

HAMDIJA KREŠEVLJAKOVIĆ
(Sarajevo)

COLLECTIVE GUARANTEE OF SARAJEVO CHRISTIANS, 1788

I

One of the preventive measures of the Turkish judicial and administrative service for maintenance of law and order in times of troubles was the *kefileme*. Upon the vezir's order suspicious inhabitants of a town, village or region had to stand guarantee for each other. The vezir would issue a *bujrudija* (buyuruldu) to his *muteselim* (mutesellim), telling him to collect kefileme¹. The muteselim would, together with his men, write down in the defter all those who were to give kefileme, noting who was guaranteeing for whom; for example A and B were guaranteeing for one another, or A, B, and C were guaranteeing for each other. This measure sometimes helped the authorities to prevent rebellions and riots. Sometimes, however, kefileme was taken after rebellions had been put down. The *defter* put together on this occasion was called *kefileme defter* (kefileme defteri).

Kefileme usually applied to masculine inhabitants aged over nineteen. It sometimes applied to the whole population of a town or region, sometimes however only to a particular profession, e.g. craftsmen, and sometimes just to one guild. Two, three or more people guaranteed for each other. In a *kefileme* dating from 1848 there were groups consisting of 150, 160 and 170 people who were guaranteeing for each other². All

¹ Muteselim or muselim was the Vezir's representative in a certain place who could be appointed and dismissed by the Vezir at will. Every new Vezir appointed a new muteselim. He could keep the old one as well but he always issued a new decree for him. The power of a muteselim lasted till the arrival of a new Vezir. Muteselims did various administrative and police jobs upon the orders of Vezirs and qadis of the places in question. There were muselims in Sarajevo, Mostar, Banja Luka, Hlivno, Zvornik, Pljevlje. With the abolition of janissary corps this sort of muteselim disappeared as well. After 1826 bodies similar to district chiefs were called muteselims.

² Riza Muderizović, Popis sarajevskih zantaliija iz godine 1848. Glasnik Zem. Muzeja (Gl. Z.M.) II. vol. XLI (1929), pp. 6-32.

the *kefilemes* that I have discovered to date were collected either from Moslems only or from the members of all guildes. I know of only one kefileme collected from Christians only (Ortodox and Catholic).

The *kefileme defter* was put together by the muteselim, in three copies. One was sent to the vezir, one to the qadi to be recorded in the *sidžil* (sicil), and one remained in the possession of the muteselim.

Together with the kefileme defter a written oath (zavjernica) was sent, indicating the guarantees.

We know that kefileme was collected as the need arose, but there were some regions in which *kefileme* was permanent. I discovered this recently in some fragments of the *Zenica sidžil*³. In the nahija (nahiye) of Zenica the whole population was under *kefileme* which was taken without any reason once every 8 or 10 years and recorded in the *sidžil*. This work was done by the qadi, at least in 18th century, for these fragments date from that time. It is not known when this practice was established in the nahija of Zenica. From an extant note we may see that such a practice was considered a good security measure for the population of this region. Notwithstanding this, there were some individuals in this nahija who were committing various crimes.

The nahija of Zenica was certainly not the only one with such a practice in Bosnia, although I know of no similar case elsewhere, owing to lack of sources. I know that *kefileme* was collected when needed in Sarajevo and Mostar.

Kefileme defters are good sources for historiographers. From them we can determine the approximate number of members of a particular guild, the number of craftsmen and other professions, etc. One of these inventories of Sarajevo from 1842 contains material even for anthropologists,⁴ while an inventory from 1848 gives us a complete list of names of the Moslem craftsmen and tradesmen in Sarajevo.

The first mention of *kefileme* is to be found in the *sidžil* No. 2 of Gazi Husrevbegova Biblioteka (Gazi Husrevbey's Library) in Sarajevo in which mostly acts from the year 973 (according to the *hidžra/hicret*) are recorded, but there are also some acts from 972 and 974. This *kefileme* refers to Sarajevo, but it is not complete, so that its purpose is not known. Judging by the type of paper and writing it dates from a period earlier than the years mentioned. It was certainly written after 1526.

In this fragment the following *mahalas* (mahalle) are mentioned: Jakub paša (paša), Hadži Ali (Bjelave), Bardakčije, Kartal Ejnehan, Armagandži, džemaat (cema'at) Yigit paša, džamija (cami) Ibrahim (?), Čekreči Muslihudin, Mimar Sinan, i Havadže Hadži Idris.

³ These fragments belong to the family Čaršimamović from Zenica and were given to me by Sabrija Čaršimamović.

⁴ This inventory contains personal descriptions of the people inventoried.

Since rebellions and riots were frequent in the *ejalet* (eyalet), of Bosnia in the 18th century and in the first half of the 19th century *kefileme* was often gathered. This practice was abolished after the final defeat of the feudal aristocracy in the battle of Krupa, 1851, when a new system of government was established. *Kefileme* is a regulation belonging to the old regime.

In addition to the *kefileme* from the 16th century already mentioned, I know of a few more recent ones and I shall now give a short account of them.

I know that there were three *kefilemes* in Blagaj, in 1732, 1780 and 1782. Particular *mahalas* were included in a *kefileme*, not the whole area. In 1732 there was a *kefileme* in the Džamija mahala, in 1780 in the Dol mahala and Hasanaga mahala, in 1782 in the Kusus mahala. In the latter there were both Moslem and Christian inhabitants and they were both recorded. The purpose of the first two is not known, while the latter was taken because of the theft of a beehive. I recorded these facts hastily in the summer of 1940, while surveying with the late Hadži Mehmed ef. Handžić the archives of Hakibey Kolaković in Blagaj.

Anarchy reigned in Mostar for a long time. By the Bosnian Vezir's *bujrudija* of 2. reb. I. 1170 (3rd November 1758) the Mostar Muteselim Ševa was ordered to collect *kefileme*. The *bujrudija* says that there were 43 *kadiluks* (districts) in Bosnia and that peace and order reigned in all of them, except Mostar. Therefore the Vezir demanded that order should be established and that the Muteselim should gather *kefileme*. (The Archives of M.E. Kadić, No. 1041).

We know that there were two *kefilemes* in the Neretva nahija in the course of the second half of the 18th century, but so far we have not gathered any further data concerning them.

In one of the extant fragments of the Zenica *sidžil* only one *kefileme*⁵ is preserved—the one from 1. reb. II. 1208 (November 6th, 1793). It

⁵ This *kefileme* was taken in the following *mahalas*, villages and *džemats*: *Mahalas*: Putiš, Palanka, Strane, Fatić, Merdan, Potile, Grabne; *džemats*: Baba-dai and Sekban; villages: Klopča, Gornje Vrace, Stranjani, Janjići with the mahalas Vrh and Drivuša; the *džemat* of Gračanica; the *džemat* and *mahala* Piznić (?); *mahalas*: Slivna, Hrastovac, Hadžić, Košuća, Odmud (Odmut); *džemats*: Osman Čelebi, Kočeva, Čaršu (Čaršija), Babina; the town of Vranduk; *mahalas*: Havani, Nemila, Gladović; villages: Bistrica, Bekir, Željezno Polje; the *džemat* of Gradišće; mahala Gustić; the *džemat* of Pojske; mahalas: Vrsulje, Obrovac and Kunović.

In another inventory of the *nahija* of Zenica made in order to record the contributions for *menzilhane* in 1792, the following provincial towns, *džemats* and villages are mentioned: Zenica; *džemats*: Piznić (?), Selce, Kakanj, Viduša, Željezno Polje, and Poljska; villages: Dogledi, Nemila, Gračanica, Moštanica, Klopče, Gornja Vraca, Putiš, Počuče, Gora, Gradišće, Stranjani, Donja Vraca, Dusina, Lokvina, Sopotnica, Piljević, Šučić-Krajčić, Destnić, Gornja Višnica, Donja Višnica, Madrin, Biloševo, Tešan, Breznik, Ričica, Osvice, Čajdraš, Kujavče, Janjići, Papratnica, Čatić-Tarbić, Radaš, Javor, Pečuj, Osojnica, Donje Bile Vode, Trešće with Marušić and Topola. The town of Vranduk is not mentioned in this inventory, towns being exempted from many tax duties.

was carried out by Abdulah, *naib* (na'ib) of this *nahija*, son to Ahmed Muderizović. On the 19. reb. I. (October 25th) he asked the Bosnian Vezir to grant him a *bujruldija* to collect *kefileme*. The Vezir issued the necessary orders on the 25. reb. I. The business was, therefore, done very quickly, for less than two weeks passed between the submission of the request and its carrying out.

Since both the acts mentioned represent primary sources for finding out details about *kefileme*, we give them here in literal translation: Naibs request (*ilam*) reads as follows:

"According to an old rule, which had been respected and considered appropriate, the population of the *kasaba* of Zenica and its *nahijas* are excepted to guarantee for each other once in 8 to 10 years in the interest of security and protection of the people's rights and for regulation of subjects' affairs. This practice was abandoned because of wars. Some People's guarantors are now dead and some inhabitants have become of legal age. Some inhabitants have come from other *kadiluks* and settled here. Having no guarantors they provoked people to act improperly, which has tormented and alarmed all men of honour. Therefore, I ask that an order addressed to this applicant, *imams* and *zabits* (*zabit*) be issued, approving the introduction of *kefileme* and the exile of those who fail to find a guarantor. 19. reb. I. 1208."

The Bosnian Vizier's *bujruldija*:

"To the honourable *naib* of Zenica, to the *serdar*, *imams* and *zabits*:

I order that in accordance with the *šariat ilam* and the good rule, in the interest of security, a mutual guarantee be carried out, just as was the practice once, unanimously and in agreement. Everyone should have a guarantor who will guarantee for him at the *seriat* court and this should be recorded in the *sidžil*.

Those who fail to come or find a guarantor should be banished from your *nahija*. Those who carry arms should be warned not to go armed any more through villages, *kasaba*, *čaršija* and *pazar*. Those who fail to respect this warning should be arrested and their personal description be reported here. 25. reb. I. 1208."

We know of three *kefilemes* in Sarajevo between 1788 and 1848. In 1788 *kefileme* was taken among Christians only, in 1842 it applied to the whole population and in 1848 to Moslem craftsmen and merchants.

The reason for the first one was the war between Josif II and the Porte. The second one was caused by lengthy riots which took place after the abolition of the janissary corps in 1828. The third one was caused by the revolution of 1848 in the neighbouring Austrian countries. The events in the neighbouring empire induced the Bosnian Vezir of that time, Meh-

med Tahir paša (1848–1849)⁶ to summon Bosian leaders to a conference in Travnik, the capital of the Bosnian pašaluk (Bosna pašaliği). Riza Muderizović gives an account of this:

"At this council, of June 7th, 1848, the following resolution consisting of three points was made, in view of the delicate state of world politics. I. That the imperial cavalry organized by Bosnian *spahijas* (sipahi) should take care that its horses were good and strong, that its arms were clean and all equipment in order and that it remain in its designated place. II. That a military guard of 30 000 soldiers be organized exclusively of Moslem Bosnians fit for service, with good arms and other military equipment. They were to be placed at designated posts and be ready to give aid if — God forbid — there were need. III. That the feeding of this guard should be assigned to different *kotars* all over Bosnia according to the number of their inhabitants and their economic strength. In connection with points II and III notes with the Valija's (vali) *bujrudija* of June 7th 1848 were immediately sent to different *kotars* all over Bosnia, indicating the number of guards as well as the quantity of food that each kotar was to provide.

According to the note sent to Sarajevo the kotar of Sarajevo was to provide 1700 guards, and to give 100 loads of wheat and 500 loads of barley. As for food, there were neither objections nor protests on the part of the citizens of Sarajevo. But as for the 1700 guards, they stated in a collective petition that they were not able to provide them but that they were all, aged from 7 to 70, willing and ready, in case of need, to rush to help the state defend their homeland. Such an unexpected answer infuriated the *Valija*. In order to punish them at once, and not having enough soldiers to hand, he asked Istanbul for military help. Shortly, by August 18th 1848, brigadir Mustajpaša, also known in Bosnia as Melemendžija (Mene-mendžija) came to Sarajevo with a regiment of four battalions of the imperial Rumelian regular army and encamped at Grbavica near Sarajevo. Vali-paša, as soon as he had performed the religious ritual for Bairam at Travnik, set out for Sarajevo where he arrived on Saturday, the second day of Bairam, and stayed in the inn of Mustajpaša Babić at Grbavica. Since the *Valija* wanted to march into Sarajevo the next morning with a magnificent procession of Sarajevo leaders, he sent invitations to many honourable men and *ajans* ('*ayān*) of Sarajevo come to meet him at Grbavica. Some of leaders, afraid of *Valija*'s revenge, did not respond to this appeal but hid themselves at various places in Sarajevo and in the neighbourhood.

Those who did go on horseback to meet the *Valija* at Grbavica were first scolded and then arrested. As soon as the news of this cruel act

⁶ S. Bašagić, *Kratka uputa u prošlost Bosne i Hercegovine od godine 1456–1850*, Sarajevo 1900, pp. 161, 162; dr M. Prelog, *Povjest Bosne u doba Osmanlijske vlade II*, Sarajevo, pp. 65–68; R. Muderizović, *Nekoliko Muhurova bosanskih valija*, Gl. Z.M. (1916), p. 35.

of the *Valija* came to Sarajevo, the *čaršija* (çarşu) was closed, this being a sign of the people's protest. Learning this, the *Valija* took some soldiers and all the artillery and started for the city to let its citizens see his strength and power and thus frighten them. But, since all the streets were deserted and the *čaršija* closed, he returned to Grbavica.

Next morning, on Monday, he released only a few men, keeping the rest in jail.

In order to prevent riots in Sarajevo after his departure for Travnik, the *Valija* ordered Fazlipaša Šerifović, Muteselim of Sarajevo, to inventory all the tradesmen of Sarajevo and to make them guarantee that they would not riot. It was also ordered that each guild should be assigned a *čehaja* (kethoda) and each mahala two *muhtars* (muhtār), the latter decision being a novelty. Fazlipaša carried out these orders immediately and inventoried all the tradesmen of 25 trades who guaranteed for each other. He appointed 25 *čehajas* to the 25 trades which were to be found in Sarajevo at that time. He also appointed two *muhtars* to each mahala. Fazlipaša gave the *Valija* two copies of the *kefileme defter* (inventory of guarantors) certified by the guilds and one to the Sarajevo *mehćema* (mehkeme/court) to record it in its *sidžil* (court record) so that the inventory should not get lost.

As soon as the *kefileme* was over and the *Valija* given the inventory, he left two battalions in Sarajevo and started for Travnik with the remaining two battalions on September 12th 1848, taking 25 captives, prominent citizens of Sarajevo, with him. After being imprisoned in Travnik for two months, they were exiled to Crete upon an imperial order and thus the *Valija* gave vent to his revenge."

The oath of the citizens of Sarajevo reads:

"Since those citizens of Sarajevo who were stirring up the people against the imperial orders have been exiled and peace and order thus reestablished in the city, we have the honour of making this statement. We have all understood the contents of the *Valija*'s order read in the presence of the Muteselim of Sarajevo, Fazlipaša, the Mula of Sarajevo and all other leaders and prominent men. The order obliges them to obey the authorities and forbids them to take part in affairs contrary to the *seriat* and the imperial will. We are unable to express our gratitude for the imperial mercy, justice, security and peace that we are now enjoying. Wishing somehow to pay back, as Islam and Fidelity demand, we are pronouncing once again our prayer that the Omnipotent may give a long life to Him (the sultan) as well as to our sublime *Valija*. From now on, if anyone ventures to disturb the peace against the imperial will, whether by word or deed, we swear that we will unite our hearts and strength to catch the rebels and take them to the *Valija* to be punished. If we are not able to catch the rebels on our own, we shall call the security guard and accomplish it with its help. If we fail to do so or if we show indifference and let the army take on the task

of catching those enemies of peace and order, we promise to bear all the expenses for the military campaign organized to catch rebels. However, in order to make this obligation of ours durable, so that we do not dare ignore it, we wish that it should be recorded in the *mehćem sidžil* (mekheme sicili) and we are free to give Your Sublimity (The Valija) this oath.”⁷

II

Several years ago I was leafing once again through the *sidžils* of Sarajevo, looking for materials for the history of Bosnian and Herzegovinian towns. On that occasion I happened to find a *kefileme* taken among the Christians of Sarajevo⁸. Obviously, the late Vlado Skarić, author of two monographs on Sarajevo⁹, had overlooked it, as well as I myself when gathering material for the history of guilds and trades in Bosnia and Herzegovina¹⁰. This *kefileme*, the only inventory of Christians in this city, has thus remained completely unknown and unused.

The *kefileme* was carried out upon the order of the Bosnian Vezier on 2. cumad. II (March 10th, 1788). The *bujrudija* ordering that the Christians were to be put under a *kefileme* is not to be found in the mentioned *sidžil*, so that we do not know what gave rise to it. It is very strange indeed that Mula Mustafa Bašeskija does not mention it in his chronicle.

Those who have at least a little knowledge of our history will guess that the reason for the *kefileme* was the war that Josip II, as the ally of Catherine II, declared against the Porte. There had been no war between Austria and Turkey for ten years. The last war, ended by a peace treaty in Belgrade in 1739, had been to the detriment of Austria. Bosnia was full of Austrian spies. They were particularly spying on roads and fortresses all over Bosnia and Herzegovina. They were doing the same thing in Serbia, too.¹¹ A description of Bosnia published by dr Gustav Bodenstein¹² dates from this time. Several maps of Bosnia¹³ were made at this time, too. In

⁷ R. Muderizović, Jedan popis sarajevskih zanatlija od 1848, Gl. Z.M. XLI (1929), pp. 5–7.

⁸ The *sidžil* of Sarajevo No. 27, pp. 154–159.

⁹ V. Skarić, Srpski pravoslavni narod i crkve u Sarajevu u 17. i 18. vijeku, Sarajevo 1928; Sarajevo i njegova okolina od najstarijih vremena do austrougarske okupacije, Sarajevo 1937.

¹⁰ H. Kreševljaković, Esnafi i obrti u Bosni i Hercegovini (1463–1878), Zagreb 1935.

¹¹ Dr D. Pantelić, Prilozi uz raspravu Uhođenje Srbije pred Kočinu Krajinu u „Glasu” CLIII, Spomenik LXXIV, Beograd 1933, pp. 113–125.

¹² G. Bodenstein, Povijest naselja u Posavini god. 1718–1739. (Beschreibung von den Königreich Bosnien), Gl. Z.M. XX (1908), pp. 95–112. Since this inventory is not dated Bodenstein placed it in the time of Prince Eugene and Petraš, but this is wrong. He made this mistake because he did not know the details given in this description nor the fact that it had been published in Vienna in 1787.

¹³ In the war archives of Vienna there are several maps made in the time of Josip II. For the purpose of making them the following officers travelled through Bosnia: ensign Božić (Boxich), captains Schmidt and Marković and major Held. A map of Bosnia and border

1788 a *History of Bosnia*, written by a pianist Maksim Schimek, was published in Vienna. Perhaps it is not mere coincidence that the German translation of a Turkish work about battles in Bosnia, (1737–1739), written by Omer efendija (efendi) from Novi and translated from Turkish into German by J.N.Dubski, appeared in Vienna in 1788. The Bosnian Vezir must have known about these preparations. After declaring war, the Austrians issued proclamations addressed not only to Moslems but to Christians as well, instructing them to begin an uprising. The Ortodox were promised the same rights that the Orthodox in Austrian countries enjoyed.¹⁴ Chronicler Bašeskija writes that Miralem, Bećir-paša's deputy,¹⁵ received a letter from the Germans on 3. cumad. I. 1202 (February 10th, 1788), only two days after the declaration of war. They wrote that they were going to annex Rumelia (which originally belonged to them) and that everyone, whether he be *hodža* (hace), *hadžija* (hacc), *šeḥ* (şeyh) or *muderis* (muderris), should stay at his place and pay tribute.¹⁶ This letter seems to be identical with the mentioned proclamation.

The proclamation for Moslems was issued in Turkish. It was discovered some fifteen years ago by the late Riza Muderizović in the archives of the Regional Museum. He translated it and published it in an issue of *Večernja pošta*. Here is the translation:

"All the Moslems border guards and particularly all *mullas* (munla), *qadis*, *imams*, *hatibs*, *sheiks*, *mufti effendijas* (müftü efendi), *mir-mirans*, (beylerbeys), *miralajs* (mir-i alay), *zaims*, *spahijas* (sipahi), *agas*, captains, regional leaders, monks and *dervishes*, that is all the population of Bosnia, Serbia, Albania and other regions of the Turkish Empire should know that Turkey has declared war on Russia and attacked it. In a federal treaty between the Austrian and Russian Empires Austria has promised to cross the Turkish frontier and to help Russia in case of war between Russia and Turkey. Therefore, in this case it has to do so. But, the Omnipotent and Merciful Austrian Emperor, taking into consideration all the misfortunes of war, wishes to protect tradesmen and other inhabitants from the violence and damage which always accompany war. The Emperor's intention and will is to prevent those consequences of war which have always occurred before: the capturing of men, women and infirm pe-

regions was issued in Vienna in 1788 Cf. dr E. Richter, *Prilozi zemljopisu Bosne i Hercegovine*, Gl. Z.M. XVII (1905), pp. 260, 261.

¹⁴ Drag. Pavlović, *Srbija za vreme poslednjeg austro-turskog rata (1788–1791)*, Beograd 1910, pp. 17, 275–276.

¹⁵ The Bosnian Vezir Selim Sirri paša was transferred in the middle of reb. I. 1202 (towards the end of December 1787). By the time the new Vezir had come Miralem Hadži Mehmed paša was appointed as his representative and he remained at this post till February 18, 1788.

¹⁶ The chronicle of Mula Mustafa Bašeskija. Translated from Turkish by Riza Muderizović, Gl. Z.M. 1918, p. 80.

ople, the vandalizing of people's property, the stealing of horses and cattle. Therefore, anyone who behaves well and goes about his own business and profit showing no hostility towards the Imperial army will be equated, in respect of protection, with the population living under our imperial management. Janissaries, spahijas and other members of military corps, although they are considered to be warriors, will enjoy security and welfare under our Emperor just as the people living in Austria, as long as they stay on their land and go about their own business. Also, Moslems will experience no offense in regard to Islam and Islamic rituals. No one will be permitted to interfere with mosques, *mesdzids* (mescid), *vakufs* (vaqif/property of a Moslem religious community) and incomes nor with imams, sheiks, dervishes and their *tekijas*. Religious representatives chosen by Moslems will be assigned their income out of the governmental budget. In any case, it is irrefutable that wives and small children of decent Moslem citizens will be equally protected by the imperial government. But the property of those who have left their homes will be confiscated and divided among quiet Moslems if they fail to return home as soon as possible. Soldiers who try to rebel or offer resistance to the imperial army will be mercilessly and most severely punished. Finally, we who are now appointed by the sublime order the head of the entire imperial army are announcing by this proclamation to all the people the sublime wishes of our Emperor, so that no one can feign ignorance or lack of information. May this be known and confided to the sublime Sign. Fieldmarshal Count de la Sigg.

Precisely a month after the arrival of the letter cited above the mentioned *kefileme* was taken. We do not know whether some suspicious movements among the Christians of Sarajevo brought about this *kefileme* or whether it was taken as a measure of precaution. The latter reason may be more plausible, about 3000 Moslems having gone from Sarajevo to the battlefield.

The order for the *kefileme* was issued by the Bosnian Vezier Bećir-paša¹⁷ and it was announced by the Muteselim of Sarajevo¹⁸ who was, as we have said, in charge of such affairs. He presented the *kefileme defter* to the qadi of Sarajevo and he recorded it in the *sidzil*. After this the matter was closed.

¹⁷ Bekir paša was the Bosnian Vezir from February 18, 1788 till the end of March 1789. Vehbija Zekić from Stolac made a song in the vezirs' honor. (The Chronicle of M.E.Kadić XII, p. 289).

¹⁸ At that time the muteselim of Sarajevo was Ahmedbeg Paloš (from October 14, 1786 till the end of November 1788).

III

Now, let us see how this inventory contributes to the history of Sarajevo.

Only 625 adults are cited in the inventory. On the day of the inventory 600 adults were present and 25 absent. Among these 600 there were 26 women. Therefore, on March 10th 1788 there were 574 adult Christian men in Sarajevo.

As this inventory was taken in a number of *mahalas* we can see that the Christians of that time lived in 12 *mahalas* and 3 inns. Here are the *mahalas* with the numbers of their Christian inhabitants:

Frenkluk	84
Duradžik H. Ahmed	75
Džami-atik	41
Vekil-harč	5
Oruč Pehlivan	28
Ajas paša	54
Ferhadbeg	33
Varoši-bâlâ	81
Čekrekčijina	107
Kalin H. Ali	25
Kjüčük Kjatib	14
Šejh Ferrah	20
Muzaferijin han	18
Novi han	9
Kolobara	6

These are the official names of the *mahalas*. Each of them had a popular name as well.¹⁹

¹⁹ All the *mahalas* except Gornja Varoš and Čekrekčijina had folk names in addition to the official ones. Since they are almost completely forgotten I am giving them here in order to rescue them from oblivion. *Frenkluk* was called *Latinluk* as well for it had once been an entirely Catholic quarter. The Catholic church was there till the great fire of 1697. It was renovated in 1855 but the fire of 1879 destroyed it again. See dr F. Blažević, *Crkva Sv. Ante Padovanskog u Sarajevu*, Sarajevo 1917. This mahala extended along the river Miljacka from Latinska ćuprija (today Principov most) to Ćumurija ćuprija. — *Duradžik Hadži Ahmed* was also called *Patke*. — *Džami-i-atik* was called *Careva mahala*. In Turkish documents this mahala was also referred to as *Hunkarija* and *Ebul Feth sultan Mehmed han*. — *Vekil-harač* is still called *Alifakovac*. — *Oruč-Pehlivan* spread over a part of today's Titova ulica, from Koturova ulica (once Fabrika Čikma ulica) as far as the Jewish old temple. It was called *Mutevelina mahala* because the *mutevelijas* of Gazi Husrevbegov vakuf used to live there. — *Ajas pašina* was called *Kulukčije* (Tur. *Klči* sabre) for the sabre market was situated in it as early as 15th century (today the area arond „Central Hotel”). — *Ferhadbegova* was called *Ferhadija* and was known only by that name among people. — *Kalin-Hadži-Ali* was called Čeirdžik. One part of *Kučuk-Kjatib* was called *Mlini* and another *Bendbaša*. These names are still used. — *Šejh Ferrah* is still called *Abdeshana*.

It is worth pointing out that all these mahalas (except Kalin Hadži Ali), as well as the Jewish quarter, were very near the Sarajevo *čaršija* (business district).

In all the mahalas except Frenkluk and Varoši-bala there were also Moslem citizens, in larger or smaller numbers.

Of the 25 absent citizens 9 lived in Frenkluk, 5 in Duradžik Hadži Ahmed and 5 in Ajas-paša, 4 in Oruč Pehlivan and two in Ferhadbeg. All of them, except Perin Garibović who had gone to Kupres with Ahmed baša seven days before the inventory, had left Sarajevo before the declaration of war and gone on business beyond the Bosnian frontier – some of them abroad, to non-Moslem countries, and some to Morava, Dubrovnik, Split, Zadar and Venice. A furrier Jovan from the Duradžik mahala was told to have fled to Kragujevac two years before because of debt and it was not known whether he was dead or alive.

It is a great defect of this inventory that surnames are not always mentioned. The following surnames are mentioned: Adžidurđević, Bajić, Besara, Besarović, Butur, Bržić, Budimlija, Čupinović (?), Davić, Goza, Fočić, Gabela, Garibović, Hakšić, Judanović, Karo, Katić, Kezić, Kovač, Kučinović, Lučić, Magarin, Mezić, Milić, Mlinić, Mosto, Olovac, Puhović, Radić, Sipak, Sirdan, Solak, Tuzlo, Vuković, and Zvono. Besara is cited twice and all the others only once. Those who know that the Turks did not have surnames but took their fathers' names (Peter, son to Paul) will not find it odd that surnames are omitted in this inventory. But neither are there fathers' names in it.

The surnames Budimlija, Fočić, Gabela, Olovac and Tuzlo indicate the places from which their ancestors had come to Sarajevo.

The names of 24 women are cited in the inventory: 6 by the name Marija, one Marica and Mara, 3 by the name Angelina, one Anđelija, Ana, Deska, Štefanija, Tomanija, Marta, Milica, Janja, Ivana, Jela, Jelka, Soka and Stana.

Five Christians had Moslem guarantors: Mustafa baša Šahbaz, Mula Salih Jabučar, Derviš baša Mumdzija, Hasan bajraktar and Husejn bajraktar. About the reason for this we may only surmise. It is more important as an example of good relations between fellow-citizens.

The inventory is a good contribution to knowledge of the economic state of the Christians of Sarajevo. The professions of 80% of them are cited. Thus we can see how great a part Christians had in the economy of Sarajevo. Although Sarajevo has not always been the political center of Bosnia since the Turkish occupation (1436), it has been the center of trade and business. According to this inventory in 1788 there were more than 330 tradesmen and merchants in Sarajevo. If we include those 98 who were servants to some tradesmen, then the number becomes much bigger. The professions of 136 men are not mentioned, but they undoubtedly had them. According to the inventory there were:

- 79 dunder (dülger)/(old-time craftsman - cutter, woodworker and mason)
 (2 *neimars* – builders or architects)
 74 furriers (kürkçü)
 41 tailors (hayat)
 34 bakers (habbaz)
 21 goldsmiths/silversmiths (kuyuncu)
 12 packsaddle makers/makers of leather goods (samarci)
 8 millers (değirmenci)
 9 gardeners (bostancı)
 10 blacksmiths (haddad)
 10 soap makers (sapuncu)
 7 gunsmiths (tufekçi)
 4 glasscutters (camcı)
 3 cattle dealers (celepçi)
 3 dyers (boyacı)
 3 blanket makers (kebeçi)
 3 sericulturists (ipekçi)/(silkwear dealers)
 2 plumbers (suyolcu)
 2 cooks (aşçı)
 2 porters (hammal)
 1 snuff seller
 1 limeman (kireçi)
 1 valet, butler (odacı)
 98 servants to various tradesmen

All the tradesmen and merchants mentioned, except porters, valets, millers and gardeners, were members of 14 guilds. Christians, Moslem and Jews of the same trade were members of the same guild. In Bosnia and Herzegovina, as we know, there was no religious segregation in regard of guilds. This inventory cites three guild officials – two inspectors (kalfabaşı) Jefto and Kosta and *čauš* (çavuş), Luka.

Furriers had a guild of their own and there were no Moslems in it at that time. It was exclusively a Christian guild and it was the richest one. There were both craftsmen and merchants in it. The Ortodox were much more numerous than the Catholics. According to Skarić the furriers' guild had 329 members in 1762 and 353 members in 1769.

The large disparity between the numbers given by Skarić and the numbers in this inventory is due to the fact that there were many children and young men under 20 among the tradesmen, but they were not included in the inventory. Besides, there may be some furriers among those whose profession is not mentioned.

Dunderi: Their guild was mixed – it included members of three confessions. Besides *dunders* it included plumbers, glass cutters, sellers of

building material and a limeman. According to Skarić in 1762 there were 146 and in 1769 105 Ortodox *dunders*.²⁰ I have found 69 in our inventory. This would mean that their number decreased from 1762 to 1788 by nearly 46%. We do not know the reason for this decrease.

Skarić also cites Christian members of the following 6 guilds. I am adding the numbers from 1788 for the sake of comparison.

	1762	1769	1788
Tailors	57	49	41
Goldsmiths	44	40	21
Bakers	40	37	34
Packsaddle makers	18	18	12
Blacksmiths	35	17	10
Soap makers	29	14	10

The blacksmiths' guild included gunsmiths as well.

Soap makers and candle makers made up one guild. As far as we know soap makers were Ortodox.

The cattle breeders' guild was very numerous. It is known that they used to go to Venice.

As early as the beginning of the 18th century the blanket makers' guild was very numerous but it became smaller and smaller till it ceased to exist in Sarajevo by the end of the 18th century. It seems that then it came to life in Visoko. Nevertheless, there existed in Sarajevo a guild of merchants, blanket sellers.

Ipekčijas (sericulturists) were members of the *kazaz* guild (*kazaz* — seller of silkware, etc.). They were foreigners, all from Albania and they lived in Sarajevo only temporarily. We see from the inventory that they stayed in an inn.

Snuff sellers were members of the guild of tobacco merchants.

Cooks had their own guild, as well as dyers.²¹

This inventory does not mention innkeepers. It is known that alcohol was sold by Christians and sometimes by Jews. In 1786 there were 22 inns in Sarajevo. But at the time of this inventory the selling of alcohol was prohibited and thus no innkeeper is mentioned.²²

The citizens of Sarajevo of all religions were pious people and they performed their religious duties conscientiously. This inventory mentions 16 *adžijas* (Moslems who have visited the Kaba in Medina or Christians who have been on a pilgrimage to Christ's grave in Jerusalem).

²⁰ Srpski pravoslavni narod i crkva u Sarajevu u 17. i 18. vijeku, Sarajevo 1928, p. 70.

²¹ For further information about the guilds see the paper quoted in footnote 10.

²² At the request of the citizens all the inns in Sarajevo were closed by the *bujruldija* of Selim Sirri-paša of 15. cumad. II. 1200 (April 15, 1786) and they could not be opened without permission of the qadi and the citizens.

According to the inventory in 1788 there were 10 priests. Seven of them lived in Varoši-bala mahala in which the Orthodox church was situated. They were: Gavriilo, Ilija, Mojo, Josip, Risto, Risto and Ridendi. Priest Todosi lived in Ferhadbeg mahala, priest Ante in Oruč-Pehlivan and priest Pante in Duradžik mahala. They were all secular clergy (mirski sveštenici).

There was no Catholic priest in Sarajevo at that time, the Catholic parish being very small. Franciscans used to come occasionally to perform services.

IV

THE INVENTORY OF THE KEFILEME

This inventory was made in mahalas and inns and the inhabitants are cited in groups, just as they guaranteed for each other. There are cases where we find the same guarantor in two or even three groups. In order to make it more clear I have numbered the groups and the mahalas, although they are not numbered in the *sidžil*. Almost always I have omitted the explanation that they were guaranteeing for each other.

Since I copied this inventory ten years ago, I have improved the translation with the help of Alija Bejtović to whom I express my gratitude.

a) M a h a l a s

1. Mahala *Frenkluk*

1. Adži Risto and his partner Adži Jovan are guaranteeing for one another
2. Adži Malto and his brother Bogić
3. Adži Lazo^{2 3} and his partner Josip
4. Ilija, blacksmith, and Pavle
5. Nikola, tailor, and Josip, packsaddle maker
6. Stjepan Fočić, furrier, and Risto Katić
7. Aleksa, furrier, and his partner Gavriilo
8. Adži Obrad and his partner Risto
9. Đorđe, furrier, Jovan Gabela and Marija
10. Risto, furrier, Ilija, furrier, and Dragutin
11. Luka, furrier, and Vasilj, furrier
12. Glišo, furrier, and Stjepan, furrier
13. Bogić, furrier and Mihai, goldsmith
14. Nikola, baker, Josip, furrier, and landlady Angelina

^{2 3} Adži Lazo was a furrier and he died in 1795. The chronicler Mula Mustafa says that he was wealthy and that he lived in a fine new house near the *imaret*.

15. Jovan Sirdan, furrier, and Mihajlo, *dunder*
16. Risto, tailor, and Petar, *dunder*
17. Mihajlo, furrier, and Mihat, tailor
18. Toma, tailor, and Adži Lazo, furrier
19. Jovan, furrier, and Petar, furrier
20. Malto, goldsmith, and Lazo, packsaddle maker
21. Bariša, furrier, and Josp, furrier
22. Jefto, furrier, and Risto, furrier
23. Petar, furrier, and Miško, furrier are guaranteeing for one another and Miško is guaranteeing for his son Jakov
24. Anto, furrier, and Stjepan, furrier
25. Risto, furrier, and Aleksa, furrier, are guaranteeing for one another and Risto is guaranteeing for his son Jovan
26. Simo, furrier, and Jakov, tailor
27. Maksim and Despa
28. Anto and Risto
29. Nikola, *dunder*, and Simo are guaranteeing for one another nad Risto for both of them
30. Nikola, *dunder*, guarantees for Prano Ivan
31. Juro and Marija
32. Mihajlo and his wife Milica
33. Pavo, furrier, and Lazo
34. Aleksa and Marta
35. Nikola's wife guarantees for Mića
36. Petar, furrier, and Adži Đuro's wife
37. Risto, baker, and Čitko
38. Juro Kezić²⁴ and Ivan guarantee for one another, and Juro also for his son Jakov
39. Gavrijo Kučinović and Risto guarantee for one another and their landlord for both of them
41. Landlady Marija guarantees for Malto and Petar, and they guarantee for her
42. Aleksa, furrier, and his wife Janja
43. Dujan, furrier, and Šimo
44. Petar, goldsmith, Neško and their tenant Marko
45. Luka, goldsmith, and Petar
46. Mihajlo, *dunder*, and Josip, packsaddle maker
47. Luka, baker, and his tenant Marijan guarantee for one another and Luka and Angelina for one another
48. Đoko, his Mother Angelina and Petar, furrier, guarantee for each other

²⁴ One of his descendants was Aleksandar Kezić, the commander of a Catholic company which was sent from Sarajevo by Narodna vlada to prevent the Austro-Hungarian army from entering Bosnia in 1878.

49. Marica and Đuro, dunder
50. Tomanija and her son Ilija
51. Vasilj and Risto, miller

The following men lived in the mentioned mahala but they were on business trips at the time of the inventory:

1. Stjepan Adžidurđević, went abroad for six months
2. Adži Petar's son Risto, left seven months before the inventory
3. Kosta, left seven months ago
4. Petar Olovac, left four months ago
5. Jakov Hakšić, left a year ago
6. Mitar Juadanović, left a year ago
7. Adži Petar and his brother Adži Jovan, left six months ago
8. Nikola, cattle dealer left for Morava four months ago
9. Mihaj, goldsmith, left for Morava three months ago

II. Mahala *Duradžik Hadži Ahmed*:

1. Mihajlo, tailor, Dašo, furrier, their sons Todor and Risto and tenant Vasilj guarantee for each other
2. Rado, dunder, and the above mentioned Mihajlo, tailor
3. Nikola, soap maker, and Božo, blacksmith
4. Jovan, soap maker, Lazo, his servant, and another Nikola, soap maker
5. Jovan, baker, Marko, his servant and Todor, goldsmith
6. Ivana, Davić's wife, and her tenant Jovan, baker
7. Mihajlo, his tenant Nedo, tailor, and Divljo, soap maker
8. Petar, furrier, his brother Stjepan, their father Petar, Đuro baker and his servant Tripko
9. Priest Panto, his son Stjepan and Filip
10. Jovan, furrier, Tanasije, Kosta and their tenant Marija
11. Ilija, furrier, his servant Lazo, Panto, his servants Đorđo and Stjepan, Mihaj, soap maker, and his servant Ivan.
12. Stjepan, goldsmith, and his brother Jovan, Ivan, Tripko, Spasoje and their tenant Stjepan
13. Lazo, goldsmith, his son Jovan, their servant Jefto and their neighbour Kojo
14. Milinko, blanket maker, his brother Avakum, Sava, tailor and their tenant Đuro
15. Petar, tailor, his servant Kosta, Đorđe, Gavriilo and Jovan, blanket maker
16. Petar, goldsmith, his servant Jakov, Risto, goldsmith, his son Miho, Jovan, his servant Petar, and his tenant Jela
17. Đuro, baker, his servant Ilija, his brother Gavriilo, and Jovan and Arsen, tailors

18. Jelka, her son Lako, her father Petar, his sons Risto and Maksim, Nikola dunder; the above mentioned Lako guarantees for them
19. Gligorije and Vasilj, blanket maker. Their landlord Mustafa baša Šahbaz guarantees for them
20. Mihajlo, miller, his father Sava, their servant Rade and Petar Karo guarantee for each other
21. Mičo, packsaddle maker, his servant Simo and Mihajlo, miller
22. Jovan, dunder, and Risto — their guarantor is Mula Salih Jabučar
23. Glišo, miller, and Jovan guarantee for one another and Derviš baša Mumdzija guarantees for Jovan

The following citizens of this mahala were absent:

1. Kosta and Tanasije left for Split on business two months ago, but their families are present
2. Jovan, Mara's son went on business to Zadar three months ago according to his mother, whereas his family is present
3. Gavriilo, son-in-law of tailor Aleksa, went on business to a foreign country a year ago, whereas his family is present
4. Jovan, furrier, fled to Kragujevac in the *ajalet* of Biograd a year and a half ago and it is not known whether he is dead or alive. His family is in Sarajevo

III. Mahala *Džami-i-atik*:

1. Adži Tripko, furrier, and Petar, *dunder*
2. Jovan Čupinović (?), tailor, Lazo, miller, Adži Simo's wife Anđelija and her servant Mihajlo
3. Petar, baker, Mihajlo, *dunder* and his servants Đuro and Andrija
4. Jovan, packsaddle maker, his servant Petar and Petar glass cutter
5. Todor, Jovan and Nikola, *dunders*
6. Tripko Karo, tailor, Nikola and Petar, soap maker
7. Stjepan, baker, his servant Mato and Jovan, packsaddle maker
8. Jovan, blanket maker, and Risto, *dunder*
9. Ilija, soap maker, his servant Simo and Simo, *dunder*
10. Marko and Miloš, *dunders*
11. Gavriilo, baker, Vasilj, his servant, and Nikola, porter
12. Jeftan and Mihajlo, *dunders*
13. Stanko, Ilija and Gavriilo, bakers

14. Todor, Stevan, Mihat and Ivan, *dunders*, living in the house of Hadži Ibrahimaga Hadžimuratović^{2 5}

IV. Mahala *Vekil-Harač*

1. Mičo, Mihajlo and Krsman, *dunders*, are guaranteeing for each other
2. Šahin, Risto, tailor, and Tripko, *dunder*

V. Mahala *Oruč-Pehlivan*

1. Mihat, furrier, his servant Đuro, Jovan, furrier, and his servant Stjepan
2. Jovan, furrier, his servant Petar and Ilija, gardener
3. Lazo, baker, his servant Mitar, Jovan, furrier and another Jovan, baker
4. Petar, furrier, his brothers Sava, Damjan and Risto, their servant Neško, Jovan, dyer, and his servant Đuro
5. Simo, furrier, his servant Jovan, Mihat Besara, furrier, his sons Jovan and Aleksa and his servant Janko
6. Priest Panto, his sons Maksim and Mihajlo, goldsmith, and his servant Stojan

The following citizens of this mahala were absent:

1. Perin Garibović went a week ago to Kupres with Ahmed baša Kunos, but his family is in Sarajevo
2. Bečar Adavi went to Morava three months ago, as reported
3. Damjan, furrier, went to Dubrovnik 40 days ago
4. Stojan, furrier, went abroad nine months ago, but his mother and wife are in Sarajevo

VI. *Ajas Paša* mahala

1. Filip, tailor, and his tenant Ilija
2. Risto Budimlija and his son Jovan
3. Jovan Besarović, Mičo and Simo Lučić
4. Adži Jovan Solak, Jovan Magarin and Simo
5. Adži Ostoja, his brothers Risto and Todor
6. Adži Đorđo, furrier, and Jovan
7. Stjepan, goldsmith, and Jovan Puhović
8. Gavriilo, furrier, and Risto

^{2 5} Hadži Muratović was a very wealthy merchant. It was he who built the *daira* in Halači.

9. Dragutin, Mitar and Jovan, living in Mičo's house
10. Jovan Puh, furrier, and Stjepan, goldsmith
11. Gabela, goldsmith, his sons Risto and Lazo
12. Filip, goldsmith, and Ilija, furrier
13. In the house of Sulejman-efendija Musić live: Sava, Perjan, Mića, Kosta, Tadija, his brother Radovan, Sava and his servant Stevan
14. Petar, furrier, Damjan and Lazo
15. Mičo Brkić, his sister Ana and another Mičo, furrier
16. Mihajlo and Đoko, soap makers, living in Vuka's house
17. Jovan and Mičo, furriers, living near Atmejdanska ćuprija (Atmejdan bridge)²⁶
18. In the house of Meddi-Besar-zada live: Bulbul, goldsmith, Nikola, Pavle, baker, and Risto
19. Mičo, *dunder*, Besara, furrier, and Jovan
20. In the house of Staniša, *neimar* (builder, architect) live: Mihajlo, furrier, and his son Jovan

The following citizens of this mahala are absent:

1. Jovan Radić went abroad five years ago, but his family is in Sarajevo
2. Todor Mlinić's sons: Nikola, bachelor, and his brother, bachelor, went abroad, but their mother is in Sarajevo
3. Adži Jovan Vuković went abroad with his wife and children five years ago. This was reported by the citizens of this mahala.

VII. *Ferhadbegova* mahala:

1. Adži Manojlo, furrier,²⁷ his servant Rade, Aćim, goldsmith, his son Risto, his servants Jovan and Mihajlo and Jefto, furrier
2. Stjepan, furrier, his servants Aćim and Sava, Josip²⁸ furrier, his brothers Tripko and Gavrilo
3. Mijo, furrier, his servants Antun and Stjepan, Glišo, tailor and his tenant Luka
4. Jovan, furrier, his brother Risto, Gavrilo, furrier, and Jovan's tenants Ilija, Simo and Božo

²⁶ The other name of this bridge is Ćumurija.

²⁷ The chronicler Bašeskija records that he died in 1795 and remarks that he was an old and wealthy merchant. Gl. Z.M. 1919, p. 56

²⁸ It seems that his family name was Mežurović and that Risto Ćuk Gavrilov was his neighbour. They were engaged in a lawsuit with one another because of a wall and there was a *hudžet* written about this at the beginning of zilhicce 1212 (about May 17, 1797). The archives of M.E. Kadić No. 239.

5. Risto, cattle-dealer, and Jovan Butur
6. Priest Todosi, Petar, furrier and servants Mojo and Đuro
7. Glišo, tailor, Todor, furrier, and his servant Nikola

The following citizens of this mahala are absent:

1. Petar Bajić went abroad four months ago, but his children and wife are in Sarajevo
2. Marko went to Venice²⁹ two years ago as his father reports

VIII. Mahala *Varoši* – *Bâlâ*

1. Adži Jovan, gardener, his son Tripko and Jovan Bržić, gardener
2. Vidak's widow and Adži Jovan, gardener
3. Jovan Zvono, his servant Risto and Aleksa, gardener
4. Nikola Tuzlo and Petar Mezić
5. Tanasije, *neimar*, his servant Jovan, Božo, baker, and his servant Gavriilo
6. Jovan, tailor, and Simo, gardener
7. Jovan, plumber, his son Nikola, his servant Ivan and Petar *dunder*
8. Tripko, *dunder*, and Staniša, tailor
9. Neško, glass cutter, his servant Mihajlo, Todor, tailor, and his tenant Pavle
10. Gavriilo, packaddle maker, and Đuro, *dunder*
11. Petar, miller, and Tripko, gunsmith
12. Rade dyer, his servant Đuro and Jovan, tailor
13. Mihajlo, tailor, his brother Gavriilo and another Mihajlo tailor
14. Đuro, *dunder*, his servant Marko, Vasilj, furrier, his brother Petar and his servant Đuro
15. Mitar, furrier, Risto, baker, Jovan, *dunder*, and his servant Tanasije
16. The above mentioned Mitar guarantees for his mother-in-law
17. Mihajlo, baker, his servant Simo, and Marijan, goldsmith
18. Jefto, furrier, his brother Vojin and his servant Petar
19. Mitar, furrier, Risto, baker, and Stana Markuša
20. Stjepan, goldsmith, his brother Jovan and Aćim, furrier
21. Čauš Luka and Neško, glass-cutter
22. Božo, baker, Lazo, furrier, and his son Petar
23. Adži Mihat, furrier, his son Jovan and Gavriilo, tailor
24. Kosta, cattle-dealer, and Risto, baker

²⁹ Cattle dealer Sočo, aga of the 97th janissary corps often went to Venice and he died there in 1794.

25. Mihajlo, baker, and Marija, mother-in-law to mentioned Kosta
26. Nikola, plumber, Soka the widow of Ćirko the miller and above-mentioned Mihajlo, baker
27. Gavriilo, tailor, Simo's widow Stefanija and Kosta, cattle-dealer
28. Priest Gavriilo, priest Ilija and Lazo, furrier, and his tenant
29. Vasilj, miller, Mihajlo and Risto, bakers
30. Priest Mojo, priest Josip, priest Risto, priest Maksim and priest Ridendi guarantee for each other. Adži Jovan, gardener, and Tanasije, *neimar*, guarantee that the priests will not flee
31. Panto, tailor, and Pavle, *dunder*, Ablagić's tenants
32. Lazo, *dunder*, and Lako, *dunder*, both living in Husrevbey's vakuf, guarantee for one another

IX. Ćekrekčijina mahala

1. Luka, *dunder*, Marko, *dunder*, his sons Risto and Blagoje, *dunders*
2. Mosto, *dunder*, his servant Spasoje, his son Đorđo, Janko, *dunder*, his servant Simo and Petar, furrier
3. Ćirko, *dunder*, his servants Ilija and Stjepan, Lazo, *dunder* and his servant Blagoje
4. Ivan, *dunder*, his servant Nikola, Toma, baker, his servants Petar and Miloš
5. Jovan, limer, his servant Vasilj, Lazo, baker, his servant Risto and Jovan, cook
6. Đuro, *dunder*, his servant Petar, Risto, tailor, and his servant Tešo
7. Tomaš, *dunder*, Jeftan, *dunder* and Petar, baker
8. Jovan, *dunder*, his cousin Vasilj, and the landlord Nikola
9. Risto, furrier, and Marko, cattle-dealer
10. Spasoje and Simo, *dunders*
11. Ivan and Blagoje, *dunders*
12. Stjepan, goldsmith, Tripko, *dunder*, and his servant Andrija
13. Stjepan, goldsmith, Sava, goldsmith, and his servant Milovan
14. Marko, baker, his servants Marko and Petar and Arsenije, baker
15. Božo, tailor, and Milovan, baker
16. Petar, *dunder*, Jovan Mosto, *dunder*, and Janko
17. Radovan, cook, Antun, tailor, and their tenant Petar
18. Filip and Jovan, furriers
19. Petar, *dunder*, his servant Risto, and Jovan, *dunder*
20. Danilo, packsaddle-maker, and Luka, gardener
21. Aleksa and Luka, furriers
22. Vasilj, furrier, Đuro, baker, and his servant Risto

23. Toma, *dunder*, his servant Risto and Jovan, *dunder*
24. Maksim and Filip, packsaddle-makers
25. Petar and Simo, tailors
26. Đuro, *dunder*, his brother Spasoje, and Petar, *dunder*
27. Mitar and Simo, *dunders*, and their servant Miloš
28. Mihajlo and Milić, *dunders*
29. Jovan, tailor, his servant Boško and Jeften, gardener
30. Luka, *dunder*, and Risto, baker
31. Mitar, blacksmith, his servant Maksim and Tanasije, *dunder*
32. Tripko, blacksmith and Mihajlo, *dunder*
33. Stanko, blacksmith, Jovan, glasscutter, and his servant Janko
34. Čitko, packsaddle-maker, Stjepan Goka and Milutin
35. Toma and Petar, tailors
36. Luka, gardener, and his son Jefto
37. Jefto and Kosta, *kalfabašas*, their servant Pavle, and their sons Tripko and Nikola
38. Todor, baker, and Đuro, blacksmith

X. *Kalin Hadži Ali* mahala

1. Mijat, goldsmith, his servant Lazo and another Mijat and his servant Ilija, Niko, blacksmith, and his son Gavriilo
2. Petar, *dunder* and Mijat, goldsmith
3. Marko, *dunder*, his servant Joskim and Nikola, blacksmith
4. Aramit, *dunder*, Jovan, gardener, and Mihajlo, miller
5. Risto, furrier, Bojan, *dunder*, and his servant Đuro
6. Đorđo, *dunder*, his brother Lako, Sava, baker, and Mićo furrier
7. Jovan, *dunder*, and Antun, packsaddle-maker
8. Mijat and Simo, *dunders*

XI. *Kučuk Kjatib* mahala

1. Harenda, snuff-seller and his wife's brother Đoko
2. Stjepan, *dunder*, his servant Mato, Nikola, *dunder*, his servant Đorđo
3. Risto, dyer, Petar, *dunder*, and his servant Jefto
4. Marko, tailor, and Nikola, *dunder*
5. Toma and Janko, blacksmiths, their servant Jakov, and Aćim, *dunder*

XII. *Šejh Ferrah* mahala

1. Adži Nikola, furrier, his brother Gavriilo, their servant Filip, and Ignjat

2. Luka, tailor, his servant Mitar, Nikola, baker, and Marko miller
3. Ilija and Todor, *dunders*
4. Simo, furrier and Vasilj Sipak (?)
5. Pavle, miller, and his brother Tomo
6. Mičo, tailor, and Sava, packsaddle-maker
7. Panto, blacksmith, and Risto, *dunder*
8. Simo, baker, and Mičo, tailor

b) I n n s (Hanovi)

XIII. *Mizaferija han*³⁰

1. Sava, gunsmith, his servants Jovan and Ostoja, Periša, gunsmith, his servants Stojan and Nikola
 2. Nikola, gunsmith, his servant Stanko, Ivan, gunsmith, and his servants Jovan, Vukman and Božo
 3. Stojan, gunsmith, his servants Stjepan, Neško and another Stjepan
 4. Simo, tailor, and Periša, gunsmith
- These are all bachelors.

XIV. *Novi han*³¹

1. Miloš, Stanko and Todor guarantee for each other. Husein Bajraktar guarantees also for Miloš
2. Antun, tailor, and Janko, porter
3. Ivan, sericulturist, Teofil, sericulturist, Jovan, tailor and his servant Miloš

XV. *Kolobara han*³²

1. Hasan Bajraktar guarantees for Jefto, butler
2. Đorđo, sericulturist, Tašo, Krito, Kosta and another Tašo

³⁰ It was situated in today's Titova ulica, near the Old Orthodox Church. It was named after its owners Muzaferijas, descendants of Husejn ef. Muzaferija, *muderis* of Gazi Husrevbey's *medresa* (1646 to 1721).

³¹ This was the name of the inn of Gazi Husrevbey's *vakuf*. It stood on the site of today's new building of Gazi Husrevbey's *medresa*. In the beginning of the 19th century it was named Đulov han after its renter Đul Mustafa.

³² H. Kreševljaković, *Han Kolobara u Sarajevu*, Novi Behar year XI, p. 202–211.

APPENDIX

This preventive measure could not but be recorded in one of our folk songs. Ing Džemal Čelić gave me these lines which are still to be heard in Mostar:

Ukrade se od zlata jabuka
 Sa džamije Čejvan čehajine,
 Sve se jamči jedno za drugoga,
 A sarhoši po dva za jednoga,
 Za Aliju, imamova sina,
 Za Aliju jamca ne bijaše.
 Za 'nj se jamči lijepa djevojka,
 Lijepa Hana gradskoga dizdara

EXPLANATION OF TURKISH WORDS

(Abdulah Škaljić, *Turcizmi u srpskohrvatskom jeziku*, Sarajevo 1965)

aga = 1. landlord, dignitary, prominent citizen 2. title of all mercenary commanders of the Turkish army

ajan = leader, prominent person, representative of most eminent social layers

bujruldija = valija's or paša's oder

čaršija = 1. business district, downtown; 2. store owners, salespeople

čajuš = čehaja's assistant

čehaja = chief of a guild

daira = emperor's or dignitary's auditorium; office

defter = record, register

dunder = old-time craftsman whose competence included masonry, wood-work and other skills

džemat = area of a mosque; township

ejalet = vilajet, province, region, territory of a valija. The Turkish Empire was divided into *vilajets*, vilajets into *sandžaks*, sandžaks into *kadiluks*, kadiluks into *nahijas*, nahijas into towns and villages and towns into *mahalas*

- hatib* = imam who preaches in mosque on Fridays and on Bajram
hidžra = beginning of counting of the Moslem era, July 16th, 622
hodža = Moslem priest, religious teacher
hudžet = verdict
imam = Moslem priest
imaret = public charitable kitchen for poor people, travellers, pupils of *medresa* etc.
kadija = qadi, Moslem judge
kadiluk = see *ejalet*
kefileme defter = inventory of guarantors
mahala = part of a town or village, city quarter; see *ejalet*
medresa = Moslem religious school
mehćerna = court of justice
menzilhana = Turkish post station at which fresh horses were kept for postmen
mesdžid = smaller Moslem place of worship
miralaj = 1. colonel; 2. commander of *spahijas* in a *sandžak*
mirmiran = beylerbey, supreme military and civil commander of a bigger region or province consisting of several *sandžaks* (higher rank than *paša*)
muderis = teacher in *medresa*
mufti effendija = Moslem priest of highest rank in a region
muhtar = governor of a *mahala*
mula = learned man, theologian
mutevelija = manager of a *vakuf*
naib = qadi's representative or deputy in a *nahija*
nahija see *ejalet*
neimar = builder, architect
paša = title of high dignitaries and members of army, rank of a general
pazar = market
šeh, šejh = head of a *tekija*
šerijat = Moslem religion, Islam
tekija = building in which dervish rites are performed
vakuf = property of a Moslem religious community
valija = governor of a region (*vilajet*) in the Turkish Empire
zabit = officer
zaim = owner of a great feudal estate
zilhicce = 12th month in Moslem calendar

R e z i m e

ĆEFILEME SARAJEVSKIH KRŠĆANA IZ 1788. GODINE

Ćefilema je bila jedna od neophodnih mjera turske sudsko-administrativne službe za održavanje reda i mira u nesigurno doba. Ova preventivna mjera sastojala se u tome što bi po naredbi guvernera pokrajine (vezira) sumnjivi stanovnici jedne varoši, sela ili kraja morali solidarno jamčiti jedan za drugoga. Shodno potrebi vezir bi izdao naredbu (bujuruldiju) svoje povjereniku (muteselimu), ili, u odsutnosti ovoga kadiji, da uzme ćefilemu. Muteselim ili kadija bi u bilježnicu (defter) upisao sve one koji su obavezni po ćefilemi, naznačavajući ko jamči za navedenu osobu. Ovom mjerom ponekad je uspijevalo vlastima da spriječe pobune ili nemire, a ponekad je ćefilema uzimana nakon ugušenog nemira. Popis koji se ovom prilikom sastavljao zvao se „kefileme defter“.

Pod ćefilemu su se obično uzimali muški stanovnici iznad 19 godina. Ponekad se pod ćefilemu uzimalo svo stanovništvo jednog grada ili kraja, ponekad opet samo pripadnici jednog staleža, na pr. zanatlije, ili pripadnici samo jedne konfesije. Jamčilo se u grupama od dvije, tri ili više osoba. U jednoj ćefilemi iz 1848. godine ima grupa od 150, 160, pa i od 170 osoba. Sve dosad poznate ćefileme uzimane su od muslimana ili od stanovnika svih konfesija, dok mi je poznata samo jedna ćefilema uzeta samo od kršćana (pravoslavnih i katolika).

Ćefileme je sastavljao muteselim u tri primjerka: jedan primjerak za vezira, drugi za kadiju koji je morao da ga unese u „sidžil“, a treći je ostajao kod muteselima. Uz „kefileme defter“ slata je i pismena zakletva u kojoj su navedene garancije koje oni preuzimaju na sebe.

U XVIII stoljeću zenička nahija se nalazila stalno pod ćefilemom. „Kefileme defter“ se obnavljao svakih osam do deset godina. Ne zna se kada je ta praksa zavedena u ovoj nahiji. Takvi primjeri su nepoznati drugdje, ali to, vjerovatno, nije bio usamljen slučaj.

Onaj koji nije mogao naći jamca bivao je protjeran sa teritorije na kojoj se uzimala ćefilema. Dokumenti koji su nam poznati govore da se ćefilema uzimala u Bosni počevši od sredine XVI stoljeća do 1848. godine kada je izbila revolucija u Austriji.

Godine 1788. uzeta je ćefilema sarajevskih kršćana, dakle, za vrijeme rata između Austrije i Turske. Ovaj popis sadrži 625 osoba: 26 žena i 599 muškaraca od čega je 25 bilo odsutno iz Sarajeva. Stanovali su u 12 kvartova (mahala) i tri hana. Ovaj popis nam govori o učešću kršćana u privrednom životu Sarajeva. Po staležima, bilo je 330 obrtnika i trgovaca i 98 sluga kod obrtnika i zanatlija. Za 136 se ne spominje zanimanje, što ne znači da ga nisu imali.

Uz spis je pridodata proklamacija na turskom jeziku koju je Austrija uputila stanovništvu Bosne i Hercegovine opominjući ga da ne uzima učešća u oporu i prijeteći onima koji se pobune.

S u m m a r y

KEFILEME OF THE CHRISTIANS OF SARAJEVO FROM 1788

Kefileme was a necessary measure of the Turskih judicial-administrative service for maintenance of peace and order in times of trouble. This prevention measure was taken upon Vezier's order that all suspicious inhabitants of a town, village or region should guarantee for one another. The Vezier would issue an order (bujuruldija) to his representative (muteselim) or, if he was absent, to the quadi, to take the kefileme. The muteselim or the quadi would take the record (defter) of all the men obliged according to the kefileme, noting who was guaranteeing for whom. This measure sometimes helped the authorities to prevent riots and rebellions. Sometimes the kefileme was taken after crushed riots. The list made on this occasion was called the "kefileme defter".

The kefileme usually included male inhabitants more than 19 years old. Sometimes it included all the inhabitants of a town or region and sometimes only those belonging to a profession, e.g. tradesmen, or to a single confession. People guaranteed for one another in groups of two, three, or more. In a kefileme from 1848 there are groups of 150, 160 and even 170 people. All the kefilemes known so far were taken among Moslems or among inhabitants of all confessions. I know of only one kefileme taken exclusively among Christians (Ortodox and Catholics).

The kefileme was written by the muteselim in three copies: one for the Vezier, one for the quadi so that he could put it in the "sidžil", and one for the muteselim. The "Kefileme defter" was always accompanied by a written oath listing all the guaranties.

In the 18th c. the *nahija* (district) of Zenica was all the time under the kefileme. The "Kefileme defter" was renewed every eight or ten years. The date of the introduction of this measure is not known. Although we do not know of other similar examples this was probably not an exception.

Those who could not find a guarantor were expelled from the territory where kefileme was taken. The documents that we know tell us that the kefileme in Bosnia started in the middle of the 16th c. and was used till 1848 when the revolution in Austria broke out.

In 1788 a kefileme was taken — it means during the war between Austria and Turkey. This list comprises 625 people: 26 women and 599 men (25 of them were absent from Sarajevo). They inhabited 12 quarters

(mahalas) and three inns. This list tells us of the part that Christians took in the economic life of Sarajevo. There were 330 craftsmen and tradesmen and 98 servants. The profession of 136 men is not mentioned which does not mean that they did not have one.

This paper also comprises the proclamation originally written in Turkish and addressed by Austria to the population of Bosnia and Herzegovina warning it not to take part in resistance and threatening those who should try to rebel.