

DŽEMAL ČEHAJIĆ

SOCIAL, POLITICAL, RELIGIOUS, LITERARY AND OTHER
ASPECTS OF THE DERVISH ORDERS IN YUGOSLAV LANDS*

It is known that dervish orders (or *tariqats*) had a significant role in social, political, religious, and cultural life of Muslims in the Yugoslav lands, which were part of the Turkish Empire and Ottoman feudal system. Especially important was the role of the orders of Mawlawi, Halveti, Naqshibendi, Hamzawi, Rifa'i, and Bektashi. From the very start of Turkish intrusions into Yugoslav lands, these dervish orders actively participated in the conquest by Turks, in formation of settlements, and in the spreading of Islam and Islamic Oriental culture.¹ These first missionaries, such as Ayni-Dede and Shamsi-Dede in Sarajevo and Dervish Khorasani at Oglavak near Fojnica, who fought together with Sultan Fatih during the conquest of Bosnia (1463) and Meddah-Baba, the conqueror of Skopje, are mentioned in the Sufi tradition, which kept the memory of their participation in the Turkish conquests, their deaths and their missionary work. The above-mentioned Sufi brotherhoods gave a certain tone and color to social, political and religious scene of Yugoslav lands – Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia, Macedonia, and Kosovo.

Thanks to the large membership, influence and power the Sufi orders used to have, even the Ottoman sultans and governors in the provinces had to take

* See: "Društveno-politički, religiozni, književni i drugi aspekti derviških redova u jugoslavenskim zemljama". In: *POF* 34/1984, Sarajevo, 1985, pp. 93-113.

¹ On the Islamization and origin of Muslims in our lands see: Ćiro Truhelka, "Testament Gosta Radina", *GZM*, XXIII, Sarajevo, 1911; Ćiro Truhelka, *O porijeklu bosanskih muslimana*, Sarajevo, 1934; Hamdija Kreševljaković, "Odakle su i šta su bili bosansko-hercegovački muslimani", *Danica, Kalendar za 1916. godinu*, Zagreb, 1915; Muhamed Hadžijahić, "O islamizaciji bosanskih krstjana", *Obzor*, 31.10.1937.; Vladislav Skarić, "Širenje islama u Bosni i Hercegovini", *Gajret, Kalendar za 1940. godinu*, Sarajevo, 1939; Mehmed Handžić, *Islamizacija Bosne i Hercegovine i porijeklo bosansko-hercegovačkih muslimana*, Sarajevo, 1940; Špiro Kulišić, "Razmatranja o porijeklu Muslimana u Bosni i Hercegovini", *GZM, Nova serija, VII*, Sarajevo, 1953; Nedim Filipović, "Napomene o islamizaciji u Bosni i Hercegovini u XV vijeku", *Godišnjak, VII, Centar za balkanološka ispitivanja*, 5, Sarajevo, 1970; Adem Handžić, "O islamizaciji u Sjeveroistočnoj Bosni u XV i XVI vijeku", *POF, XVI-XVIII/1966/67*, Sarajevo, 1970; Adem Handžić, "O ulozi derviša u formiranju gradskih naselja u Bosni u XV stoljeću", *POF, XXXI/1982*, Sarajevo, 1982, pp. 169-198; Aleksandar Solovjev, "Nestanak bogumilstva i islamizacija Bosne", *GDI BiH, I*, 1949.

into account their activities and influence and also to lean on them when enforcing a certain policy. Even different movements and uprisings were very often linked to a particular dervish order, especially to the orders of heterodox character. We can mention, for example, the Halvetis in Užice, the Hamzawis in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Bektashi in Macedonia, Kosovo and Albania. The antagonism between the heterodox dervish orders and the Ottoman authorities, which promoted orthodox Sunni Islam, is best illustrated by the movement founded by Prince Musa and shaikh Beddrudin and by the implications of this movement on social and political scene and turmoil in the Ottoman Empire in the 15th century.²

As the orthodox Sunni Islam was victorious in the Arabic- and Turkish-speaking Ottoman Empire in the 15th century there came the process of direct fighting with heterodox Sufi brotherhoods: the Khurufis, Khalendaris, Hamzawis, Bektashis, and others with Shi'ah-Alevi tendencies, because of these brotherhoods' antagonism and opposition against Ottoman state and their recognition of the Iranian Shah as their lawful monarch whom they support and for whom they rebel. On the other hand, the antagonism resulted in the Ottoman sultans' and authorities' adoption of the policy of suppression and eradication of the said non-orthodox dervish orders and of support for orthodox orders and their confrontation other orders. Thus the Mawlawis, Naqshbendis, and to some extent Qadiris, as the orders of Sunni orientation, established strong ties with the Ottoman authorities and aristocracy and simply became a mainstay of implementation of the Ottoman policy and ideology in the Yugoslav lands. That is why the Ottoman authorities used them in the fight against orthodox dervish orders. For the purpose of that fight, the mentioned *tariqats*, their institutions and prominent representatives were presented with huge estates and they also enjoyed other kinds of financial support from governors in Bosnia and Herzegovina and other provinces. This enabled many institutions and representatives of these orders to become owners of large estates in the feudal system of the Empire. Ties between orthodox tariqats and Ottoman authorities were always present but their strength varied depending on the individual adherence and loyalty of certain Sufi shaikhs to the Ottoman authorities.

The first stronger influence in the social and political aspect was exerted by the order of Hamzawis, an offshoot of the Bayrami-Melami fraternity, headed in the 16th century by a Bosnian shaikh Hamza Bali, who was executed in Istanbul in 1573 together with his twelve khalifahs.³ Such influence of the Hamzawis stemmed from their non-orthodox teachings and social, political, and ideological orientations, opposed to the official Ottoman social

² Nedim Filipović, *Princ Musa i šejh Bedredin*, "Svjetlost", Sarajevo, 1971.

³ Abdülbaki Gölpınarlı, *Melamilik ve Melamiler*, İstanbul, 1931, p. 72; Tayib Okić, *Quelques documents inédits concernant les Hamzevites*, Proceedings of the Twenty Second Congress of Orientalists, held in Istanbul, September 15th to 22nd 1951, Communications, II vols., Leiden, 1957, pp. 279-286.

system. The Hamzawis had their independent internal organization (courts and other structures) and they were active as a separate organism within the Ottoman Empire that they opposed. Such position is indicated also by the fact that during a rebellion in 1582 the Hamzawis set up a government that was to assume the rule. The structure of the government was as follows: Sultan – Muhammad, son of Hassan; Vizier – Hussein-gha; Memi, son of Iskender (*defterdar*); Qadi-asker – Ali Havadže.⁴ Since the Hamzawi fraternity was numerous and widespread in Bosnia and Herzegovina, that peripheral and volatile area of the Empire, the Ottoman government and representatives of the Ottoman authorities in Bosnia, feeling the danger, organized punitive expeditions and adopted the policy of eradication of those who adhered to teachings of the Hamzawis. As this fraternity was destroyed at its inception, hardly any memory remained in the later epochs of its prominent representatives.

The suspicion and fear of the Hamzawis felt by representatives of the Ottoman government is well shown by a debate in which it was said “and the Hamzaws will come out simultaneously, or maybe even before, when there is a hundred thousand of them; those who do not want to be with the fraternity will be slaughtered, and their property and food will be looted and burned.”⁵ The same tone prevails in the writing of Muhammad Amiki about Islamic mysticism, produced for the son of a spahi named Walad.⁶

Strong influence in Bosnia in the 17th century was also exerted by Hasan Khaimi⁷ (d. 1691), shaikh of the Silahdar Mustafa-pasha's (Hajji Sinan) tekke in Sarajevo. As a member of the Qadiri order he headed the rebellion of the malcontent in Sarajevo in 1682. Sarajevo qadi, Omer-efendi, was killed in the rebellion, as well his deputy Ahmed-efendi and several rich merchants who were hiding goods waiting for higher prices, thus creating severe shortages. Khaimi's involvement in the rebellion led to his expulsion to Zvornik where he lived for the rest of his life. Popular imagination made him a legendary character, the Sufi who strived for ethics and justice. However, the rebellion did not have any reformatory character whatsoever. The rebels only asked for strict observance of the shari'ah.

However, the strongest ties between dervishes and the Ottoman government can be found with the Bektashi Order, the association whose network

⁴ Tayib Okić, *Ibid.*, p. 279, 286; A. Handžić, *O porijeklu hamzevija u sjeveroistočnoj Bosni 1582. godine*, Poseban otisak, Tuzla, 1975.

⁵ Ibrahim Mehinagić, “Četiri neobjavljena izvora o hamzevijama iz sredine XV vijeka”, *POF, XVIII-XIX/1968-69*, Sarajevo, 1973, p. 224.

⁶ Tayib Okić, *Quelques documents inédits concernant les Hamzevites*, *ib.*, p. 281; I. Mehinagić, *ib.*, pp. 233-248, facsimile and translation.

⁷ S. Bašagić, *Bošnjaci i Hercegovci u islamskoj književnosti*, Sarajevo, 1912, p. 98; M. Handžić, *Književni rad bosansko-hercegovačkih muslimana*, Sarajevo, 1933, pp. 89-90; H. Šabanović, *Književnost Muslimana BiH na orijentalnim jezicima*, “Svjetlost,” Sarajevo, 1973, pp. 354-357; Fehim Nametak, “Uvodni stihovi Kaimijina Divana”, *Anali Gazi Husrevbegove biblioteke, II-III*, Sarajevo, 1974, pp. 71-79.

of tekkes was propitious for political activities. Members of the Bektashi Order were, among others, pashas known as "Pashas of Tetova", who quite independently ruled much of the central and western Macedonia and Albania. Rexhep Pasha, a representative of the family known as "Pashas of Tetova", is considered the founder of the tekke (*zawiya*) of Sersem Ali Baba, who introduced Rexhep Pasha to the Bektashi tariqat and foretold him a victory in a military campaign. Rexhep Pasha had the tekke built to show gratitude.⁸ The endowment funds documents of Rexhep Pasha from 1799 show clearly that most of the tekke complex had been built before buildings built next to the *zawiya* of Sersem Ali Baba in Tetova (Macedonia). The character of Ali-Baba, known as "Harabati" (bohemian, saint) is veiled with legends which talk of his ties with Rexhep Pasha, a representative of the Ottoman feudal society and government. Apart from "Pashas of Tetova", members of the Bektashi Order also were estate owners, janissaries, craftsmen, and some free peasants. The influence of the Bektashis among janissaries is well-known. As for Kosovo and Macedonia, this influence is easy to understand, having in mind that in 1950s the center of the Bektashis was moved from Albania to Gjakova in Kosovo. At the same time Kazim baba became the head of the Bektashis in the Balkans (Macedonia, Kosovo, Albania). When Albanians adopted the teachings of the Bektashis, the tekkes of that dervish fraternity in Rumelia were taken by national spirit, quite unknown to Asian part of Turkey⁹, of almost equating national feelings of Albanians with Bektashism.

The significance of the Bektashis in our southern region was tantamount to the significance of the Naqshibandis in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Naqshibandi tariqat was present in Bosnia and Herzegovina since the 16th century, with its influence felt more strongly in the 18th and 19th centuries. The Skender-pasha's tekke in Sarajevo was famous in the earlier period (16th and 17th centuries), and in the 18th and 19th centuries the tariqat had two big centres: naqshibandi tekke in Vukeljici and the tekke in Oglavak, both near the town of Fojnica. The teachings of the Naqshibandi tariqat were spread throughout Bosnia and Herzegovina by its two great representatives: shaikh Husein Baba Zukić (d. 1799/1800) and Abdurahman Sirri Dede (d. 1846/1847). Shaikh Husein Baba Zukić finished his studies in Istanbul and then embarked on his trips to Anatolia and further to Buhara and Samarqand, the sources of the Naqshibandi tariqat. Upon returning to Bosnia he founded the Naqshibandi tekke in Vukeljici and engaged in spreading the teachings of this tariqat in Bosnia.¹⁰

⁸ Hasluck, F.W., *Christianity and Islam under Sultans*, 2 vol., Oxford, 1929, II vol., pp. 524; Palikruševa G. – K. Tomovski (Skoplje), *Les Tekkes en Macédonie aux XVIIIe et XIXe siècle*, Estrattodaghi Atti del secondo congresso internazionale ghi turca, Napoli, 1965, 207.

⁹ Max Choublier, "Les Bektashis et la Roumelie", *Revue des études islamiques*, année 1927, cahier III, p. 437.

¹⁰ On biographical data about shaikh Husejn Zukić see: Dr. Šaćir Sikirić, "Dervis-kolostorok ès szent sirok Boszniaiben", published in the periodical *Turan*, Buda-

Shaikh Sirri, the disciple of shaikh Husein Baba Zukić, was even more famous. Sirri Dede founded the Naqshibendi tekke in Oglavak near Fojnica and he was the true representative of this tariqat. His influence got so strong that each new governor in Bosnia considered it his duty to visit the great dervish, shaikh Sirri in Oglavak. Two lodges, functional up to this day, were built for accommodating prominent visitors within the tekke complex. One lodge was built by Muhammad Vejihi-pasha (governor in Bosnia from 1845 to 1849), whereas Kamil-pasha had another lodge built in 1845. Historical records say that among those who came to the tekke to pay respect to shaikh Sirri and his descendants were: Muhammad Vejihi-pasha, Kamil-pasha, the governor of Herzegovina Galib Ali-pasha Stočević, Omer-pasha Latas, and the leader of the movement for Bosnian independence, Hussein Captain Gradaščević, who was supported as a people's fighter by shaikh Sirri.¹¹

The word about the pious and distinguished Sufi of the highest ethics, shaikh Sirri, reached the Ottoman capital and even sultan Mahmud II (ruled from 1808 to 1839), who issued a firman in July 1835 exempting shaikh Sirri and the tekke in Oglavak from all taxes. Governors of Bosnia also supported the shaikhs and tekkes in Oglavak and Vukeljići. Selim Pasha, for example, gave a written order approving annual support in the amount of 100 coins.¹² The *turbeh* (burial chamber) for burial of shaikh Sirri was built by the governor of Herzegovina, Galib Ali-pasha Stočević- (1833 – 1851), who also built the Naqshibandi tekke in Mostar in 1837 and renovated the tekke in Foca.

As an ethical variant of tassawuf, the Naqshibandi tariqat had a very strong presence throughout Bosnia and Herzegovina and its members were not only common people but also prominent figures in the Ottoman administration in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Achik-pasha (appointed in 1848), the shaikh of the Halveti tekke in Buna near Mostar, also had very close ties with the court in Istanbul. He was sent by the then Turkish government to follow and spy on the governor of Herzegovina, Ali-pasha Stočević Rizvanbegović, and Herzegovinian aristocracy that the government saw as too independent.¹³

This political aspect of Sufi orders was very prominent in Maghreb, where tariqats were formed with close ties to certain political tendencies and faith in a local saint or marabout.¹⁴

pest, 1918, pp. 557-580; Ibid., "Kroz tekije i samostane", *Narodno Jedinstvo*, No. 267, 1920, p. 2.

¹¹ Š. Sikirić, "Kroz tekije i samostane", p. 267; Hamid Algar, "Some notes on the Naqshbandi tarikat in Bosnia", *Die Welt des Islam*, XIII, 1972, pp. 178-179.

¹² For copy of the firman see: Kadić, *Kronika*, XXII, 29; Sicill. no. 75, p. 39. Kronika (mağmū'a) and sicill are kept in Gazi Husref-bey's library in Sarajevo; also see written order of the Fojnica qadi in sicill no. 44, p. 21-b, in the Institute for Oriental Studies in Sarajevo.

¹³ Dzemal Čelić, "Musafirhana Bлагajske tekije", *Naše starine*, I, Sarajevo, 1953, p. 189.

¹⁴ On Sufi orders in Maghreb see: General P. J. Andre (C.R.), *Contribution a l'etude des Confreries religieuses musulmanes*, Alger, 1956.

RELIGIOUS ASPECT OF DERVISH ORDERS

Dervish orders in our lands had a significant religious role and importance in the Ottoman period of our history (14th – 19th centuries), having in mind that through their network of tekkes, especially at the early period (14th and 15th centuries), they participated in the Islamization of the territories conquered in Rumelia and in the Balkans.¹⁵ Being close to the masses they melted with, the tariqats assumed some local color and cultural influence of the cultural milieu in which they lived and worked. Hence deposits of foreign religions and cults in the tariqats' thought and practice: from popular cults of Central Asia and Anatolia to those of Anatolian-Christian orientation, and later from Balcanic cults to Khurufi doctrine. The syncretism was especially prominent in the mixed religion of the Bektashis.¹⁶

In religious terms, apart from the differences which characterize them as Islamic sects, the tariqats have a lot in common, e.g. the cult of *awliya* (saint), antagonistic attitude towards the official orthodox Islam, esoteric approach to religion, as well as Shi'i-Alevi tendencies (the cult of khalifa Ali) and the ideas of the Duodeciman Shi'ism. A popular form of Islamic religion was thus formed, with the local color and influence of the environment in which individual tariqats were active. Hence, the tariqats, especially the Mawlawi and Bektashi, were tolerant towards other religions and more acceptable than the strict form of the orthodox Islam. The remarkable importance and role of the heterodox dervish orders in the Islamization of the Christian population in Rumelia and the Balkans in the course of the 14th and 15th centuries cannot be denied. Turkish historian Halil Inalcik places special emphasis on the role of the Bektashis in the spreading of Islam among native Christian population in the mentioned territories.¹⁷

There is also *the humanitarian aspect of dervish orders* and dervish institutions that shows in providing meals and free lodging for poor dervishes, shaikhs, scholars, and travelers. Around tekkes there would be imarets (public kitchen) and *musafirs* (travellers' lodge) and they would be supported by rich waqifs. Such tekkes were Skender-Pasha's tekke in Sarajevo, Issa-bey's tekke, also in Sarajevo, Sinan-bey's tekke at Čajniče, Gazi Husrev-bey's *khanikah* also in Sarajevo and others.

The *waqfiyye* (foundation document) of the Skender-Pasha's tekke¹⁸ directed that *fuduliya* (a dish in thin sheet of pastry) be made every day, and on Fridays and for both Eids also rice *pilaf* and *zerde* (rice jelly) to be given

¹⁵ Mac Choublier, *Les Bektashis et la Roumelie*, p. 427.

¹⁶ M. F. Koprülü, *Porijeklo osmanske carevine*, translated by N. Filipović, Sarajevo, "Veselin Masleša", 1955, p. 114; A. Gölpınarlı, *Melamilik ve Melamiler*, pp. 103, 128, 248.

¹⁷ Halil Inaldžik, *Osmansko carstvo – klasično doba (1300-1600)*, translated from English by Milica Mihajlović, Beograd, 1974, p. 280.

¹⁸ Alija Bejić, "Skender-pašina tekija", *Novi Behar*, XVI, No. 2, 1944, pp. 24-25.

away to dervishes in the tekke, officials of the Skender-Pasha's waqf, travelers, and to the poor and disabled.

The waqfiyye was lost but later emperor and court orders show that in the imaret of the Skender-Pasha's tekke in Sarajevo the meals were prepared and given away to the officials of the vakif and to the poor who were quartered in the tekke, with the surplus of food being given away to foreigners (*gurabâ*) and chance travelers. The same orders were repeated in the firmans from 1792 and 1801.¹⁹ Thanks to its rich vakif, the Skender-Pasha's tekke was a warm and free dwelling for the poor and dervishes, shaikhs, scholars, and travelers, who would traditionally also be served some mead.

The Issa-bey's tekke in Sarajevo, founded even before the military campaign of the Sultan Mehmed II on Bosnia (1463), comprised of three houses that served as the tekke and shelter to the poor Muslims, scholars, warriors, and travelers. The food prepared in the tekke (meat, rice, and bread) would be given away to travelers and those who worked in the lodging house while the surplus of the food was being given to poor children in Sarajevo.²⁰

According to the *waqfiyye* issued in 1582, the Herzegovinian sanjak-bey Sinan-bey, son of Bajramaga, built a zawiya in Cajnice with a view to providing food for the poor and disabled. The *zawiya* had two tanneries, a guest room, kitchen, storage place and bakery, a barn and other space. Soup was made in the Sinan-bey's tekke on a daily basis, and on Fridays rice pilaf and wheat soup were also prepared. Also, those travelers who would come late to the tekke for dispensation of food would be given some honey. The goods were paid for by the Sinan-bey vakif linked to the tekke.²¹ These three examples that we cited speak enough about the humanitarian aspect of rich dervish institutions and associations in our lands.

LITERARY ASPECTS OF DERVISH ORDERS

Dervish orders (or *tariqats*) left remarkable traces in the literary field, because artistic forms, especially poetry and music, had huge psychological effect and power in the arousing of ecstatic states with members of Sufi orders. Those states bring mystics, in the moments of the frenzy, as Sufis put it, into a direct contact, communication and oneness with the Absolute on the spiritual level. Those were the motives and reasons that led to high appreciation of literature within dervish orders. Poetry and literature in general served as an artistic expression for explanation, interpretation and theoretical elaboration of the Sufi ideals, i.e. doctrines and teachings of individual tariqats that

¹⁹ See: Sarajevo, ANU BiH, Šikayet Deftery, 207-VII-54/4-1216/1801.

²⁰ H. Šabanović, "Vakufnama Isa-bega Ishakovića za njegove zadužbine u Sarajevu", *POF II*, Sarajevo, 1951, 7-29; See the transcript of the waqfiyye: Sarajevo, Gazi Husrev-bey's Library, Sicill, no. 77, pp. 51-52.

²¹ See the original and the translation of the waqfiyye in the collection of waqfiyye, Vol. 1, p. 174.

represented a myriad of interconnected systems with many differences in philosophical/mystical views and ethical principles in their teachings. Common traits in literary creations of all dervish orders are the profound faith in the direct, intuitive cognition of the Absolute, the faith in the substantial unity with the Absolute Reality and the possibility for perception of that unity (*tawhid*). It was this literature that expressed elation and attainments of the mystics that removed all obstacles existing between the Absolute and phenomenal, trying to bridge the gap between the man and the God. This experience gave rise to the doctrine of the absolute non-duality of existence or existential monism, i.e. "theomonism", (*Waḥdat al-wuḡūd*), and of "Reality" where the Absolute (*al-Ḥaqq*) and the phenomenal (*al-ḥalq*) are treated only as two aspects of unified Reality that encompasses both. Only the Absolute has the real existence whereas everything else has the status of non-Being (nothing) (*al-'adam*).²² What is amazing here is the freedom of the mystical poet who moves with extraordinary lightness from the everyday and bizarre, lifting to the sublime, the Absolute that is omnipresent and all-pervading. Taking contents and topics into account, the symbols of Sufi literature concentrated around the three following problems: absolute beauty, wine, and love as an inspiration towards beauty. This literature treated love as striving of the human soul towards the Absolute, as an irrational impulse, as an intimate tie with absolute beauty, and as an attraction of the human spirit to beauty.²³ According to Alessio Bombaci, this love was expressed with the vocabulary of profane love that is based on the sentiment of admiration of God and expressed with terms created from thinking about the Absolute. It is difficult with mystic poets to draw a line between the divine and profane, but in any case the mystic's object of love is the Absolute, whereas in profane poetry the object of love is always a woman.²⁴ These are the general topics that Sufi poets explore in their poetry. However, the attitude and orientation of an individual order, as well as its adopted mystical/philosophical system, has always determined the topics of mystical creators of a particular dervish order. In its teachings and practice every individual tariqat possessed something specific for that particular order. Therefore, in this paper we shall give

²² Consult: G. C. Anawati et Louis Gardet, *Mystique Musulmane*, Paris, 1961; Abu'l-'Ala 'Afifi, *The Mystical Philosophy of Muhyid-Din Ibn al-'Arabi*, Cambridge, 1939; Henri Corbin, *L'Imagination creatrice dans le soufisme d'Ibn 'Arabi*, Paris, 1958.

²³ See: Abdülbaki, Gölpınarlı, *Mevlana Celaleddin – Hayatı, Felsefesi, Eserleri*, İstanbul, 1959; Khalifa Abdul-Hakim, *Metaphysics of Rumi*, Lahore, 1959; Eva Mayerovitch, *Mystic et poesie en Islam – Djelal ud-Din Rumi et l'Ordre des Derviches tourneurs*, Desclé de Brouwer, 1972; Y. E. Bertels, *Osnovniye momenti v razvitiu sufyskoy poezii*, Or. Mem., I, (Sb. Ol'denburg), 1927.

²⁴ Alessio Bombaci, *Historie de la literature turque*, Paris, 1968, p. 41; Džemal Čehajić, "Vidovi stvaranja muslimanskih mistika porijeklom iz Bosne i drugih krajeva Jugoslavije od XV do XIX vijeka", Special print from *Godišnjak Odjeljenja za književnost Instituta za jezik i književnost u Sarajevu, III-IV*, Sarajevo, 1975, p. 25.

a literary overview of and cast some light on our Sufi writers, having in mind the mentioned individual particularities.

As a politically inactive association, the Mawlawis are mostly an order of higher social strata: aristocracy and *ulama*. Their literary output was mostly influenced by this tariqat's head, Jalal al-Din Rumi, i.e. Persian mystical literature, for our Mawlawis were much interested in the Persian mysticism and generally in the Persian classic literature. Libraries in Bosnia and Herzegovina contain numerous manuscripts, the *Masnawi-Manawi* by Jalal al-Din Rumi, the *Pand-name* (Book of advice) and the *Mantiq at-tayr* (The Conference of the birds) by Farid al-Din Muhammad ibn Ibrahim Attar, the *Bustân* (The Orchard) and the *Gulistân* (The Rose Garden) by Muslih-uddin Sa'di Shirazi, *Bahâristân* (Land of spring) by Nur ad-Din Abd ar-Rahman Jami, as well as works of other Persian authors, all of which shows that there was great interest in classical Persian literature, especially mystical. This interest resulted in the emergence of several writers and poets in our lands from the Mawlawi order, e.g. Servi Bosniak, known as Chempresi (Čempresi), (d. 1591), Ahmed Sudi Bosniak (d. 1596/97), Fevzi Mostarac (d. 1747), Fadil-pasha Ferizović from Sarajevo (d. 1892), and others.²⁵

The literature produced by our Mawlawis fit into the mainstream of the Ottoman literature and was within the scope of possible Mawlawi topics. The central topic is the absolute beauty and love as "striving for that beauty". This literature is characterized by eroticism and plethora of symbols and allegories, which help in expressing the desire of the Mawlawi soul for the absolute beauty, seen in its metaphysical sense.

In his work the *Bulbulistân* (The Nightingale's forest) written in prose and interlaced with verses, Fevzi Mostarac (d. 1747) expresses the basic idea that "the spiritual life is the reality to which great attention should be paid." This was the basis of Favzi's outlook on life. The *Bulbulistân* is a work of ethical and didactical character, written with a view to create a perfect sage unburdened with problems of the material world. The basic ideal to which Fevzi's soul strives is the transcendental and spiritual, indicating the mystical-Islamic goal of existence, the myth about the origin of humans and the need for reestablishing morality and returning to the absolute beauty and goodness, so that he can vanish and get unified in them.²⁶

In his elegy written after the death of sheikh Yuyo (d. 1707), Fevzi elaborated the Mawlawi concept of rites (*samâ*). The underlying thought, "all that exist bows to and strives for the Creator," is an allusion to the Mawlawi dance, because the celestial bodies, personified here, follow the mystical rite, just like the Mawlawis make circles the way celestial bodies do.²⁷

²⁵ See: Džemal Čehajić, "Neke karakteristike učenja Ğalaluddin Rumija i nastanak derviškog reda mevlevija, mevlevije u Bosni i Hercegovini", *POF XXIV-1974*, Sarajevo, 1976, pp. 103-104.

²⁶ Fevzi Mostarac, *Bulbulistan*, translation from Persian, with the introduction and annotations, by Džemal Čehajić, "Svjetlost", Sarajevo, 1973, introduction, p. 20.

²⁷ Fevzi Mostarac, *ibid.*, p. 10.

Poet Čempresi is also thrilled by the dance and music, but also feels the hidden dimension of life, where life itself is poetry:

*When strings of naj vibrates, everybody yields,
That is the sigh of hot passion, the real poetry.*²⁸

The work of Fadil-pasha Šerifović (d. 1892) is on the same line. His writings are devoted to the Mawlawi ideal, about which he writes in his *Divan* (mostly through chronograms and epitaphs), and especially in his lyrical poems (*gazel*).²⁹

Ahmed Sudi Bosniak is important as the precursor of modern philological and linguistic work and research into classical Persian literature. His annotations and interpretations of the *Bustân* and the *Gulistân*, written by Sa'di Shirazi, and of the Hafiz's *Divan* were recently translated into Farsi. These translations are used by those who go into deeper studies of Persian classicism.³⁰

Contrary to the Mawlawi and *mawlawism*, which represents a certain emotional and aesthetic variant of *tassawuf*, the Naqshbandi order harboured the literature oriented towards ethical/ educational content that was to invoke high Sufi ethics with dervishes. Naqshbandis themselves are a strictly orthodox Sufi association, the closest to the official Islamic religion through *zîkr* and *wird*, characteristic for tariqats, but they have no *samâ* (dancing and music). It can be said that the Naqshbandi *tariqat* is a pious association in which folklore cannot be found in the rites. Hence, the literature produced by the Naqshbandis in their tekkes had mostly pedagogical and educational goals and was of ethical/ didactical content. This literature was to teach and uplift dervishes to the level of moral purity, to the higher level of spiritual life, so that a dervish can come closer to God and perceive Him.

Two great mystics attained prominence: shaikh Abdurrahman Sirri³¹ from Fojnica (d. 1847) and Seyyid Vehhab Ilhami from Žepče³² (d. 1821/22), who,

²⁸ S. Bašagić, *Bošnjaci...*, p. 21.

²⁹ See the comprehensive study on Fadil-pasha Šerifović: Fehim Nametak, *Fadil-paša Šerifović – pjesnik i epigrafičar Bosne*, Sarajevo, 1980.

³⁰ For more information see: Džemal Čehajić, "Ahmed Sudi Bošnjak", *POF XXVIII-XXIX/1978-9*, Sarajevo, 1980, pp. 103-122.

³¹ On Sirri and his poetry see: Mehmed Kapetanović, *Narodno blago*, II, Sarajevo, 1887, pp. 232-234; *Ibid.*, *Istočno blago*, II, Sarajevo, 1897, p. 288; F. S. Kraus, *Slavische Volksforschungen*, Leipzig, 1908, p. 22; Scheich Seifuddin Efendi Kemura und Dr. Vladimir Čorović, *Serbokroatische Dichfungen bosnicher Moslems aus dem XVII, XVIII und XIX, Jahrhundert*, Sarajevo, 1912, p. XX-XXIV (introduction) and pp. 55-60. The most comprehensive collection with shaikh Sirri's poems in Turkish and their translations in Serbo-Croatian were provided by Šaćir Sikirić, "Pobožne pjesme (ilahije) šejh Abdurrahman Sirrija", *Glasnik IVZ*, year IX, vol. 11, 12, Sarajevo, 1941, pp. 332-354, 362-373; Mehmed Handžić, *Književni rad bosansko-hercegovačkih muslimana*, Sarajevo, 1939, pp. 94-95.

³² See: Kasim Dobrača, "Tuhfatu 'l-musallin ve zubdatul-haši'in," *Anali, II-III*, Sarajevo, 1974, 41-68.

besides Turkish, also wrote their poems in “Bosnian” language, which gives their work an “ethnic dimension” and results in Bosnia continuing its ethnic spirit and cultural medium through Islamized Bosniaks.

Shaikh Sirri’s poems in Turkish are characterized by thoughts and reflections and are the result of contemplations and meditations about various topics from mystical life, whereas his compositions in “Bosnian” had more of a practical and educational goal – to teach dervishes and develop with them the Sufi ethics and mystical ideal of the Naqshibendi fraternity. The pervading sentiment in his poems is his effort and striving to break loose; to get away from the mundane existence that confines his spirit. That being his goal, Shaikh Sirri prays to the Almighty to harness the forces of mundane existence:

*I am but a simple man, but take me for your loyal servant and save me from desires of my passion.*³³

For Sirri, the world and all that exist is just one vision of the Absolute, just as he says in his poem: “The existence of this world is just one vision,” or a dream, and the heaven and Earth are frames, space and dimensionality of the vision of the Absolute. In all that exist there is One (or monad), and there are just signs and symbols indicating to the Absolute. Sirri points out that through the imperative of creation of “be” (*kun*), there goes the creative process. But if the Creator withdraws his word from everything – the imperative of creation, both form and substance would be lost because everything would go back into the preexistent state. That process of creation “be and was” (*kun fa-yakûn*) goes on and is reflected in the area of the heart, or the God’s house, as prophet Muhammad put it. According to Sirri the only way, where the divine light (*nûr-i-ilâhi*) shows, to purify the heart is through the dervish prayer (*zikr*) and contemplation, the two basic principles of the Naqshbandi tariqat.³⁴

However, Sirri’s poems in “Bosnian” (“Be careful,” “Dervish, keep an eye out”, “If you want to be a dervish”, and others) are of didactic character and in them he advises dervishes and sympathizers of the Sufi concept of living how to harbor the ideal of high ethics and exemplary religious life, pointing out the imperatives and constraints set by the Qur’an and shari‘ah.

The Melami aspect of the Naqshbandi tariqat became very prominent in promotion of another representative of the fraternity, Ilhami (or Ilhami Baba), whose poetry contains not only the apothegm and ethical/didactical moments but also many social motifs and a critique of the then society and representatives of the Ottoman authorities, and of exploitation and oppression of people by Turkish authorities in Bosnia and Herzegovina. That critique is strongly felt in the poem: “Strange times have come, everyone turned villain!” in which he condemned irregularities and injustice done by local representa-

³³ Š. Sikirić, *Ibid.*, no. 11, p. 348.

³⁴ Š. Sikirić, *Ibid.*, no. 11, p. 350.

tives of the Turkish authorities: "Turks do nothing, justice is shadowed by injustice." He mentioned the *'ulama*, criticizing their ignorance and insatiable appetite for accumulation of wealth:

*There came strange 'ulama, they do nothing,
They just make things worse.
They would not do anything right,
He cannot be imam who..., wise is the one who follows a shaikh!*³⁵

Ilhami's poems, written in dialogues, reveal inner situations and tendencies, like in the poem: "Haqq cemalin daim gore" (He wants to look eternally at the beauty of the Truth), where he has a dialogue with himself, i.e. His "I", turned to the mundane life, but to whom he opposes all that exist and that worships its Creator in a harmony. The poet feels that cosmic poem for the Absolute beauty in every voice or sound, because a dervish who is in love sees the God's in everything.

Further in his verses Ilhami suggests that everything that is transient be left, and he recommends for everyone to return to God, to renounce their "I" and move to nothingness, because there, so he thinks, one can find happiness and ultimate pleasure. "Leave all that is transient and come back to God! – Renounce yourself, your "I", move to nothingness!"³⁶

In his *qasidas* written in "Bosnian" ("I asked my souls: Tell me, who are you?" "I asked my Yasin: are there any faithful?") Ilhami presented his meditations about life, soul, and God. His poems: "Obey the *shari'a* and be friends with the *tariqat*," "Paradise court, beautiful house, those who enter will be happy!" "Come on, you, dear, my friend," "Do not love after the first one" and "Being a dervish is a strange joy, do not you disapprove," are of didactical content and are interpretations of the Sufi concept of life. They are written for dervishes with a view to teach and educate them. However, our rapturous dervish tends to glorify dervish life, dervishes, and awliyas (saints), who are given mausoleums as heavenly rewards: "If you ask about dervishes if the world, look at their *turbes* (burial chambers)."³⁷

In Ilhami's poems one can feel mystical atmosphere, the *tekke* circle of *zikr* and prayer, rapture, devotion, and love of a dervish. Many of his poems build on the concept that the appearance of the absolute beauty results in devotion and sensation in the soul of a mystic who, during *zikr* and rapture and in the moment of timeless existence, plunges and vanishes into the endless sea of the absolute beauty, through and during ecstasy. Many of his poems are devoted to such experience:

³⁵ Kemura-Ćorović, *Ibid.*, pp. 46-48; *Divan*, p. 6a. One transcript of Ilhami's *Divan* is in the Gazi Husrev-bey's Library, with reg. no. 3056, and there is a more complete one in the *tekke* in Visoko.

³⁶ See: *Divan*, pp. 34-35.

³⁷ Kemura Ćorović, *Ibid.*, p. 41, p. 54.

*The luster of your beauty exhilarates many a lover!
The powerful effect of your being's beauty intoxicates the sincere.
And the remedy for any pain is to try love.*³⁸

However, Ilhami felt that his fellow citizens and his time in general deviate from his outlook on life and society, from dervish tenets that he created of inherited, and he expresses that feeling in the poem: "Indeed, this is a different time".³⁹ Hence Ilhami's revolt, discernible in many of his poems, at his contemporaries' and his epoch's refusal to accept the traditional Sufi concept of life and society, whose basis is formed by ascetic morality and spiritual life.

Another Ilhami's work, written in Turkish and titled *Tuḥfatu'l-muṣallīn ve zūdatu'l-ḥāṣi'īn*, discusses about obligatory prayer (*namaz*), about the basic principle of Islamic belief (*kalima-i-ṣahādat wa tawhīd*), about man's place in the world and his cosmic mission, about morality and moral development. The basic idea of this Ilhami's work is that *namaz*, and prayer in general, is a spiritual recreation, awakening of spiritual strengths and life in accordance to man's basic cosmic mission – serving the Almighty.

Ilhami's work, beside the mystical theory, also contains reflections on the social and political atmosphere and circumstances of his time. The fact is that Ilhami insisted on and advocated those tendencies and trends that were greatly neglected by his contemporaries and the society. The fact is also that Ilhami's message, based on a mystical/ascetic ethics, Sufi outlook, and mystical philosophy, could not have been accepted because social trends of the time were directed the other way. The society of the time rather led him to the tragic end.

Ilhami is in a way close to shaikh Hasan Khaimi Baba (d.1691) who, just like Ali Dede Bosniak, wrote his poetry under the influence of Ibn al-Arabi. In the very first poem of his *Divan* Khaimi sets out his "conception of God as eternal Reality, which cannot be defined or expressed by words and represents the real existence, and the manifestation of this Reality is the phenomenal existence of cosmos." He continues with another maxim "that the Truth is perceived through the Truth, because the Truth (God) knows its own being:"

Reason cannot define him, words cannot encompass him, he cannot be placed to the left or right.

The manifestation of the being of God is a formal existence of cosmos.

(Only) those who truly look at the Truth through the eye of the Truth can perceive it.

*Perceive the Truth through the Truth because (only) the Truth knows its own being.*⁴⁰

³⁸ See: *Divan*, p. 7a.

³⁹ *Divan*, p. 12a.

⁴⁰ See: The Institute for Oriental Studies in Sarajevo, *Divan*, reg. no. 2423.

Khaimi explains that man's cosmic mission is to perceive himself, for in a man as a subject there is a true knowledge and real wisdom. According to Khaimi, a human being is a book that needs to be opened and read eternal truths from. All wisdom is in cognition of one's self, one's "I", and according to Khaimi that is the window to visions of substantial realities. Knowledge and cognition of metaphysical truths, as Khaimi puts it, is man's cosmic mission and goal of his phenomenal existence:

*Have you realized why God brought you in this world?
Return to yourself, perceive yourself and look at yourself from yourself.
You are a secret: "I was a treasury," have you perceived yourself?
Open the book of being and read the lesson about your Master.
Three letters and three dots is the knowledge of the whole world.
Enter your heart and read its dot. What a truth!
Human heart is the treasury of the Truth. The one who unites his essence
perceives its truth.
Those who perceive themselves, their "I", are called sages.
Those who are aware of and perceive God are those who sip spiritual
knowledge!⁴¹*

These verses make it clear that Khaimi's goal is for the human cognitive being to free itself from all physical burdens. As for the spiritual being that is engaged in the process of perception of the Essential Khaimi wants it to break off the sediments of the phenomenal so that it can open ways to the absolute beauty (God) in the wider space of realities.

This is where the unity of the world is emphasized as well as attempts to discern the essence of things, to perceive universal truths, synthesizing and reducing everything to one total and integral entirety and unity, to find out in the myriad of phenomena and aspects of creation and essence the unity of God and world:

*The world and the man is God, the name with threefold aspect.
Come and see on the face of this man, the love of beloved (God).
Renounce yourself, your "I", reach the Truth and know that to reach the
Truth means saying "One" for it."
All things vanish when the door of his beauty and luster are opened.
Outer manifestation of creation is but a display of his essence, the first
and the last, live and ever existing.
Warp and woof of the potential is not not-Being, the source of Being is
Being.⁴²*

Shaikh Khaimi had an evolutionistic outlook on creation itself. Khaimi sees creation as "the Odyssey of spirit" which in different modalities fit into

⁴¹ The three letters and three dots refer to Arabic word "qalb" (heart), which has that form.

⁴² Hasan Kaimi, *Divan*, p. 9b.

the material world and at the end of its cosmic trajectory it flows into the infinite "One" and continues its life in the oceans of spirit. This circular flow, this motion has its phases which go from matter to plants and animals and finally to humans.

It can be inferred from Khaimi's verses that the flow resembles the circular flow of monad, of the nucleus of the spiritual or human existence, which have the tendency to go back to their source:

*Indeed, oh heart, you have become foolish.
Do not you know that you were cruel to yourself.
Your drop separated from the primordial sea.
Do you now remember that separation?
Your being was hidden by your veil.
You showed yourself and came to this world.
Matter, plants, animal and man,
It was your walk, your constant moving.
Your journey was from matter to plants,
And then to animals of different attributes.
You flowed like water, dashed like wind,
From these two embryos, you came to man.⁴³*

The thought that Khaimi develops further in this poem is very interesting. He says that love is not only the motive and reason for creation of the world but that everything lives by means of his love. That love is like a guarantee of creation and sustenance, which means that Khaimi sees love as a "divine attribute" that is very important in the relation between creation and the Absolute. Khaimi sees the motion in the whole creation on the cosmic level and calls it love, which in religious terms means: serving the Creator is a natural and innate attribute and quality in everything that is understood as creation:

*The image of his face is this roundness of the sky
Which moves and stands still on it.
By means of his love everything lives,
Something hidden, something else exposed.
If it was not for the love of the Almighty,
The whole cosmos would not exist.⁴⁴*

The same thesis is identified with the tendency of movement to the Absolute. In other words, everything rotates, everything moves in space, which for Khaimi means: "everything serves," or "everything celebrates the Almighty." This pattern of nature and everything in it Khaimi sees and treats as "worship" or "serving" and identifies it with the dervish rite of *devrān* in which prayer and *zikr* are generally treated as a natural and veritable function of nature with man in nature seen as a part of the creation:

⁴³ Ibid., p. 12b-13a.

⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 14b.

*Both the soul and body fall into ecstasy,
They whirl, while howling "He."
Jinn, humans and all angels
Whirl, while howling "He."
Slaves of love are all angels,
These spheres and heavens rotate eternally.
Waters flow through the trace of this love for years.
The moon and the sun are exultant while moving in their trajectory.*⁴⁵

It is quite certain that shaikh Khaimi, as a representative of the Qadiri tariqat and of shaikh Hajji Sinan tekke in Sarajevo, had great influence on religious life in Sarajevo and its vicinity and on social and political environment. This can be inferred from links between Khaimi's name and the uprising in Sarajevo, which was led by Khaimi himself. The memory of Khaimi as of a popular tribune, a fighter for social justice and progress, lasted very long and turned him into a legendary figure, a dervish who understood ethics and justice. In the same way, Khaimi's literary works explain his Sufi outlook as well as the mystical way leading to perfection.

Apart from the abovementioned didactical poetry, the theory of tassawuf and literary creations were somewhat pervaded by the influence of the Andalusian mystical philosopher Ibn al-'Arabi (d. 1420) who had his supporters in Arabic, Persian and Turkish speaking areas. Many poets and writers from our lands were disciples of Ibn al-'Arabi and the school of mysticism that developed under his influence. It can be said that the tassawuf development after Ibn al-'Arabi bore the stamp of his mystical philosophy. Indeed, certain congregations adopted, with some modifications, the doctrines of Ibn al-'Arabi's teaching. In our lands the Hamzawis followed his doctrine of "existential monism" or "theomonism" (*waḥdat al-wuḡūd*).

One of our most prominent followers of this school was shaikh Abdullah Bosniak⁴⁶ (d. 1644), an annotator of Ibn al-'Arabi's *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam* and writer of numerous tracts of mystical/philosophical and theological content.

Abdullah Bosniak discussed on a series of Sufi topics and he was especially interested in the metaphysics of Sufism: the Absolute and its nature; the creator and creation; phenomenon and modalities of creation; man as a metaphysical component and his spiritual aspect; position of man in the world; relationship between human soul and God; soul as an "idea" in God's knowledge, its uplifting and return to the state before phenomenal existence; the tariqat and life of an initiated Sufi; *awliya* (saint man) and sainthood; perfect

⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 22a-23a.

⁴⁶ See: M. Handžić, *Književni rad*, p. 29-31; Čedomir Veljačić, "Istočni utjecji i interes za Indiju u jugoslavenskoj književnosti i filozofiji," *Rad JAZU*, vol. 350, Zagreb, 1968, pp. 591-599; Fejzulah Hadžibajrić, "Uvodne tesafuvske interpretacije Abdulaha Bošnjaka," *Anali I*, Sarajevo, 1972, p. 35-36; H. Šabanović, *Književnost Muslimana BiH*, p. 203; Džemal Čehajić, "Šejh Abdulah Bošnjak," *Zbornik radova islamskog teološkog fakulteta u Sarajevu 1/1982*, Sarajevo, 1982, pp. 75-89.

human being, the theory started by Hallaj, and continued by Ibn al-'Arabi and later by Abdul-Kerim al-Jili.

The second representative of the order of Bayramis, Hussein Lamekani⁴⁷ (d. 1625), was a follower of Ibn 'al-Arebi's school of Sufi thought. Lamekani expressed the poetics of the transcendental and the theory of perception through contemplation and purification of the heart, where the divine Being appears. This perception consists of self-abnegation, of renouncing one's individuality – one's "I," and is similar to Neoplatonism's attitudes, as taught by Philo, that all human virtue can develop and endure thanks to the action of the divine Logos. The perception of God consists of self-abnegation; of renouncing individuality and of evanescence in the very primordial divine Being.

The heart of a believer is God's house, said Muhammad.

There, you should always be absorbed in undisguised thoughts.

Should a mundane or heavenly thought come to you, renounce it immediately.

This way, an individual soul is absorbed and immersed into the universal spirit of God, and a mystic through love gets uplifted from the temporal to the eternal. This is a recurrent idea in many poems: "Remove the rust from the mirror of your heart, mentioning God's name" or "Clean the streams of your heart until they clear up" etc. Lamekani explained his ethical views in the tract "al-insān-al-kāmil" (Perfect human being).

Bektashi poets: Wahdeti⁴⁸ from Bosnia (d. 1598), who wrote about monism of the Being, Ahmed Gurbi⁴⁹ (end of 17th century) and Bosnawi⁵⁰ (the second half of 19th century), present Bektashi atmosphere; indifference to outer regulations of shar'ia, Islamic rituals and rites; theory of creation through a circle of emanations from divinity; reactions to orthodoxy; Shi'ah orientation of the Bektashis; the cult of khalifah Ali, whose importance was exaggerated.

DRUŠTVENO-POLITIČKI, RELIGIOZNI, KNJIŽEVNI I DRUGI ASPEKTI DERVIŠKIH REDOVA U JUGOSLAVENSKIM ZEMLJAMA

SAŽETAK

U ovom radu autor je nastojao da osvijetli društveno-politički, religijski, književni i kulturni aspekt derviških redova koji su bili rašireni u našim zemljama u vrijeme osmanske vlasti (XIV do XIX v.), a naročito u Bosni i Hercegovini,

⁴⁷ Mehmed Handžić, "Husejn Lamekani", *Narodna uzdanica za god. 1942*, p. 140-161; Katib Čelebi, *Fezleke*, II, p. 71; H. Šabanović, *Književnost Muslimana BiH*, pp. 216-219; A. Gölpmarlı, *Melamilik ve Melamiler*, pp. 80-84.

⁴⁸ M. Handžić, "Vahdeti", *Glasnik IVZ*, 5-6, 1936, pp. 194-200; H. Šabanović, *Književnost Muslimana BiH*, p. 108.

⁴⁹ Sadeddin Nüzhet Ergün, *Bektaşi Edebiyatı Antolojisi*, İstanbul, 1943, p. 101; H. Šabanović, *Književnost Muslimana BiH*, pp. 464-45; Dž. Čehajić, *Vidovi stvaranja...*, p. 32.

⁵⁰ See: S. N. Ergün, *Bektaşi Şairleri ve Nefesleri*, İstanbul, 1943, pp. 34-41.

Makedoniji, na Kosovu, i donekle u Srbiji. Zahvaćen je i problem njihovog učešća u osvajanjima naših zemalja od strane Turaka, u osnivanju naselja, širenju islama i islamske orijentalne kulture na jugoslavenskom području. Zahvaljujući njihovoj snazi i utjecaju, postojala je bliska saradnja osmanske vlasti i sufijjskih bratstava, naročito ortodoksnih. Međutim, za derviške redove, naročito one heterodoksnog karaktera, bili su vezani ustanci i pobune. Kao primjer autor navodi ulogu i buntovni karakter hamzevija u Bosni i Hercegovini, halvetija u Užicu, kadirija u Sarajevu, itd. Stoga su osmanski dvor i osmanska administracija u našim provincijama preduzeli politiku istrebljenja heterodoksnih derviških redova, naročito onih sa šiitskom orijentacijom, koji su držali iranskog šaha za svoga zakonitog vladara, pa su tako postali nepouzdan oslonac osmanske vlasti i osmanskog društvenog poretka.

Ne samo u društveno-političkom, nego i u religijskom pogledu, derviški redovi su imali značajnu ulogu kod nas, i u Osmanskom carstvu općenito, jer su, šireći se u različitim sredinama, poprimili lokalne boje i utjecaje lokalnih kultura i religija, kao i vjerskih kultova Srednje i Centralne Azije i Anadolije, anadolsko-hrišćanskih a kasnije i balkanskih. Tako se stvarala popularna forma islamske religije, prihvatljivija za hrišćanske seljake više nego stroga forma ortodoksnog islama. Stoga, mnogi istoričari islamske mistike daju im veliki značaj u islamizaciji hrišćana u Anadoliji i Rumeliji, kao i na balkanskim prostorima.

Zavređuje pažnju i književna djelatnost koja se njegovala u derviškim krugovima, naročito mistika. Poezija kao medijum bila je pogodna i efektivna u buđenju ekstatičnih stanja kod derviša, kada se, kako oni vjeruju, mistik približava i sjedinjuje sa Apsolutnim.

Pored tematike ljubavi, kao težnji ljudske duše ka Apsolutnom, vinu i svijetu gdje se to Apsolutno pojavljuje, sufijjski autori su pisali i poeziju didaktičkog i etičkog sadržaja, u cilju da odgoje i obrazuju dervişe u sufijjskoj etici i razviju kod njih duhovni život i unutarnju čistoću duha. Stoga je, pored pjesama mističko-filozofskog sadržaja, veći dio njihova poetskog stvaranja pedagoško-didaktičkoga karaktera.

SOCIAL, POLITICAL, RELIGIOUS, LITERARY AND OTHER ASPECTS OF THE DERVISH ORDERS IN YUGOSLAV LANDS

SUMMARY

In the present paper the author throws more light on the social, political, religious, literary, and cultural aspects of the *dervish* orders in the Yugoslav lands at the time of Ottoman rule (XIV – XIX century), and especially in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Macedonia, Kosovo, and partly in Serbia. It is well known that the *dervishes* participated in the conquest of Yugoslav lands by

the Turks, in the founding of settlement, the spreading of Islam, and in Islamic oriental culture and literature. By way of illustration the present author discusses the first missionaries: Ayni-Dede and Shamsi-Dede, dervish Khorasani in Bosnia, and Meddah-Baba, who is considered the conqueror of Skopje. It is well known that there was a coalition of Ottoman authorities and the Orthodox Sufi orders: Mawlawi, Naqshibendi, Halveti, Qadiri, Rif'ai, and others, whose institutions were founded mostly by the wealthy Ottoman aristocracy, the chief representatives of the Ottoman authorities in these parts, as well by the others, and that they were supported by rich endowments (*waqf*).

However, the heterodox Sufi orders, the Khurufis, Khalendaris, Khaidaris, Hamzawis, Bektashis, and others, and especially those with *shii* and *alewi* tendencies, were in opposition to the Ottoman authorities and the Ottoman social order. Some of them recognized the Shah of Iran as their lawful ruler, whom they supported, and on whose behalf they rebelled. As an example of this attitude, the present author describes the social and political situation and the rebellious character of the Hamzawi in Bosnia and Herzegovina, at the head of which Shaikh Hamza Bali stood in the 15th century (he was executed in 1573, together with his twelve caliphs at Tahtakale in Istanbul). As an order (brotherhood) the Hamzawis had an independent internal organization – courts of law, and other things, and acted as an independent body within the Ottoman Empire. In an uprising in 1582, the Hamzawis formed a government: Mehmed, son of Hassan, was to be Sultan, Hussein-gha, the vizier, Memi, son of Iskander – *defterdar*, Ali-Khavadjia – *qadi-asker*, etc., and this government was supposed to take over when the time came. Therefore they were executed immediately, so that hardly any memory of them and their important representatives remained in later epochs.

The author emphasizes especially the role of the Bektashis in the southern region of our country (Macedonia and Kosovo) where this order was widely spread, and the number of its *tekkes* proved convenient for political activity. Their influence among the janissaries was also well-known. The pashas of the Bektashi order, called the “Pashas of Tetova” (Macedonia), ruled over the greater part of central and western Macedonia and Albania with considerable independence for more than a century. One of the prominent members of the family, Redjep-Pasha was considered the founder of the Bektashi *tekke* of Sersem Ali-Baba at Tetovo in the second half of the 18th century. Not only the “Pashas of Tetova”, but also the landowners, janissaries, craftsmen, and partly free peasants belonged to the Bektashi order. The influence of the Bektashis in the southern part of the country did not last long, so that in the fifties of the 20th century the center of the Bektashis was transferred to Gjakova in Kosovo, when Khazim-Baba became the head of the order for the entire Balkan area (Macedonia, Kosovo, Albania).

The order of Naqshibendis played a similar role and exercised similar influence in Bosnia and Herzegovina, according to the author of the present paper. Two great representatives of the *tariq* were especially prominent:

Shaikh Hussein Zukić (died 1799/1800) and Shaikh Sirriya (died 1846/47) and the *tekkes* they had founded: the former at the village of Vukeljići, and the latter, at Oglavak, also in the vicinity of Fojnica. Shaikh Sirriya and his Oglavak Tekke was especially influential, and many a governor of Bosnia and Herzegovina came to visit and converse: Mehmed Vedjih-pasha, Kamil-pasha, the Governor of Herzegovina Galib Ali-pasha Rizvanbegović, then Omer-pasha Latas, and the leader of the independence movement of Bosnia – Hussein Captain Gradašćević.

According to the author, the Shaikh of the Halvetian order, who in 1848 was appointed Shaikh of the Halvetian *tekke* at Buna near Mostar, with the task of observing the work of the Herzegovinian Governor Ali-pasha Rizvanbegović, and other Herzegovinian aristocrats, who in the opinion of the government in Istanbul, had become too independent, had close connections with the Court. The author emphasizes that close ties and cooperation existed between the dervish orders and the Ottoman authorities, although the degree and the extent of cooperation varied. For the frequent uprisings and rebellions were connected with the activities of the *sufi* brotherhoods: the rebellion of the Hamzavi in Bosnia, of the Halveti at Užice, with Shaikh Muhammad at its head (executed in 1850 near Rozaj), the Sarajevo uprising led by Shaikh Khaimi, the head of the Qadiri Mustafa-pasha's (Sinan's) *tekke* in Sarajevo in 1682, etc.

According to the author of the paper, the dervish orders represented a kind of popular Islamic religion, since their teaching assumed some local color and the cultural influence of the environment in which they lived and functioned. In their theory and practice, deposits of foreign religions and cult can be discerned: popular cults of Central Asia and Anatolia, Anatolian-Christian, and later – Balcanic.

Syncretism was especially prominent in the mixed religion of the Bektashis. Hence their tolerance towards other religions, in which some of the historians see the importance of heterodox dervish groups, specially the Bektashis, in the Islamization of the Christian population of Rumelia and the Balkans in the course of the 14th and 15th centuries.

The humanitarian aspect of the dervish organizations is of special importance, since numerous dervish institutions had on their premises public kitchens, in which warm meals and free lodgings were available for the poor, the dervishes and travellers. They were Skender-pasha's *tekke* in Sarajevo, Issa-bey's *tekke*, also in Sarajevo, Sinan-bey's *tekke* at Čajniče, Ghazi Husrev-bey's *khanikah* also in Sarajevo, the Sersem Ali-Baba *tekke* at Tetovo, and others.

Since the arts especially poetry and music, had a great psychological effect and the power of arousing ecstatic states among the members of the Sufi orders, in which moments, a mystic, as they believed, communicated directly with the Absolute, literature, and especially poetry, were highly appreciated in dervish circles. The symbols of Sufi literature concentrated around the three following topics: absolute beauty, wine and love, as an inspiration towards

beauty. Love in this kind of literature was treated as striving of the human soul towards the Absolute, an irrational impulse, and intimate tie with absolute beauty, an attraction of the human spirit to beauty. The author describes all the particularities in the literary expression, and topics in the writers of the certain dervish orders. He mentions: Servi the Bosniak (died 1591), Ahmed Sudić (died 1596), Hassan Khaimi (died 1691), Fevzi Mostarac (died 1747), Abdurrahman Sirri (d. 1847), Seyyid Vehhab Ilhami (d. 1821/1822), Fadil-pasha Ferizović (d. 1892), etc.