



Islamic Culture in the Fojnica Region 1463 – 1878

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Abstract: Our research aims to show the influence of the spread of Islamic culture in the Fojnica region during the Ottoman rule in 1463 - 1878 on the urban development and change in the appearance of its settlements, raising its status within the Ottoman state, and on improving the quality and enriching every aspect of life. Individual and local community. The analysis of the Islamic culture of the Fojnica region with all its components, as a whole, is for the first time in historiography unified in this paper. This work contributed to more detailed research of the Fojnica region through Ottoman documents such as defter, regesta, travelogue, etc. The sources for this area have not yet been sufficiently explored. It should be especially noted that we were deprived of details for the 18th century because the Fojnica sigils were burned in the Oriental Institute during the last war in Bosnia and Herzegovina from 1992 to 1995. That is why we used the works of Bosnian-Herzegovinian authors based on sources from the archives in Sarajevo and Istanbul, where there is a large number of unpublished materials. In addition, we also carried out field research on the basis of which we confirm that much of the legacy of Islamic culture from the Ottoman period in the Fojnica region has not been explored. We have stated a part of it in this paper. We hope that this work will encourage further research into the Islamic culture deeply rooted in the Fojnica region.

Keywords: Culture, History, Islam, Local community, Tradition

Fojnica Bölgesinde İslam Kültürü 1463 – 1878

Özet: Araştırmamız, 1463-1878 Osmanlı hakimiyeti döneminde Fojnica bölgesinde İslam kültürünün yayılmasının, kentsel gelişme ve yerleşim yerlerinin çehresindeki değişime, Osmanlı devleti içindeki statüsünün yükselmesine ve bölgenin iyileştirilmesine olan etkisini göstermeyi amaçlamaktadır. kaliteli ve hayatın her alanında zenginleştirici. bireysel ve yerel topluluk.

Fojnica bölgesinin İslam kültürünün tüm bileşenleriyle bir bütün olarak analizi, tarih yazımında ilk kez bu makalede birleştirilmiştir. Bu çalışma, defter, regesta, seyahatname vb. Osmanlı belgeleri aracılığıyla Fojnica bölgesinin daha ayrıntılı araştırılmasına katkıda bulunmuştur. Bu alana ilişkin kaynaklar henüz yeterince araştırılmamıştır. Özellikle belirtmek gerekir ki 18. yüzyıla ait detaylardan mahrum kaldık çünkü 1992'den 1995'e kadar Bosna-Hersek'teki son savaş sırasında Şarkiyat Enstitüsü'nde Fojnica sigilleri yakıldı. Bu nedenle Bosna-Hersekli yazarların eserlerini kullandık. çok sayıda yayınlanmamış materyalin bulunduğu Saraybosna ve İstanbul'daki arşivlerden alınan kaynaklara dayanmaktadır. Ayrıca, Fojnica bölgesindeki Osmanlı döneminden kalan İslam kültürü mirasının çoğunun keşfedilmediğini teyit ettiğimiz bir saha araştırması da gerçekleştirdik. Bir kısmını bu yazımızda dile getirdik. Bu çalışmanın, Fojnica bölgesinde derin köklere sahip olan İslam kültürü hakkında daha fazla araştırma yapılmasını teşvik edeceğini umuyoruz.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Gelenek, İslam, Kültür, Tarih, Yerel halk

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1. Introduction

The life of the population of the Fojnica region gradually changed due to the historical development of the circumstances that followed the arrival of Ottoman rule on the territory of the Kingdom of Bosnia and the Fojnica region in 1463¹. The spread of Islam brought with it Islamic culture and all that made it up, a new religion, education, language, art, architecture, traditions, and customs.

The analysis of Islamic culture with all its aspects in the Fojnica region is a significant contribution to the knowledge of the local history of Bosnia and Herzegovina in the Ottoman period, because this topic has never been dealt with in historiography as a whole, and our goal is precisely to try to give a complete account of it.

Due to the problem of previously weak research on this topic, and the lack of sources in certain centuries, our goal is to expand the fund of knowledge. For research purposes the analysis was carried out using sources that are of great importance for the history of the Fojnica region and Bosnia and Herzegovina, primarily based on numerous primary sources such as the Fojnica regesta, Ottoman documents from the Franciscan archive and Ottoman defter from 1468/69. and in 1604. Also, in our work, the researches of local authors who, based on numerous documents from the archive, contributed to Bosnian-Herzegovinian historiography and the study of the history of the Fojnica region were very useful to us².

Author Adem Handžić is one of the first to analyze the history of Fojnica in the Ottoman period in the monograph “Fojnica through the ages” with a group of authors (Group of Authors, 1987, pp. 65-121). Handžić analyzed the way of life of the population, administrative authority, urban development, economy, and culture. However, given that the author wrote in general about the history of Fojnica, he did not have enough space left for a more detailed analysis of Islamic culture in the Fojnica region. Also, his contribution to the study of the spread of Islam in Bosnia and Herzegovina should be highlighted, with special reference to central Bosnia, which also includes the Fojnica region (Group of Authors, 1987, pp. 65-121); (Handžić, 1970, pp. 37-52).

Also, the author Hatidža Čar-Drnda used published and unpublished material when analyzing the demographic, economic, and social situation in Fojnica and thus enriched the historiography of the Fojnica region until the 17th century (Čar-Drnda, 1986, pp.133-160). When we talk about the spiritual component - tesavvuf in the Fojnica region, it is important to mention the authors whose works represent the basis

¹ Fojnica is a populated place and the center of the municipality of the same name in the central part of Bosnia and Herzegovina, about 50 km west of Sarajevo and 587 m above sea level. The area of the municipality is 308 km²

² Adem Handžić, Hatidža Čar-Drnda, Halid Buljina, Hamid Algar, Džemal Čehajić, Muhamed Mujezinović and others.

for the analysis and understanding of the very concept and history of dervish orders in this micro-region. Džemal Čehajić processed the history of dervishes and the Nakšibendi sect in general in BiH, and within that treatment he also analyzed the Fojnica region (Čehajić, 1986, pp. 1-281). Author Halid Buljina also made a great contribution and significance in the study of Fojnica tekki (Buljina, 1991, pp. 1-80). Also, the author Mehmed Mujezinović worked on the epigraphy of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and in his work he presents information about Fojnica inscriptions or chronograms, which are of great cultural and historical importance for the study of the society and art of the Fojnica region (Mujezinović, 1998, pp. 1-516). The examination and analysis of Islamic culture in the Fojnica region during the Ottoman rule is a significant task for Bosnian-Herzegovinian historiography because, although this topic has already been given some attention, its individual aspects are still poorly addressed. In this sense, with this work we are trying to make a historiographical step forward by studying in one place the entire Islamic culture of the Fojnica region in the Ottoman period.

The topic of this paper allows us better understanding of contemporary society by insight into its origins, because Islamic culture still represents the most significant component of social reality in the Fojnica region³.

Presentations of cultural events in medieval Fojnica, the Ottoman conquest of Fojnica, the Ottoman urbanization of Fojnica are the basis for understanding how the Fojnica region entered the Ottoman cultural zone and how Islamic culture spread. Thanks to the Islamic sacral culture, Fojnica became an Ottoman urban settlement - kasaba in the second half of the 16th century, at the beginning of the 18th century it became an administrative center - a nahija, and then in the second half of the 19th century it became a kadiluk.

How did the spiritual aspect of Islamic culture spread in the Fojnica region? First of all, it spread thanks to the new religion, literature, art, book culture, and prominent members of society, such as muderris, sheikhs, effendi and other ulama. A great role in the spread of Islamic culture in the Fojnica region belongs to the institution of waqf and tasawwuf, especially the Naqshibendi order.

³ By the area of Fojnica we mean a historically, socially, and culturally connected micro-region. We identify the boundaries of the Fojnica region with the present-day municipality of Fojnica.

2. Cultural Events in Fojnica and Its Surroundings in the Medieval Bosnian State

By analyzing cultural conditions in the pre-Ottoman period of Fojnica, we will understand the way of life and ideas of medieval people in one micro-area, and notice the contrast between medieval and Islamic culture. The inherited heritage, various influences on the border between Byzantine and Western European civilizations, and the specific framework of domestic development by which Bosnia presented itself as a strong state creation left a lasting impression on architecture, chivalric culture, literacy and art (Kurtović, 2019, p. 107). When we talk about the culture of Bosnia, it includes architecture (ecclesiastical and secular), writing and literary creativity, sculpture, and artistic and musical creativity (Hodžić, 2018, p. 61). These cultural events also influenced Fojnica (Hvojnica) itself, which would become one of the most important cities of the Kingdom of Bosnia in the 14th and 15th centuries. In an old manuscript, Fojnica is mentioned as “Hvojnica” from the word hvoja, which means forest. In Bosnia, only the development of mining, and especially the production of silver, encouraged the formation of cities in the 14th century and contributed to the development of all Bosnian cities. Medievalist Desanka Kovačević-Kojić states that *“the creation of Fojnica, a mine, and later a very important trade center of medieval Bosnia, should be viewed in this light.”* Fojnica was created at least a decade or two before it was first mentioned, in 1365. It belonged to the Lepenica parish from a territorial point of view, while from an urban point of view, Fojnica was a square and belonged to the type of open settlements, and in its later development, the Kozograd fortress was built above it on the slopes of Mount Zec (Group of authors, 1987, p. 49).

Based on a large number of material monuments - stećaks, toponyms, and other sources, it is assumed that in the Fojnica area, the local population was mostly supporters of the Bosnian Church - Christians, while in the town of Fojnica there are also Catholics. The remains of the material culture of Christians are stećci, while we have no written traces of spiritual culture, but based on toponyms we can assume that elders - *grandfathers*, *guests*, and other believers - lived in the surrounding places. We cannot say with certainty whether there were more Catholics or Christians. We can assume that at first the number of Christians was greater, while the Catholic influence grew with the arrival of the people of Dubrovnik and the Franciscans in the 14th century. On a few localities we find Stećci: Fojnica, Lužinama, Otigošće, Dusina, Ščitovo, Ostružnica etc. (Bešlagić, 1971, p. 164). According to some theses, the names of these two villages, Djedov Do and the village of Otigošće, are related to the Church hierarchy of *grandfather* and *guest* (Dedić, 2015, p. 173).

The demographic and religious picture changed with the arrival of foreign influences such as the

German miners of the Saxons and the people of Dubrovnik who had their own colony with business settlements. Due to the general social conditions in medieval Bosnia, both the need for Catholics and the suppression of heresy against Bosnian Christians, Catholic orders came, first the Dominicans, then in the 14th century the Franciscans⁴. With the arrival of the Franciscans, the influence of the western medieval culture in the Fojnica region also strengthened, bringing significant church architecture with them. Based on reference data, it is not difficult to conclude that the Fojnica church and monastery were built at the end of the 14th or the beginning of the 15th century. Among saved artistic values in the Franciscan monastery there is a picture small format “Dead nature” which probably dates from the first half of the 14th century. From this one we can conclude that it is medieval art prevailed through religious motives and what surrounds man and that is nature (Drmač, 2014, p. 38); (Group of authors, 1987, p. 53).

In the daily life of Fojnica, fabrics of Italian and Dubrovnik origin, jewelry, parts of clothing, soft furniture, cold, and firearms and other numerous objects that came from Dubrovnik or individual Italian cities were used (Group of authors, 1987, p. 59). This kind of life was contributed by the presence of the people of Dubrovnik mentioned in the sources, as well as the mining, craft, and trading activity of the people of Fojnica. With the arrival of the Ottomans after 1459, and the census of 1468, Fojnica had 329 houses, which at that time made it one of the largest urban settlements in the Kingdom of Bosnia.

When we talk about the education of the people of Fojnica in the Middle Ages, the influence of the Franciscans and the people of Dubrovnik is undoubtedly the main factor. On the other hand, we have no data left by the Bosnian and Christian Church. The only thing that is certain is that, as in all urban areas, literacy and art gradually spread (Group of authors, 1987, p. 59). The Cyrillic alphabet is used for writing, as indicated by numerous documents about the trade between the people of Fojnica and the people of Dubrovnik. Although literacy spread gradually, it should be kept in mind that it was limited to the upper layers of medieval society. Before everything we think on Residents of Dubrovnik, prominent local merchants, a small number of artisans, and Franciscans. It is important to say that the people of Dubrovnik had their own colony in Fojnica, and a considerable number of them lived in Fojnica, where they used the Cyrillic alphabet and translated into Latin and Italian. Writing materials include paper and inkwells, which are sold as trade goods in the shops of Dubrovnik merchants. For cultural events in Fojnica, we should also mention the bequest of five books of the Dubrovnik merchant Anton Pribisalić, who was in Fojnica between 1439 and 1446 (Group of authors, 1987, p. 59).

⁴ Thus, first from Dubrovnik, secular priests came and stayed for a short time, then came the Dominicans who also stayed for a short time, and at the beginning of the 14th century, the Franciscans came and stayed permanently. See more: <http://www.fojnica-samostan.com/> Friar Janko Ljubos, curator: *Treasures of the monastery in Fojnica* (accessed February 1, 2020).

It is not known whether some forms of cultural entertainment occur in Fojnica, such as actors and musicians who entertained the local population, but this possibility should be kept in mind considering that Fojnica is one of the most important places in medieval Bosnia. One detail sheds light on the daily life and habits of the Bosnian urban population. Namely, in Drijevi, Srebrenica and Fojnica, and probably in other more developed urban settlements, there were inns where people went to drink and have fun. Comparing this data with the usual way of life in Europe, we conclude that it is very likely that artists also performed there, performing their skills. This information tells us that they held certain cultural parties modeled after medieval Europe, with probably certain specificities (Hodžić, 2018, p. 69).

3. Fojnica as an Ottoman Urban Settlement and Local Administrative Center

3.1 Ottoman Conquest

One of the turning points in the history of the Fojnica region was its conquest by the Ottomans, which introduced Fojnica into the world of Islamic culture. Historiography has only partially dealt with the issue of the Ottoman conquest of Fojnica (Hvojnica). Data on the conquest of Fojnica are given to us by authors such as A. Handžić in the monograph *“Fojnica through the ages”* and Hatidža Čar-Drnda (Čar-Drnda, 1986, pp. 133-161).

Even before the final fall of the Kingdom of Bosnia under their rule in 1463, the Ottomans had influence over Fojnica and, after Srebrenica, they found it to be the largest urban settlement with developed mining and trade. We learn this fact from existing sources. Dubrovnik merchants complained to their government; that Bosnian gentlemen are constantly controlled by Turkish officials and under pressure from the Turkish garrison in Vrhbosna. Dubrovnik merchants from Fojnica reported that they were informed of the Turkish slave's order that all silver should be taken to the sultan's mints and that the duke must take it away from the people of Dubrovnik.” (Šabanović, 1957, p. 188).

Mining centers like Fojnica and Kreševo were of great economic, military and political importance for the Ottomans and the Bosnian Krajište⁵. In the endowment of Isa-bey Ishaković from 1462 it is written; *“Furthermore, he bequeathed all the mills under one roof on the Željeznica river in Visoko.”* (Šabanović, 1951, p. 22). Analyzing the toponyms in the Fojnica settlement Gvoždani (Gojevići), which is located on the aforementioned Željeznica river, we find the toponym waqf, for which it is possible that it indicates the

⁵ The conquest of Fojnica will help the Ottomans in the further conquest of Bosnia and the expansion of the empire to the West. The penetration of the Ottomans towards the West also meant the spread of Islamic culture, which will bring with it different ideas about life, compared to those of the Middle Ages.

mentioned legacy of Isa-bey Ishaković⁶. What we know for sure is that the Fojnica region was already part of the Ottoman state in 1463, which is confirmed for centuries by the closely guarded ahdnama addressed to the Franciscans by Sultan Mehmed Fatih.

3.2 Ottoman Urbanization

With the Ottoman conquest of the Bosnian kingdom, changes were made in all aspects of social life, especially in the cities, which put an end to medieval urbanization. An urban settlement in the Ottoman period represents a center where the way of life and culture of a people are intertwined. That is why we are interested in how the Fojnica region was transformed from a medieval to an Ottoman - urban settlement. With the arrival of the Ottomans, the area of the Fojnica region entered a new zone of Ottoman urbanization, with the foundations of Islamic culture. When we analyze the change of the Fojnica region from a town to a village, we can state that its urbanization moved more slowly than was usual within the Ottoman Empire. One of the reasons for this is its geographical location. The Fojnica area represented the border in the extreme northwest of the Ottoman Empire from 1463 until the fall of the Hungarian Banovina of Jajačka in 1528. Apart from the mentioned facts about slow urbanization, it is important to note the following. Namely, we must not forget the state of war on the Ottoman border, population migrations due to insecurity, then the plagues that ravaged the entire Ottoman Empire in the 16th century and probably did not bypass Fojnica either. B. Kuripešić also talks about the low population density of Bosnia in 1530 due to the plague in his *travelogue* (Kuripešić, 2001, p. 36).

Another reason is that the majority of the population was Bosnian Christians, while Catholics and the Franciscan order enjoyed a privileged position guaranteed by the sultan's ahdnam from 1463.

Fojnica was found as a complete settlement, and not divided into hamlets like some other towns. (Group of authors, 1987, p. 74) In the Fojnica region, the Ottomans, according to the established system, respect the found settlement, its social, cultural, and economic life. Over time, the immigrant and local Muslim population established its nucleus in the urban area between the old medieval town of Pazarnica, which was previously called Trgovište and Rupnovaca. (Buljina, 1997a, p. 441) The first Muslim households in Fojnica were recorded in 1485, when seven Muslim houses were recorded. (Čar-Drnda, 1986, p.146). It took about 50 years for a small Muslim community to be mentioned in 1530, while according to the census of settlements in Visoko nahija in 1540, there were 16 Muslim houses in Fojnica itself. It should be

⁶ Although the Željeznica river is clearly mentioned here, some historians have over time equated it with the Fojnica river, into which the Željeznica actually flows, together with the Dragača river. The plot of land, about 80 dulum, is called "Waqf". That land, which was used exclusively for Islamic purposes, was confiscated after the Ottoman rule and is in private ownership. The other plot on the other side of the river is owned by Islamic Community Fojnica as a waqf. The very problem of this waqf is that we do not have a historical source as to whether it is the same plot of the waqf of Isa-bey Ishaković, and when this waqf was created. Therefore, this issue should be further investigated.

emphasized that this is a list of the *nafsi bazaar* of Fojnica, i.e. the very center of the square and the town without the settlements of the Fojnica region. It is interesting that all the settlements in Fojnica, except Obojko, have a majority of Muslim inhabitants. We do not have complete data from this early period, because the *defteri* only provide data on taxpayers, and most Muslims were exempt from taxes. So we should be careful with this data (Čar-Drnda, 1991, pp. 225-227).

As in other Ottoman cities, the institutions of *waqf* and dervish orders played a significant role in the urbanization of the Ottoman settlement in Fojnica. Ottoman cities were divided into the *bazaar* as a trade area and *mahallas* as the residential area. Fojnica acquired the physiognomy of an ⁷ Ottoman urban settlement only in the second half of the 16th century. With the formation of the *mahalla* and the construction of the Atik mosque before 1570 by the *vakif* Mustafa Hizir, along with the found square and market day, all the basic conditions were met for the newly founded *mahal* to be covered by the institution of *muafiyet* and called *kasab*. According to the Ottoman nomenclature of settlements and established rules for their formation, a settlement could receive the status of *casaba* if it had reached a certain level of development. A. Handžić states three basic conditions for a settlement to receive the status of *casaba*: a) the existence of a significant congregation of permanently settled Muslim population, b) the existence of one mosque where all prescribed prayers are performed, as well as the main prayers on Fridays and Eid al-Fitr and c) the existence of a square (*bazaar*) and the weekly market day. After the fulfillment of the mentioned conditions, an administrative-legal procedure was conducted, which was initiated by the local authorities, usually the competent *qadi*, explaining the need to declare the place a *kasaba*, which was approved by the supreme authority. With this act, the Ottoman state freed the inhabitants of the *mahal* from the *Reaya Tax*, directing them to crafts, trade, and other activities of wider social importance. The change in status tended, therefore, to accelerate the urbanization of the settlement (Handžić, 1974, pp. 60-69).

The significant Fojnica *vakif*, *kadi*, and, *muderris* Šaban son of Ahmed, endowed the Čarši mosque in 1666, and next to it, a *madrassa*, a *mekteb* and a *tekija*. Over time, a *bazaar* developed around the Fojnik mosques and in it shops of various crafts; bakers, cobblers, butchers, barbers, silversmiths, leather tanners, goldsmiths, blacksmiths, tailors and gunsmiths, who had a good reputation for making quality rifles. Some of these trades are mentioned in the *Kanunama* from 1489. Craftsmen are not mentioned in the registers, which makes it difficult for us to study these activities, but by analyzing Ottoman documents from the Franciscan monastery, we noticed documents that mention craftsmen and some crafts of Fojnica. In a document of the *naib* of Fojnica and Lašva from 1550, artisans of Fojnica appear as witnesses “Jusuf Emin

⁷ Sources they mention Atik, Hadrović and Pavlovac mahala, where are lived Muslims. These villages were nucleus for emergence *casaba*, on the other sides the eye Franciscan of the monastery it was a town, where are lived non-Muslims.

the merchant, Mustafa the son of the barber or barber, Firuz the butcher as well as Hajdar the shoemaker.” (Group of authors, 1957, p. 18; Ursinus 2018, p.26). Crafts and shops contributed to the economy and urbanization of Fojnica.

We can determine that the 17th century was the era of the most intensive urbanization of Fojnica. The village had active mining, crafts and trade, a unique bazaar, mehkema, dzumrukšana, menzilšana, and musafiršana, three mosques, a madrasa, and a tekke, as well as a guesthouse, with all the structures of government, and features of a developed Ottoman settlement. Adem Handžić claims in the monograph “Fojnica through centuries” that the very fact that not even two full decades had passed between the construction of two mosques, and the formation of the two villages of the same name, clearly speaks of the accelerated development of the village. All the mentioned institutions, and facilities (kadiluk, mehkema, madrasa, tekija, menzilšana, đumrukšana) were certainly founded after the Čaršija mosque in 1666/67, and before the mosque was built in Pavlovac village in 1683 (Buljina, 1983, p.451; Group of Authors, 1987, p. 81). Therefore, based on the above facts, we can conclude that Fojnica was already a built-up Ottoman urban center until the 18th century.

3.3 Fojnica as an Ottoman Administrative Center

With the arrival of the Ottomans, a new system was established under which (Hvojnica) Fojnica became a nahija as an administrative-territorial area. ”This Arabic word literally means ”side, region, area”, and as a term in the Ottoman administration, it denoted the lowest regular administrative units that have their own permanent and precisely defined territory and are under the direct management of a state body with certain prerogatives of the government. These administrative units in our countries were created in most cases by converting old medieval parishes.” (Šabanović, 1982, p-108).

In the first Ottoman census from 1468, Fojnica is mentioned as a nahija, and the mines of Fojnica, and Ostružnica are listed among the sultan’s regalia in this nahija. A. Handžić states that it is not known for sure whether Fojnica is listed here administratively as a nahija or if it simply refers to the end (Group of authors, 1987, p. 66).

We do not have much reliable information about the early period of the Fojnica nahija, except that in the judicial and administrative sense it belonged to the kadiluk of Bobovac (Šabanović, 1982, p. 123). However, after 1485, and before 1489, Fojnica was attached to the nahija of Visoka, and the kadiluk of Sarajevo, which was located within the Bosanski sandžak⁸. It remained part of the Visoka nahija until

⁸ In the first period of Ottoman rule, the administrative officials in Fojnica included the *emin* who took care of the mines, the *prince* as a link between the people and the

the beginning of the 17th century, after which it moved to the area of the Kreševo nahija. More precisely, it can be traced according to the defter until 1604, and after that we have no continuous sources on the basis of which we could determine when it regained its importance as an administrative center (Čar-Drnda, 1986, p. 136).

The development and Ottoman urbanization of Fojnica during the 16th and 17th centuries led to the fact that the Ottoman authorities recognized Fojnica as a local center, and it was mentioned as a nahija in the beginning of the 18th century within the Sarajevo Kadiluk⁹. All administrative affairs for the Fojnica region do not go towards Visoko or Kreševo, but towards Fojnica, which meant progress in every respect. As for the court's administrative authority, at the beginning of the 18th century, the Fojnica kadi is mentioned. According to the data of the sijil of the kadi of Fojnica, who performed the duties of a judge in the capacity of naib, Fojnica was mentioned as the center of the nahija from 1784 to 1865, and according to the data of the sijil from the period 1865 - 1877, it was the center of the kadiluk. A. Aličić states, "During the formation of the Bosnian vilayet in 1865, the following nahijas were founded. In the kaza (kadiluk) of Fojnica were the nahijas of Kreševo and Busovača, which lasted until the end of the Ottoman administration, and in 1870, the nahija of Kiseljak was also formed there" (Čar-Drnda, 1986, p. 136; Jukić, 2001, p. 195; Aličić, 1983, p. 128).

4. Islamic Spiritual Culture in the Fojnica Region

4.1 Religion

Islam as a religion entered all spheres of the social life of the Ottoman Empire and as such shaped the way of life, culture, art, and ultimately improved the civilization that spread over three continents. In the 14th and 15th centuries, the Ottoman Empire conquered Southeastern Europe, and thus Islam penetrated into the regions of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Due to the very importance and role of Islam on the life of Muslims in the Fojnica region, we will try to analyze the process of accepting Islam, its pace and development over the centuries. We will also analyze what it meant in a cultural sense to accept Islam, both individually and for the community, whether this changed the identity and ideas of medieval people and at what pace all this affected the Fojnica region. We will try to give answers to some key questions in order to understand everyday life in Ottoman Fojnica, because the consequences of the spread of Islam are

government, and the *subash*, the representative of the Duke of Vysoč. Also, border guards (ulufedji), jindi, cehaje and other administrative services are called. From 1619, the *naib* (proxy) of the Sarajevo kadi is mentioned as part of the judicial administrative authority in the *Fojnica regesta*.

⁹ Although earlier authors found that the Fojnica nahija was mentioned only from the second half of the 18th century, by analyzing *the Fojnica regesta* we noticed that it was mentioned in 1736.

still felt and lived in the Fojnica area.

4.2 The Spread of Islam in the Fojnica Region

In science, the claim that acceptance of Islam has long been rejected with strong arguments in Bosnia, a consequence of the repressive measures of the Ottoman government. The accepted point of view is that the acceptance of Islam is a consequence of certain political, social, and economic circumstances in Bosnia that preceded the establishment of the Ottoman government, as well as the attitude of the new government towards its subjects. “Ottoman state recognized all monotheistic religions, and with the condition of loyalty, guaranteed all subjects freedom of religion, legal and property protection. The applied policy of the new government, expressed by the acceptance of the found institutions and the class status of the Christian nobility, had a positive effect on the acceptance of the Ottoman state and Islam as an integral element of its establishment.” (Čar-Drnda, 1991, p. 206).

Historiography has not dealt much with the issue of the spread of Islam in the Fojnica region, it has been fragmented, but never as a whole, which is our goal according to the scope of the work. Previous research on Islam in Fojnica was analyzed through the prism of Fojnica itself without settlements, which gives us a completely different picture. First of all, for the analysis of the spread of Islam, we were helped by the works of Adem Handžić, (Group of authors, 1987), Hatidža Čar Drnda, (Čar-Drnda, 1986, p. 1991), and primary sources such as the Ottoman defter from 1468-9. and in 1604, the Fojnica regesta.

On the basis of these primary sources, we can follow and analyze the process of the spread of Islam, and obtain data about everyday life in the village of Fojnica. We can note that Islam in the Fojnica region gradually spread, and that from the first days of the Ottoman rule, following the continuity in the increase in the number of the Muslim population. Certain facts are not visible in the registers from the first period of Ottoman rule. Muslims and non-Muslims who paid taxes were enrolled in them, and there were certainly those Muslims who did not pay taxes on the land, such as Ottoman authorities, ulema, dervishes. In Fojnica, even the Franciscans did not pay taxes (Aličić, 2008; Handžić, 2000; Matasović 1927).

According to the data of the cadastral census of the Bosnian Sandžak from 1468-9. Fojnica belonged to the area of Kraljeva zemlje and after Novi Pazar, it was the most populated in Bosnia. That year, 329 households were registered in Fojnica. In Fojnica, as well as in neighboring settlements, the Ottomans found members of the Catholic Church and members of the Bosnian Church - Christians. It is a well-known fact that in the pre-Ottoman period, the King's Land (Vilayet-i Kral) served as a refuge for Christians who were persecuted by the Catholic Church, and the Hungarian state. Moreover, in 1459, King Stefan

Tomašević “asked for help , because he could not fight the Turks alone because Manichaeans , who would prefer Turks to Christians , and almost the majority of the population is not Manichaean.” (Group of Authors, 1991, p. 548).

Also, Ottoman sources record the existence of supporters of the Bosnian Church under the name *krstjan*. It should be mentioned that Fojnica, like Kreševo, was in the *cadiluk Brod* for a short period. Tajib Okić finds in unpublished Ottoman documents a mention of two settlements in Fojnica where Christians live. One was recorded a field named “selište” which has been abandoned of sides Christians, in the settlement Dusina, *nahiyah Brod*, (*defter*, number, 432, sheet, 443.b). It also mentions the legacy of Christians in *Nahiyah Visoko*, Fojnica settlement Čemernica, recorded from the end of the 16th century. in Ankara ledger number 11, (sheet, 174.a) (Okić, 2003, pp. 155-159).

They took place in some villages around Fojnica, while the sources in Fojnica and Kreševo do not mention them. We assume that the majority of the population in the Fojnica region were baptized, which is indicated by the numerous *stećci* in the surrounding Fojnica settlements, as also stated by Š. Bešliagić. On a few localities we find *Stećci*: Fojnica, Lužina, Otigošće, Dusina, Šćitovo, Ostružnica etc. (Bešliagić, 1971, p. 164). The fact that a large number of Christians converted to Islam in the Fojnica settlements is shown by Ottoman records¹⁰. What we can notice is that in the urban part of Fojnica, the process of spreading Islam is slower. One of the reasons for this is the threat to the physical safety of the population due to the fact that the Fojnica area was on the Ottoman border with Jajačka ,and Srebrenica banovina, and the second reason is the presence of Catholics and the Franciscan monasteries of Fojnica, Kreševo and Visoko. Also, based on the analysis, we can notice a difference in the intensity of conversion to Islam. Namely, at the end of the 15th century, and in the first half of the 16th century, we have a smaller number of Muslims, while at the end of the 16th and the beginning of the 17th century, we find the majority of Muslims in the Fojnica region.

In the first periods of Ottoman rule, we encounter Muslim immigrants and natives who convert to Islam¹¹. Thus, A. Handžić states that in the census of 1489, Fojnica had a total of 225 tax houses, of which there were 7 Muslim households with 2 *mujered*s (unmarried). He lists their names characteristic of Christians who became new Muslims. They are: Jusuf son of Milorad; Mehmed, son of Vukosala; Alija,

¹⁰ By analyzing the settlements of Fojnica, which were previously neglected, we concluded that they were also the centers of Christians and the seat of their elder *grandfather*. The village of Djedov Do was named after the elder *grandfather*, and the village of Hotigošće probably after the faithful *guests*. The majority of the inhabitants of these Fojnica settlements converted to Islam, as evidenced by the “Staro Greblje- The old Cemetery” site, where we can notice that *Stećci* and Muslim niches are next to each other, which indicates the continuity of burials.

¹¹ That someone would receive Islam someone had to invite him to it and teach. Thus, we believe that the Ottoman government at first targeted the *ulema*, dervishes, soldiers, and others. We know that in the Fojnica area dervishes, and sheikhs were the first to propagate Islam. The sheikhs were from the ranks of the *ulema* but also served in the army. One of them is the martyr Sheikh Husein who died at Oglavak in the army of Sultan Mehmed Fatih. Later, the sources talk about the continuity of the settlement of sheikhs, dervishes, and *muderris* in the Fojnica region, because with this the Ottoman state strengthened its power and spread Islam.

approacher; Ismail, his (Alia's) brother; Ahmed, a tailor; Iskender, son of Jarisav; then two mujeredes: Yusuf, son of Miloš and Šahin, son of Dabiža. (Handžić, 1976, p. 12).

From the first censuses, we see that there are several Muslim houses in Fojnica and the entire Fojnica region. According to Ottoman list from 1489 in Fojnica settlements there are several Muslim houses; Bunište (Ponjušina) 6th, Čemernica 2nd, Gvoždani 8th, Hotigošće 6th, Vranjak 3rd, while according to this one list Obojak, Pridola and Prokos they don't have Muslim house. We don't have any data for Ostružnica and Šćitovo. In 1489, 6 Christian and 2 Catholic households were recorded in Obojek. The local Christians are: Milorad, Radosav, Pavko, Radovac, Radinko and Dragi. Also, in other settlements of Fojnica, the presence of Christians and the gradual process of conversion to Islam is evident, which is also confirmed by Ottoman censuses (Čar-Drnda, 1991, pp. 209; 216-220). Based on the Ottoman ledgers, we cannot know the actual number of Muslim population in the Fojnica region. One of such concrete examples is the Fojnica mine and the Dusina settlement. While not a single Muslim house was mentioned in Dusina in 1468, and only one in 1485, until then only four Muslims from Dusina were mentioned in one court document of the Sarajevo kadi dated July 11, 1469, regarding a dispute over land ownership, namely: Ayan Davud-beg, on the one hand, and Husein, son of Pavlov, Muhammad, son of Pavlov and Hasan, son of Radivojev, on the other. In addition, the phenomenon of conversion to Islam in the early period, where the ancestors were baptized, is also visible here.

At the end of the 15th century, there were a small number of Muslim houses in the Fojnica region. Also, based on the notebooks, the number of Muslims in the urban part of Fojnica was not significant. According to A. Handžić, the number of Muslim residents in the past 45 years (1485 - 1530) increased by only 2, from 7 to 9 houses, which is a total of 15 Muslim houses (Group of authors, 1987, p. 72). There were certainly more of them because only tax collectors were registered. The expansion of the Ottoman state territory after the collapse of the Hungarian state (1526) and the Hungarian banns had a great impact on the pace of acceptance of Islam in the Fojnica region, which was located in the Visočka nahija. According to the census from 1528/30. In 1570, 57% of Muslim families were recorded in Nahija Visoko, while in 1570, the Muslim population made up 88% of the total population. Also, the Fojnica settlements that were located in the nahija Visoko gradually accepted Islam in this period. By 1516, Bunište, Čemernica, Dusina, Hotigošće, Gvoždani, Mratinići, Vranjak and Štitovo already had a majority Muslim population. However, the town of Fojnica and the settlements of Pridola, Prokos, Obojak, Ostružnica still retain a majority Christian and Catholic population. According to the census from 1530, the majority of Muslims prevailed in all the settlements of Fojnica (Čar-Drnda, 1991, p.209).

The problem we face when analyzing the spread of Islam in the 18th and 19th centuries is the lack of data and censuses. What we can notice based on the Fojnica Regesta, and other Franciscan documents is that Islam is gradually spreading. In Fojnica register process expansion of Islam can be documented and to follow from 1635, when it first appeared, then in 1728, and two cases in 1730. Also, in other Franciscan chronicles, there are visible data on the conversion to Islam, which we must analyze with caution, because the Franciscan perspective of the spread of Islam is noticeable. Namely, Fra Lašvanin states in 1736. about disordered system, violent Islamization-Turkification. While on the other sides we find numerous examples as it is Ottoman country protected Franciscans and Catholics of bullies, even and if a person said she would cross on Islam refused it, it didn't violently cross on Islam, (Matasović, 1927, p. 191; Lašvanin, 2003, p. 208). Also, we have one significant source for Fojnica itself without a settlement, which indicates that in the first half of the 18th century, when Fojnica became the center of the nahija, the majority of the population was Muslim. The very process of the spread of Islam and Islamic culture in this period resulted in Fojnica becoming the seat of the nahija. In 1736, Fojnička parish counted “82 Catholic houses and 497 souls, and 1348 Muslims and 11 mosques.” (Matosović, 1972, p. 194; Kristić, 1936, p.146).

What was the initial act of converting to Islam like? That process and procedure was conducted in the Sharia court, as we are told by sources such as the Sigil. According to Kasumović, “a person who wanted to convert to Islam declared in front of witnesses that he voluntarily renounces useless faith or all vain faiths, and declares that there is no god but Allah and that Muhammad is His servant and His messenger.” This statement is known as called “kelime-i shahadet”. Part of the procedure was for the new Muslim to be given a Muslim name. Finally, the Qadi declared him a Muslim on the basis of his authority.

4.3 Socio-Cultural Consequences of Accepting Islam

The following questions that arise for the further course of our research and illumination of the topic we are dealing with are: what was the belief system, what did it mean to accept the Sunni variant of Islam, what did the change of identity look like, and some others to which we will try to find clear answers. The establishment of Ottoman rule in Bosnia-Herzegovina led to radical changes that resulted in the spread of Islam. There is a new change in the confessional structure, where, based on the previously presented data, we see that the autochthonous population is gradually accepting Islam, and the achievements of Islamic civilization and culture. According to Kasumović: “The change of religion is one of the fundamental issues that significantly affect the change in the identity of an individual as well as a nation. At the same time, it is important to understand that there is acceptance of new ideas about the world, life, death, spiritual values, or morality, but also a new way of life that Islam as a religion brought with it (Kasumović, 2011, p.

215).

As we stated earlier, the Ottomans found two religious groups in the Fojnica region; members of the Bosnian church - Christians and Catholics. The Fojnica region entered the Ottoman cultural zone, so it is understandable that the population that accepts Islam has an intermediary, and an already established social system, which in this case is based on the Sunni variant of Islam. The Hanafi Madhhab was the dominant religious school in the Ottoman Empire. Bosniak Muslims understood Islam through the direction of the Hanafi school of religious law, and maturidian studies in theology, in two ways of interpretation, understanding and living; madrasa (ulema), and tekke (sufis). Founder graduation schools Abu'l-Mansur el-Maturidi (d. 905) established the theological school which is basically elaborated theological attitudes Abu Hanifa (d. 767). In that way, the process expansion of Islam in Bosnia and Herzegovina under the Ottoman Empire he was in power at the same. Time, and process expansion high school graduation interpretations Islamic beliefs and Hanafi interpretations Shariat. (Karčić, 2006, p. 54). These two ways often coincided, because sheikhs (teachers) mostly belonged to the order of ulema. With the spread of the Ottoman Empire, and Islam to the region of Fojnica, we can see that Islam was implemented precisely through these two institutional systems.

Through the previous chapter - the process of the spread of Islam, we could notice that by accepting Islam, an individual first renounces his previous faith, and by the act of martyrdom he accepts Islam. After that he changes his identity and takes a Muslim name. The big one-part Muslims in the Empire were Sunni Turks, and Arabs who belong to the Sunni group. Also in Anatolia and Rumelia, Muslims belonged to the Hanafi school (Ihsanoglu, 2004, p. 703).

That act of accepting Islam brought with it new ideas about God, ideas about life, death, the world, history, future, time, diet, way of life, etc. An individual who fundamentally changes his way of life, probably had the support of a small congregation, ulema and Ottoman authorities. Namely, it is understandable that an individual in the first period of Ottoman rule could not immediately possess the religious knowledge that his intermediary had in the act of accepting Islam, that is why Dr. A. Handžić states that at first the acceptance of Islam was of a declarative nature; *“In the cities, there was one imam only to perform the prayer with the crews, and those imams themselves were soldiers (mustahfizi) attached to the city - one can only assume that in the first decades the acceptance of Islam had a declarative character, it consisted only in taking a Muslim name.”* (Handžić, 1970, p. 28).

Over time, the number of Muslims in the Fojnica region grew, especially in the middle of the 16th century, when Fojnica received the status of a kasaba, which meant that a local community was created, i.e.

their little congregation¹². Culturally, the acceptance of Islam for the local community meant that a unique principle was created by which that community should live. Namely, the way of life of the new community is based on Islamic culture, which, as we mentioned earlier, is reflected in material and spiritual culture. From a spiritual point of view, the believer now practices new rites such as prayer, while from a material point of view he behaves in accordance with Islamic regulations¹³. The acceptance of Islam resulted in the acceptance of Islamic material culture, which is created by the individual and the local community on the model of Ottoman architecture¹⁴. In the 17th and 18th centuries, Islam was the majority religion of Fojnica society, and brought with it new cultural changes and progress.

4.4 Education

Generally speaking, the Ottomans had four types of education, with different methods, and purposes. The ruling class was educated in Enderun, an educational institution in Saraj, bureaucrats received their education in offices according to the teacher-student system, in dervish tekkes education was provided to Sufis, while madrasahs were institutions where scholars were educated (Ihsanoglu, 2004, p. 315). Educational institutions (schools, madrasas) in Bosnia and Herzegovina were created, and developed under the influence of previously established schools in the Ottoman Empire. The first and oldest schools of learning in Islam were mosques. The issue of the spread of Islamic culture through education has not been dealt with in historiography as a whole so far, and our goal is to make a step forward in this regard.

In the Fojnica region, mosques, schools, madrasas and tekke, were the main carriers of Islamic education. The oldest historical data that we have today refer to the Attic and the Čaršija mosque in Fojnica, and next to them, schools. Kadi Saban ef. he founded the Čaršija mosque and next to it a mualimkhana, and a madrasa in the middle of the 17th century. The teacher in these schools had the title muallim, while the teacher in the madrasa was a muderris. The results of previous research, and data from historical materials give us a lot of valuable information about the muderris of the Fojnica madrasa, and in this chapter we will talk about them as carriers of education in the Fojnica region. Among them, the well-known sheikh, and founder of the tekija in Živčići, muderris ef attracts special attention. Hussein Zukić (died 1214/1799), who was occasionally a guest of the madrasa, then muderrisi Husein -ef. Zupčević and Ibrahim-ef. Zupčević (died 1254/1838/39), muderris and Sheikh Abdurrahman Sirri (died 1263/1847),

¹² When Fojnica received the status of a casaba, it also became the cultural center of the Muslim population. The Ottoman government gave privileges to Muslim subjects through non-payment of taxes. The status of Fojnica as a casaba shows that Muslims accept, and live the Islamic way of life.

¹³ What we must note, at least for the first period of Ottoman rule, is that we do not know to what extent an individual practiced Islam, whether any earlier medieval legacies remained, and whether Islam was accepted due to formal conditions reflected in economic and social privileges or was it really due to religion, and culture that individuals recognized as special.

¹⁴ First of all, these are Islamic objects; mekteb, masjid, mosque, tekija, madrasa, and other Islamic institutions. It is understandable that the medieval man did not immediately change the habits of building houses or monuments, but with the spread of Islam, these changes soon came to the Fojnica region; next to the stećkas, there are Islamic monuments-nišani, in the old town of Fojnica Ottoman houses with doxat, and other public and private objects of Fojnica Muslims.

Abdulvehab Ilhamija Žepčak, and Arif-ef. Kurd, native of Diyarbakır (died 1890).

I. Kasumović states that in the area of Fojnica, “a certain Sufi orientation of the muderris, who were the main subjects of teaching along with the students, is characteristic.” (Kasumović, 1999, p. 244),

We find more detailed information about the life of muderris only from the second half of the 19th century, when Arif ef came to Fojnica for muderris Kurd (1838), and stayed there until 1868. (Buljina, 1997, p. 447) There he met and got to know his compatriot Sheikh Haji Mejlija, who at that time was the Sheikh of the tekiye in Vukeljići. After the death of Haji Mejli Baba in 1854, Arif ef. with the permission of his sheikh, he continues to act as the sheikh of the tekiye in Fojnica, which was set on fire in 1945. He worked in Fojnica until 1868, when he left for Sarajevo. He excelled in his knowledge of the Persian language, taught it in Daru-l-Muallimin, and popularized its teaching in Sarajevo. A notable person who worked in Fojnica at the end of the 19th century is Sheikh Hadji hfz. Husni ef. Numanagić. He was born in Fojnica in 1853. In the early period, he completed his mekteb education, became a hafiz, and studied under the then muderris of Misria’s madrasa, Sheikh Skender Pasha’s tekiye in Sarajevo, Sheikh Arif ef. in Kurdistan. Then he continued his education in Istanbul, Medina and Cairo. Upon returning to his hometown of Fojnica, he was immediately appointed muderris in the madrasa. His lectures in the madrasa, the vases, which he held, as well as his learning and governance in general, aroused the interest of the population of Fojnica, and earned him respect and devotion¹⁵. Until the end of its activity, ten muderis of recognized professional and social reputation performed teaching duties in the madrasa in Fojnica. We can note that famous people like Abdulvehab Ilhamia Žepčak studied in this madrasa. Its muderis contributed a lot to this, who in turn were people of higher education and in several cases went from the position of muderris in Fojnica to more responsible positions in the Islamic religious hierarchy¹⁶.

We do not know the exact number of students that the madrasa received. It is stated in Ottoman data from the 19th century that there were a total of 520 students in the schools and madrasas of Fojnica. In 1871-1872. there were 11 schools and 1 madrasa with 520 students. The number of students in schools and madrasas is shown here (Group of Authors, 1987, p. 111).

According to H. Buljina, the madrasa in Fojnica was attended by an average of 20 students, partially housed in the madrasa building . Buljina does not state which was recorded this one number students in the madrasa (Buljina,1997, p. 691). The teaching process in the madrasa usually lasted 8 - 10 years, which under normal conditions depended on the talent and zeal of the students who needed to master certain

¹⁵ While he was a muderris in Fojnica, he studied tasawwuf, and soon progressed in that field, so that in a very short time he completely mastered the teachings of his teacher and became a tariqat sheikh himself. Later, as a muderris, he moved to Visoko and stayed there until 1914.

¹⁶ Some were imams, qadis, and some reached the position of mufti, like Hajji Muhammed ef. Fojničak.

materials, as well as the efforts of the teachers. The bearer of the educational process in the madrasa was the muderris (professor). Muderris were required to teach: Tafsir (Exegesis of the Qur'an), Hadith (Tradition), Ahkam (Sharia Law), Usul (Fundamentals of Sharia Law), Kalam (Apologetics), Me'ani and Bayan (Poetics and Stylistics), and other things that place and custom may require. (Nakičević 1999, p. 102; Gazija-Pajt, 2009, p. 302). When we talk about methods, the basic methods in madrasahs were memorizing the Qur'an, repeating, understanding, discussions and copying notes (kitaba).

In addition to the mentioned religious institutions, where religious education was mainly studied, there were state or secular institutions called rozdije. They were the first state-type schools before the Austro-Hungarian occupation, for members of all religions, and the following vocational schools: Clerk's School (Sabah Mektebi), Teacher's School (Daru-l-muallimin), Correctional Center (Islahana) or Orphanage (Daru- š-shefeka) and Preparatory Military School (Mektebi-idadijje). It should be mentioned that even today there is Ruždija street in Fojnica where the original Ruždija school was located (Ćurić, 1983, pp. 135-136, 155).

4.5 Literature

The arrival of Ottoman rule and the spread of Islam in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the 15th century they caused great social, and cultural changes to the population of Bosnia. Our focus is the influence of Islamic culture during the Ottoman rule on the Fojnica man, and how the Fojnica man as an individual found a way to manifest his spiritual changes through literary work. Of course, considerable time had to pass in the development of Islamic culture, especially in the domain of literature and art, because the Bosnian population was not familiar with oriental languages until the arrival of Ottoman rule. New generations were needed from which individual personalities developed who nurtured Islamic culture, especially literature and art. Historiography has not dealt with the literary oeuvre in the Fojnica region, authors, and works from Fojnica are only mentioned fragmentarily in some sources, and our goal is to shape such a whole. The Sufi presence also played a significant role in the literature of the Fojnica region.

Bosnian literature in oriental languages is actually a part of Ottoman-Turkish literature (Šabanović, 1973, p. 16). In the Muslim written literary, and linguistic tradition in BiH during the Ottoman period, three development directions are noticeable: written activity in the vernacular (Bosnian) language, and Bosnian (Begovic script, Begovica), literature in Arabic, Turkish, and Persian, and Alhamijado literature (Bešlija, 2009, p. 453). In the Fojnica region, there were also personalities who nurtured Islamic literature, wrote in Bosnian, Turkish, Arabic and Persian languages. Already at the beginning of the 17th century,

when Fojnica became a Muslim center as a kasaba, personalities appeared who made significant progress in the field of literature.

One of the first figures from Fojnica mentioned by historiography is Hadži Muhamed son of Yusuf, known under the pseudonym (Čalabi). He was born in Fojnica in 1123/1711. He began his education at the Gazi Husrev Bey madrasa in Sarajevo, and then in Constantinople. After completing his education, he returned to Sarajevo and worked as a librarian at Osman Šehida's library. While he was staying in Medina, where he performed the Hajj in 1161/1748. in 1995 he completed the work *Tabib al-mubtedi'in* (The Beginner's Physician) in Turkish on Arabic syntax. It was written based on the work of Izhar by Birgivia, only some details were added from the work of *al-Hâdi ; Mugni 'I-Lebib ; Lub al-lubab* and *Imtihan al-adkiyā* (examination of the shrewd). (Šabanović, 1973, p. 490). From the works of Hajji Muhammad, we see that he knew the Turkish, and Arabic languages well. The fact that at one time he was the mufti of Sarajevo also speaks of what kind of scientist he was¹⁷.

The greatest contribution to the writing and nurturing of Islamic literature in the Fojnica region belongs to the Naqshibendi tariqa, and its teachers. Within the Naqshibendi tariqa, that is, in the tekke circles, literature was nurtured and created, especially poetry, which is characterized by ideological orientation, mystical, and philosophical views on life and the world (Ćehajić, 1986, p. 69). The literary compositions of Nakshibandi were written in prose, and mostly in verse, because verse offers a better possibility of expression, and dervishes used them when performing ilahi. Ilahias are pious songs that had a didactic-moral role, and the awakening of emotions among dervishes. Dervishes wrote their works and compositions not only in Turkish, which was the basic medium of their thinking and thinking, but also in Arabic, Persian and Bosnian. According to H. Algar, in addition to Turkish, ilahiyyah, and Bosnian have made a significant contribution to the spread of alhamijado literature in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Algar, 1972, p. 10). Among the founders of the Naqshbandi order, Sheikh Abdurrahman Sirri, then Abdulvehab Ilhami, who spent a period of his schooling in Fojnica, stand out, and Sheikh Husejn Zukić, Sheikh Mejli-baba, Sheikh Arif ef. Kurd et al. (Šabanović, 1973, pp. 490-491; Robe, 1989, p. 211).

¹⁷ Appointed twice, from 1172/1758. until 1177/1763. when he was deposed, but in 1183/1769. reappointed in However, while he was traveling towards Sarajevo, he died the same year in Vidin.

5. Islamic Material Culture in the Fojnica Region

5.1 Mosques

The mosque was the starting point for the creation of Islamic culture and art. (Redžić, 1983, pp. 15-16). The term *mosque* in the Bosnian language means an Islamic place of worship, it was received through Turkish, it comes from the Arabic syntagm (*al-masjid al-gami'*): a large, central mosque where Friday prayers are held, while the word *masjid* is used for any smaller Islamic place of worship (Smailagic, 1990, p.137). Mosques were not only places of prayer, but also places where religious and scientific disciplines were studied. With the expansion of the Ottoman rule to the Bosnian-Herzegovinian area, the mosque was shaped according to that climate, and acquired different architectural forms¹⁸. Mosques were built through waqfs, and played a significant role in the formation of the Ottoman urban settlement.

Mosques in the Fojnica region are mostly named after their builders (vaqifs). The most monumental mosques in Fojnica were built by native people, as was the case in other Bosnian-Herzegovinian cities. According to the available sources, the Fojnica kasaba without settlements had three mosques; Atik, Čaršijska (Šaban Ahmedova), and Pavlovačka (Hadži-Muhareмова), while sources mention four mosques for the Fojnica settlements: in Ostružnica, Pločari, Dusina, Gvoždani, and probably also in Hotigošća, Predola, Prokos and Šćitovo. Ottoman registers from 1604 show that only the Muslim population lives in these villages. There were 54 Muslim houses in the village of Hotigošće (Otigošće). We are of the opinion that there could have been a smaller mosque here that met the needs of the faithful, because these areas had previously come under the Ottoman rule, which is also indicated by the endowments of Isak Bey Ishaković in 1462 (Handžić, 2000, p. 480).

The mosques of the Fojnica region have not been explored so far, so we will also touch on these settlements in order to make our contribution to historiography. These three settlements consisted of several villages with over 50 Muslim houses, according to the notebook from 1604. He mentions one of these villages in the valley of the Fojnica river under the name Štićevo, today known as Polje Šćitovo. Within this village were mentioned; Gornja Mahala, Čista, Mrav, and Mihojevići Mahala. A special question that has not been analyzed is whether Šćitovo (today's Šćitovo) had a mosque, because according to the Ottoman ledger from 1604, that congregation counted 150 Muslim houses in the Fojnica settlement, with a larger number than in the very center of the village (Handžić, 2000, pp. 483-485).

¹⁸ Ottoman architecture is a combination of Islamic (Arab and Seljuk), and non-Islamic (Roman and Byzantine) architecture. Over time, she shaped her specific Ottoman style of architecture, which came to Bosnia.

When we talk about the architecture of mosques, we learn that the mosques in the Fojnica region were built exclusively with wooden materials, except for Sukija (Šaban Ahmedova), which had a stone minaret (Bećirbegović, 1990, p. 21). In Pločari, there was a mosque from the Ottoman period, about 300 years old, which was burned together with the ablution, and the morgue the last war (Omerdić, 1999, p. 60). There are oral traditions that the mosque in Gvoždani, together with the Atik Mosque, is the oldest mosque in the Fojnica region, and today the foundations and sofas of the mosque are visible, indicating Ottoman architecture¹⁹. An unknown vakif builds a mosque and a school in Dusina and allocates income from the endowed land for their work, and support. The name of the waqif, the object and the date of endowment have not been investigated to date (Bušatlić, 2018, p. 164). The mosque in Dusina was renovated, which lost the features of the former Ottoman architecture, and the possibility of estimating when it was built in the Ottoman period. And the settlement of Ostružnica, known since the Middle Ages as a mining settlement, had an old wooden mosque. Ivan Franjo Jukić mentions *A scraper and wooden the mosque;” by the side of the road long Turkish cemetery to the wooden one of the mosque, after which not far away others pointed out to me and that’s holy grave, who and Turks and Christians recognize.*” (Jukić, 2001, p. 27).

We have no reliable sources when the mosque was first built. We found a historical source that mentions the berat of Sultan Mustafa III, from which we learn that the mosque was built by Mehmed-baša Mujanović in 1767. The benefactor’s son Omer-hodja was appointed as its first khatib, which was recorded in the berat of Sultan Mustafa III from 1181 (1768). (Buturović, 1967, p. 326). Whether it was previously a masjid, and the wakif built a mosque, or whether the old mosque was rebuilt, we do not yet have detailed information.

5.2 Lodges/ Tekke/Bos. Tekije

Tekije or ar. *tekkes* are places where dervishes gather, a place where members of Tesawwuf perform worship (prayers) (Nametak, 2007, p. 243). In the cultural and historical heritage of the Fojnica region, three tekke of the Naqshibendi order occupy an important place, by which this region was known for a long period of time to a relatively wide circle of Tesawwuf interested parties (Buljina, 1997b, p. 902). The first tekke was located in Fojnica itself, while the others are located in the Fojnica villages of Vukeljići and Oglavak. These tekke were centers for the spread of Islamic culture both in Fojnica and in the wider

¹⁹ While researching the mosques of the Fojnica region, we found valuable information that has not been taken into consideration until now. Namely, the author Tatjana Pajić-Vukić cites valuable information related to the Sarajevo kadi Mustafa Muhibić (Muhibić), who was born in Dusina near Fojnica, and his “great-great-grandfather Husein was a muršid, and according to one source, the imam of the Mehmed Osvajač mosque in a village near Fojnica”. According to the record of Mustafa Hilmi Muhibić, grandson of the Qadi Mustafa Muhibbi, in R 67, sheet 1b; village name illegible. Through this information, we learn that the mosque of Mehmed Fatih was located in one of these settlements, and most likely that it was the mosque in Gvoždani. This source matches the oral tradition, but we should be careful because we do not have reliable evidence that indicates in which village the mosque is located. (Pajić-Vukić, 2007, p. 23).

Bosnia-Herzegovina area. The Naqshibendi tekke in the Fojnica region played a very important role in the development of the Naqshibendi tariqat, and with their waqfs and religious authority they contributed in many ways to the cultural progress of the Muslim population and the construction of the Fojnica casaba²⁰. Due to the very importance of the tekke as an institution, we will give an account of the Nakshibend tekke in the Fojnica region from the beginning of the Ottoman rule in 1463 until its end in 1878. However, we should emphasize the problem we are facing, which is the lack of sources for the study of Fojnica tekke in the 16th and 17th centuries. According to Kristić and Matosović, there were 11 mosques in the parish of Fojnica in 1736. This number probably referred to Fojnica and its settlements. (Matosović, 1972, p. 194; Kristić, 1936, p. 146).

5.3 Educational Facilities

In the Fojnica region, in addition to mosques, there were schools and madrasas, which served for the upbringing and education of the Fojnica population. Mektebes were initial religious schools where basic religious knowledge was acquired, while madrasahs corresponded, for the most part, to today's high schools and provided their graduates with secondary and higher religious education (Hasandedić, 2005, p. 81). At first, the schools functioned as part of the mosque, and later they were built next to the mosque, as part of a waqf as an endowment of an individual, because there were no state schools. Madrasas, and dershanas, the first institutions of secondary and higher education, were built along with schools and Muallim Hans. Like other educational institutions, madrasahs were built on the initiative of individuals as waqf facilities. Based on an insight into the preserved registers and waqfnames from this period, it can be seen that the first founders of this type of school in Bosnia and Herzegovina were, for the most part, state dignitaries, sandjak-bezis, valijas, their dukes and other high state officials (Gazija-Pajt, 2009, pp. 298-302).

We do not have enough data to draw concrete conclusions on some questions such as when the first school in the Fojnica region was built, whether they were separate buildings or annexed rooms where students studied Islamic education. However, there are indications that connect mektebs with the construction of the first mosques from the middle of the 16th and 17th centuries²¹. I. Bušatlić states that in 1666. next to the mosque, Shaban son of Ahmed endowed an elementary school (muallimhana). Sources that talk about time construction Muallim Hans they are not saved (Bušatlić, 2018, p. 163). Next to the

²⁰ Dervish lines more of alone beginning Ottoman authorities in Bosnia and Herzegovina ends they take active participation in the process formation settlements, expansion of Islam, and Islamic culture. There the influence was spreading from tekke, which are raised and before of the final fall of Bosnia under the Ottoman Empire power in 1463. Everyone night a settlement in Bosnia and Herzegovina had a tekke. In addition to Fojnica and Sarajevo as the center, Naqshbandi tekkes are built in Visoko, Travnik, Foča, and Farmers the code Cavalry.

²¹ It is expected that in addition to the existence of the mosque and the congregation, a school also operates, however, we have no information on whether these schools were part of the mosque or a separate building.

Hadži Muharrem mosque in Pavlovac was a school, and we have no data indicating whether it was built before or after the construction of the mosque in 1683. Likewise, we do not know the foundation and the date of foundation of the school in Dusina near Fojnica, while this is not the case for Ostružnica because we know that the school was built in 1180/1767. year by the wakif of the mosque Mustafa-baša Mujanović (Bušatlić, 2018, p. 164). We get more detailed information about schools only at the beginning of the 19th century. Based on the nishan of Ahmed Khalifa and the mualim of the Sukija Mosque in 1803, we learn that Ahmed Khalifa was a mekteb teacher. From another piece of information, we learn about three schools that were in the very center of Fojnica, which is also stated by Fra Jukić. (Jukić, 1973, p. 205). Sources tell us that the first twenty years of the 19th century the mualim of Hadži Mehmed Pasha's school in Fojnica received 10 groschi of state aid on three occasions. H. Ćurić on basis Sarajevo sigils states that Mualim Hadži - Mehmed - Pasha's school in Fojnica received in 1216 (1801/02), in Šaban 1222 (October 4 to November 1, 1807) and in Rajab 1234 (April 26 to May 25, 1819) 10 groschi from the state (Ćurić, 1983, p. 68). Sources on the history of schools in the Fojnica region are scarce. The reforms of the Ottoman Empire in the 19th century influenced the construction of the school in Fojnica. Official reports of the Ottoman authorities according to the Salnams; in 1867/68. 7 mektebs are mentioned, in 1871 - 1872 there were 11 mektebs, and 1 madrasa with 520 students, the number of students in mektebs and madrasas is probably shown here (Group of Author's, 1987, p. 111). We have no preserved data on the material appearance of the mekteb in Fojnica, but they probably did not differ much from other mektebs in Bosnia.

Madrasas as a form of lower and upper secondary schools appeared in Bosnia and Herzegovina at the beginning of the 16th century (Šeko, 2007, p. 217). The Ottoman government saw the need to build madrasahs in order to spread Islamic education. The first madrasahs were built in larger administrative and cultural centers: Novi Pazar, Sarajevo, Foča, Mostar, Banja Luka, Travnik, Prusac, but also in Fojnica (Šeko, 2007, pp. 217-218). According to the results of previous research and available data from the historical materials of Fojnica, the first, and only madrasa was built around 1665 . year (Kasumović, 1999, p. 244). Most historians are of the opinion that the wakif of the madrasa is the kadi and muderis Šaban Ahmed who also endowed the mosque. The first mention i.e. waqfnama or a document on the basis of which we could accurately determine its dating has not been found. The madrasa foundation had 4 shops at the beginning of the Austro-Hungarian rule (Bušatlić, 2018, p. 164).

Previous research on the first mention of the Fojnica madrasa is related to the year 1665. Our analysis found information that mentions the madrasa before 1665, i.e. in 1663. In 1663 "Toma, son of Raić, sold his field near Kozlo to Drin Šaban muderris for 16,280 jaspri." (Matosović, 1927, p. 156). This document found in the Fojnica registry office mentions Šaban as a muderis, and not a Qadi, thus emphasizing that

the Fojnica madrasa was probably built before 1663.

5.4 Housing Culture

Islamic culture in the Fojnica region left an indelible mark not only on religion, but also on social, and residential culture. Residential culture in the Ottoman period spread through the urban development of Bosnian-Herzegovinian cities. One of the central questions of this topic is: How much do we know based on sources, and literature about the culture of housing in Fojnica during the Ottoman period. The problem we are facing regarding the housing culture in the Fojnica region is the lack of resources. Moreover, this issue has not been addressed or brought up to date in the historiography so far, so we rely more on analogy, in order to try to make a breakthrough regarding this topic.

In the second half of the 16th century, Fojnica received the status of a kasaba. By that very act, it was divided according to the Ottoman urban plan into a craft - trading part, bazaar, and residential settlements - mahalla. In the Fojnica area, we can still see a certain number of residential buildings from the Ottoman period. Unfortunately, there is a problem of adaptation and reconstruction of those buildings, especially in Atik Mahal, and Pavlovac, in the old part of the city of Fojnica. Friar Jukić states in his travelogue that in 1848 there were about 150 Muslim houses in the village of Fojnica (Jukić, 1953, p. 364). Today we can notice that the houses in Fojnica were built in a recognizable style for the Ottoman period. The residential house is characterized by the lightness achieved by the choice of materials and construction, its tolerant attitude towards its neighbors (no one blocks anyone's view), the organic composition of the house with nature in order to achieve the unity of the landscape and construction, the introduction of the natural environment through the garden, garden and green yard into the ground floor of the house, and even and upstairs, in the open living room, the role of living water that refreshes that environment, the creation of humanized neighborly relations, subordinating all dimensions of the apartment to the size of the human figure, achieving the maximum, and optimal satisfaction of human psychological needs with minimal means (Redžić, 1983, p. 254).

Of the sumptuous Ottoman houses, the famous Salihagića musafirhana is preserved today, it is assumed to be from the second half of the 16th century, and is located in Atik Mahal. Although it is of a public character, it provided privacy like other Ottoman houses by having the courtyards surrounded by a high wall. Wealthy families also had guest rooms (predharluk) in which men received musafirs (guests), and all men who were not in any kind of family relationship. That is why this room was also called musafirhana. We can observe the residential culture in the Fojnica region through the prism of Islamic culture. We

can notice that Muslims had separate mahals in the kasaba, while non-Muslims lived in one part of the town. In addition to this aspect of privacy, part of the houses in Fojnica are surrounded by a wall, which is common for other towns in Bosnia with cobblestones in the courtyard. Inside the Fojnica musafirhana we find numerous old objects, which indicate that life in this area was not much different from life in Visoko or Sarajevo.

6. Conclusion

According to historical facts, Fojnica entered the world of Islamic culture in 1463. The Ottomans found two religious groups in the Fojnica region, members of the Bosnian Church - Christians and Catholics. An analysis of the spread of Islam in the Fojnica area shows the majority of Christians converting to Islam, which is also confirmed by Ottoman registers. The acceptance of Islam for the local area and the population of Fojnica meant a lot. First of all, a new local Muslim community is created, Islamic culture is accepted in all areas of life, a new identity of residents is built, certain social, economic, and social privileges are obtained, new ideas about the world, lifestyle habits, culture, science, art are created, architecture that differed significantly from the medieval way of life and culture. The process of the spread of Islam in the Fojnica region was gradual, less intense in the second half of the 15th century, while in the second half of the 16th century the process was more intense. The dimensions of the changes that took place due to the spread of Islamic culture in Fojnica are enormous and are best seen in the number of the population of Fojnica who convert to the new religion, and in the completely new physiognomy of Fojnica, which grows from a medieval town into a recognized Ottoman kasaba, and later into a nahiya.

The pace of the spread of Islamic culture in the Fojnica region was primarily determined by the status of Fojnica as an Ottoman settlement, which before 1570 received the status of a kasaba with the construction of the Atik Mosque by the wakif Mustafa Hizir. After that act, the acceptance of Islam went somewhat faster. Until 1604, based on the analysis of the Ottoman defter in most of the Fojnica settlements, except for the town of Fojnica, Islam prevailed as the main religion. The most intensive urbanization of Fojnica took place in the 17th century. The institutions of waqf, and tasawwuf played a key role in the social life of Fojnica Muslims. Over time, with the construction of Islamic sacred and profane buildings, accompanied by the process of spreading Islam, in the first half of the 18th century, Islam as a religion completely prevailed in the Fojnica region, and Fojnica received a new administrative status of nahija. This meant that the Ottoman government recognized Fojnica as an Ottoman settlement and local center, which is no longer subordinate to Visoko or Kreševo.

Islamic culture manifested itself in a spiritual and material form. When we talk about the spiritual form of Islamic culture, then it is: the acceptance of Islam, the penetration, and nurturing of Islamic culture in the form of literature, and art, the work of sheikhs, and members of tariqats at Fojnica Islamic institutions - tekijas, mosques and madrasas. Dervish orders have probably been present in the Fojnica region since the very beginning of Ottoman rule . The first written traces refer to the Mevlevi at the beginning of the 17th century, while the Naqshibendi tariqa will stand out in all fields of Islamic culture in the Fojnica region in the 18th and 19th centuries.

When we analyze the Islamic material culture of the Fojnica region, we are first of all talking about the Islamic-sacred culture, because most of the buildings in this micro-area belong to this group. Significant sacred buildings in the Fojnica region that contributed to the development of the population and Fojnica into an Ottoman urban settlement are: Atik Mosque, Šaban Ahmed's Mosque, with a tekke in the center, a madrasah, schools, then Hadži Muharem's mosque, tekkes in Vukeljići, Oglavak, and tombstones in the form of turbets and sights throughout the Fojnica region. In addition to the sacred ones, in the Fojnica region we also find facilities of a public and social-humanitarian nature, such as the Fojnica musafirhana and hans. These buildings were important in residential culture, Fojnica society, and the urban development of Fojnica into an Ottoman settlement.

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