

NENAD FILIPOVIĆ

LITERARY HERITAGE OF BOSNIAN MUSLIMS  
WRITTEN IN ORIENTAL LANGUAGES  
IN LIGHT OF EUROPEAN ORIENTAL STUDIES\*

*Having realised that each day brings in various ways new perceptions of the past, we are tempted to look upon it as inexhaustible as the future; and from the point of view of a prober it is indeed inexhaustible, for we shall never get to know it thoroughly.*

Anica Savić-Rebac

Before we begin to deal with the matter of this Chapter, we would like to introduce you to the methodology which guided us in elaborating this paper and to draw your attention to some of important circumstances under which this paper was produced and which shaped its form. In doing research into the literary heritage of Bosnian Muslims in Oriental languages, we have chosen a literary and historical term "*literary heritage of Bosnian Muslims in Oriental languages*". Although the words may seem to have been grouped into a rather long sequence, it is still, in our opinion, the most acceptable arrangement of science. Let us peek into the realm of the variety of historical and literary terms used to refer to the entire body of writings of a specific language. Safvet-beg Bašagić-Redžepašić, although the father to a hardly viable thesis on literary influence of Slavic Folk Poetry on Divan Poetry which Bosniaks wrote in the Ottoman language, did not employ a special term to refer to the writings of that period. Rather, he remained cautiously loyal to his original formulation: *Bošnjaci i Hercegovci u islamskoj književnosti* [Bosniaks and Herzegovinians in Islamic Literature].<sup>1</sup> Some twenty years later, Hajji Mehmed efendi Handžić wrote about *the literary works of the Bosnian and Herzegovinian Muslims in Oriental Languages*.<sup>2</sup> Never had

\* See: "Književna baština bosanskih Muslimana na orijentalnim jezicima u svjetlu evropske orijentalistike". In: *POF* 39/1989, Sarajevo, 1990, pp. 153-162.

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Safvet-beg Bašagić-Redžepašić, *Bošnjaci i Hercegovci u islamskoj književnosti* [Bosniaks and Herzegovinians in Islamic Literature], Sarajevo, 1912. Cf. second edition; edited by Dž. Čehajić, Sarajevo, 1986.

<sup>2</sup> M. Handžić, *Književni rad bosanskohercegovačkih muslimana* [Literary works of Bosnian and Herzegovinian Muslims], Sarajevo, 1934.

anyone before our great Ottomanist Hazim Šabanović used the term *literature of Muslims of Bosnia and Herzegovina in Oriental languages*.<sup>3</sup> The late Vančo Boškov was dedicated to the promotion of *Ottoman literature in Bosnia*.<sup>4</sup> That term was inviolable as it leaves out Muslim nation as the heritor of that literature.

On the other hand, the term *Muslim literature in Oriental languages*, in which adjective *Muslim* is an ethnic determinator, is unacceptable by the very simple reason that there were no Muslims at the time when that literature was being written. Many ardently devoted researchers keep forgetting to make a difference between *ethnic* and *national* consciousness. Ethnic consciousness is a characteristic of a feudal and national awareness of a middle class society. This distinction in essence applies only to European societies.

Research into political philosophy and the ruling ideology of the Ottoman Empire are still fledgling, although certain scientific truths have been verified at the level of research<sup>5</sup>. The Ottoman Empire was a universalistic Islamic theocracy. That which kept together all of its subjects of Islamic religion were the *din* and *devlet*, i.e. Islam and Ottoman state. Both ethnic Turks and Bosniaks and Albanian and all other Muslims felt at home in any part of the Ottoman Empire. But there were also some specific ethnic sub-characteristics of local character. Bosnian Muslims, relying on both traditional Mediaeval Bosnian states and the specific status Bosnia had as a province and pashalik, built their own awareness of their specific individuality and difference from others within the Ottoman Empire. But that individuality and difference had a regional character. They were referred to as Bosniaks (Ottoman: *Boşnaklar*), and their mother Slav language was Bosnian (Ottoman: *Bosnaca*, *Bosanca*), or Bosniak (Ottoman: *Boşnakça*). Unlike that, a local idiom of the Ottoman language spoken in urban centres was *Bosna lehçesi* (Bosnian dialect of the Ottoman language). This is the reason why their literature was primarily Bosnian on the one hand, and Ottoman, on the other. The term 'literature of Bosnian Muslims in Oriental languages' implies that it is a cultural heritage of Bosnian Muslims in national terms. We shall also avoid as ahistorical methodological approach which transfers the post 1878 situation to a previous period.

The leading Bosnian and Herzegovina historian of modern age, Muhsin Rizvić, is promoting the term *muslimanska orijentalnska književnost* (Muslim

<sup>3</sup> H. Šabanović, *Književnost Muslimana BiH na orijentalnim jezicima (biobibliografija)* [Literature of BiH Muslims in Oriental languages (bibliography)], Sarajevo, 1973.

<sup>4</sup> V. Boškov, "Neka razmišljanja o književnosti na turskom jeziku u Bosni i Hercegovini" [Some thoughts about literature in the Turkish language in Bosnia and Herzegovina], in: *Književnost Bosne i Hercegovine u svjetlu dosadašnjih istraživanja* [Literature of Bosnia and Herzegovina in the light of all researches to date], Sarajevo, 1977, page 53-64.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. numerous works by M. F. Köprülü and P. Wittek on the nature of Ottoman state. Also, cf. a recent work by C. Imber, "The Ottoman Dynastic Myth", *Turcica*, XIX, Paris – Leuven – Strasbourg, 1987, pp 7-27.

Oriental-like Literature). That term was used some fifteen years ago by Midhat Begić. Nevertheless, we still believe that it is open to doubt. Namely, the semantic field of syntagm 'Oriental literature' points to the literature of European style which decoratively uses Oriental motives, placing its sign in the Orient. In European literature such work is Flaubert's novel *Salambo*, and here it is the poetry of Jovan Ilić and Osman Dikić. And Divan Poetry written by Bosniaks is a constituent part of the Divan poets of local origin. The analysis of the literature does not confirm that assertion. On the contrary, one can provide an informed argument in support of a multifarious influence of the Ottoman literature on Aljamiado works and popular literature of Bosnian Muslims.

A euphemistic term '*our literature in Oriental languages*' is unsubstantiated in terms of logic and grammar and literature and history. As such, it does not deserve any further comment.

We have to stress that in writing this paper, which required us to explore in depth an extensive and disperse literature in a whole variety of languages, we were limited by time and poverty of our libraries. The lack of the recent Oriental literature in what is believed to be the best specialised library is discouraging. An overall pauperisation of our society has left as the only opportunity of obtaining the recent literary works a library exchange. And that exchange is not functioning best. As a consequence, despite all the efforts we have made, this paper will not provide complete information on what the European Oriental studies said about the literally heritage of Bosnian Muslims in Oriental languages.

Our wish was to enrich our paper with the views on literature born in the modern and contemporary scientific thought of the Republic of Turkey. For, as from the times of M. F. Köprülü and his famous study *Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi'nde usûl*, published for the first time in 1923, the Turkish science and literature adopted European methodology. That extraordinary Köprülü's mainstream was continued, among others, by Ali Nihat Tarlan, Fahir İz, Orhan Saik Gökyay, Mehmed Çavuşoğlu, who died in an early age, and others. We should not forget Turkish-Bosniak Midhat Sertoğlu and his unpublished dissertation on Bosniaks in the Turkish literature. Nevertheless, a detailed review of that literature would make this paper too extensive.

## I

Any research into the literature and literacy in the sphere of Ottoman civilisation must be based on the structure the major part of which continually exists in the form of manuscript. This is precisely the reason why all scholars are always happy to see a new catalogue of Arabic, Turkish and Persian manuscripts.

The cataloguing of manuscripts of Ottoman and Islamic provenance began in Europe during baroque and post-baroque erudition (XVII-XVIII century).

Diplomats, dragomans, spies, church prelates, aristocrats of formidable erudites were bringing to their own libraries Oriental manuscripts, among all rarities they were collecting on journeys. At that time the collected works of Count Marsigli in Bologna and the collected works of the French Institute in Paris were produced, the greatest part of which was collected thank to the efforts of Antonie Galland, translator of *Arabian Nights*, the collection in Escorial near Madrid, the most ancient fund of famous Bodleiane in Oxford. Those collected works were catalogued by scholars immediately after the collectors or who were even their contemporaries. As early as 1700 there were the very first printed catalogues of Islamic manuscripts in European collected works. Those first leather bound catalogues of Islamic manuscripts, written in Latin, and most frequently printed in Leiden (Lugdunum Batavorum), already at that time reputed to be the city with the printing agencies in the possession of all letters of all languages in the world, were not available to us. Thus we were unable to find out whether they also covered the works written by Bosniaks.

The great European review of the history of Turkish literature belongs to the era of late eruditism. The work was published in Venice in 1787;<sup>6</sup> it was translated into French two years later and the author was Giambattista Toderini. It is not available in our libraries and we did not rely on it.

Another great period of Islamic studies in Europe was the period of romanticism. This was the period when the centres of European Orient began to boom in Vienna, Paris, at many universities in small German capitals and elsewhere. The Oriental studies, within the general flourish of philology, built their own methodology and formed their first theoretical models. The catalogues published in that period, especially those in the German language,<sup>7</sup> serve as an example of the precise philological treatment of the monuments, which is even at present times a guidance to the researchers in this field. They contain descriptions of numerous manuscripts of authors of Bosnian origin such as: Muniri Belgradi, Mehmed Halifa, Nerkesi, Ibrahim Pečevi, Hasan Kafi, and others. It is worth mentioning that the most recent action of re-cataloguing Oriental manuscripts in German collections in the most con-

<sup>6</sup> Giambattista Toderini, *Litteratura Turchesca*, 1-3, Venetia, 1787.

<sup>7</sup> K. Krafft, *Die arabischen, persischen und türkischen Handschriften der k.k. Orientalischen Akademie zu Wien*, Wien, 1842; G. von Flügel, *Die arabischen, persischen und türkischen Handschriften der k.k. Hofbibliothek zu Wien*, I-III, Wien 1865-1867; W. Pertsch, *Die persischen Handschriften der herzoglichen Bibliothek zu Gotha*, Wien, 1859. Cf. Pertsch's catalogues of Turkish manuscripts in the count's library in Gotha (Wien, 1864), Arabic manuscripts in the same collected works (Gotha, 1878-1883) and Persian and Turkish manuscripts of the royal library in Berlin (Berlin, 1888, 1889); J. Aumer, *Die arabischen and persischen Handschriften der Hof- und Staatsbibliothek in München*, München, 1886, Cf. Two Aumer's catalogues of Turkish manuscripts of the Royal and National Library in München (München, 1875, 1897); W. Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis der arabischen Handschriften der königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin*, I-X, Berlin, 1887-1889.

temporary manner covered numerous works mentioned in old catalogues, which, after the division of Germany, were split amongst various libraries.

The scientific analysis and cataloguing of manuscripts continued in the XX century as well. At that time Blochet's manuscript catalogue appeared in the Paris National Library, Zettersten's collection catalogue appeared in Uppsala, Rossi's catalogue of Vatican Turkish manuscripts etc.<sup>8</sup> But to us the most important catalogue is that of the Bratislava collection, i.e. the collection of Safvet-beg Bašagić, sold to the Bratislava University Library after 1918. The authors of that catalogue were Check Orientalists J. Blaškovič, K. Petraček and R. Vesely.<sup>9</sup> It is necessary to review all catalogues published so far, since the fate of the manuscripts was very strange. Thus, the famous Dublin's The Chester Beatty Library keeps in its treasures one manuscript illuminated by the hand of Osman Nakkaş, Bosniak, and Istanbul's court miniaturist from XVI century and autograph of a commentary on Ibn Arabi's *Fusûs al-hikam* sheikh Abdullah Bosniak.<sup>10</sup>

## II

The two works the authors of which are Bosniaks became known throughout Europe in early stages. Johann Nepomuk Dubsy translated into German in 1789 the Chronicle of Omer-efendi Novljanin on the 1737 Banja Luka battle.<sup>11</sup> The purpose of the translation was obviously twofold. The book was printed in the period of the last Austrian-Turkish war, most probably out of a wish to educate Turkish officers in order not to face again the destiny they had experienced near Banja Luka 52 years earlier. Charles Fraser published in London 1830 the English translation of that manuscript.<sup>12</sup>

The other work is a famous tractate by Hasan Kafi Pruščak on the organisation of the world. That translation, in the IV volume of 1824 Paris Journal Asiatique was published by the French Orientalist, Garcin de Tassy<sup>13</sup>. True,

<sup>8</sup> E. Blochet, *Catalogue des manuscrits turcs*, Paris Bibliotheque Nationale, t. I 1932 t. 2 1993; K. V. Zettersteen, *Die arabischen, persischen und türkischen Handschriften zu Universitätsbibliothek zu Uppsala*, 2, vol. Uppsala, 1930, 1935, E. Rossi, *Elenco dei manoscritti turchi*, Vaticano, 1953.

<sup>9</sup> J. Blaškovič, K. Petraček and R. Vesely, *Arabische, türkische und persische Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek in Bratislava*, Bratislava, 1961: Cf. K. Petraček, "Bratislavkaja kolekcija arabskih rukopisej i ego značenie dlja izučeniya kul'tury musul'man Bosnii", *Problemy vostokovedeniya*, No. 3 (1960), Moskva, pp. 137-140.

<sup>10</sup> V. F. Minorsky, *The Chester Beatty Library. A Catalogue of the Turkish Manuscripts and Miniatures*, Dublin, 1958.

<sup>11</sup> *Kriege in Bosnien in der Feldzügen 1737, 1738 und 1739* – Aus dem türkischen übersetzt von Johann Nepomuk Dubsy, Wien, 1789.

<sup>12</sup> *History of the War in Bosnia during the years 1737-1738 and 1739* – Translation by Charles Fraser, London, 1830.

<sup>13</sup> G. de Tassy, "Principes de sagesse touchant l'art de gouverner", *Journal Asiatique*, IV, Paris, 1824, pp. 213-226, 283-290.

that great French Orientalist made a mistake in reference to the name of the tractate's author and he attributed it to a Rizwan – ben Avd'oul Achissari. The great date in the research into the Muslim literature in Oriental languages was the publication of IV volume *History of Ottoman history*,<sup>14</sup> printed in Pest in 1836-1838, the author of which was a famous Austrian Orientalist and Ottomanist Joseph von Hammer – Purgstal. Since he was a very fruitful and considerably uncritical author, Hammer may be regarded as a translator and a compiler and systematiser of the Ottoman poetry registered in numerous 'tezkires' rather than an original and independent researcher of Ottoman literature. But we should not forget that Hammer was a pioneer of Oriental studies. His works which contain a number of Bosnian authors such as Adni and Hadum Jakub-pasha and Nerkesi and Sabit of Užice and also his contemporaries, represent a lexicon of Ottoman poets and their attempted poetry. As Džemal Čehajić has already mentioned, it may be a good thing that Hammer did not apply an aesthetic principle in his work and mentioned numerous *minores* who we are most interested in. Besides, his work is an important Bašagić's source which influenced him.

Another great history of Ottoman poetry, by English J. W. Gibb,<sup>15</sup> although slightly improved in terms of literature and history, is still very similar to Hammer's and especially in view of this topic. That work is composed of almost the same choice of poets, biography of creators and poetic attempts.

In dealing with this issue, we are interested in the great philological meticulous history of Arab literature and the overall writing of Carl Brockelmann.<sup>16</sup> Since Brockelmann did not impose on himself any time limits and thus considered everything preserved in manuscripts in the Arabic language as Arabic literature, regardless of ethnic origin of an author, his history covers, for example, Hasan Kafi and Šejh Jujo.

As from mid XIX century, Oriental gazettes began to be published in Europe: in Dresden, Vienna, Paris, London and so on. Those gazettes were rife with the studies and brief articles of philological character which should be systematically listed as they treat our heritage as well. That orientation in European Oriental studies has numerous followers.<sup>17</sup>

### III

With the development of Philological Oriental Studies, its scope and methodological orientation were broadened. The catalogues and historical reviews of Arab, Turkish and Persian origin were no longer the primary task

<sup>14</sup> J. von Hammer – Purgstall, *Geschichte der osmanischen Dichtkunst bis auf unsere Zeit*, I-IV, Pesth, 1836-1838, 1840-1848.

<sup>15</sup> E. J. W. Gibb, *A History of Ottoman Poetry*, Vol. I-V, London, 1900-1909., Cf. idem *Ottoman Literature, the Poets and Poetry of Turkey*, London, 1901.

<sup>16</sup> C. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*, Bd. I-II, Leiden, 1943-1949.

<sup>17</sup> One of the articles is the one we shall quote: F. von Kraelitz, "Die osmanischer Historiker Ibrahim Pečewi", *Der Islam*, VIII (1918), pp. 252-260.

of Oriental studies. It was now a monographic review of some important authors.

Later, reputed as Iranist, a pan-Check Orientalist, Jan Rypka, published in Prague in 1924 his dissertation, a monograph of great Ottoman poet of our origin, Sabit of Užice.<sup>18</sup> In some of his subsequent, works he wrote about Sabit.<sup>19</sup> He emphasised his rich vocabulary, a simple style and language and was critical toward Sabit's tasteless poetic reversals. Safvet bey Bašagić wrote a long polemic review of this book, in which he presented most transparently his own literal and historical views.<sup>20</sup>

In his lexicon of Ottoman historians,<sup>21</sup> Franz Babinger mentioned Hasan Kafi, Mehmed Halifa, Osman aga Temišvarlija, Pečevi and other historians who are believed to have been Bosniaks.

A two-volume collection *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta*, published under an editorial aegis of Jean Deny,<sup>22</sup> was devoted to Turkish literature. We find interesting a synthetic review of Ottoman literature by an excellent Turkologist W. Bjorkmann.<sup>23</sup> A major characteristic of that review is a very good overview of the development of Ottoman prose. Historian Ibrahim Pečevi was given a very high literary-historian recognition. W. Bjorkmann reviewed the works of Nerkesi and Sabit Užičanin and like other Ottomanists, he too awarded them with a very high place in the history of Ottoman literature.

There is no doubt that the best history of Turkish literature is the one written by Alessio Bombaci.<sup>24</sup> Written in a measured, erudite way, with a great sense of literal value and with a profound knowledge of Islamic and Ottoman civilisation, this history allowed only the best ones to enter and remain on its pages. Amongst them are Bosnians Sabit of Užice, Nerkesi and Ibrahim Pečevi. This valuable book, translated from Italian into French and English, should indeed become available to our readers as well, as it was warmly suggested by Midhat Begić.

<sup>18</sup> J. Rypka, *Beiträge zur Biographie, Charakteristik und Interpretation des türkischen Dichters Sabit*, Praze, 1924.

<sup>19</sup> Idem, "Sābits Ramazānijje", hrsg., übers. Und erklärt, *Islamica*, 3, 1927, pp. 435-478; "Über Sābits romantisches Epos Edhem ü Hüma", *Archiv Orientalni* 1, 1929, pp. 147-190; "Les Müfredāt de Sābit", *AO*, 18, 1950, pp. 444-478; "Supplement aux Müfredāt de Sābit", *AO*, 19, 1951, pp. 347-350.

<sup>20</sup> *Gajret*, X/1926, pp. 109-111; 158-159; 207-208; 250-251. Bašagić's very important article was unfortunately not published in the three books of Bašagić's selected works.

<sup>21</sup> F. Babinger, *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Osmanen und ihre Werke*, Leipzig, 1927; Cf. and his works "Ein Türkischen Stiftungsbrief des Nerkesi vom Jahre 1029/1620", *Mitteilungen zur Osmanischen Geschichte*, I/1922 pp. 151-166; "Fünf Bosnisch-osmanische Geschichtsschreiber", *GZM XLII/1930*, 2, pp. 169-172.

<sup>22</sup> *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta*, I-II, Wiesbaden, A. D. MCMLXIV.

<sup>23</sup> W. Bjorkmann, *Die Litteratur der Osmanischen Zeit*, pp. 403-635, idem.

<sup>24</sup> A. Bombaci, *Storia della letteratura turca*, Milano, 1956; Idem: *Histoire de la littérature turque*, Paris, 1968.

## IV

All the works analysed so far treat this creativity as an organic part of Ottoman literature, which it indeed is. A local review was of no interest to the authors.

Never had anyone before the French Orientalist of Yugoslav origin, Alexandre Popović, treated this creativity within European Oriental studies as part of the Ottoman literature. He set out to study in a systematic way Ottoman and Post-Ottoman Islam in the Balkans. He was particularly interested in the phenomena of the literary works in Oriental languages, produced by the people from those regions, *tesavvuf*, Islamic discipline, and *tariqat* religious practice in those regions and the processes of Europeanisation and modernisation within South-East European Islam. Rodinson's scholar joined a group of Orientalists who were interested primarily in the so-called peripheral Islam. In the light of a fundamental tenet of peripheral Islam, one should also understand its understanding of the Balkan Islam. Popović wrote numerous text most of which were of bibliographic character. They all represented studies of literary works of our people in oriental languages and the question as to whether it was an autochthonous Bosnian literature, literature of Yugoslav Muslims, and Turkish literature in Bosnia. Many of the remarks he made in a number of his works pertain to a romanticising view on the heritage, criticism and the absence of meticulousness in the study, the avoidance of some important methodological problems of the study of the works (for example, transcription and principles of reference to the sources). As such they are totally acceptable. Nevertheless, Popović was occasionally unjust and slightly ill-intended, particularly in his early texts, toward Yugoslav Orientalists. For, Hazim Šabanović cannot be criticised for the lack of meticulousness and precipitance in his interpretation. On the contrary, this scientist is reputed for his being extremely strict in his criticism. Also, Popović, perfectly knowledgeable of the facts, either avoided or rejected to accept some facts from the history of Bosnian Muslims. In the end, the term itself *Ottoman Literature of Yugoslav Muslims* (it refers only to Muslims in religious terms) is hardly violable primarily because he brought and treated together the literary works in Oriental languages in Bosnia and in Macedonia and in Kosovo, that is, the territories of old Serbia with the phenomenon of Turkish ethnic colonisation in the cities and villages, which had never been the case in Bosnia. This is why, the writings in Oriental languages, which originate from that part of Rumelia, exclusively belong to the history of Turkish literature.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>25</sup> A. Popovic, "La littérature ottomane des musulmans yougoslaves", *Journal Asiatique*, CCLIX/1971, 3-4, pp. 309-376; Idem, "Le poète Servi Bosnavi e-t-il existé", *Turcica* IX/2-X, Paris, 1978, pp. 30-38; Idem, "Littérature et nationalisme chez les Musulmans de Yougoslavie", *Actes du 8 e Congrès d'Union Européenne des Arabisants et Islamisants. Aix-en-Provence*, 1978, pp. 197-203.



A French monograph on Hasan Kaimi-baba<sup>26</sup> is available in Paris since most recently. The author of that study is Sarajevo's Ottomanist Jasna Šamić. The monograph represents the first book on a local Bosnian poet, published in one of European languages, from the time of publication of Milivoje – Mirza Malić's dissertation on Fevzi and his *Bulbulistan*.<sup>27</sup> But this has not remained an isolated quality. In addition to a very good criticism of Kaimi's poems and detailed remarks, Jasna Šamić elaborated a tesavvuf dimension of his poetry and made a good review of the specific features of Kaimi's Ottoman language. Particularly interesting are critical editions of some of Kaimi's poems in which one half of a verse in Ottoman language was written in Serbo-Croat. It was not a multi-language poem (*mulemma*) but the poet's lack of precision in applying poetic rules. The poet compensated for his inability to make a verse in the Ottoman language by looking for metrical units, in compliance with the *aruz*-rules, in the Serbo-Croat language. Further research should provide an answer to the question of whether it was an exception to a regional poetic particularity.

This would be the end of the summarised review, knowing that we have omitted many scientists and their works. The intention was not purposefully ill at all.

#### KNJIŽEVNA BAŠTINA BOSANSKIH MUSLIMANA NA ORIJENTALNIM JEZICIMA U SVJETLU EVROPSKE ORIJENTALISTIKE

##### SAŽETAK

Autor u ovom radu daje osvrt na radove o književnoj baštini bosanskih Muslimana na orijentalnim jezicima koje su napisali evropski orijentalisti. Njegov cilj nije bilo bibliografsko inventarisanje podataka o svim relevantnim radovima, nego prikaz metodološkog razvoja tih istraživanja u Evropi, kao i označavanje razlika koje se u evropskom pogledu na ovu baštinu uočavaju.

Dat je pregled početaka istraživanja, osvrt na najvažnije filološke poslove (katalozi i kritička izdanja), monografije i članke koji tretiraju i naše pitanje. U orijentalističkoj literaturi prvi prikazi ovog književnog stvaranja nalaze se u velikim historijskim pregledima turske poezije i arapske književnosti Hammera, Gibba i Brockelmanna. Među monografijama objavljenim u Evropi izdvajaju se dvije: Rypkina o Sabitu Užičaninu iz 1924. godine, odnosno knjiga Jasne Šamić o Hasan Kaimi-babi iz 1986. godine.

Sve do pojave radova Alexandra Popovića u evropskoj orijentalistici se na ovo književno stvaranje gledalo kao na sastavni dio osmanske književnosti. Popović je otvorio niz pitanja metodološke prirode u izučavanju te književnosti.

<sup>26</sup> J. Šamić, *Divân de Kâ'imî*, Paris, 1986.

<sup>27</sup> M. Malić, *Bulbulistan du sheikh Fevzi de Mostar*, Paris, 1935.

Pored toga, on već duži niz godina provodi sveobuhvatna prozopografska i književnohistorijska istraživanja književnosti na orijentalnim jezicima u jugoistočnoj Evropi te na Balkanu.

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SUMMARY

The present paper is the author's review of the works concerning literary heritage of the Bosnian Muslims which were written by European orientalists. The author's intention was not to give a bibliographical inventory of the data about all the relevant works, but to present metodological development of that studies in Europe, and to mark the noticable differences in the European standpoint of the heritage in question.

A survey of the beginning of the researches is given, as well as the review of the most important philological works (catalogues and critical edition), monographies and articles treating this problem. As for the oriental studies literature, the first reviews of the literary works of Bosnian Muslims are found in the great historical surveys of Turkish poetry and Arabic literature written by Hammer, Gibb and Brockelmann. Among the monographies published in Europe two are distinguished: J. Rypka's monography about Sabit of Užice, from 1924, and the book of Jasna Šamić about Hasan Khaimi-baba, from 1986.

Up to the Alexandre Popović's works, European oriental studies have treated these literary works as an integral part of the Ottoman literature. Popović started a number of metodological questions concerning the study of this literature. Apart from that, he is being engaged for a many years in the all-inclusive prosographical and literary-historical researches of the literature written in oriental languages in South-East Europe and Balkans.