formation. Although the latter group established cash waqfs with lower capital than the former group, this finding is consistent with the expectations.

Another notable finding was the trend in family waqfs and their capital levels. Although family waqfs were prevalent in Sarajevo, their capital levels were lower than those of non-family waqfs. This suggests that these organizations transferred less capital to family support.

In terms of the services financed by cash waqfs, these organizations primarily financed religious services. However, the share of these services varied across different periods. While earlier cash waqfs tended to finance a variety of services in addition to religious ones, this trend reversed in later periods. As a result, three services (religious, educational, and poor support) accounted for a greater share of cash waqf revenue than commercial and infrastructure investments. This finding is unexpected when considering the economic development of Bosnia, particularly in the context of Sarajevo. Therefore, it is hoped that the quantitative methods and

findings presented in this study will facilitate further research on related topics in other cash waqf contexts.

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Conflict of Interest: The author declare none.

Appendix: List of Primary Sources

Cash Waqfs	Sources
The Waqf of Bosnia Governor Hüsrev Bey	Waqf Record Archive Register: 1595, Page: 1
The Waqf of Durali Bey b. Asahan	???
The Waqf of Keyvan Kethüda b. Abdurrahman	Saraybosna Gazi Hüsrev Bey Library V-180082; V-181028
The Waqf of Mustafa b. İshak	Sarajevo Gazi Husrev-beg Library, V-312
The Waqf of Hüseyin Bey b. İlyas	Sarajevo Gazi Husrev-beg Library, Register: 1, Pages: 166-167, Serial: 188; V-164534
The Waqf of Dizdareviç İbrahim Effendi	Sarajevo Gazi Husrev-beg Library, Waqf Register: 3, Page: 21, No: 627
The Waqf of Grand Vizier Süleyman Pasha b. Mürüvvet	Waqf Record Archive, Register: 744, Page: 155, No: 39
The Waqf of Haji Ali b. Musa	Sarajevo Gazi Husrev-beg Library, Waqf Register: 1, Page: 15-14, No: 332
The Waqf of Mevlana Haji Hürrem b. Bali	Sarajevo Gazi Husrev-beg Library, V-003-10
The Waqf of Bosnian Haji Mustafa Agha b. Ahmed Agha	Waqf Record Archive, Register: 623, Page: 130, No: 143
The Waqf of Haji Abdulkadir Effendi b. Haji Ahmed	Sarajevo Gazi Husrev-beg Library, Waqf Register: 1, Page: 244, No: 124; Register: 30; V-026124
The Waqf of Hadji Mehmet b. Mahmud	Sarajevo Gazi Husrev-beg Library, V-295961
The Waqf of Haji Ali b. Hasan	Sarajevo Gazi Husrev-beg Library, A-3140
The Waqf of Muhsinzâde Mehmed (Muhammed) Pasha	Sarajevo Gazi Husrev-beg Library, A-1305
The Waqf of Muzafferizâde Haji Abdülkadir Effendi b. Haji Ahmed	Sarajevo Gazi Husrev-beg Library, Waqf Register 1, Page: 246-245, No: 123; V-025123
The Waqf of Husein Beg b. Ismail Kaptan	Waqf Record Archive, Register: 987, Page: 261, No: 91
The Waqf of Hâce Nefise bt. Haji Ali	Sarajevo Gazi Husrev-beg Library, Register: 8, Page: 107-108
The Waqf of Haji Hüseyin b. Haji Ahmed	Sarajevo Gazi Husrev-beg Library, V-050174; Waqf Register: 1, Page: 186-187, No: 174
The Waqf of Haji Hüseyin b. Haji Şaban	Sarajevo Gazi Husrev-beg Library, Register: 57, Page: 37-38
The Waqf of Mücellitzâde Mullah Mustafa b. Ahmed	Sarajevo Gazi Husrev-beg Library, Register: 40, Page: 165
The Waqf of Dardağan Haji Hasan b. Abdülkerim	Sarajevo Gazi Husrev-beg Library, Register: 17, Page: 94
The Waqf of Meryem bt. Osman	Sarajevo Gazi Husrev-beg Library, Register: 9, Page: 70
The Waqf of Hayrizâde Mehmet Sait Effendi	Sarajevo Gazi Husrev-beg Library, Register: 20, Page: 81
The Waqf of Yahyazâde Ahmet Effendi	Sarajevo Gazi Husrev-beg Library, Register: 29, Page: 106
The Waqf of Mustafa Agha b. Rüstem Agha	Sarajevo Gazi Husrev-beg Library, V-081262
The Waqf of Fatma Hanım bt. İbrahim Agha Agiç	Sarajevo Gazi Husrev-beg Library, V-092351

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The Waqf of Çomerazâde Abdi Agha bin İbrahim Agha	Sarajevo Gazi Husrev-beg Library, Waqf Register: 1, Page: 339, No: 38
The Waqf of Ulema Leader, Mufti, Haji Mustafa Hilmi Effendi b. Haji Ömer Effendi	Sarajevo Gazi Husrev-beg Library, Register: 2, Page: 110-111, No: 430
The Waqf of Berkîç Mehmed Agha b. Haji Abdi	Sarajevo Gazi Husrev-beg Library, Waqf Register: 1, Page: 201, No: 158
The Waqf of Haji Muhammed Çelebi bin İbrahim	Sarajevo Gazi Husrev-beg Library, V-090344
The Waqf of Muzafferîzâde Haji Mehmed Sancakdar b. Mustafa Agha	Sarajevo Gazi Husrev-beg Library, Waqf Register: 2, Page: 163-164, No: 480
The Waqf of İbrahim Haji Ali Bey b. Rüstem Agha Hrustiç	Sarajevo Gazi Husrev-beg Library, V-088334; Register: 1, Sayfa: 11, Sıra: 334
The Waqf of Mullah Ahmed bin Mehmed Agha	Sarajevo Gazi Husrev-beg Library, V-095357
The Waqf of Haji İsmail Agha b. Hüseyin	???
The Waqf of Mustafa Effendi b. Hasan	Sarajevo Gazi Husrev-beg Library, A-1740
The Waqf of Recebzâde İbrahim Effendi b. Mustafa	Sarajevo Gazi Husrev-beg Library, Register: 42, Page: 125
The Waqf of Islobodzâde Salih b. Abdullah	Sarajevo Gazi Husrev-beg Library, V-002-9; Register: 1, Sayfa: 378-379, Sıra: 9
The Waqf of Mustafa Efendi b. Hasan	Sarajevo Gazi Husrev-beg Library, V-040154
The Waqf of Muderris Haji Ahmed b. Mustafa	Sarajevo Gazi Husrev-beg Library, Register: 52, Page: 35
The Waqf of Cinozâde Mehmed Baki Effendi b. Haji Mehmed Agha	Sarajevo Gazi Husrev-beg Library, Waqf Register: 1, Page: 317, No: 61; V-014-61 (1, 2, 3);
The Waqf of Mustafa b. Osman	Sarajevo Gazi Husrev-beg Library, Register: 42, Page: 143-144
The Waqf of Atiye bint Hasan Effendi bin Mehmed	Sarajevo Gazi Husrev-beg Library, Register: 82, Page: 130
The Waqf of Naile bt. Ahmed	Sarajevo Gazi Husrev-beg Library, Register: 85, Page: 76-77
The Waqf of Sarizâde Osman b. İsmail Agha	Sarajevo Gazi Husrev-beg Library, V-015-63
The Waqf of Mühtedî Mehmed Hulusi Effendi b. Abdullah ibn Abdurrahman	Sarajevo Gazi Husrev-beg Library, V-047171; Register: 1, Page: 189, No: 171; Register: 2, Page: 186-187, No: 697
The Waqf of Ahmed Asım Bey b. Mehmed	Sarajevo Gazi Husrev-beg Library, V-083265
The Waqf of Residents of Tutibula Neighborhood	Sarajevo Gazi Husrev-beg Library, Register: 40, Page: 143
The Waqf of Arnavud İbrahim b. Abdulfettah	Sarajevo Gazi Husrev-beg Library, Waqf Register: 1, Page: 101, No: 243
The Waqf of Haji İbrahim b. Mehmed Yamak	Bosnia Waqf Certificate-Charter, Register: 2, Page: 58-59, No: 390
The Waqf of Esmâne bt. Abdullah	Sarajevo Gazi Husrev-beg Library, V-0421567
The Waqf of Çirakçı b. Mahmud Zaim	Sarajevo Gazi Husrev-beg Library, V-05179

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The Waqf of Nefise bt. Abdullah	Sarajevo Gazi Husrev-beg Library, Register: 43, Page: 111
The Waqf of Haji Ömer b. İbrahim	Sarajevo Gazi Husrev-beg Library, Waqf Register: 2, Page: 182, No: 493
The Waqf of Cinoğlu Haji Salih b. Abdullah	Sarajevo Gazi Husrev-beg Library, Waqf Register: 1, Page: 35, No: 310
The Waqf of Residents of Kurbaniç Township	Sarajevo Gazi Husrev-beg Library, Waqf Register: 1, Page: 92, No: 254
The Waqf of Kerim Meryem Nuriye Hanım	Bosnia Waqf Certificate-Charter, Register: 2, Page: 39, No: 369
The Waqf of Cafiç Hacı Mehmed Agha	Sarajevo Gazi Husrev-beg Library Register: 3, Page: 59-60, Serial: 658
The Waqf of Novniç Haji Salih Agha	Bosnia Waqf Certificate-Charter, Register: 2, Page: 150, No: 466
The Waqf of Hinde Ahmed Agha	Sarajevo Gazi Husrev-beg Library Register: 3, Page: 24-25
The Waqf of Butcher Haji Ahmet b. Süleyman	Sarajevo Gazi Husrev-beg Library, V-116418
The Waqf of İmamoviç Kasım b. Yusuf	Sarajevo Gazi Husrev-beg Library V-185620
The Waqf of Ekberîzâde Murad Agha	Bosnia Waqf Certificate-Charter, Register: 2, Page: 68-69, No: 397
The Waqf of Zülfikarpaşîç Çengiç İbrahim Bey b. Hasan	Sarajevo Gazi Husrev-beg Library Register: 3, Page: 18-19, Serial: 624
