

## Ferhad Pasha's Waqf in Bosnia and Dalmatia: Incentive for Urbanization on the Ottoman Border in the 16th century\*

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### Abstract

Ferhad Pasha was one of the most prominent individuals of the branched Sokolović (Sokollu) family, whose members in the 16th century held some of the most important administrative positions in the Ottoman capital and other parts of the Ottoman Empire. As a high-ranking Ottoman official originally from the Bosnian area, Ferhad Pasha Sokolović endowed a certain part of his property for the construction of a mosque, turbe, water supply, and road communications in Banja Luka, as well as other endowment buildings in some other cities of the Bosnian Eyalet. In this way, he made a significant contribution to the urban, cultural, and economic development of the mentioned places. This paper will provide information regarding the waqf of Ferhad Pasha Sokolović, which was founded in the second half of the 16th century, and the places where his endowments were located in the area of the Bosnian eyalet. Data from his waqfiye as well as other Ottoman sources and relevant literature will be used to write the paper.

**Keywords:** Ottoman Empire, Bosnia, Dalmatia, waqf, Sokollu (Sokolović) Ferhad Pasha

## Ferhad Paşa'nın Bosna ve Dalmaçya'daki Vakıfları: 16. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Serhaddında Şehirleşme Teşviki

### Öz

Ferhad Paşa, 16. yüzyılda mensupları Osmanlı başkentinde ve Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun diğer bölgelerinde en önemli idari pozisyonlardan bazılarında sahip olan Sokolović (Sokollu) ailesinin en önde gelen bireylerinden biriydi. Aslen Bosna bölgesinden yüksek rütbeli bir Osmanlı memuru olan Sokollu Ferhad Paşa, mülkünün belirli bir kısmını Banaluka'da bir cami, türbe, su temini ve yol yapımının yanı sıra Bosna Eyaleti'nin diğer bazı şehirlerinde başka vakıf binalarının inşası için vakfetmiştir. Bu şekilde, söz konusu yerlerin kentsel, kültürel ve ekonomik gelişimine önemli bir katkıda bulunmuştur. Bu çalışma, 16. yüzyılın ikinci yarısında kurulan Sokollu Ferhad Paşa'nın vakfı ve Bosna Eyaleti'ndeki vakıflarının bulunduğu yerler hakkında bilgi verecektir. Çalışmanın yazımında vakfiyesinin yanı sıra diğer Osmanlı kaynakları ve ilgili literatürden elde edilen veriler kullanılacaktır.

**Anahtar kelimeler:** Osmanlı İmparatorluğu, Bosna, Dalmaçya, vakıf, Sokollu Ferhad Paşa

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### Introduction

Ferhad Pasha was one of the most prominent individuals of the branched Sokolović (Sokollu) family, whose members in the 16th century held some of the most important administrative positions in the Ottoman capital and other parts of the Ottoman Empire. According to historian Ibrahim Peçevi, after completing the educational process at the Ottoman court, the first important position to which Ferhad was appointed was that of ulufecibaşı, i.e. the commander of the light cavalry (Peçevi, 2000: 373). He may be the same Ferhad Agha, a participant in the Battle of Siget, that Selaniki mentions in his *History* (Selânikî, 1999: 27). From 1566-1573. Ferhad Beg held the position of sanjakbeg of the Sanjak of Klis and from 1573-1580. he was the sanjakbeg of the Sanjak of Bosnia. In September 1580. the Bosnian eyalet was founded, and Ferhad Beg became Ferhad Pasha, the first Beglerbeg of Eyalet of Bosnia. In the period from 1584-85. together with his military troops from Bosnia, he participated in the pacification of the rebellion of Giray Khan in Crimea as a Beglerbeg of Kefe. After returning to the Eyalet of Bosnia, he dedicated himself to establishing his waqf in Banja Luka and other places in the Bosnian Eyalet. He was later appointed Beglerbeg of the Eyalet of Buda where he spent period from 1588-90. He was killed in Buda in September 1590. in a military rebellion. His body was transferred to a tomb that he had built during his lifetime near his Ferhadija mosque in Banja Luka (cf. Bašagić, 1931: 20; Korić, 2015: 37).

In addition to being a successful military leader, strategist, and diplomat, Ferhad Pasha Sokolović also proved himself as a great benefactor and patron of education and art. With the arrival of Ferhad Beg as sanjakbeg of the Bosnian sanjak, a new phase began in the construction and development of several towns (Banja Luka, Zemunik, Hrvace) on the territory of Bosnia and neighboring sanjaks. In this sense, his contribution to the development of the town of Banja Luka as the seat of the Sanjak of Bosnia and later the Eyalet of Bosnia is very significant. His relatives and close associates, as well as other wealthier individuals, also invested in the development of towns in the Eyalet of Bosnia, by building the infrastructure of both Banja Luka and many other cities. In Banja Luka alone, in the period from 1579 to 1587, Ferhad Pasha had over 216 public buildings built (Bejtić, 1953: 91-115). We learn about the buildings he built, as well as those whose income he allocated to their maintenance, primarily from the preserved transcripts of his waqfiye, which was legalized in the second decade of the Safer 995/21-30 January 1587. Several copies of Ferhad Pasha's waqfiye can still be found today in Gazi Husrev Bey library in Sarajevo (*Sidžil vakufnama*, I, no. 209 (166)) One transcript is kept in *Chronicle* of Muhamed Enveri Kadić, vol. 2, pages 352-368, kept in same library. There is one more copy in the University Library in Bratislava in the Safvet-bey Bašagić Manuscript Collection (Bašagićova zbirka islamských rukopisov, 452 TF 125). A transcript with a German translation was published in Asim Muftić's dissertation (Muftić, 1941). Waqfiye has been translated into Bosnian by Fazileta Cviko (Cviko, 1985). This last version has been used in writing this paper.

### Ferhad Pasha's Waqf in Banja Luka

The most beautiful monument among his endowments is the Ferhadija Mosque. This mosque was built in the area between the Crkvina stream and the Vrbas river, in the part of Banja Luka called Donji Šeher. It represented the most valuable architectural monument of the Islamic domed place of worship of the developed type on the soil of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Andrejević, 1984: 40). Relatively little has been written about Ferhadija as an architectural work, considering its beauty and importance. Along with the Gazi Husrev-bey mosque in Sarajevo, the Banja Luka Ferhadija mosque belongs to the so-called type of closed mosques (zâviyeli cami), which were rarely built in the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and were built only by the highest provincial officials. These mosques have a multi-space concept in the shape of an inverted letter T, with a fountain in the courtyard (Andrejević, 1984: 40). Ferhad Pasha built

this mosque from the spoils of war, that is, the money he received as a ransom for Habsburg prisoner Wolf Auersberg after the Battle of Budački in 1575. Historian Pečevi wrote the following about it: "He freed him (Wolf Auersberg) at the price of thirty thousand gold pieces and one hundred Muslim prisoners. With this money, he had a mosque built in Banja Luka." (Pečevi, 2000: 373). Pečevi's statements are confirmed by the inscription (târîh) that was carved on a stone slab measuring 65x85 cm, which was built over the main entrance to this mosque. It is assumed that poet Sipahi is the author of the inscription:

He built this magnificent place of worship in the name of God

Benefactor Ferhad Beg, helper of believers.

With a thirsty sword, he carved his heroic name in marble,

With the wealth of war, that chosen husband raises well.

Arriving at the building, Sipahi told the chronogram:

"In the name of God, this place was built for believers" (Mujezinović, 1953: 476).

Evliya Çelebi in his Travelogue in 1660 characterized the mosque as "like an imperial" (Çelebi, 1979: 214; Çelebi, 2001: 260). Although no written information was found about its architect, analyzing its structure some authors came to the "conclusion that the organizer and manager of the work was brought from Istanbul, from Mimar Sinan's school, and that it was one of the most capable students" (Čelić, 1968: 6).

Ferhad Pasha's waqf is specific because the benefactor did not leave cash, but predicted its accumulation from surplus income and placement of waqf money for credit purposes. The accumulated amount is intended for new capital investments, thus contributing to the urban, economic, cultural, and educational development of the city (Husić, 2011: 52). From these funds, it has been planned to cover the inn (hân) with lead, build an abutment and stone towers under the bridge, build another inn and a lecture hall for students near the mosque Ferhad Pasha's waqf also provided scholarships for the students of his school (madrasa) (Cviko, 1985: 6). Evliya Çelebi mentions this medrese "Ve cümle (---) aded medreseleri var. Evvelâ Ferhâd Paşa medresesi." (Çelebi, 2001: 260). Based on this, it can be concluded that Ferhad Pasha attached great importance to the education of young people by building a school and giving them scholarships during their schooling. It is not known until when Ferhad Pasha's madrasa was working. According to A. Bejtić (Bejtić, 1953: 99) it was active in 1661.

Among the other buildings in Ferhad Pasha's foundation, the turbe in the courtyard of the mosque stands out, which Ferhad Pasha built when he lived in Banja Luka, planning to be buried there after his death. This turbe is also mentioned in the waqfiye, as well as the two turbedars who will guard and maintain the turbe: "If the transition to another life and departure to the Highest happens in Banja Luka, let a turbe be built there and let the two good and pious guardians, who know how to recite the Qur'an and who pay attention to the rights of the dead, be paid 4 akchas a day, and for the hasuras in the turbe, let 30 akchas be given annually." (Cviko, 1985: 226).

Ferhad Pasha's waqfiye mentions also the palace of the sanjakkbey: "As long as governors live in the palace built near Ahmed Dede's grave, let them not be charged rent, but let them repair and maintain the palace in the name of rent" (Cviko, 1985: 220). Ferhad Pasha also built a tophane as well as the new fortress in Banja Luka, today's Kastel, on the site of the former Roman fort, and a whole series of other buildings around the Kastel (Korić, 2007: 145-158). The Banja Luka fortress called Kastel was repaired several times during the Ottoman period (Kul, 2019: 315-350). It was located on the southern corner

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of the Crkvina and Vrbas rivers and was protected by a moat on its western and southern sides. In addition, it was surrounded by walls six to eight meters high, and two meters thick. Even before, military strategists took into account that the fortress could be found in a difficult condition, so they connected it with a bridge to the right bank of Vrbas. It turned out to be especially correct that it was built in a relatively large area. Thus, in the 18th century, around 5,000 people could live in its interior without any problems (Pelidija, 2003: 320).

Ferhad Pasha also built numerous commercial buildings in Banja Luka. In addition to 200 shops, he had an inn (hân) and a caravanserai built in front of the mosque, and he left funds for the construction of a covered bazaar (bedestân) as needed (Cviko, 1985: 229). According to E. Çelebi, the bazaar has been in function in the middle of 17th century: "...bezzâzistân-misâl iki başı demir kapularına zincir çekilmiş kârgîr binâ bezzâzistânı var kim cümle yüz aded dekâkînlerdir kim Ferhâd Paşa hayrâtıdır." (Çelebi, 2001: 260). Apart from the caravanserai in Banja Luka, which he specified in his endowment to be covered with lead in the future, he also built six more inns: in Livno, Ravno, Dobrun, Sogubina, Kratovo, and Svinjar. According to A. Bejtić, from his inn in Dobrun, around 1952, the foundations of the railway line and the lower bridge over the Rzava stream could be seen, and from the remains, it could be concluded that it was a large building (Bejtić, 1953a: 272). This is the indication that Ferhad Pasha had an exceptional feeling for the current needs of the population of his Eyalet, both in relation to their education and cultural activities, as well as the practical needs that were also related to their craft and trade activities.

In this period, Ferhad Pasha's imaret was also built in Banja Luka. The imaret was also working in the middle of the 17th century, as we can see from the description of E. Çelebi: "Hâlâ âyende vü revendeğânlara sofrâ-i bî-imtînânı mebzûl Gâzî Ferhâd Paşa imâretidir kim oğlu Mehemed Beğ mütevellîdir." (Çelebi, 2001: 260). Near his mosque, Ferhad Pasha also built a bath (hamâm). In the waqfiye, among other things, he stipulated that this hamam should be expanded to be double (çifte hamâm) over time from the surplus of his waqf. The hamam had its own water supply system as stated in his waqfiye: "Special attention should be paid to the pipes leading to the hamam and the fountain that flows in front of the aforementioned mosque, and the plumbing should be repaired whenever necessary." (Cviko, 1985: 228). which was built in 1579. by using clay pipes to bring water from the Bejbnar spring, from which it was supplied and sprinkled in front of Ferhadija mosque and it served until the construction of the modern water supply system in 1907.

In addition, during Ferhad Pasha's time, in Banja Luka two existing roads were repaired by laying cobblestones. Also, there was a clock tower near the mosque which has probably also been a part of this waqf. It was built before the writing of the waqfiye, because the waqfiye foresees funds for the salary of the one man who will repair the clock (Cviko, 1985: 228).

Since the banks of the Crkvina stream were densely populated, there were several small bridges on it, including a stone one, not far from the mouth, which was built by Ferhad Pasha and is mentioned in his waqfiye. (Cviko, 1985: 228). The inscription by the poet Derûnî about the restoration of the bridge from 1614. was preserved in the *Chronicle* of Muhamed Enveri Kadić as an "inscription from the bridge restored by Husejin Beg Gazi Ferhad Pashazade in the town of Banja Luka" (Čelić - Mujezinović, 1985: 228).

There are other documents about Ferhad Pasha's waqf from the years 1280-1284 (1863-1868), when his mutevelli was Abdi Beg. (cf. Oruç, 2015: 314-323).

In the period of destruction, which lasted from April 9 to December 15, 1993, at the time of the fiercest aggression against Bosnia and Herzegovina, Banja Luka suffered the most severe forms of destruction of Islamic heritage buildings. Among others, 15 mosques, 6 turbe, 5 fountains, and a clock tower were

destroyed. The Ferhadija mosque was mined on May 7, 1993. year, as well as turbe and fountain, and their remains were taken to a garbage dump (URL 1).

### **The Role of Ferhad Pasha Sokolović in the Formation of Towns in the Dalmatian Hinterland**

By establishing his endowments, Ferhad Pasha influenced the formation and development of some urban settlements in the parts of the Bosnian eyalet in the Dalmatian hinterland, present Republic of Croatia. In that area, the Ottoman government tried to revitalize medieval settlements that had exceptional importance for the state. That is why, in this period, those settlements, that were located on the main traffic routes from Split and Šibenik towards the interior of the Ottoman Empire, i.e. towards Sarajevo and Banja Luka, especially developed: Sinj, Vrlika, Knin, Hrvace, Drniš, Skradin, Klis, Livno. This is the indicator that the most important vital factor in the creation and development of cities is their transport and trade role. The development of the fortresses of Zemunik and Klis was promoted for military-strategic reasons, with Skradin and Makarska as trade centers while Sinj, Vrlika, and Hrvace were positioned at the crossroads on the traffic caravan route from the port of Split to the Ottoman territory (Jurin Starčević, 2006: 120-123).

In cases where there was no previous city infrastructure, the Ottoman government forced the transformation of the existing fortress into a city settlement for strategic reasons. The main role in the aforementioned process was played by the endowment system (waqf). In this sense, direct orders were sent to the governor of a certain province to build a mosque, a school, and a han in that place, as well as other facilities that were needed for the settlement to start functioning as an Ottoman city. This example of state-promoted development of the urban settlements is evident in the case of the development of the towns of Zemunik and Hrvace. To support the waqf buildings in Zemunik, Vrana, and Hrvace, Ferhad Pasha endowed the income from the estate of Tinj: "Since the vakif, with God's help, was enabled by the imperial order to conquer in the nahiye of Kotar in the sanjak of Klis and since it was ordered to sell those lands, the said vakif is a complex of arable land known as Tinj, after God enabled it to buy it from the sultan, endowed it. After the collector has paid and handed over the tax determined and marked in the imperial ledger to the persons who come once a year to collect the district tax, let the land rent be taken from the cultivators of the said lands in the amount of 1/8 of their products from that land." (Cviko, 1985: 221). According to the provisions of the waqfiye, the income from this waqf property went to the needs of the mosque in Zemunik. From the collected funds, daily allowances were paid to the imam, who was also the teacher (muallim) and khatib, then to the muezzin, janitor, and other needs of the mosque were met, such as lighting, rugs, and other things. (Cviko, 1985: 221). From the same income, daily allowances were paid to the muallim of the school (mekteb) in Vrana fortress as well as to the muezzin and the mosque, school, and shops in Hrvace (Cviko, 1985: 221).

Before the construction of the Ferhadija Mosque, Ferhad Pasha had received a grant (temlîknâme) from the sultan for properties that he intended to endow for his waqf. Those properties were registered in the defters of the Sanjak of Klis and thus entered into the donation book. Since they had to be literally transferred from the donation to the waqfiye, for the mentioned properties in the waqfiye it is written that they are located in the Sanjak of Klis, even though the situation had changed in the meantime, i.e. a separate Sanjak of Krka-Lika was established (Šabanović, 1982: 75).

According to the Ottoman sources, Ferhad Pasha personally participated in the conquest of these areas and later bought them from the state and endowed them. Čifluk Tinj consisted of 10 individual arable estates (mezra). In the extensive inventory of the Sanjak of Klis from 1604, there is a note: "The estate of Ferhad Pasha, the former Bosnian beglerbeg (...) is among the lands that he personally conquered." His income was endowed for the mosque and school that he "built in the name of God" in district Kotari

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(in the village of Zemunik), as well as for the mosque and its needs that he built in the village of Hrvace, and for the employees of the school in the fortress of Vrana. Since this property is close to the sea and in a remote border area, and therefore it is not possible to cultivate it as it should be, it is recorded in the new defter that the imperial official who comes there to collect the Vlach revenues in the area on the other side of the Kupa, is given every year, the amount of 2000 akçe as the global amount of tax called filuri." Since the mentioned fields could not be continuously cultivated, as they were located in the outlying border area, it was also not possible to collect taxes from them. That is why filuri in the amount of 2,000 akçe was collected annually for the needs of supporting the waqf buildings in Zemunik and Hrvace and the school in the fortress of Vrana. (Handžić, 1977: 142; Spaho, 1978: 228, 229; Spaho, 1987: 141).

### ***The Town and Fortress of Zemunik***

Zemunik came under Ottoman rule at the end of the Cyprus War (1570-73) and was located in the border area that was very exposed to war activities. This town received the status of a kasaba after the sanjakbeg of Klis, Ferhad Beg Sokolović, built a mosque in it. By the end of the 16th century, the accelerated development of this town took place. In the census of the Sanjak of Klis from 1604, in the context of the description of Zemunik and its surroundings, there is an explicit note that Ferhad Beg himself conquered these areas in the hinterland of Zadar: "The town of Zemun itself with the fortress of the same name in the mentioned nahiye of Kotari. The mentioned fortress is located on the sea coast and a very prominent landscape. Its inhabitants were not subject to reaya taxes, and they were also exempted from *avâriz-i divâniye* taxes, physical jobs, çerahorluk and other obligations related to fortresses and forts." (Handžić, 1977: 141).

According to the same census, the largest quarter in this town the "Mahalle of the honorable mosque of the late Ferhad, the former Bosnian beglerbeg", had 81 Muslim houses and eight unmarried Muslim adults. The second mahalle in Zemunik, listed in the census as "reaya of the varoş of the fortress of Zemun", had 33 houses, i.e. 14 Muslim and 19 Christian. (Handžić, 1977: 142). Based on the data in the Ottoman census from 1604, there were a total of 95 Muslim houses and eight unmarried men, and 19 Christian houses in the town of Zemunik, making it "the town with the largest number of citizens in the Dalmatian part of the Krka Sanjak".(Jurin Starčević, 2006: 124).

At the beginning of the 17th century, Sefer Halifa was the imam, hatib, and muallim in Ferhad-Beg's mosque in Zemunik. Therefore, the same person performed several functions. That was also one of the provisions of Ferhad Pasha's waqfiye: "From the collected income, every day the hatib of the mosque in Zemunik should receive 13 akçe per day for imam-hatib and muallim service, which he will perform in the usual way." (Cviko, 1985: 221). In the census of the Sanjak of Klis from 1604, the muezzin of the mentioned mosque Alauddin Halifa earned a daily allowance of four akçe, kayyim received four akçe a day, and the expenses for candles and rugs amounted to one akçe per day. All these data are following the provisions of Ferhad Pasha's waqfiye (Spaho, 1978: 228).

### ***The Town of Hrvace***

Similar to Zemunik, Hrvace is a settlement that was developed thanks to the waqf of Ferhad Beg Sokolović. Namely, to meet the traffic needs in the part of the Klis sanjak between towns Knin and Sinj, in the villages of Donje and Gornje Hrvace in the period between 1574 and 1580, Ferhad Beg built his waqf buildings: a mosque, a school and shops. In the census of the Sanjak of Klis from 1604, regarding the Hrvace, there is the following note: "In the mentioned village, the late Ferhad Pasha, according to Sultan's order, built his endowments: a mosque, a school, and shops." (Spaho, 1978: 229).

Hrvace was also a developed marketplace, with a court branch and a large number of Muslim non-agrar-



ian population, even before the construction of the aforementioned buildings. Hrvace developed further so that at the end of the 17th century it became the third largest urban settlement in this area, right after Knin and Zemunik, populated exclusively by Muslims. According to the census of the Sanjak of Klis from 1604, there were two Muslim settlements in Hrvace. The first neighborhood, the Mahala of the Honorable mosque of late Ferhad, had 61 Muslim households and 31 unmarried adult Muslims. Another neighborhood, Mijonica, had 10 Muslim households. The settled Muslim residents were artisans and lived from artisanal activities, so they were not subject to reaya taxes. (Handžić, 1977: 141; Spaho, 1985: 81). This gave the settlement all the conditions to be called a kasaba. The settlement of Hrvace is mentioned in two different places in the Census of the Sanjak of Klis from 1604, as “kasaba Hrvace” and as the “village of Gornje and Donje Hrvace”. According to Jurin Starčević, as kasaba is mentioned when describing the foundation land, i.e. the Tinj farmstead and the foundation buildings of Ferhad Beg Sokolović, and as a village when the inhabitants gathered in the *mahalle* are enumerated. (Jurin Starčević, 2006: 120). It was also the city that, as an open urban settlement without a fortress, did not have any military function.

In the Ottoman census from 1701, the waqf of the deceased Ferhad Pasha in the village of Hrvace itself consisted of plots that, according to the provisions of the waqif, should have been assigned to certain waqf officials. One tower with a house plot, designated for the imam, then one house plot, designated for the khatib, and one for the service of the muezzin. In the village of Donje Hrvace, which, according to the provisions of the peace agreement in Sremski Karlovci from 1699, most of it belonged to the Ottoman State, and a smaller part to Venice, the ruined Farhad Pasha mosque has been recorded. It was found that its walls are in good condition, and the other parts were also inspected by the commission. *Defter kethoda* of the Bosnian Divan, Mustafa Beg Ferhad Pashazade, a descendant of Ferhad Pasha, was ordered to repair the waqf (Hafizović, 2016: 58).

#### ***Other Objects of Ferhad Pasha's Waqf***

In addition to waqf buildings in Banja Luka, Zemunik, and Hrvace, Ferhad Pasha also built a hamam in the town of Kostajnica, “which collapsed after the fall of Kostajnica in 1689”. (Kreševljaković, 1957: 136). In addition to the already mentioned han in Banja Luka, Ferhad Pasha built and endowed six more hans in several other cities: Livno, Ravno, Dobrun, Sogubina, Kratovo, and Svinjar. (Bejtić, 1953a: 272). The location where the hans were built indicates that Ferhad Pasha wanted to improve the infrastructure and trade network of the Bosnian eyalet by building hans along the main roads to Istanbul, and probably also to the future Split harbor.

At the time when he lived in Livno as the sanjakbeg of Klis, he also built a mosque in this town. According to Ottoman censuses, in 1574. Livno already had seven Muslim mahalle, among which Ferhad Beg's mahalle with 27 households was recorded. In the next census before 1604, 38 households and five unmarried Muslims were recorded in the same town of Livno. (Spaho, 1984: 156, 159).

The Ottoman Empire had a branched trade network and, to maintain the safety of travel on the main trade routes, very often local administrators were given instructions to build inns, caravanserais, bridges, etc. Sometimes, new settlements arose in connection with the undertaking of such measures. For example, this can be seen from the reasons for the establishment of the settlement Lišnja written in the Ottoman census of the Bosnian Sanjak from the year 1604: “The mentioned kasaba is a busy place. Passengers crossing the Kotorsko, Dubočac, and Kobaš ports (ferry) and the Islamic army end up here. Provisions for the *karavansaray* which the deceased Ferhad Beg built for travelers are supplied by both the Muslims and the Christians of the said kasaba, and, if necessary, they maintain and repair it. It is located in a very important and convenient place. Since it is a place where funds for the state coffers and

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the Islamic army arrive in various ways (inhabitants) are freed from the *avariz-i divâniye*, *çerahorluk*, *nuzul*, and all levies from the *tekâlif-i şâkka* group in return for their service. Since they have several imperial orders from earlier sultans for their *muafiyet*, their *muafiyet* was also entered in the new defter." (Kupusović, 2000: 507). The founder of the town of Lišnja is also Ferhad Pasha, who also has built a mosque there that still bears his name. A document that confirms that is from September 1717. It contains data on the one-year budget for the maintenance of "Ferhad Pasha's mosque in the kasaba of Lišnja, which belongs to Banja Luka" (İstanbul, BOA, *Cevdet Evkaf*, dosya no. 352, göm. no. 17895). The fact that Ferhad Pasha first built a han in a place called Svinjar, and his son Sulejman Beg built a han in Dubočac (Hafizović, 2001: 109) is also a confirmation that some members of the Ottoman elite of local origin systematically invested in the development of infrastructure along the main roads and towards the ports of sea and navigable rivers.

**Conclusion**

With the provisions of his waqfiye legalized in 1587, Ferhad Pasha Sokolović established a very extensive endowment whose objects were located in a wider area of the Bosnian eyalet. They were strategically positioned in new and also in existing urban areas along important road communications and trade routes. In the town of Banja Luka, he had a large mosque built, and next to it a primary school, and he planned to build a madrasa from waqf funds. He built a new water supply system, expanded and modernized the existing city roads, and repaired the Banja Luka fortress.-

As the Ottoman Empire had a branched trade network and, with the aim of maintaining the safety of travel on the main trade routes, the Sultan often gave instructions to local administrators to build inns, caravanserais, bridges, etc. In this sense, Ferhad Pasha also made his contribution. His imaret was a place where travelers stopped, while the large caravanserai, as well as 200 shops in Banja Luka, represented a great stimulus to the economic development of the area. He had inns built in: Livno, Ravno, Dobrun, Sogubina, Kratovo and Svinjar. Sometimes, in connection with the undertaking of such protective measures and the development of trade, settlement rights arose (eg Lišnja in Sanjak of Bosnia). Ferhad Pasha also tried to revitalize existing medieval settlements in the Dalmatian hinterland that were extremely important for the state. One of the most important vital factors in the creation and development of cities is precisely their transport and trade role. That is why in this period those settlements that were located on the main traffic routes from Split and Šibenik to the interior of the Ottoman Empire, i.e. to Sarajevo and Banja Luka, developed in particular. The development of the fortresses of Zemunik and Klis was emphasized for military-strategic reasons, with Skradin and Makarska as trade centers, and Sinj, Vrlika, and Hrvace at the crossroads on the traffic caravan route from Split to the interior. By building variety of facilities within the framework of his endowment, Ferhad Pasha gave a significant boost to trade and contributed to the development of urban areas in Eyalet of Bosnia, und beyond.



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**Fig. 1:** Objects of Ferhad Pasha Waqf in 16th century.

