Dervishes and Islam in Bosnia

The Ottoman Empire and its Heritage

POLITICS, SOCIETY AND ECONOMY

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Sufi dimensions to the formation of Bosnian Muslim society

By

Ines Aščerić-Todd

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Unless otherwise acknowledged in the captions, all photographs are author's own.

List of Abbreviations

EI^2	*Encyclopaedia of Islam 2nd ed.*, Leiden, 1960–2002
IA	*Islam Ansiklopedisi*, Istanbul, 1988–
POF	*Prilozi za Orijentalnu Filologiju*
BOA	Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi
GHB	Gazi Husrev-begova Biblioteka

A Note on Names and Transliteration

The nature of this study required the use of terms and names in several different languages. The task of choosing an appropriate form for these terms was made all the more difficult by the fact that most of them are shared between two or more languages, with variations in both pronunciation and spelling. This being the case, it was impossible to adopt one particular existing system of transliteration since this would not accommodate for all the languages involved, and if satisfactory from one point of view, say that of an Arabist, it would inevitably not be appropriate in a vast number of instances which required the use of terms of purely Turkish origin. It was likewise virtually impossible to derive a system which would be completely faultless and would not result in at least some inconsistencies. Hence, the system outlined below was derived solely with the aim of being easy to follow and by no means claims to be an accurate or the most appropriate way of dealing with the linguistic problem at hand, and although followed as rigorously as possible throughout the study, some inconsistencies will undoubtedly exist.

Wherever familiar English forms of the word exist, those have been used, regardless of the origin of the word (e.g. janissary, dervish, pasha etc.). For the sake of consistency, whenever possible, all other words are given in their Turkish form and modern Turkish alphabet is used throughout. Thus, the term for a trade-guild is *esnaf* regardless of the fact that this is the Arabic plural of *ṣanf* (*aṣnāf*); *icazet* is used instead of *ijāza*, *vakıf* instead of *waqf* etc. As much as possible, this extends even to proper names, both if their Turkish forms are sufficiently common and, in the case of less familiar names, if they were Ottoman at the time under discussion, regardless of their original or later form. Thus, Bedreddin is used instead of Badr al-Dīn, Iskender-pasha instead of its Bosnian form, Skender-paša. Only those names which are exclusively Bosnian are left in their current form (e.g. Magribija mosque rather than Maghribīya mosque).

Exceptions to this rule are of course purely Arabic words, as well as some religious terms and names which are better known in their Arabic form, such as *ṭarīqa* (instead of *tarikat*) or Qādirī (instead of Kaderi) and ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī.

In short, the forms in which both general terms and proper names are given were decided according to the following order of priority: English, Turkish, Arabic, if it is the only or more familiar form, and, finally, Bosnian in the case of exclusively Bosnian terms and names.

Following the same rules, modern Turkish spelling is used in transliteration of parts of Ottoman texts as well, except in the case of some religious terms and short phrases, and specifically Arabic names or words; for these (and the few instances of purely Arabic text) Arabic transliteration is used. In Arabic transliteration, the following simple conventions are followed: long vowels are indicated by a horizontal line above the letter (e.g. ā) and hard consonants by a dot below the letter (e.g. *ṣ*); *ʿayn* is represented by ʿand *hamza* by'.

Bosnian pronunciation:

c = 'ts' (as in 'waltz')
č = a hard 'ch' sound (as in 'true')
ć = a soft 'ch' sound (as in 'chalk')
dž = 'dg' (as in 'badge')
dj = soft 'g' (as in 'George')
g = always a hard 'g' (as in 'graphic')
j = 'y' (as in 'yoyo')
š = 'sh' (as in 'shoe')
ž = 'zh' (as in 'Zhivago').

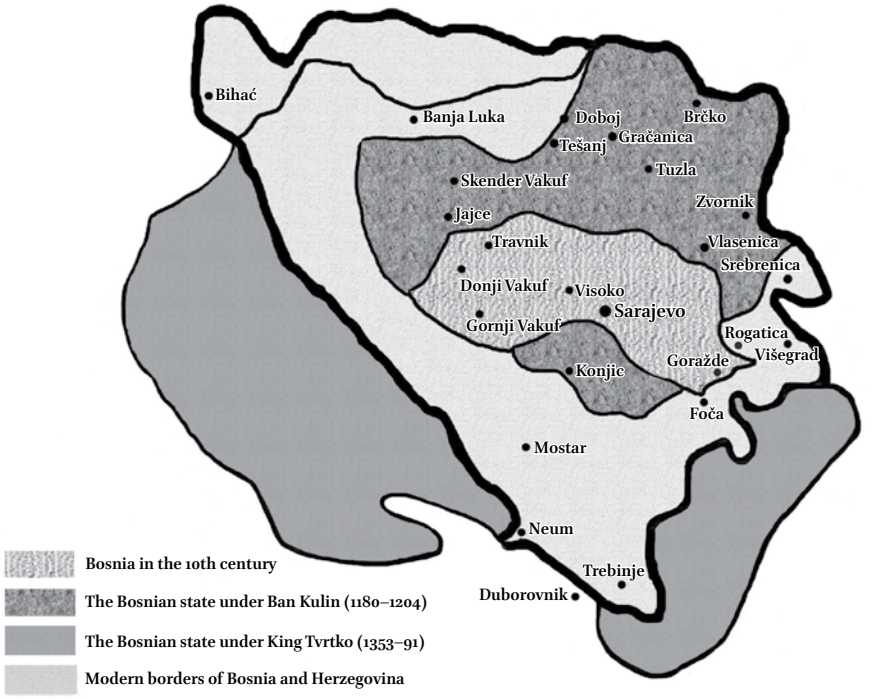

FIGURE 1 *A historical map of Bosnia.*

Introduction

Aims and Scope

The role played by dervish orders in the settlement of some areas of the Balkans following the Ottoman conquest, and, by extension, in the Islamisation[1] processes which occurred in the wake of it, has been recognised in a number of studies. These processes would follow a similar pattern, involving an individual or a group of dervish settlers arriving in an area with or soon after the Ottoman army, building and endowing a *tekke* (a Sufi lodge) or another institution of religious or charitable nature, and thus leaving a lasting impact on the area and its population. One of the first studies on this topic was Ömer Lütfi Barkan's article "Istilâ devirlerinin kolonizatör Türk dervişleri ve zâviyeler," concerned with dervish settlers in the south-eastern Balkans during the early Ottoman conquests in the region.[2] Another relatively early study, whose importance has not yet been surpassed and which is still among the most frequently quoted authorities on the subject, is Nedim Filipović's *Princ Musa i šejh Bedreddin*.[3] This lengthy work is concerned with the political and military upheavals in the Ottoman Empire in the early 15th century, triggered by the Ottoman defeat at the hands of Tamerlane at the battle of Ankara in 1402.[4] As a background to this, and to the revolt of Sheikh Bedreddin (d. 1420) which followed, Filipović provides an examination of the early Ottoman conquests in the Balkans and the nature of the conquering force which carried them out. According to Filipović, these troops consisted of three mutually connected elements of the Ottoman society of that time: *ghazis*, *akhis* and dervishes. The first term refers to a complex and historically somewhat controversial concept of 'religious warriors', whose ideology of holy war (*ghaza*), according to some historians, Filipović among them, played a crucial role in the early conquests and the

1 After some consideration, 'Islamisation' was deemed preferable to an alternative, such as 'conversions to Islam', for two reasons: firstly, from a purely practical point of view, 'Islamisation' seems to be the least unwieldy of such alternatives in sentences which require frequent repetition of the concept, and secondly, given the subject matter of the present study, the term 'Islamisation', with its connotation of an all-encompassing process which includes formal 'conversion' but is also applicable to a wider social context, seems more appropriate here.

2 Ömer Lütfi Barkan, "Istilâ devirlerinin kolonizatör Türk dervişleri ve zâviyeler," Osmanlı Imparatorluğunda bir iskân ve kolonizasyon metodu olarak vakıflar ve temlikler, *Vakiflar Dergisi*, II, Ankara, 1942.

3 Nedim Filipović, *Princ Musa i šejh Bedreddin*, Sarajevo, 1971.

4 Unless the use of Hijri dates is specifically required by the context, all dates in this study will be given in Common Era.

 | DOI 10.1163/9789004288447_002

expansion of the Ottoman Empire. The second refers to members of semi-military associations of young men, linked together by the concept of *futuwwa* – 'spiritual chivalry' or a code of noble conduct closely related to Sufism. Both of these groups, their origin and their character will be given more attention in Chapter 1 of this study. Going back to Filipović's argument, many dervish-warriors, together with *ghazis* and *akhis*, settled in the newly-conquered regions, and were subsequently responsible for propagating Islam among the local population of those regions. Building their *zaviyes* (an alternative term for a Sufi lodge, or a *tekke*, from the Arabic '*zāwiya*'), which usually had land attached to them, and by recruiting workers to cultivate this land and otherwise engaging with the local population, these dervishes were able to carry out their proselytising role among them.[5] Another good example of a process in which dervish-settlers played a major role in the character and development of an area following the Ottoman conquest, is the one in northern Greece, documented by Heath Lowry in *The Shaping of the Ottoman Balkans 1350–1550: the Conquest, Settlement and Infrastructural Development of Northern Greece*.[6] Lowry examines the case of the legendary warrior Evrenos Bey (d. 1417) and his descendants Evrenos-oğulları, who were responsible for conquering large areas of Western Thrace in the 14th century, and with their hospices, *imarets* (public kitchens), and other charitable institutions and endowments, completely changed the infrastructure of those areas and exerted a huge influence on the society there. Lowry's research further shows that among the troops which conquered those regions, such as those led by Evrenos, there were many dervish-warriors, who "almost certainly comprised the earliest Muslim settlers in the newly-conquered territories."[7]

When it comes to these kinds of activities of dervish orders in Bosnia,[8] the situation is somewhat different, for there is no single work devoted to this subject, and, a few notable exceptions notwithstanding,[9] generally little consideration has been given to the extent of dervish activities and the influence of Sufi

5 Filipović, *Princ Musa*, p. 12.

6 Heath Lowry, *The Shaping of the Ottoman Balkans 1350–1550: the Conquest, Settlement and Infrastructural Development of Northern Greece*, Istanbul, 2008.

7 Lowry, *The Shaping of the Ottoman Balkans*, p. 10.

8 Unless otherwise indicated, throughout this study the term 'Bosnia' will be used to refer to the country as a whole and will include the geographical areas of both Bosnia and Herzegovina (Herzegovina is the southern tip of the country and includes cities such as Mostar, Neum and Trebinje – see Figure 1).

9 The first of these is Adem Handžić's article "O ulozi derviša u formiranju gradskih naselja u Bosni u XV stoljeću" ('Concerning the role of dervishes in the formation of urban settlements

traditions in social, political and other spheres of life in Ottoman Bosnia.[10] As the following pages of this study will show, however, there is very good reason to believe that the processes described above – which involved dervish warrior-missionaries taking part in Ottoman military campaigns and subsequent settlement and establishment of Ottoman rule, and Islam, in the newly-conquered countries – were replicated in Bosnia, in spite of its conquest taking place considerably later (1463) than that of the areas examined in the existing studies on the subject. Thus, as will be seen in Chapter 1, there is evidence which suggests that dervishes were still an important part of the Ottoman conquering force during the conquest of Bosnia, and, as was shown to have been the case in other, earlier conquered regions of the Balkans, in Bosnia too, dervishes were among the first Muslim settlers in the newly-conquered territories. This is true with one caveat, however, which, as will be explained shortly, concerns the character of these dervish-settlers.

In all cases, dervishes and dervish orders associated with the Ottoman conquest and settlement in the Balkans are usually thought to have been heterodox, considered as such either due to some laxness in their religious beliefs and practices, such as in the case of the so-called 'wandering dervishes', lone preachers travelling from place to place and not necessarily even affiliated to a

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in Bosnia in the 15th century'), *Studije o Bosni: historijski prilozi iz osmansko-turskog perioda*, Istanbul, 1994, which examines a number of examples in which dervish *tekke*s could be identified as playing a vital part in the settlement and subsequent urban development of an area. These examples will be given more attention later in this study, most notably in Chapter 3. The second exception are a number of articles devoted to the 16th century Hamzevi order of dervishes which, in the course of the discussion of the persecution of its members, highlight the order's political dimensions. See Muhamed Hadžijahić's articles: "Hamzevije u svjetlu poslanica Užičkog šejha," *POF*, III–IV/1952–53, Sarajevo, 1953, and "Udio Hamzevija u atentatu na Mehmed-pašu Sokolovića," *POF*, V/1954–55, Sarajevo, 1955; see also Adem Handžić and Muhamed Hadžijahić, "O progonu Hamzevija u Bosni 1573 godine," *POF*, XX–XXI/1970–71, Sarajevo, 1974, and Slobodan Ilić, "Hamzevijska i Hurufijska jeres u Bosni kao reakcija na političku krizu Osmanske Imperije u drugoj polovini 16. vijeka," *POF*, vol. 41, Sarajevo, 1991.

10 There are of course general studies on dervish orders and Sufism in Bosnia, the most comprehensive work to date being Džemal Ćehajić's *Derviški redovi u Jugoslovenskim zemljama sa posebnim osvrtom na Bosnu i Hercegovinu* ('Dervish orders in Yugoslav lands, with special reference to Bosnia and Herzegovina'), Sarajevo, 1986, which gives a very good account of the various dervish orders present in Bosnia throughout its history and provides a useful general reference on the subject. See also his earlier article: Džemal Ćehajić, "Društveno-politički, religiozni, književni i drugi aspekti derviških redova u Jugoslovenskim zemljama," *POF*, 34/1984, Sarajevo, 1985.

formal *ṭarīqa* (Sufi or dervish order), or, even more frequently, due to their tolerance of, and, in some cases, even affinity towards Christian religious tradition, such as in the case of the Bektashi order of dervishes, who adopted a number of Christian customs, like drinking wine and the confession, for instance.[11] As to the reasons why these kinds of dervishes would, in spite of their religious heterodoxy, be supported by the Ottoman ruling power, one should bear in mind that this was the time when these religious elements had a very strong influence in all parts of the Ottoman society, including the military and even the court itself.[12] The government benefited from the help of these dervish-warriors during the conquest, and, by providing them with land in the newly-conquered territories, it ensured not only the establishment of Ottoman presence there, but also a degree of control over those religious groups.

It is the above-mentioned perceived 'syncretism' – the concept which, in its simplest form, refers to blending of elements of belief and practices from different religious traditions[13] – of dervish orders, in other words, the propensity of some of them for tolerating or even adopting non-Islamic traditions or customs, which is seen as the most important asset these dervishes had in their role as missionaries, spreading Islam in the southern Balkans conquered up to and including the early 15th century. By many this is seen as the main reason why dervish orders would have been particularly suitable for proselytising activities among the Balkan Christians and would have been an important factor in the Islamisation processes in those countries. Thus, for instance, Sheikh Bedreddin's rebellion is seen as an expression of Islamic mysticism in terms of

11 The Bektashi order was founded by a 13th-century Persian dervish Hajji Baktash Veli, and later became very popular throughout the Ottoman Empire, especially in some south-eastern areas of the Balkans, such as Albania. Because of its adoption of Shi'a traditions, as well as some Christian practices, it is considered to be one of the main heterodox dervish orders in Islam. For more on the Bektashis see Ihsan Mesut Erişen and Kemal Samancigil, *Haci Bektaş Veli: Bektaşilik ve Alevilik Tarihi*, Istanbul, 1966, Mehmet Eröz, *Türkiye'de Alevîlik Bektâşîlik*, Ankara, 1990, and Ahmet Yaşar Ocak, *Baktaşi Menâkıbnâmelerinde Islam Öncesi Inanç Motifleri*, Istanbul, 1983.

12 For more on these dervishes see Ahmet T Karamustafa, *God's Unruly Friends: Dervish Groups in the Islamic Later Middle Period, 1200–1550*, Salt Lake City, 1994. See also Ahmet Yaşar Ocak, *Osmanlı Imparatorluğu'nda Marjinal Sûfilik: Kalenderîler* (*XIV–XVIII. Yüzyıllar*), Ankara, 1992, and Halil Inalcık, "Dervish and Sultan: An Analysis of the Otman Baba Vilayetnamesi," *The Middle East and the Balkans under the Ottoman Empire, Essays on Economy and Society*, Bloomington, Indiana, 1993.

13 For problems surrounding the use of this term, both generally and in relation to dervish orders specifically, see *A Note on 'Syncretism' and 'Heterodoxy'* at the end of the Introduction.

the equality of all religions, which challenged the established borders between various creeds and churches,[14] and his success in rallying people on his side is considered to have been in large part due to his 'syncretic' ideology:

> Sheikh Bedreddin, the son of a gazi and the daughter of the Byzantine commander whose fortress he had captured, did not advocate forced conversion or brutal repression of the Christians but a utopian synthesis of different faiths, among other things, and he and his lieutenants managed to gather thousands of Muslims and Christians willing to fight against the Ottoman army.[15]

The remote border provinces of the Ottoman Empire are thought to have been particularly conducive to such popular and 'syncretistic' influences, due to the rural nature of those environments and the prevalence within them of the more popular or 'folk' versions of Christian traditions and customs:

> [T]he people of the marches did not see a contradiction between striving to expand their faith and engaging in conciliatory (not necessarily insincere) gestures toward members of the other faith [...] Very probably, they were acutely aware of the wonders syncretism could work.[16]

In fact, the concept of 'religious syncretism' in various forms is very often taken as the starting point in the consideration of the Islamisation processes in the Ottoman Empire in general, and in the Balkans in particular, and is thought of as a major facilitating factor in the conversions of Christian population to Islam. One work which deals with 'religious syncretism' from a number of different view-points is Tijana Krstić's *Contested Conversions to Islam*.[17] In this work, which provides an examination of religious dynamics and a history of conversions to Islam in the Ottoman Empire, Krstić argues that in the earlier periods, that is to say, up to and including the early 16th century, the 'syncretic' tendencies – such as arguing Jesus' precedence over the prophet Muhammad – of some Ottoman scholars and mystics, who misinterpreted or exaggerated Jesus' status in the thought of the great Andalusian Sufi philosopher Ibn

14 Filipović, *Princ Musa*, pp. 730–732.

15 Cemal Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds: the Construction of the Ottoman State*, Berkeley, 1995, p. 143.

16 Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds*, p. 72.

17 Tijana Krstić, *Contested Conversions to Islam: Narratives of Religious Change in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire*, Stanford, 2011.

'Arabī (d. 1240), acted as an added incentive for those Christians contemplating conversion to Islam.[18] Indeed, she proposes that some of the writings of these scholars were consciously 'syncretic' – by presenting Islam as a continuation, rather than an abrogation, of the previous religious traditions of Judaism and Christianity[19] – in order to appear attractive to potential converts, though this latter argument seems a somewhat over-stretched application of the term 'syncretic', a tendency which Krstić herself discusses elsewhere in her book and which will be mentioned in more detail here in *A Note on 'Syncretism' and Heterodoxy'* at the end of the Introduction.

Consideration of 'religious syncretism', understood more specifically in the sense of affinity between certain aspects or members of different religious traditions, is, in relation to conversions to Islam in the Balkans, often thought to be particularly applicable in the context of heterodox elements of both religious traditions, namely Islam and Christianity, and these elements are seen as especially compatible with one another. Thus, Irène Mélikoff has noted that Börklüce Mustafa, another rebellious dervish in Anatolia in the early 15th century, a companion of Sheikh Bedreddin, was apparently close to heterodox groups of Franciscans, who were Cathars, members of a Neo-Manichaean Christian heretical movement.[20] She further concludes that he must have been a convert from Christianity in the first place, and then later 'reconverted' to Catharism, which implies a level of affinity and almost interchangeability between Muslim heterodoxy and Christian heresy. Linking Christian heresy with conversions to Islam is an important feature of the long and controversial history of the subject of the Islamisation process in Bosnia, which, although strictly speaking outside the scope of this study, is, because of its importance, briefly outlined in the next section. Here, with reference to the particular observation made by Mélikoff, it will suffice to say that, if anything, Bosnia would appear to provide an example of argument to the contrary: in Bosnia, the Franciscans were the chief representatives of the Catholic Church following the Ottoman conquest, and remained active, albeit in greatly reduced numbers, throughout the Ottoman period, but there does not seem to be any evidence of their either descending into heresy or having any link to the

18 Krstić, *Contested Conversions*, p. 95.

19 Krstić, *Contested Conversions*, p. 95.

20 Irène Mélikoff, Review of *Religious Quest and National Identity in the Balkans*, edited by Celia Hawkesworth, Muriel Heppel and Harry Norris, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, vol. 66, no. 1, 2003, p. 84. For more on Christian medieval heresies in general see the next section here.

Islamisation process.[21] The dynamics between different Christian communities found in Bosnia following the Ottoman conquest are also addressed in the next section of the Introduction.

As for the part potentially played by dervish orders in the Islamisation process in Bosnia, generally, the existing considerations of this question are brief and limited in scope. One very broad observation on the subject reads:

> It should be mentioned that dervishes too played an important role in the spread of Islam and Islamic culture in our lands. With their teachings and interpretations they made the strict tenets of orthodox Islam more accessible to the common people.[22]

It is this 'folk' character of dervish orders which forms the basis of most of the few existing reflections on the issue. In other words, they are based on recognition of an important characteristic of dervish orders, namely the popular appeal of the orders throughout the Islamic world in general, and the Ottoman Empire in particular. Moreover, here too, in line with the prevailing view on the subject, formed on the basis of studies of other areas of the Balkans, 'religious syncretism' is taken as the starting point of the discussion, and is often the main or sole aspect under consideration:

> One important factor in becoming Muslim was that converts did not have to change their language or their way of life to any great extent. Muslim peasants were influenced by popular Islam and well represented by some of the Muslim religious orders whose *tekkes* became centres of this type of Islam and by the syncretistic beliefs which enjoyed popularity.[23]

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21 For more on the Franciscans in Bosnia following the Ottoman conquest, see Ivan Lovrenović, *Bosnia: a Cultural History*, New York, 2001, pp. 128–131, and Noel Malcolm, *Bosnia: a Short History*, London, 1996, pp. 53, 55–56. It should be noted here that Malcolm's book is one of the very few modern syntheses of Bosnian history and certainly the only one of its kind in English. Bosnian history has often been limited to brief treatments of only a certain period or merely as a part of the history of Yugoslavia, or even of Serbia or Croatia. In spite of its title, the book is a thoroughly researched and well-founded account of the history of the geographical region of modern Bosnia and Herzegovina, and provides a good reference for any aspect of the subject.

22 Behija Zlatar, "Bosna i Hercegovina u okvirima Osmanskog carstva (1463–1593)," in Ibrahim Tepić and Asaf Džanić, eds., *Bosna i Hercegovina od najstarijih vremena do kraja II svjetskog rata*, Sarajevo, 1994, p. 88.

23 Alexander Lopašić, "Islamisation of the Balkans with Special Reference to Bosnia," *Journal of Islamic Studies*, 5:2, 1994, p. 176. Similar observations for the Balkans as a whole can be

However, the link established through these observations between dervish orders and the Islamisation process is rather indirect: the popular character of dervish orders is given on the one hand, and examples of the existence of 'syncretistic' beliefs and practices in Bosnia – such as Muslims giving alms to an Orthodox monastery or the recognition by Muslims of Catholic monks' ability to exorcise evil spirits – on the other.[24] The existence of mutual respect for, or even active observance of each other's religious customs among different religious communities in rural Bosnia, or Balkans in general for that matter, does not necessarily indicate the presence of dervish orders in those areas, and does not of itself prove any involvement of dervishes or Sufism in the conversion to Islam of the Muslims living in those areas. This is perhaps a good example of how, following the general trend to consider 'syncretism' as a starting point and a basis for explanations of conversions to Islam in the Balkans, in some cases, this concept tends to be over-emphasised and its application possibly over-stretched. As already mentioned, more will be said on this shortly in the section entitled *A Note on 'Syncretism' and 'Heterodoxy'*.

This point is also closely related to the above-mentioned caveat regarding the character of Bosnian dervish-settlers and dervish orders in general: while it may well be true that many of the dervish warrior-settlers who came to Bosnia during the very early Ottoman campaigns, before the official conquest in 1463, were those individual 'wandering dervishes', or members of certain heterodox dervish orders, for the moment at any rate, we don't know if and to what extent this would have been the case, as the evidence on this is rather sparse; apart from a few cases of dervishes whose names indicate that they may have been those antinomian popular preachers, and a number of Bektashi tekkes we know to have been built in those early periods of Ottoman presence in Bosnia (see Chapters 1 and 2 of this study), there is simply not much evidence there of these kinds of dervish orders being the chief actors in these processes in Bosnia. What evidence there is, it shows that, as far as Bosnia is concerned, the colonising and missionary roles previously noted mainly in connection with heterodox dervishes were there at least equally, if not more so, fulfilled by the more recognised and orthodox dervish orders. This seems to have been particularly true of the later decades of the 15th and in the early 16th century (see Chapter 3 of this study). Although this may at first sight seem to go against the prevailing opinion on the subject, established in the context of the discussions of other areas of the Balkans, it need not necessarily be surprising, for, as

found, for instance, in Anton Minkov's *Conversion to Islam in the Balkans: kisve bahası petitions and Ottoman Social Life, 1670–1730*, Leiden, 2004, pp. 103–106.

24 Lopašić, Islamisation of the Balkans with Special Reference to Bosnia, pp. 176–177.

already noted, the conquest of Bosnia came considerably later than the conquest of those areas, and at the time when the Ottoman Empire was already beginning its 'transformation' to religious orthodoxy and the Ottoman court had started to patronise more orthodox Sufi orders: in her *Mystiques, état et sociéte: les Halvetis dans l'aire balkanique de la fin du XVe siècle à nos jours*, Nathalie Clayer has shown that the Halveti order of dervishes accompanied the Ottoman army very much as representatives of the official, orthodox Islam of the establishment.[25] The situation in Bosnia confirms this: the popularity of the Halveti order among the Ottoman ruling class there is well illustrated by its early 16th century-governor and famous benefactor Gazi Husrev-bey, who was a patron of the Halvetis and most probably a member of the order himself (see Chapter 2 of this study).

Bearing in mind everything said so far, as a contribution to the existing literature on this subject, the present study will aim to provide an assessment of the possible role of dervish orders in the Islamisation process in Bosnia along lines somewhat different from those taken in the few current considerations of the issue. Thus, taking into account the colonising and associated community-building roles of dervish-settlers, like the ones observed in the above-mentioned studies of other areas of the Balkans, the following pages will examine the extent of the participation of dervish orders in a process that may usefully be referred to as the 'formation of Bosnian Muslim society'. This process should be thought of as one which encompasses military conquest and early settlement as its starting points, but then goes beyond these initial phases to include further aspects of the development of an Ottoman-Muslim society in Bosnia, such as the emergence of a new 'Muslim' urban infrastructure, and Islamic religious, social and economic institutions. While much wider in scope, the process of the formation of Bosnian Muslim society is inextricably linked to that of Islamisation, since, of course, a crucial pre-requisite for the existence of this society, or, looked at from another angle, the end result of its formation process, is its Muslim population.

Using settlement, community and town formation, and religious, economic and social life in these communities as the basic markers of what constituted the newly emerging Bosnian Muslim society, the succeeding chapters will provide an examination of the influence which dervish orders and Sufi traditions

25 Nathalie Clayer, *Mystiques, état et sociéte: les Halvetis dans l'aire balkanique de la fin du XVe siècle à nos jours*, Leiden, 1994. The Halveti order (Ar. Khalwatīya) was founded in Iran by 'Umar al-Khalwatī (d. 1397) and takes its name after its emphasis on seclusion and retreat (*khalwa*). The order spread throughout the Ottoman Empire, reaching the height of its popularity in the 15th and 16th centuries.

exerted in Bosnia in the first two centuries of Ottoman rule there, from the first half of the 15th century[26] until around the end of the 16th century, this being the period which saw both the conception of Bosnian Muslim society and the end stages of its formation, and marked the most intensive phase of the Islamisation process. They will examine the different roles played by dervish orders, ranging from military to economic and social, and, as will be seen, extending to almost all areas of life in Ottoman Bosnia. The discussion will also offer an assessment of how this influence of dervish orders affected the Islamisation process and to what extent it enabled them to play a significant part in the process.

Although the intention of the work is to include all environments and communities in which dervishes and Sufi traditions had an influence, the ensuing discussion admittedly displays a certain amount of unavoidable bias in favour of the urban environment, for several reasons: firstly, most of the benchmarks set as the measure of the development of Bosnian Muslim society are necessarily of urban character, such as, for instance, the infrastructure, including the building of mosques, *tekkes*, and other Islamic institutions, or economic organisations like the trade-guilds; secondly, while some of the examples examined may have, at the beginning of the Ottoman period, started off as rural areas, they were later transformed into urban ones, precisely by undergoing some or most of the aspects of the process of the formation of Bosnian Muslim society, and, thus, those that did not undergo this process are likely to have been left out; finally, in many cases the discussion is restricted to urban environments simply due to the relative wealth of sources on those areas when compared to the amount of sources available for rural areas. The above caveat aside, the rural communities of Bosnia are not altogether exempt from the discussion, and wherever evidence of relevant dervish activities or Sufi influences in these communities was found, those examples are included.[27]

While it is beyond the scope of the present study to engage in any detail with the wider subject of Islamisation in Bosnia, as already noted, saying a word or two on this issue as a way of background to the topic at hand nevertheless seems necessary here; thus, what follows is a brief overview of the history and nature of the Islamisation process in Bosnia, and includes an outline of

26 Although the formal conquest of Bosnia led by Mehmed II took place in 1463, some areas saw some form of Ottoman presence much earlier, and the initial stages of the formation of Bosnian Muslim society in those areas began almost decades before the official conquest. A much more detailed discussion on this follows in Chapter 1.

27 Most notable in this respect is Part III, where a large part of the discussion focuses on the rural communities around the town of Tuzla in north-eastern Bosnia.

the historical and political contexts in which the debate on this problem evolved and a summary of the current state of scholarship on the subject.

Islam in Bosnia – History, Historiography and Political Dimensions

1463 – the year in which Mehmed the Conqueror had the last Bosnian king beheaded – marked the beginning of more than four centuries of Ottoman rule in Bosnia. Although Bosnia and its neighbours were conquered by the Ottomans in much the same way and stayed under their rule for more or less the same amount of time, the Ottoman rule in Bosnia was nevertheless different from those in neighbouring countries. The particular nature of this rule manifested itself in the large-scale Islamisation of the local Christian population which took place in Bosnia within the first two centuries of the Ottoman period and which thus differentiated Bosnia from its Balkan neighbours who were likewise under the Ottomans: apart from Albania, no other European province of the Empire experienced such a process on a scale comparable to that in Bosnia.[28]

From the end of the 19th century onwards a whole range of theories have emerged from the attempt to explain the phenomenon of this large-scale Islamisation, and numerous reasons for conversions have been put forward, some plausible, others not so plausible, not least because of the political overtones which have permeated virtually all studies on the subject from the very beginning of its scholarly treatment right up to the present day.

According to one view, which provides a good example of the long tradition of historiography conditioned by nationalist ideologies and political agendas, all of the conversions were enforced and the Islamisation of the Bosnian population was the result of a planned and state-sponsored campaign.[29] One of the earliest proponents of this view, held almost exclusively by Bosnian and former Yugoslavian Christians (either Catholic or Orthodox), was the world-renowned Bosnian novelist Ivo Andrić, who in his short doctoral thesis, written

28 The significance and the scale of the Islamisation in Bosnia may be illustrated by the following comparison: in 1469, a few years after the official Ottoman conquest, the population of Bosnia consisted of 37,125 Christian and 332 Muslim households, while by the end of the 16th century the Muslims had become the majority, one report on the Bosnian population from 1624 suggesting roughly 225,000 Christians and 450,000 Muslims (Malcolm, *Bosnia*, pp. 52–54).

29 This tradition of nationalist historiography in the context of Islamisation is not unique to Bosnia or even the lands of the former Yugoslavia and is found all over former Ottoman provinces in the Balkans (see Tijana Krstić, *Contested Conversions*, p. 21).

in 1924 in Graz, Austria, goes to great lengths to demonstrate how the Islamisation of Bosnia was an enormous calamity, not just for the country itself, but for the region as a whole.[30]

This, he argues, is because the Ottoman conquest came at a crucial moment, at which Bosnia was about to decide to which form of Christianity it was going align itself, but the arrival of the Ottomans prevented this, and, as a result, hindered Bosnian cultural and spiritual development – which, according to Andrić, is possible only in the context of Christianity – the main obstacle to this development being precisely the Bosnian Islamicized population.[31]

As for the Islamisation itself, Andrić holds that it was entirely the result of an intentional, state-sponsored campaign, which was finally completed by the end of the 16th century. The two ways in which this campaign was carried out were the economic pressure on landowners, who had to convert to Islam in order to keep their land, and the so-called 'blood-tribute', which is what the institution of the *devşirme* – the recruitment of Christian youths (*acemi oğlanlar*) for military service – was popularly known as among the Christian population of Bosnia and Serbia.[32]

This view of the Islamisation process has long since been challenged and rejected by most, given the impossibility of substantiating its two main arguments; for, as is amply illustrated by the Ottoman tax registers (*defters*), which list Christian holders of military fiefs (*timars*), landowners did not have to convert in order to keep their land, and even if they had, their conversions would have accounted for only a fraction of the total Islamicized population. The same argument is valid for the institution of the *devşirme*, which was not used as a vehicle for local Islamisation: it, too, covered only a small proportion of the population, which, in any case, cannot be counted among the Islamicized population of Bosnia, since, as a rule, the converted Christian boys who were collected through the *devşirme* did not stay in their homeland and only a handful of them ever came back. Moreover, the fact that these arguments could equally apply to other Balkan regions of the Ottoman Empire, such as Serbia, which did not experience a large-scale Islamisation process, further adds to their implausibility.

Nevertheless, the main premise of this view, namely the enforced nature of the conversions, is still found as the principal explanation for the Islamisation

30 Ivo Andrić, *Razvoj duhovnog života u Bosni pod uticajem Turske vladavine*, Beograd, 1995 (The English edition of the work, *The Development of Spiritual Life in Bosnia under the Influence of Turkish Rule*, was published in Durham, North Carolina, 1990).

31 Andrić, *Razvoj duhovnog života*, p. 26.

32 Andrić, *Razvoj duhovnog života*, pp. 27–29.

process in much more recent literature, written in the same tradition of nationalist historiography.

Thus, Milan Vasić, writing in 1991, holds that there can be no question of any voluntary embracement of Islam by the local Christian population, since even those who seemingly became Muslims of their own accord were indirectly forced to do so. This, he asserts, was due to the fact that the internal organisation of the Ottoman Empire and its institutions created social and economic circumstances which imposed Islam upon the Empire's non-Muslim subjects and forced them into conversion, which was how the "illusion" of the voluntary nature of the embracement of Islam was created.[33] Although Vasić shares Andrić's opinion that the main factor in the Islamisation process was the economic one, he mentions others, which, according to him, served to enforce conversions to Islam, such as the inferior religious position of non-Muslims, the suppression of Christian religious institutions, the settlement of "foreign Muslim elements" in the area, and the creation of Muslim religious, educational and cultural institutions committed to the propagation of Islam.

The second view of the Islamisation process in Bosnia is based on the thesis that the members of the Bosnian medieval religious institution, known as the Bosnian Church ('crkva Bosanska'), were Christian neo-Manichaean heretics, in most cases identified with Eastern Bogomils, in some with Western Cathars.[34]

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33 Milan Vasić, "Islamizacija u Jugoslovenskim zemljama," *POF*, vol. 41, Sarajevo, 1991, pp. 426–427. For a more up-to-date treatment of this issue see Krstić, *Contested Conversions*, which seeks to illuminate some of the social and political circumstances in which the Islamisation in the European provinces of the Ottoman Empire took place. Examining both examples of personal experiences of Christian converts and the official policies which influenced those conversions, the work assesses the extent to which some of the conversions were indeed voluntary and others could be seen to have been imposed by social or political pressures and therefore voluntary only in an 'illusory' sense. Somewhat similar to this, though much more based on statistical analysis, is Anton Minkov's *Conversion to Islam*, which also considers some of the economic and social motives behind conversions of mainly Orthodox Christian population in the Balkans (see Minkov, *Conversion to Islam*, particularly Chapter 3, pp. 64–109).

34 For a general overview of neo-Manichaeism see Steven Runciman, *The Medieval Manichee: a Study of the Christian Dualist Heresy*, Cambridge, 1947. On Manichaeism see, for instance, Jes P Asmussen, *Manichaean Literature: Representative Texts Chiefly from Middle Persian and Parthian Writings*, New York, 1975, or Samuel Lieu, *Manichaeism in the Later Roman Empire and Medieval China: a Historical Survey*, Manchester, 1985. On Bogomils see Dimitri Obolensky, "The Bogomils," *The Eastern Churches Quarterly*, Oct–Dec. 1945, and his *The Bogomils: a Study in Balkan Neo-Manichaeism*, Cambridge, 1948; on Bogomils and the Bosnian Church, see Jaroslav Šidak's *"Crkva Bosanska" i problem bogumilstva u Bosni*, Zagreb, 1940, and *Studije o "Crkvi bosanskoj" i bogumilstvu*, Zagreb, 1975. On other medieval

In an attempt to explain such an extensive Islamisation in Bosnia, it has been proposed that at the time of the Ottoman conquest a large proportion of Bosnia's population belonged to the Bosnian Church and that this – since all trace of the latter effectively disappeared soon after the conquest – must account for the large number of conversions to Islam.

One of the earliest proponents of this view, Safet Bašagić, suggests that not only did the Bosnian Bogomils, whose ranks were filled with peasants and notables alike, all voluntarily convert to Islam when the Ottomans arrived, but they in fact collaborated with the Ottomans long before the conquest and thus helped the fall of Bosnia to the Ottoman Empire. They did this, so he argues, because of the religious persecution they suffered at the hands of the Catholic Church, and because of the Hungarian pretensions to Bosnian territory, which at that time could only be countered by an even more powerful outside force, namely the Ottomans.[35]

To these, another reason was soon added: the similarity between the teachings and practices of Bosnian Bogomils and those of Islam. In spite of how peculiar this claim may seem even at first sight – inasmuch as it proposes an affinity between a strongly monotheistic religion and a purely dualist movement – it nevertheless took very strong root and in fact completely overshadowed all other reasons put forward as causes of mass conversions of Bogomils. Thus, another early proponent of the 'Bogomil theory' begins one of his studies on the subject in the following manner:

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heresies, including the Cathars, see Yuri Stoyanov, *The Other God: Dualist Religions from Antiquity to the Cathar Heresy*, Yale, 2000. It is beyond the scope of this study to go into a debate on the nature of the Bosnian Church and it will suffice here to say that this thesis has by now been almost completely disproved. While this institution, which was essentially of the character of a monastic order, may have been at times extremely isolated from Rome and, as a result, some of its rites and practices may have deteriorated in their quality or fallen into neglect altogether, the only evidence of its heresy is in the shape of external reports on the presence of neo-Manichaean dualists in Bosnia; the little available evidence on the Bosnian Church itself does not indicate any presence of dualism within its beliefs and practices. For a concise but thorough overview of this issue and the debates surrounding it see Malcolm's chapter on the Bosnian Church (Malcolm, *Bosnia*, pp. 27–42); see also Lovrenović, *Bosnia*, pp. 51–55 (who comes very close to correctly identifying the Bogomil theory as a 19th century Austro-Hungarian academic invention, but any further explication of this is best left for a separate study).

35 Safvet-beg Bašagić, "Patareni i Islam," *Gajret*, XI: 12, Sarajevo, 1927, p. 178. For examples of early Western works supporting this thesis see William Miller, *Essays on the Latin Orient*, Cambridge, 1921, or Henry C Darby, "Bosnia and Hercegovina," in Stephen Clissold, ed., *A Short History of Yugoslavia: From Early Times to 1966*, Cambridge, 1966.

> The grandfathers of the Muslims of Bosnia-Herzegovina were Bogomils who *en masse* voluntarily converted to Islam…In my opinion, and I am sure I am not wrong on this, the strongest cause of this lies in the very beliefs of the Bogomils which were closer to Islamic beliefs than to the Catholic or Orthodox ones.[36]

In spite of its obvious shortcomings, the Bogomil theory continued to permeate most works on the topic and has been repeated over and over again along the following lines:

> A special case of peaceful conversion to Islam is Bosnia, where, shortly after the conquest in 1463 a considerable number of the population, Christian peasants and lesser nobility, adopted Islam; many of them belonged to a Christian sect called the Bogomils…[37]

In the highly politicised atmosphere of the 1990s,[38] another trend of nationalist historiography emerged, this time initiated by Bosnian Muslim scholars, who, under pressure from Serbian and Croatian nationalism to provide a historical continuity for the distinct 'national' identity of today's Muslim population of Bosnia,[39] gave a fresh boost to the Bogomil theory. New works, such as those of Muhamed Hadžijahić and Enver Imamović,[40] reiterated the theory's old premises and put renewed emphasis on the *en masse* character of the Bogomil conversions, placing the Bogomil theory once again at the forefront of the discussion.

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36 Mehmed Handžić, "Glavni uzrok prelaza bogumila na Islam," *Narodna Uzdanica*, Kalendar za 1935, Sarajevo, 1935, p. 77. See also his "Jedan prilog povijesti prvih dana širenja Islama u Bosni i Hercegovini," *Narodna Uzdanica,* Kalendar za 1938, god. VI, Sarajevo, 1936, and *Islamizacija Bosne i Hercegovine i porijeklo bosansko-hercegovačkih muslimana*, Sarajevo, 1940.

37 Alexander Lopašić, "Islamisation of the Balkans: Some General Considerations," in Jennifer M Scarce, ed., *Islam in the Balkans*, Edinburgh, 1979, p. 50.

38 On the background to the 1990s war in Bosnia see generally Malcom, *Bosnia*.

39 For an outline of how this identity was forged see Cornelia Sorabji, "Islam and Bosnia's Muslim Nation," in Francis W Carter and Harry T Norris, eds., *The Changing Shape of the Balkans*, London, 1996, and Fikret Adanir, "The Formation of a 'Muslim' Nation in Bosnia-Hercegovina: a Historiographic Discussion," in Fikret Adanir and Suraiya Faroqhi, eds., *The Ottomans and the Balkans: a Discussion of Historiography*, Leiden, 2002. On this subject see also Francine Friedman, *The Bosnian Muslims: Denial of a Nation*, Oxford, 1996.

40 See Muhamed Hadžijahić, *Porijeklo bosanskih Muslimana*, Sarajevo, 1990, Muhamed Hadžijahić, Mahmud Traljić and Nijaz Šukrić, *Islam i Muslimani u Bosni i Hercegovini*, Sarajevo, 1991, and Enver Imamović, *Korijeni Bosne i Bosanstva*, Sarajevo, 1995.

Finally, as a kind of middle way between the previous two, a third view of the Islamisation process can be identified, one characterised by a general tendency towards moderation in all aspects of the problem. In the first place, although not completely rejected, the Bogomil theory was subjected to criticism and in the course of time underwent certain modifications. Such a modified approach can be seen in the following statement:

> It might be perfectly true that with time the great majority of the Bogomils, Paulicians, and other 'heretics' turned to Islam, but it appears unlikely that they were the spearheads of conversion.[41]

The main reason for this change lies in the appearance of the first analyses of Ottoman *defter*s, which showed that the process of the embracement of Islam by the Bosnian population was a gradual one and took almost two centuries to complete. It was this evidence of the gradual nature of the Islamisation process, rather than any analysis of the Bogomil theory itself, that became the main cause of the departure from some of the old premises of the theory. Thus, modifying his earlier views, in 1994 Alexander Lopašić writes:

> For a long time it was believed that the members of the 'Bosnian Church' converted in large numbers to Islam…Defters (tax registers) certainly show that the process of conversion to Islam was gradual, even slow, and that the 'Bogomil betrayal' and 'mass conversion' to Islam are myths…[42]

What the *defters* also showed was a number of individuals designated in them as '*kristian*', a category distinct from '*kâfir*', traditionally used by the Ottomans for Christians in general, both Catholic and Orthodox.[43] Because of this, these '*kristians*' were generally taken to represent members of the Bosnian Church and the evidence of their existence seemed to form indisputable proof of the existence in Bosnia of a "specific church, sect or 'heretical' order outside of both Catholicism and Orthodoxy."[44] This in turn provided some support for the Bogomil theory and its proponents: the designation of Bosnian Church members as '*kristians*' did indicate their distinctness from either Catholicism

41 Peter Sugar, *Southeastern Europe under Ottoman Rule, 1354–1804*, London, 1977, p. 54.

42 Lopašić, Islamisation of the Balkans with Special Reference to Bosnia, p. 165, note 7.

43 Tayyip Okiç, "Les Kristians (Bogomiles Parfaits) de Bosnie d'après des documents turcs inèdits," *Südostforschungen*, vol. 19, 1960, pp. 129–130, cited in Malcolm, *Bosnia*, p. 42, and Adanir, Formation of a 'Muslim' Nation, p. 290.

44 Adanir, Formation of a 'Muslim' Nation, p. 290.

or Orthodoxy, and their later disappearance from the *defters* proved that they took part in the Islamisation process. However, the fact remained that the contribution of these '*kristians*' to the Islamisation process would have been virtually negligent: the numbers of them found in the *defters* were very small and amounted to no more than 700 individuals for the whole period of the Islamisation process (from 1463 to the end of the 16th century).[45]

The above fact, together with the gradual progression of Islamisation, eventually led to a complete rejection of the Bogomil theory on the part of most scholars,[46] very much in line with the following conclusions by John Fine:

> We can be certain that there were many Bosnian Church members converting to Islam; but it is ironic – in the face of the generally accepted opinion that this church supplied the largest number of new Moslems – that Bosnian Church members are the one group which cannot be shown on the basis of our sources converting to Islam.[47]

But, if we reject the Bogomil theory in all its forms – in other words, regardless of whether we consider the link between Bogomils and the Islamisation process in relation to the Bosnian Church or independently of it – what explanations for the large-scale Islamisation in Bosnia are we left with? Fine suggests that it was the lack of strong religious organisation in pre-Ottoman Bosnia on the part of any church, rather than the predominance of one, namely the Bosnian Church, that should be taken as the starting point for the explanation of the Islamisation process.[48] This suggestion has been accepted by Malcolm, who points out that the establishment of Islam following the Ottoman conquest must have been considerably aided by the fractured ecclesiastical history in the period leading up to the conquest and the continual competition between two, and in some areas three, different churches; when this situation

45 Malcolm, *Bosnia*, p. 42.

46 This is why it is surprising to find a much more recent work such as Minkov's *Conversion to Islam* (2004) still subscribing to the Bogomil theory (in its oldest form which involves calling on similarities between Bogomilism and Islam): Minkov proposes that, due to its great influence in Bosnia, Bogomilism played an important role in the Islamisation process there, and further suggests taking the example of Bosnia as a pointer to the way in which Bogomilism should be considered as a factor in the Islamisation processes in other parts of the Balkans (Minkov, *Conversion to Islam*, pp. 105–108).

47 John V A Fine, Jr., *The Bosnian Church: a New Interpretation, a Study of the Bosnian Church and Its Place in State and Society from the 13th to the 15th Centuries*, New York, 1975, p. 385.

48 Fine, *Bosnian Church*, pp. 386–387. Fine reiterates this view in John V A Fine, Jr. and Robert J Donia, *Bosnia and Herzegovina: a Tradition Betrayed*, New York, 1994.

is compared to that in Serbia or Bulgaria, where there was a single strong national church, it provides us with one of the main reasons behind the greater success of Islam in Bosnia.[49]

One further point may be considered in this context: regardless of all the accusations of heresy and the problems surrounding the Bosnian Church, the Bosnian king was Catholic and, therefore, the Bosnian state and all of the king's subjects were Catholic too. This was not only "the Church of the Austrian enemy," as Malcolm notes,[50] but also the Church whose highest seat and highest authority, the Pope, have never been under the Ottoman or any other Islamic rule. Thus, while with the conquest of Constantinople the main Patriarchate of the Orthodox Church came within the realm of Islamic rule and, therefore, under the protection which this entailed, the Catholic Church remained firmly in the *Dār al-Ḥarb*[51] and the Ottomans would naturally have felt much less obliged or inclined to offer the same level of protection to its subjects, wherever they may be. This is why the Catholics within the Ottoman Empire, in spite of being one of the religious communities recognised by the state and thus forming a millet, in the traditional understanding of this term as denoting 'a non-Muslim religious community subject to the Ottoman Empire',[52] could never have enjoyed the same position as their Orthodox counterparts or other non-Muslims whose religious authorities were well established under an Islamic rule.[53] Moreover, unlike the Orthodox, some of whose communities even benefited from the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople, inasmuch as this provided for a more centralised organisation of the Church and ensured

49 Malcolm, *Bosnia*, p. 57.

50 Malcolm, *Bosnia*, p. 55.

51 'The Realm of War' – everything outside the territory of the *Dār al-Islām*, 'The Realm of Islam', i.e. all countries which are not under Islamic rule and with which, therefore, there is a continual state of war until such time when they become subject to an Islamic authority.

52 The accuracy of this traditional understanding of the term has been questioned: see Benjamin Braude, "Foundation Myths of the Millet System," in Benjamin Braude and Bernard Lewis, eds., *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire: the Functioning of a Plural Society*, London, 1982, pp. 69–88. See also M O H Ursinus, "Millet," *EI*[2].

53 Indeed, in discussions of these protected non-Muslim religious communities within the Ottoman Empire, the Catholic one is seldom mentioned, and most frequently only the Jewish, Armenian and (Greek) Orthodox communities are listed as being those which formed recognised millets. See Colin Imber, *The Ottoman Empire, 1300–1650: the Structure of Power*, Basingstoke, 2002, pp. 216–217, and Braude, Foundation Myths, p. 69. For more on the position of Catholics within the Ottoman Empire see generally Charles A Frazee, *Catholics and Sultan: the Church and the Ottoman Empire 1453–1923*, Cambridge, 1983.

for these communities a better link with their religious authorities,[54] the Bosnian Catholics who came under Ottoman rule were cut off from their mother Church, such that the already fragile links which had existed between these remote Catholic communities and their head, the Pope, were now almost completely severed.[55]

Of course, on its own, this consideration is not sufficient as an explanation for the Islamisation process in Bosnia, for it could almost equally be applied to Ottoman Hungary, for instance, whose population was also Catholic and where Church organisation was also limited, and yet Islamisation of local population did not occur on any significant scale. Likewise, while Albania, the one country that did experience an Islamisation process comparable to that in Bosnia, did have a sizeable Catholic population, this process does not seem to have been caused by a conspicuous lack of Church activities. However, in the case of Bosnia, combined with the other aspects of Bosnian religious history mentioned above, this consideration could be seen to go at least some way towards finding a plausible explanation for the Bosnian Islamisation process. Thus, as far as the Bosnians' point of view is concerned, there seem to be two main observations to be made: firstly, their already weak links with Rome having been severed and many of their clergy having fled to Austria following the conquest, they now found themselves almost completely abandoned by their religious leadership and deprived of religious instruction (they could have turned to the Bosnian Church if it had not been almost completely dissolved by the Bosnian king just prior to the conquest);[56] and secondly, their feelings of alienation must have been accompanied by a considerable amount of disgruntlement

54 This is why, following the Ottoman conquest, the Orthodox Church in Bosnia benefitted from consolidation of its authority and an expansion of the areas of its jurisdiction: while, before the Ottomans, the Orthodox Christian communities were confined to the eastern borders of the country, through settlement in other areas of Bosnia following the Ottoman conquest, the Bosnian Orthodox community experienced an increase in their numbers. See Lovrenović, *Bosnia*, p. 96, and Malcolm, *Bosnia*, Chapter 6, especially pp. 70–71.

55 The one exception to this were the Franciscans, who maintained a certain amount of presence in Bosnia throughout the Ottoman period, albeit in a much reduced fashion and in a significantly reduced number of monasteries. See Lovrenović, *Bosnia*, pp. 128–131, also Malcolm, *Bosnia*, pp. 53, 55–56.

56 Though instigated by Rome, the most severe persecution suffered by the Bosnian Church was in fact carried out in 1459 by the Bosnian King Tomaš, who, in exchange for papal promises of assistance in the face of the ever increasing Ottoman threat, made about two thousand members of the Church choose between 'converting' to Catholicism or fleeing into Herzegovina. For more details on the circumstances surrounding Bosnian Catholics following the conquest see Frazee, *Catholics and Sultans*, pp. 34–36.

at the fact that now, following the conquest, they found themselves on the same footing, if not a worse one, as the rival Orthodox community, which had up until then been a minority in the territory under the Bosnian king, and, thus, naturally inferior to the Catholic one. Bearing all this in mind, it is easy to see why in the first couple of decades following the conquest large numbers of people, sometimes entire villages, are noted to have fled Bosnia.[57] It is also not difficult to understand why some of those who did not flee ended up converting to Orthodoxy.[58] This being the case, it then seems even easier to understand why those who neither fled, nor converted to Orthodoxy would have eventually converted to Islam. Facing the choice between remaining a part of an inferior and rapidly diminishing community (whose ties with their religious authorities had never been that strong in any case) and either joining the age-old rival Christian community or the new more powerful Muslim one, an option which would also guarantee the regaining of their old position of superiority over the Orthodox community, the attractions which converting to Islam would have held for a considerable number of Bosnians are by no means negligible.[59]

As for the Bosnian Church, the fact remains that it was a monastic order under the official jurisdiction of the Roman Catholic Church,[60] and thus the same considerations apply in its case too. In fact, what remained of its membership, namely those that neither 'converted to Catholicism' during the persecutions prior to the Ottoman conquest, nor fled following the conquest, would

57 Malcolm, *Bosnia*, p. 52.

58 Malcolm, *Bosnia*, p. 57.

59 There are, of course, other reasons for conversions which could be considered here, but that would warrant a separate study. Some works, such as the already mentioned Minkov's *Conversion to Islam* and Krstić's *Contested Conversions*, delve into some of those reasons in the context of Islamisation processes in other areas of the Ottoman Balkans; although these works are largely concerned with conversions of Orthodox Christians and do not take into account the circumstances specific to Bosnia, some of the social or personal motives for conversions considered there will undoubtedly be also applicable in Bosnia.

60 Attempts have been made to prove that the Bosnian Church was a part of the Serbian Orthodox Church, but while it may have retained some Eastern practices from the time before the schism between East and West, following the schism, the Church, like the rest of Bosnia, came under the authority of Rome, and these attempts (like many of those aimed at proving its Bogomil nature) were mostly politically motivated (some studies were commissioned by different Serbian governments) and remain unsuccessful; see, for instance, Božidar Petranović, *Bogomili, crkva bosanska i krstjani*, Zadar, 1867, or the following works by Vaso Glušac: *Srednjovjekovna "bosanska crkva" bila je pravoslavna*, Beograd, 1924, *Istina o bogomilima: istorijska rasprava*, Beograd, 1945, and "Problem bogomilstva," *Godišnjak istorijskog društva BiH*, god. V, Sarajevo, 1953, pp. 105–138.

have been, if anything, in an even worse position than the ordinary Catholics. Facing the same choice as the rest of the population while at the same time belonging to an even smaller and organizationally completely defunct religious community, the decision to embrace Islam is in their case even more understandable.

As far as the vehicles of Islamisation are concerned – in other words, the catalysts for the decision to convert – the above considerations also indicate the way in which dervish orders would have been particularly well suited for this role: given that the religious organisation of the Bosnian population, be they ordinary Catholics or members of the Bosnian Church, was of local character – with a local church, a Franciscan monastery, or a Bosnian Church *hiža* (a Bosnian Church monastery building) being the religious as well as the social focal point of a given community – one can see the way in which a dervish *tekke*, with its local character, could take the place of those churches or *hižas* in their absence and provide a replacement focal point for those alienated communities deprived of their religious leadership and in need of such a substitute. The way in which dervish orders fulfilled this role is the subject of the following chapters of this study; the method of assessment employed is outlined below.

Bosnian Muslim Society and Dervish Orders – Parameters, Sources and Methodology

As suggested earlier on in this chapter, the formation of Bosnian Muslim society should be thought of as a process which includes both the Ottoman conquest of Bosnia and the subsequent religious, social and other developments under Ottoman rule which conditioned the emergence of a new Muslim society there. In order to evaluate the level and nature of participation of dervish orders in the formation of Bosnian Muslim society, the succeeding chapters will examine evidence of their involvement in a number of different aspects of this process, namely, the conquest, the early settlement, both before and after the official fall of Bosnia, town-formation and urban growth, crafts and trade-guilds – which were at the centre of economic development of Ottoman Bosnia – and social and political life in the newly formed Ottoman communities in Bosnian villages, towns and cities.

Thus, using a combination of sources such as memoirs, *tapu tahrir defters* (tax registers), material remains and epigraphic evidence, Chapter 1 assesses the extent of the presence of dervishes among the Ottoman troops which conquered Bosnia. Some of these troops, and dervishes among them, arrived in

Bosnia long before the official conquest in 1463 and in some cases were there as early as the start of the 15th century. This chapter also looks for evidence of any dervish soldiers who may have stayed on in Bosnia following their military engagement, thus becoming the first representatives of Ottoman rule there, which, in turn, would have enabled them to be, if not active participants in, at least close witnesses to first conversions to Islam in those areas.

Chapters 2 and 3 examine documents containing evidence of dervish *tekkes* built in Bosnia from the early stages of Ottoman rule, which, as mentioned above, in some cases was the early 15th century, through to the 17th century. Using, for the most part, *tapu tahrir defters* and *vakıfnames* (pious endowment documents), the two chapters assess, firstly, how many of those *tekkes* built in the early years of Ottoman rule were the first Muslim edifices to appear in those areas, and secondly, how many of them played a vital role in the formation and subsequent urban development of Bosnian towns.

Chapters 4 to 9 discuss aspects of urban life in the already formed Ottoman communities and towns in Bosnia, focussing on the development of crafts and their *esnafs* (trade-guilds), which were the foundation stones of town economy and at the heart of social life in most Bosnian towns under Ottoman rule. Chapter 4 starts the discussion by examining the religious character of Bosnian trade-guilds and assessing the extent to which the traditional links between the Ottoman guilds and their predecessors, the Akhi corporations, closely linked to dervish orders, still existed at the time of the Ottoman conquest of Bosnia and during the emergence of Ottoman-style guilds there. Chapter 5 introduces a number of previously unknown or little examined *futuwwa* (Islamic code of noble conduct related to Sufism) documents from Bosnia, revealing strongly established and well-preserved *futuwwa* and other Sufi spiritual traditions within Bosnian trade-guilds. The way in which these traditions exerted their influence in practice is discussed in Chapter 6, which, among other sources, uses guild internal documents and registers to examine different guild activities, including award ceremonies and festivities, which played an important part in social life in many Bosnian towns, and which, as the evidence suggests, were in many cases closely related to dervish orders and their activities. This suggestion is re-enforced in Chapters 7 and 8 by the examination of the guilds' level of autonomy and the presence within the *esnaf* organisation of the 'spiritual supervisor', the Akhi-baba. Chapter 9 uses *tapu tahrir defters* in combination with guild documents to determine the degree to which the pace of Islamisation in a certain area was correlated to the development of crafts and trade-guilds in the same area, as well as the extent to which this was connected to the presence of Sufi traditions and activities within the guilds, or to the guilds' relationship with a particular dervish order.

Finally, Chapters 10 and 11 focus on the 16th-century dervish movement of the Hamzevis, originating in north-eastern Bosnia, and consider whether this order and its popularity could have played a role in the Islamisation process in the area in which it was active.

A Note on 'Syncretism' and 'Heterodoxy'

As will be recalled from the start of this discussion, many of the brief considerations of the role of dervish orders in the emergence of Muslim communities in Bosnia tend to be confined to the context of 'syncretism' and so-called 'syncretistic' beliefs and practices. An example of one such consideration is Alexander Lopašić's suggestion that 'syncretistic' practices, such as reverence of monks or giving of alms to monasteries, which existed among some Bosnian Muslims, indicate the possible involvement of dervish orders in the conversion of those Muslims, due to the existence among the former of their own 'syncretistic' beliefs and practices.[61]

Problems surrounding the general (over-)use by Ottoman and other historians of the term 'syncretism' – which, as already mentioned, is used to denote combining or blending of elements from different religious traditions – are discussed at some length by Tijana Krstić in the introduction to her book *Contested Conversions*. Thus, Krstić writes:

> The tendency to focus on "syncretic" phenomena and "toleration" (conceptualized as peaceful coexistence of different religious communities) has been particularly pervasive in recent post-Orientalist literature that seeks to move away from the notion of the "clash of civilizations," which continues to inform much popular and academic literature about the Ottoman Empire and the Middle East.[62]

She notes that the attachment to the concept of 'syncretism' is especially persistent among Ottomanists, and in the contexts of the discussions of convergence between Christian and Muslim communities and conversions to Islam among the Christian peasantry of Anatolian and European provinces of the Ottoman Empire. She further points out the problematic tendency, in recent years, to equate the concept of 'syncretism' with that of 'heterodoxy' or 'unorthodoxy', which implies that the capacity for mutual tolerance exists only among

61 Lopašić, Islamisation of the Balkans with Special Reference to Bosnia, pp. 176–177.

62 Krstić, *Contested Conversions*, p. 16.

those Christians and Muslims whose religion is lacking in some way, in other words, 'syncretism' equals a corruption of the integrity or correctness of faith.[63]

The fact that this problem is particularly acute with regard to its use in relation to dervish orders is well illustrated by the following example: taking as his starting point the thesis that many folk customs and beliefs were shared between different peoples within the Ottoman Empire regardless of their religion, Peter Sugar proposes that it is in this aspect of society that one should look for the most important reason behind conversions to Islam in the Balkan provinces of the Empire.[64] He suggests that the existence of folk culture and religion among the Balkan Christians, most notably Greek and Slav Orthodox – which resulted from the lack of thorough religious training and survival of pagan rites – could be connected with the generally recognised folk character of dervish orders in order to explain those Christians' conversions to Islam.

In order to make this connection, Sugar applies the thesis of the so-called 'wandering dervishes' of Anatolia and their role in propagating Islam among the Turks in the early years of the Ottoman Empire to the Balkan societies of the 15th century, and suggests:

> The role that the *akhis* once played in the Anatolian countryside now devolved to the *derviş* orders which were responsible for the important conversions that occurred prior to the 1520–30 censuses in Macedonia and Bosnia, and for the later ones in Albania.[65]

He proposes an identification of Christian saints with Islamic *evliya,*[66] suggesting that the patron saints of European villages were adopted and recognised as *evliya* by dervish orders established in a given area, and carries on:

> Unlike the *akhi*, the *dervişes* wandered almost constantly, preaching and practicing their *tarikat* and numerous related ceremonies. They were the *babas*, a sort of combination of holy man, miracle worker, medicine man, etc., and were often regarded as living saints.[67]

63 Krstić, *Contested Conversions*, p. 17.

64 Sugar, *Southeastern Europe*.

65 Sugar, *Southeastern Europe*, p. 53.

66 Usually rendered in English as 'saints' or 'holy men', the term comes from the Qur'anic phrase '*awliyā' Allah*', which can be translated as 'the men close to Allah' or 'the friends of Allah', and in Sufism is used for those who are thought to have reached a particularly high 'station' (*maqām*) on their path towards God.

67 Sugar, *Southeastern Europe*, p. 53.

He concludes: "Given the numerous similarities between folk-Christianity and folk-Islam, they had little difficulty in fitting local customs into their *tarikats*."[68]

Apart from the more obvious problems with this argument, such as the fact that it seems to treat all Balkan provinces equally, and only takes into consideration Orthodox Christian communities, which, as we have seen, in the case of the Islamisation process in Bosnia would not have been that significant, Sugar also uses sweeping statements which equate all dervish orders with '*babaism*'.[69] Although these kinds of simplifications may not be significant for his purposes, they nevertheless do have an impact on the subject as a whole. Thus, one more recent comment, in similar vein and perhaps influenced by earlier views similar to those of Sugar, regarding the possible role of dervish orders in the Islamisation process in Bosnia reads:

> In early Ottoman Bosnia it was the heterodoxy of the [dervish] brotherhoods that appealed to popular imagination, and in this context the Bektashis seem to have outranked their rivals, especially the Hurufis and the Hamzavis.[70]

At first sight, the wider implications of such observations may not be fully evident, but the tendency (on the part of some Western scholars) to (over-)use the concept of 'syncretism', and, by extension, that of 'heterodoxy', in relation to dervish orders in Bosnia has led many Bosnian Muslim scholars to reject vehemently the possibility of any contribution by dervish orders to the Islamisation in Bosnia.[71] This is not surprising, since, given, on the one hand, the Bosnian Muslims' largely orthodox tradition, and, on the other, the implication that dervish orders' 'syncretism' equals 'heterodoxy', it is hard to imagine finding any common ground between the Islam of Bosnian Muslims and that of dervish orders.

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68 Sugar, *Southeastern Europe*, p. 53.

69 Sugar, *Southeastern Europe*, p. 53. On *babaism* generally see Ahmet Yaşar Ocak, *XIII. Yüzyılda Anadolu'da Baba Resûl (Babaîler) Isyanı ve Anadolu'nun Islamlaşması Tarihindeki Yeri*, Istanbul, 1980. The fact that dervish orders could take part in the colonisation and Islamisation processes outlined earlier as representatives of the official religious establishment and 'formal' Sufism – as opposed to individual wandering dervishes more representative of 'folk religion' – is, as already mentioned, well illustrated in Clayer's *Mystiques, état et société* on the example of the Halveti order. This will also become evident in the context of Bosnia in the subsequent chapters of this study.

70 Adanir, Formation of a 'Muslim' Nation, p. 294.

71 This is based on personal discussion rather than any written work on the subject, which is conspicuously absent for precisely these reasons.

One author evidently aware of the inherent risks in using these terms is H.T. Norris, who found it necessary to point out in the introduction to his book *Islam in the Balkans* that the mentions of 'syncretism' and 'heterodoxy' in his work may be unacceptable to many Muslims themselves, both outsiders and those to whom they are applied, and that the use of these terms by Western scholars in relation to Balkan Muslims may have been too general and somewhat exaggerated.[72] That this applies to Bosnia in particular is revealed by the following comment:

> There are numerous Balkan Muslims, especially in Bosnia, who are orthodox Sunnite to the core, sober and God-fearing, lofty in ethic, loyal servants of the Prophet. Where Sufism is to be found among them, it is a personal matter and tends to be scholarly.[73]

As a final illustration of the need to exercise caution and greater restraint in the use of both the concept of 'syncretism', given its, by now unavoidable, implication of 'heterodoxy', and the term 'heterodoxy' itself, generally, as well as in relation to dervish orders, one may consider how Adanir's statement regarding the role of dervish orders in Islamisation in Bosnia quoted just above compares with what we learn from Ćehajić's book on dervish orders in the former Yugoslavia. With respect to the particular orders mentioned there, one might observe that Ćehajić's book does not make any mention of Hurufism as a sect[74] (considering it as an order proper seems questionable) either in Bosnia, or indeed in any region of the former Yugoslavia. Hurufism is only mentioned in the context of the Bektashi order, since, after their appearance in the late 14th century, the Hurufi doctrines influenced various dervish orders to a greater or lesser extent, but were adopted most strongly by the Bektashis and were perpetuated in some of their teachings.[75] As for the Bektashis themselves, of all the dervish orders found in Bosnia since the beginning of the Ottoman rule, the presence of the Bektashi order was by far the smallest.[76] Finally, the

72 Harry T Norris, *Islam in the Balkans: Religion and Society between Europe and the Arab World*, London, 1993, pp. 4–5.

73 Norris, *Islam in the Balkans*, p. 4.

74 A sect founded in 1397 in Khorasan by Faḍlullāh Astarabādī, whose doctrines were based on the science of letters.

75 Ćehajić, *Derviški redovi*, pp. 163–164.

76 Ćehajić, *Derviški redovi*, pp. 167–169. For more on the Bektashis in Bosnia see Džemal Ćehajić, "Bektašije i Islam u Bosni i Hercegovini," *Anali Gazi Husrev-begove biblioteke*, knj. V–VI, Sarajevo, 1978.

Hamzevi order appeared in Bosnia in the middle of the 16th century – and, one might argue, did not even technically exist before 1573, since this is when in the wake of the execution of Hamza Bali his followers officially adopted this name – so it seems inappropriate to talk about presence or influence of the Hamzevi order in "early Ottoman Bosnia."[77]

Bearing in mind the issues outlined above, a word or two must be said regarding the use of the terms 'syncretism' and 'heterodoxy' in the present study. While general Sufi traditions and the communal character of Sufi worship – through gatherings in Sufi lodges, common spiritual exercises, such as *dhikr,*[78] and through the structured organisation of the *ṭarīqas* – are relevant to the investigation that follows in the subsequent chapters, finer points of Sufi teachings and variants in the practices of different orders are largely of secondary importance in comparison with the social, political and other public roles of dervish orders in the emerging Muslim communities in Bosnia. Thus, in the following pages, the term 'heterodox' will be used only if specifically required by the context, and, unless otherwise explicitly stated, will be deemed applicable to those dervish orders which are generally recognised as 'heterodox', like, most conspicuously, the Bektashi order of dervishes, without any attempt at either justifying or disproving that recognition.[79] As for the 'wandering dervishes' associated with the early Ottoman conquests in Anatolia and the Balkans, referred to by Sugar for instance, given the apparent lack of formal organisation among those individual or groups of dervishes, labels – if one must be given – such as 'popular' (dervishes or dervish movements) will generally be preferred to the term 'heterodox'.

Similarly, while the existence of parallels between aspects of Christian and Islamic traditions, such as, for instance, that between Christian saints and Sufi 'patron-saints' or *ṭarīqas*' spiritual guides, is acknowledged, any detailed consideration of such issues is not immediately relevant to the investigation at hand and would detract from the main subject of the discussion; this is best left for studies, such as the already mentioned Krstić's *Contested Conversions*, which consider the wider aspects of Islamisation and the relationship between

77 A much more detailed discussion of the Hamzevi movement follows in Chapters 10 and 11 of this study.

78 The Sufi spiritual exercise of 'remembrance of God', consisting of silent or audible repetition of God's names and religious formulas.

79 The main exception to this is the discussion in Chapters 10 and 11, which, in the course of assessing the political roles of the Hamzevi order, will require some analysis of its teachings and practices.

the Christian and Islamic religious traditions, and which, in that context, operate with the concepts of religious 'convergence', 'coexistence' and of course 'syncretism'.[80] Thus, the latter term will seldom need to appear in the following pages.

80 As already mentioned, in similar vein is Minkov's *Conversion to Islam*. For more examples of works which deal with these concepts see, for instance, Michel Balivet, "Chrétiens secrets et martyrs christiques en Islam turc: Quelques cas à travers les textes (XIIIe–XVIIe siècles)," *Islamochristiana*, 16, 1990, or his "Aux origines de l'Islamisation des Balkans ottomans," *Revue du Monde Musulman et de la Méditerranée*, No. 66, 1992. On the same subject see also Marc David Baer's *Honored by the Glory of Islam: Conversion and Conquest in Ottoman Europe*, New York, 2008, and Natalie Rothman's *Brokering Empire: Trans-Imperial Subjects between Venice and Istanbul*, Ithaca, 2012.

PART 1

Conquest, Settlement and Town-Formation in Ottoman Bosnia: The Sufi Contribution to the Early Stages of the Development of Bosnian Muslim Society

CHAPTER 1

Dervishes and the Ottoman Conquest of Bosnia

Although 1463 – the year in which the Bosnian king surrendered to and was subsequently killed by the Ottomans – is taken as the year of the official Ottoman conquest of Bosnia, the first Ottoman incursions into Bosnian territory began much earlier. The Ottoman raid into Hum (today's Herzegovina) in 1388, which is considered to be the first Ottoman campaign against Bosnia,[1] ended in a defeat for the Ottomans at the hands of a local nobleman Vlatko Vuković and his army.[2] Many more raids followed, each with a stronger and more numerous Ottoman army. The period between this first Ottoman incursion and the final conquest in 1463 could best be described as one of rivalries among the local noblemen, some allying themselves with the Hungarians, and others with the Ottomans, with the latter's influence over Bosnia progressively increasing.

The first substantial Ottoman conquest of Bosnian territory, and the one which heralded the final fall of Bosnia, was the conquest of Vrhbosna, the area of today's capital Sarajevo. With regard to the question of when exactly Vrhbosna, and its important fort Hodidjed, came under direct Ottoman rule,[3] it will suffice to say that although their rule there may not have been fully

1 This, in any case, is the most commonly held view (see Sima Ćirković, *Istorija srednjovjekovne Bosanske države*, Beograd 1964; Avdo Sućeska, "Osnovne osobenosti položaja Bosne u Osmansko-Turskoj državi," in Avdo Sućeska, Ibrahim Tepić and Vlado Azinović, *Istina o Bosni i Hercegovini*, Sarajevo, 1991; Malcolm, *Bosnia*.). It would appear, however, that the Ottomans entered Bosnian territory on at least one occasion before this and that is why earlier dates such as 1384 and 1386 are taken by some to be the dates of the first Ottoman raids (e.g. Antonina Zheliazkova, "The Penetration and Adaptation of Islam in Bosnia from the Fifteenth to the Nineteenth century," *Journal of Islamic Studies*, 5:2, 1994, pp. 187–208, Ramiz Ibrahimović, "Struktura vojničke klase u XV i početkom XVI vijeka s posebnim osvrtom na širenje Islama u Bosni," *POF*, vol. 41, Sarajevo, 1991, pp. 269–278).

2 Vlatko Vuković was also the commander of the Bosnian army at the battle of Kosovo Polje in 1389 (See Malcolm, *Bosnia*, p. 20).

3 The disagreement existing among historians with regard to this question is best summarised in the following sentence by Malcolm: "Most historians have assumed that the Vrhbosna region, with its important fortress of Hodidjed, not only fell to the Turks but remained under direct Turkish rule from 1435 or 1436; but there is evidence which suggests that this did not happen before 1448." (Malcolm, *Bosnia*, p. 22, n. 24, p. 276).

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consolidated for some time, there was an Ottoman presence in Vrhbosna, in one form or another, certainly since 1436, and possibly even since 1416.[4] In any case, the Ottoman rule in Vrhbosna became firmly established by 1455, a fact confirmed by the existence of a *defter* (tax-register) of this area from that year, namely the 1455 summary *defter* of Isa-bey's border provinces.[5] After the Ottomans had established themselves in Vrhbosna it became clear that the rest of Bosnia could not resist for much longer. The Bosnians did not get the help they had hoped for from their Christian allies, and Mehmed II was unhindered in his large-scale campaign in 1463, which brought about the end of Bosnia's existence as an independent state, a situation which was not to change for over five centuries with Bosnia regaining its independence again only in 1992.

One of the most important elements to take part in the early stages of the formation of Ottoman society in Bosnia was the Ottoman army, which both established and upheld Ottoman authority, especially in the initial period following the conquest. The character of the Ottoman troops which carried out the conquest of Bosnia is therefore significant when it comes to determining the circumstances under which the formation of Bosnian Ottoman society began. It is also important from the point of view of assessing the role that dervishes played in this process because there are strong reasons to believe that these troops included a significant number of dervishes, who not only participated in the conquest, but also in many cases remained in the conquered territory as early representatives of the Ottoman rule there.[6] This

4 Nedim Filipović, "Neki novi podaci iz ranije istorije Sarajeva pod Turcima," *Pregled*, VI, Sarajevo, 1953, pp. 67–68; Marko Vego, *Naselja Bosanske srednjevjekovne države*, Sarajevo, 1957, p. 135.

5 Summary *defter* of the provinces of Jeleč, Zvečan, Hodidjed, Sjenica, Ras, Skopje and Kalkandelen with their dependent areas from 1455, published with an introduction, translation into Bosnian, and comments by Hazim Šabanović, as *Krajište Isa-bega Ishakovića, zbirni katastarski popis iz 1455*, Sarajevo, 1964 (the original of the *defter* is in the Başbakanlık Arşivi, Istanbul, Maliye No. 544); 'Krajište' – border province, from the word '*krajina*', Bosnian for '*serhad*'. Isa-bey was the governor of the border province of Skopje (1439–1463), which until the final fall of Bosnia included the areas listed above.

6 As already mentioned, this was shown to have been the case in other parts of the Balkans in a number of studies. See, for instance, the findings of Heath Lowry on the role of dervishes in the 14th century conquests and settlement of Western Thrace, in which he concludes that the dervishes who accompanied the military on those conquests were among the earliest Muslim settlers in those regions (Lowry, *The Shaping of the Ottoman Balkans*, p. 10; see Chapters 1 and 2 generally). See also Clayer's *Mystiques, état et société*, Dina LeGall's *A Culture of Sufism: Naqshbandīs in the Ottoman World, 1450–1700*, Albany, NY, 2005, or Filipović's *Princ Musa*, which will be mentioned in more detail shortly.

particularly applies to the forces which carried out the early conquests in Bosnia, namely, those which took place before the official campaign in 1463, since, unlike the majority of those that came with Mehmed II during the formal conquest, these Ottoman forces consisted of many irregular troops and individual Muslim fighters, many of whom, as will be seen, were dervishes or had links with dervish traditions.

Before going any further, however, mention has to be made in this context of two particular elements of Ottoman society, the *ghazis* and *akhis*, and a couple of existent theories regarding their role in the Ottoman army during the Ottoman conquests in the Balkans.

The term *ghazi*, which came to be used for a Muslim religious warrior in general, has, in fact, a more specific meaning and denotes particular groups of those warriors. Such groups, found in all parts of the Muslim world in the Middle Ages, consisted of various elements brought together by one common aim – the fight against the infidel – and were recruited as mercenaries for this aim by anybody who needed them.[7] The most important characteristic, however, that all of these groups had in common was that they were all based on the principle of *futuwwa* – Islamic codes of noble conduct closely linked with Sufism – a fact that enabled the Abbasid caliph Al-Nāṣir (1180–1225) to turn them into organised chivalric orders, the rules and ceremonies of which were based on the practices which had already existed among all of the *futuwwa*-based corporations.[8]

According to Aşıkpaşazade's[9] (d.c. 1500) account, in the 13th and 14th centuries, at the time when the Ottoman state was being transformed from a frontier *beylik*[10] into an empire, there existed four *futuwwa* organisations in Anatolia, one of which was called Ghāziyān-i Rūm – the Ghazis of Anatolia.[11] Evidence

7 Irène Mélikoff, "Ghazi," *EI²*, p. 1043.

8 Mélikoff, Ghazi, p. 1044; Paul Wittek, *The Rise of the Ottoman Empire*, London, 1958, p. 38. Köprülü provides us with some examples of different names used for these corporations in different parts of the Muslim world: *'ayyārān*', '*shaṭṭārān*', '*ḥarāfisha*', '*fityān*' etc. (Mehmed Fuad Köprülü, *Les origines de l'Empire ottoman*, Paris, 1935, p. 104). See also 'Umar Al-Dasūqī, *Al-Futuwwa 'ind al-'Arab*, Cairo, 1953, and Mohsen Zakeri, *Sasanid soldiers in Early Muslim Society: the origins of 'Ayyaran and Futuwwa*, Wiesbaden, 1995.

9 An Ottoman chronicler whose work *Tevârih-i Âl-i Osman* (The Chronicles of the House of Osman) is an important source for early Ottoman history.

10 One of the many small Turkish principalities founded in Anatolia between the 11th and 14th centuries, governed by a *Bey*.

11 The other three were Akhiyān-i Rūm, Abdālān-i Rūm and Bādjiyān-i Rūm (Mélikoff, Ghazi, p. 1045, Köprülü, *Les Origines*, pp. 102–123). Although the term 'Rum' is more specifically used to designate only a part of Anatolia – that of the Sivas district – in this instance

of their organisation is also found in a 14th-century description of the Ghazi initiation ceremony of one of the emirs of Aydin: after he had been granted the title of Ghazi by a Mevlevi sheikh, the emir took the sheikh's war-club, placed it on his head and said: "With this club will I first subdue all my passions and then kill all enemies of the faith."[12] At the same time, these Anatolian Ghazis, who became the leading force of Ottoman expansion, also preserved their links with the wandering Turkish dervishes, the *babas*, who accompanied the warriors on their campaigns.[13]

Another social organisation mentioned by Aşıkpaşazade is the Akhiyān-i Rūm – the Akhis of Anatolia, a *futuwwa* corporation consisting of artisans and merchants.[14] The Akhis were associated with trade-guilds and enjoyed considerable influence in the chief towns of Anatolia:

> Their members participated in ceremonies and festivities prepared in honour of visiting rulers, with their characteristic music, their banners, their special attire, and fully armed with their own weapons.[15]

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it is interchangeable with Anatolia as a whole. Thus, Barkan, for example, discussing these four corporations mentioned by Aşıkpaşazade, translates Akhiyān-i Rūm as Anadolu Ahileri and Bādjiyān-i Rūm as Anadolu kadınları (Barkan, Istilâ, p. 282; on 'Rum' see also Clifford Edmund Bosworth, "Rūm," *EI²*; on Bādjiyān-i Rūm see also Mikail Bayram, *Bâcıyân-ı Rum*, Konya, 1987). Indeed, Inalcık tells us that since "the Muslims knew the Byzantines as Rūm, and the Eastern Roman Empire as *Bilād al-Rūm* or *Mamlakat al-Rūm*... once Anatolia came under Turkish-Islamic rule, the designation Rūm survived as a geographic name to designate Asia Minor" (Halil Inalcık, "Rumeli," *EI²*, p. 608).

12 Wittek, *The Rise of the Ottoman Empire*, p. 39; Mélikoff, Ghazi, p. 1044.

13 J Spencer Trimingham, *The Sufi Orders in Islam*, Oxford, 1971, p. 68. Already in the 14th century, the cult of Hajji Bektash, the founder of the Bektashi order of dervishes, is found amongst most of the groups of dervishes derived from *babaism*, and since Hajji Bektash was the successor of Baba Rasūl-Allah, Bektashism can be considered a continuation of *babaism* (Köprülü, *Les Origines*, p. 123). By the 15th century, the Bektashi order had absorbed many of the various dervish groups which were extensions of *babaism* (Köprülü, *Les Origines*, p. 123; Halil Inalcık, *The Ottoman Empire: the Classical Age 1300–1600*, London, 1994, p. 193). For more on *babaism* see Ocak, *XIII. Yüzyılda Anadolu'da Baba Resûl* (*Babaîler*) *Isyanı*, and on Bektashism see Erişen and Samancigil, *Haci Bektaş Veli*, Eröz, *Türkiye'de Alevîlik Bektâşîlik*, and Ocak, *Baktaşi Menâkıbnâmelerinde*.

14 Wittek, *The Rise of the Ottoman Empire*, p. 38. For more on the history of the Akhis see Mikail Bayram, "Anadolu Selçukluları Zamanında Ahî Teşkilâtı'nın Kuruluşu ve Gelişmesi," *Ahilik ve Esnaf: Konferanslar ve Seminer Metinler Tartışmalar, Istanbul Esnaf ve Sanʿatkârlar Dernekleri Birliği*, Istanbul, 1986. A more detailed discussion of the Akhi corporations, and, in particular, their trade-guild organisation and character, will follow in Chapter 4.

15 Köprülü, *Les Origines*, p. 108.

While the Ghazis were exclusively a military organisation, the Akhis, although they also had their army and weapons, tended to be of a more settled nature and existed in bigger towns where their members engaged in crafts and trade. However, due to the *futuwwa* character of their organisation the Akhis became closely linked with the Ghazis. That is why there were many Akhis who were also to be found among the Ghazis,[16] and this often causes difficulties in differentiating between the two. Just like the Ghazis, the Akhis were from their very beginnings in close relations with various popular dervish groups.[17]

In his book *Princ Musa i šejh Bedreddin*,[18] Nedim Filipović discusses the way in which three mutually intertwined elements of Ottoman society, *ghazis*, *akhis* and popular dervishes associated with them, played a role in the early Ottoman conquests in the Balkans, namely those of the south-eastern regions of Bulgaria and Macedonia. We are told that these conquests represented not only the military, but also the "ethnic" expansion of the Ottomans:

> Among the military formations and the masses of population which were settling on the conquered territory there were numerous *ghazis*, *akhis* and dervishes who played an extraordinarily important role in the strengthening of the Ottoman authority.[19]

Dervish knights, that is, the *ghazis*, participated in the conquests as a vanguard to the regular Ottoman army, and acting as both warriors and missionaries, they settled in the newly conquered territories, founded their *tekkes*, cultivated land, engaged in agriculture, and attracted their followers from among those who came to work and live with them.[20] At the same time, the *akhis* were the founders of the new Islamic urban culture and economy and creators of the new Muslim urban population, through, on the one hand, their religious

16 Köprülü, *Les Origines*, p. 108; Filipović, *Princ Musa*, p. 11.

17 Filipović, *Princ Musa*, p. 9.

18 Filipović, *Princ Musa*; as already mentioned, the main subject of the book is the period of instability within the Ottoman Empire which ensued after the Ottoman defeat by Tamerlane at the battle of Ankara in 1402, and manifested itself in the temporary rule of Prince Musa (one of Bayezid I's sons) in Rumelia (1411–1413) and the revolt of Sheikh Bedreddin (d. 1420) which followed it. For more on this subject see also Michel Balivet, *Islam mystique et revolution armée dans les Balkans ottomans: vie du Cheikh Bedreddin le "Hallâj des Turcs" (1358/59-1416)*, Istanbul, 1995.

19 Filipović, *Princ Musa*, p. 13.

20 Filipović, *Princ Musa*, p. 12.

establishments – their *tekkes* – and, on the other, their crafts and commerce organisations – their trade-guilds.[21] There are several reasons, according to Filipović, why it is not surprising that the government, at the time, should have supported these kinds of activities on the part of these groups, in spite of their apparent religious heterodoxy, as this was the period in which popular dervish movements[22] were still influential in the Ottoman Empire, and their members were one of the main forces that the Ottoman government relied upon in these early conquests. By providing the dervishes with *timars,*[23] *zeamets*[24] and *vakıfs* (pious endowments) for their religious establishments, the government ensured, firstly, the propagation of Islam, secondly, a certain amount of control over these religious elements, and, thirdly and perhaps most importantly, the firm establishment of the Ottoman land-tenure system in those areas.

Although the conquests of the areas referred to in Filipović's study (the Balkan regions south-east of Bosnia) took place before that of Bosnia, the very fact that these regions are Bosnia's neighbours, and that conquering Bosnia will have been a natural continuation of the conquests in question, means that certain similarities between these and the conquest of Bosnia would have been inevitable. Indeed, as will be seen shortly, there is good reason to believe that what happened in Bosnia during and in the wake of the conquest was very much in line with the processes described above, with one caveat: while in Filipović's study the discussion of the Ghazi and Akhi traditions is limited to heterodox dervishes and dervish movements only, evidence suggests, as will be seen throughout this study, that, at least as far as Bosnia is concerned, other dervish orders were also strongly linked to these traditions and in many cases nourished them for much longer than is usually assumed. Hence, there is reason to believe that the conquering and colonising role attributed in Filipović's study to heterodox dervishes, was fulfilled by other dervishes too, namely the members and representatives of the more established and orthodox *ṭarīqas*.[25] This was particularly true after the formal conquest in 1463, but, as will be seen, was not uncommon even in the earlier periods.

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21 Filipović, *Princ Musa*, pp. 243–247.

22 For more on these see Karamustafa, *God's Unruly Friends*, Ocak, *Osmanlı Imparatorluğu'nda Marjinal Sûfilik*, and Inalcık, Dervish and Sultan.

23 The smallest category of a military fief with the value of less than 20,000 *akçe*.

24 Medium-sized military fiefs with the value between 20,000 and 100,000 *akçe*.

25 This is known to have been the case with the Halvetis, for instance, who, while accompanying the army on military campaigns, did so as representatives of official, orthodox Islam of the establishment. See Clayer's *Mystiques, état et société*, especially Chapter 3.

Finally, it is appropriate in this context to mention Wittek and his 'Ghazi theory' concerning the formation of the Ottoman Empire, which holds that the early Ottoman conquests were fuelled by the Ghazi spirit of holy war and attributes to this the success behind these conquests. Discussing the question of when and how the Ottoman state was transformed into an empire, Wittek attributes a key role in this process to the Ghazi tradition of Osman's *beylik*. According to Wittek, as long as the Ottoman sultans acted in accordance with this tradition they were going the right way about transforming their state into an empire, but as soon as one of them, namely Bayezid, neglected this tradition, the Ottoman state[26] fell into a crisis:[27]

> The propitious harmony which had up till then existed between the Ghazi movement and the traditions of the Old Muslim world…was lost under Bayezid. Both his internal and external policy abandoned the traditions of the Ghazis…[28]

Consequently – so Wittek argues – when Bayezid's successors, most notably Murad II and Mehmed II, returned, with fresh zeal, to the Ghazi ideals of their forefathers and the Ottoman state again openly recognised the Ghazi movement, the road towards an empire was open. It was precisely at the time of the return to the Ghazi traditions and with a rejuvenated Ghazi movement that Bosnia was conquered by Mehmed II, himself a firm adherent to the Ghazi ideal. Thus, while the large territories of the kingdoms of Bulgaria and Serbia had been acquired through official state expeditions, regions in Eastern Thrace, and then later Albania and Bosnia were conquered by the Ghazis.[29]

Wittek's theory caused an extensive debate among the historians in the latter decades of the 20th century, revolving around the issues of the extent to which the early Ottomans considered themselves as Ghazis, and, by extension, the degree to which the early Ottoman conquests were inspired by ideology and religious concerns as opposed to purely material considerations of booty.[30] Here, it will suffice to say that while initially there were those who rejected the Ghazi theory wholesale, this view was later revised and many now agree that

26 'State' is used here instead of 'Empire' in accordance with Wittek's argument.

27 On the causes and nature of this crisis see note 18 above.

28 Wittek, *The Rise of the Ottoman Empire*, p. 47.

29 Wittek, *The Rise of the Ottoman Empire*, p. 49.

30 On this whole debate see Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds*, a work almost entirely devoted to this issue. See also Colin Imber, *The Ottoman Empire 1300–1481*, Istanbul, 1990, pp. 12–13.

the Ghazi spirit was certainly an important factor in the early Ottoman conquests.[31] That this was certainly the case in the early conquests in Greece, for instance, is shown in Heath Lowry's work, which contains numerous pieces of evidence – in the form of *tekkes* and *imarets* (public kitchens) endowed by the dervish *ghazi* conquerors – that ideological considerations were very much at the forefront of these conquests.[32] The evidence available for Bosnia, as will be seen, paints a similar picture. Moreover, the situation in Bosnia would seem to provide further evidence in Wittek's favour. As part of the debate sparked by Wittek's Ghazi theory, some of his critics had argued that since the dervish groups associated with the Ghazis were of popular and heterodox character, these groups could not have played a significant part in the formation of the orthodox Ottoman society which emerged as the end result of the conquests in question. As mentioned earlier, however, and as the following pages will show, there is evidence to suggest that, in Bosnia, the Ghazis' association with dervish orders was not limited to heterodox groups only and that there they were also associated with the more established and orthodox dervish orders; or, to put it differently, the Ghazi, and even more pertinently, the Akhi traditions would appear to have been nourished to some extent by most, if not all, of the dervish orders found in Bosnia.

Going back to the the conquest of Bosnia, the most significant evidence of their presence left to us by the early *ghazi* conquerors there is the Gaziler Yolu (the Road of the Ghazis), as the road going through the centre of today's Sarajevo used to be called,[33] together with a number of edifices built by these warriors alongside this road in the first half of the 15th century. It is not known exactly when the road acquired its name, but given that the Gaziler Tekke, one of the edifices built alongside it, was founded sometime before 1459,[34] it is most likely that the name refers to the *ghazi* warriors who came to Bosnia during the conquest of Vrhbosna some considerable time before the formal conquest in 1463.[35]

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31 See Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds*, especially Chapter 2.

32 See Lowry, *The Shaping of the Ottoman Balkans*, especially Chapter 2.

33 This is present day Sarajevo's main street, called Titova Ulica (Tito's Street), (Fig. 2).

34 Hazim Šabanović, "Teritorijalno širenje i gradjevni razvoj Sarajeva u XVI stoljeću," *Naučno Društvo BiH, Radovi,* knj. XXVI, *Odjeljenje istorijsko-filoloških nauka,* knj. 9, Sarajevo, 1965, p. 49; Ćehajić, *Derviški redovi*, p. 36.

35 It has already been mentioned earlier in this chapter that it is not certain when Vrhbosna came under firm Ottoman control: the first Ottoman incursions in the area occurred as early as 1416, and some historians are of the opinion that Vrhbosna was under Ottoman rule continuously since 1436. This means that the road could have borne its name either

The graveyard which is situated alongside the Gaziler Yolu, next to Ali-pasha's mosque (Fig. 4), is probably the oldest Ottoman graveyard in Bosnia, and was founded by the early conquerors of Vrhbosna. One of the oldest tombstones in this graveyard, and thus one of the oldest Ottoman tombstones in Bosnia in general, is that of a dervish. On the upper part of the tombstone there is a round neck, "on which there is a top in the shape of a hat, which looks like those worn by the dervishes of the Naqshibandi order."[36] Apart from this stone, the graveyard contains a number of tombstones the shape of which indicates that they were made for dervishes (Fig. 5). The identity of most of these dervishes is unknown to us, but among the tombstones there are two which, thanks to the inscriptions on them, we know to have been built for two dervishes called Ayni-dede and Şemsi-dede. These two tombstones used to be in a *türbe* (tomb) built for these dervishes next to the Gaziler Tekke on the other side of the Gaziler Yolu, opposite Ali-pasha's mosque. The Gaziler Türbe (Fig. 3), as it used to be called, contained two wooden coffins covered with green broadcloth, next to which were the two tombstones.[37] With time the *türbe* fell into disrepair and was refurbished sometime in the first half of the 17th century by Sheikh Hajji Hasan Kaderi, who at the same time repaired the Gaziler Tekke adjacent to it.[38] The Gaziler Türbe managed to survive the Austro-Hungarian occupation and the two world wars, and was on its way to being one of the oldest Ottoman edifices preserved in Bosnia when it was demolished in 1950 and a large commercial building was erected in its place. This is when Ayni-dede's and Şemsi-dede's tombstones were moved to their current resting place in the graveyard on the opposite side of the road (Fig. 6).

The inscriptions on Ayni-dede's and Şemsi-dede's tombstones tell us that they were warriors and that they died in 866 AH (1461/62 AD).[39] Both inscriptions mention Sultan Mehmed II. In the case of the inscription on Ayni-dede's

since 1416 or 1436, and that the Gaziler Tekke could have been built any time between 1416 and 1459.

36 Šefik Bešlagić, *Nišani XV i XVI vijeka u BiH*, Sarajevo, 1978, p. 24.

37 Sejfudin Kemura, *Sarajevske džamije i druge javne zgrade Turske dobe*, Sarajevo, 1910, p. 279.

38 Kemura, *Sarajevske džamije*, pp. 280–282; Mehmed Mujezinović, *Islamska Epigrafika u BiH*, Sarajevo, 1974, vol. 1, p. 406. (Sheikh Hajji Hasan was, as his name suggests, a sheikh of the Qādirī order of dervishes.)

39 Kemura, *Sarajevske džamije*, pp. 279–280; Mujezinović, *Islamska Epigrafika*, pp. 404–405. Both Kemura and Mujezinović provide us with the text of the inscriptions in Ottoman (see Figures 8 and 10) and their own translations of it. While the original text is the same in both, their translations nevertheless vary.

tombstone (Fig. 7, 8) this mention does not seem to cause any problems: the line '*nedim-i hazret-i Sultan Fatih*' is rendered by both translators (Kemura and Mujezinović) as "he was a companion of his Excellency Sultan Fatih." However, the mention of Mehmed II in the inscription on Şemsi-dede's tombstone (Fig. 9, 10) has created translational difficulties and has led to various confusing and what seem to be mistaken conclusions. In his translation of the line '*ba'leş/bağleş Shah Fatih kerde irşad*' Kemura decided to leave out the problematic first word – which in his version of the Ottoman could be either of the two options since he only provides a reproduction of the actual stone inscription – such that his rendering of the sentence is "he always guided Sultan Fatih on the right path." Mujezinović on the other hand took the first word to be '*bağleş*', 'his mule' ('*ba'leş*' would mean 'his lord, master'), and his translation of the line is "his mule led Fatih's army."

Unfortunately, led by Mujezinović's interpretation, many have since then drawn the conclusion that Ayni-dede and Şemsi-dede came to Bosnia with Mehmed II during his campaign in 1463, a conclusion clearly at odds with the information provided by the inscriptions themselves, namely that the sheikhs died in 1461/62. Thus, Ćehajić, for instance, although he provides the date of the sheikhs' death as given in the inscriptions, namely, 1461/62, nevertheless tells us that these dervishes "fell in action during the conquest of Bosnia by the Turks in 1463."[40] Similarly, Šiljak, who also quotes Mujezinović's interpretation of the inscription, tells us the following: "In the army of Sultan Mehmed II, which conquered Vrhbosna and the old fort Hodidjed, there were two sheikhs, Ayni-dede and Şemsi-dede…"[41] If Ayni-dede and Şemsi-dede were indeed in the army of Sultan Mehmed II, it is not likely that they would have participated in the conquest of Vrhbosna, since, as mentioned before, Vrhbosna was conquered around 1435, and thus almost a decade before even Mehmed II's first brief reign (1444–1446). On the other hand, the suggestion that the sheikhs participated in the conquest of Vrhbosna is plausible, given the date of their death as well as the fact that they were buried at Vrhbosna itself, since the location of this medieval settlement corresponds to the location in which the Gaziler Türbe and the Gaziler Tekke were situated.[42]

It is thus obvious that the mention of Mehmed II in these inscriptions has a different meaning from that understood by Mujezinović (and those who have

40 Ćehajić, *Derviški redovi*, p. 35. See also Dina LeGall, who, presumably relaying on Ćehajić, gives the same date, 1463, as that of both the sheikhs' arrival to Bosnia and their death, and who also assumes that, perhaps built by the sheiks themselves, the Gaziler Tekke too dates from around the same time (LeGall, *A Culture of Sufism*, p. 64, 68).

41 Amina Šiljak, "Derviši i tekije u urbanoj sredini," *Urbano biće Bosne i Hercegovine*, Sarajevo, 1996, p. 75.

42 Vrhbosna and its location are discussed in more detail in Chapter 3.

subsequently quoted him) and that it is perhaps there to indicate that the two dervishes were the Sultan's contemporaries. Alternatively, one may consider the possibility that the tombstones were not erected immediately following the sheikhs' death, but sometime later and by somebody who indeed came with Mehmed II in 1463 and decided to honour the sheikhs' memory by building the tombstones and the *türbe* for them.[43]

The inscription on Şemsi-dede's tombstone contains the line '*hakikaten şâh ve ehl-i naqshiyya*', and out of the two, Kemura provides the more plausible, if still rather free, translation: "he was of the *Naqshi* order of dervishes and as such he was considered to have been a *shah.*"[44] This is why it is generally accepted that the sheikhs belonged to the Naqshibandi order and that the Gaziler Tekke must have also belonged to this order, at least in the early period of its existence. It has also been suggested that Ayni-dede and Şemsi-dede may have built the *tekke* in the first place,[45] but no evidence to this effect has yet been found. By the 19th century, the Gaziler Tekke had been taken over by the Qādirī order of dervishes, as attested by several documents from this period, confirming the establishment of Qādirī sheikhs as the heads of the *tekke*.[46] It is not known when exactly this change of the order represented in the *tekke* took place, but it seems likely that this happened sometime in the first half of the 17th century, since this is when, as has already been mentioned, the *tekke* was refurbished by a Qādirī sheikh, Sheikh Hajji Hasan Kaderi.

It is also not certain when exactly the *tekke* eventually disappeared, but we know that it was still there at the beginning of the 20th century, since Kemura, writing in 1910, tells us that "next to this [Gaziler] *türbe* there is a *tekke*, which has two rooms and a *semahane,*[47] a little courtyard and next to the *tekke* a small garden."[48] By 1950 it was no longer there, since it is only the *türbe* that is mentioned as being destroyed in that year in order for the commercial building to be built in its place.

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43 Mujezinović in fact himself tells us, on the basis of evidence which he does not quote, that the inscriptions in their current form may originate from the first half of the 17th century and that their author could have been the famous Sarajevo poet Nerkesi Muhamed (1592–1634) (Mujezinović, *Islamska Epigrafika*, p. 406).

44 Kemura, *Sarajevske džamije*, p. 280. Mujezinović's translation of this line is completely different and it is not clear what he has taken the words '*ehl-i naqshiyya*' to mean.

45 Šiljak, Derviši i tekije, p. 75, LeGall, *A Culture of Sufism*, p. 64, 68, though both of these, as already mentioned, erroneously suggest this to have been around 1463.

46 Ćehajić, *Derviški redovi*, p. 37; Kemura, *Sarajevske džamije*, p. 283.

47 A room designated for the spritiual exercise of the *sema*, audable *dhikr*, usually accompanied by music and dancing.

48 Kemura, *Sarajevske džamije*, p. 282.

FIGURE 2 *Gaziler Yolu today. This is Sarajevo's high street, Titova Ulica, running east–west along the river Miljacka through the entire city centre; the photograph features the commercial building which now occupies the site of the Gaziler Türbe and the Gaziler Tekke.*

FIGURE 3 *Gaziler Türbe sometime before its demolition in 1950. (From Vesna Mušeta-Aščerić, Sarajevo i njegova okolina u XV stoljeću: izmedju zapada i istoka, Sarajevo, 2005; image reproduced with the author's permission.)*

FIGURE 4 *Ali-pasha's mosque on the opposite side of the Gaziler Yolu.*

FIGURE 5 *The graveyard in the* harem *of Ali-pasha's mosque. This is probably the oldest Muslim cemetery in Sarajevo, and certainly one of the oldest in Bosnia in general, and although most of the inscriptions on the tombstones are worn out beyond recognition, judging by the shape of the headstones, some of the tombstones are clearly those of dervishes.*

FIGURE 6 *Ayni-dede's and Şemsi-dede's tombstones on the other side of the* harem *of Ali-pasha's mosque.*

FIGURE 7 *Ayni-dede's headstone.*

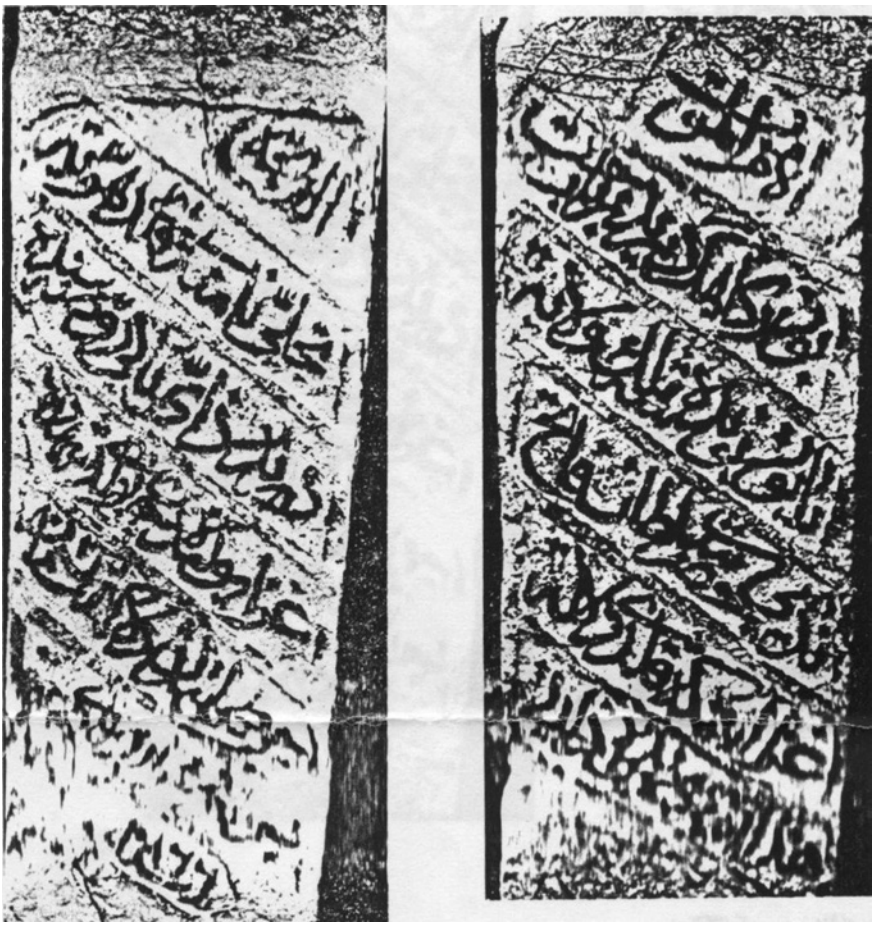

FIGURE 8 *The inscription on Ayni-dede's headstone* (*after Mehmed Mujezinović,* Islamska Epigrafika u BiH*, Sarajevo, 1974*).

FIGURE 9 *Şemsi-dede's headstone.*

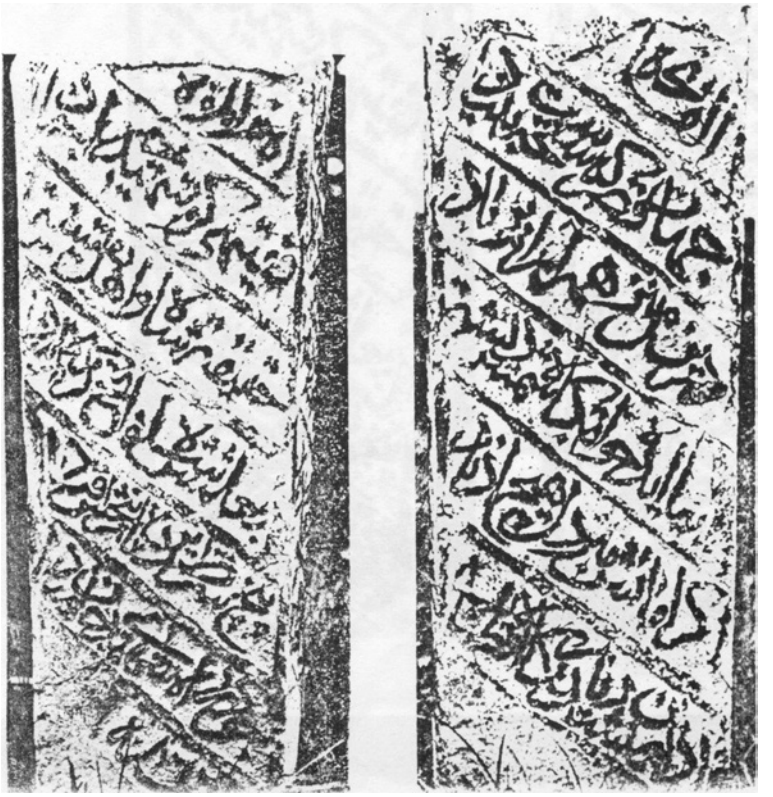

FIGURE 10 *The inscription on Şemsi-dede's headstone* (*after Mehmed Mujezinović,* Islamska Epigrafika u BiH*, Sarajevo, 1974*).

Apart from the character of the irregular Ottoman troops, i.e. the *ghazi* warriors discussed above, the character of one part of the regular Ottoman army, namely the Janissary corps, is also of telling importance with regard to the role that dervishes played in the conquest of Bosnia. One of the reasons to assume that these troops, too, comprised or were accompanied by dervishes on their military campaigns is the strong link which existed between the Janissary corps and the Bektashi order of dervishes. By the 15th century Bektashism had already firmly established itself among the Janissaries and towards the end of the 16th century the Janissaries officially recognised Hajji Bektash as their Patron Saint.[49] From then on, an official representative (*vekil*) of Hajji Bektash lived in the Janissary headquarters in Istanbul and a new Bektashi *dede* (the head of the order) would go to Istanbul to receive his *tac* (the Bektashi

49 Inalcık, *The Ottoman Empire*, p. 194.

headgear) from the Janissary Ağa.[50] "In becoming enrolled as members of the Janissary corps a vow of faithfulness to the way of Hajji Bektash was extracted from each soldier."[51]

If we accept Köprülü's opinion that the Akhis played a key role in the formation of the Janissary corps,[52] then the link between the Janissaries and dervishes must have existed from the very beginning of the corps, since, as has been mentioned, the Akhis had been in close relations with various popular dervish movements long before the latter were absorbed by the Bektashi order. In any case, although they may not all have been Bektashis at the time, by the 15th century, which is when the Janissary troops appear in Bosnia, the Bektashi and other dervish traditions were already exerting a significant influence among the Janissaries and a substantial part of their membership must already have consisted of adherents to the Bektashi order. Of course, this does not necessarily mean that members of other dervish orders did not also come with the Janissaries, as they did with the *ghazi* troops, either as soldiers themselves or accompanying the troops on their campaigns. One way of assessing what influence the dervish traditions of the Janissary corps were able to exert on Bosnian Ottoman society at the time of its formation, is to examine the presence and the activities of the Janissaries in Bosnia at that time.

From the very beginning of Ottoman rule, until the abolition of the corps in the 19th century, the presence of the Janissaries in Bosnia was a considerable one. The figure of 78,000 Janissaries in Bosnia at the beginning of the 19th century[53] sufficiently illustrates the importance of this institution. Of course, most of the Janissaries at that time would have been of local origin, because the corps had by then undergone major changes in its structure due to the breakdown of the *devşirme* system,[54] and since they were "no longer raised by the child levy, the Janissaries had become a hereditary caste of soldiers."[55]

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50 Inalcık, *The Ottoman Empire*, p. 194; John Kingsley Birge, *The Bektashi Order of Dervishes*, London, 1937, p. 74.

51 Birge, *The Bektashi Order*, p. 74.

52 Köprülü, *Les Origines*, p. 111.

53 Malcolm, *Bosnia*, p. 91.

54 As mentioned earlier, the *devşirme* was the Ottoman system of the recruitment of Christian youths for military service, most notably in the Janissary corps.

55 Fine and Donia, *Bosnia and Herzegovina*., p. 55. Traditionally, this breakdown in the *devşirme* system and the transformation of the Janissary corps from an elite militay unit into an armed political party wielding considerable power in Ottoman towns and cities was thought to have taken place only in the 18th century (see, for instance, Hamilton Gibb and Harold Bowen, *Islamic Society and the West*, Oxford, 1963, vol. 1, pt. 1, pp. 173–200), but it has since been shown that members of the Janissary corps had, in some cases, started

Indeed, by that time, "the title 'Janissary' was held by most of the Muslim townsmen."[56]

However, this was not the case with the Janissaries present in Bosnia in the 15th century. Then, the Janissaries were a regular standing army and they would have come to Bosnia from their base in Istanbul for the purpose of conquests. Although it is true that after the conquest most of the Janissaries would go back to their base, a considerable number of them stayed in the newly conquered areas, in order to uphold Ottoman authority as well as to be available for potential further conquests. They would become permanently based in these areas as a part of local city garrisons called '*Yerli kulu*'.[57] Indeed, the garrisons that Mehmed II left in Bosnia following the 1463 conquest consisted mainly of Janissaries,[58] as the account of Konstantin Mihailović, a Janissary who participated in this conquest confirms:

> And he [the Sultan] left me at the fortress called Zvečaj, not far from Jajce, and he gave me fifty Janissaries for the garrisoning of the fortress. And he gave me a half-year's wages for each of the Janissaries. And I also had in addition thirty other Turks for help.[59]

The fact that a significant number of the members of the Janissary corps remained in Bosnia following the conquest and became based there is already a good indication that they were able to exert an influence on the new Ottoman society which began to form around them. This influence must have been limited, nevertheless, by virtue of the fact that these Janissaries would have lived and worked in their barracks and thus their interaction with the local population would have been minimal. However, as will be seen shortly, there is another group of Janissaries whose interaction with the locals in the newly conquered areas would have been more substantial.

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engaging in civilian occupations and getting involved in local politics and public affairs as early as the 16th century (Charles Wilkins, *Forging Urban Solidarities: Ottoman Aleppo 1640–1700*, Leiden, 2010, Chapter 3, especially pp. 115–117). On Ottoman military institutionsin Bosnia and their historical development see also Michael Robert Hickok, *Ottoman Military Administration in Eighteenth-Century Bosnia*, Leiden, 1997.

56 Malcolm, *Bosnia*, p. 91.

57 Sućeska, Osnovne osobenosti položaja Bosne, p. 33.

58 Muhamed Hadžijahić, "O nestajanju crkve bosanske," *Pregled*, god. LXV, broj 11–12, Sarajevo, 1975, p. 1325.

59 Konstantin Mihailović, *Memoirs of a Janissary*, translated by Benjamin Stolz, Ann Arbor, 1975, p. 141.

The first *sipahis*, the feudal cavalry who performed military services in exchange for land, came to Bosnia from the border province of Skopje (the Skopsko Krajište)[60] and at the end of the 15th and the beginning of the 16th century there were already over a thousand *sipahis* in Bosnia.[61] They would stay there as holders of *timars*, which they would acquire through the so-called '*tahvil*' system, whereby the *timars* they occupied in the areas they came from would be exchanged for *timars* in the newly conquered areas.[62]

It was not, however, only the *sipahis* who were given *timars* in Bosnia, since there is evidence to suggest that many Janissaries were as well. An example of this can be found in the 1468/69 *defter* of the Bosnian *sancak,*[63] which mentions a number of Janissaries acquiring *timars* in Bosnia: a certain Janissary Ilyas acquired a *timar* consisting of three villages, which used to belong to Mehmedi, son of Ibriya; from subsequent entries added in 1472 we find out that in that year the *timar* of Nesuh was given to Janissary Hasan and a considerably larger *timar* consisting of a number of villages (Srednje, Doljani, Bakije, Medjurača, Pribanj) was given to Janissary Mustafa.[64]

One might assume that having acquired their *timars*, and having thus settled in Bosnia, these Janissaries retired, since the Janissaries were a salaried army and did not normally possess *timars* while still in service. However, it would appear that this was not the case. The additional information that the *defter* provides indicates that these Janissaries were still in service at the time they were granted their *timars*: all the previous holders of these *timars* – Mehmedi, Nesuh, and, in the case of Janissary Mustafa's *timar*, Karagöz – used to be members of the garrison of the fortress of Hodidjed; they all lost their *timars* to the Janissaries in question because they had left their service in the fortress.[65] Thus, it seems that all of these Janissaries received their *timars* precisely because they were still in service. Because all of the *timars* in question belonged to the garrison of the fortress of Hodidjed, we can safely assume that the Janissaries too served in this fortress. The same *defter* contains even clearer evidence of a Janissary who held a *timar* while he was still in service: in the list of *timars* belonging to the garrison members of the fortress of Kreševo we find

60 See footnote 5 in this chapter.

61 Zlatar, Bosna i Hercegovina u okvirima Osmanskog Carstva, p. 71.

62 Ibrahimović, Struktura vojničke klase, p. 276.

63 A smaller Ottoman administrative unit ('*sancak*' being the Turkish for 'banner'), a subdivision of an *eyalet* (province).

64 Summary *defter* of the Bosnian *sancak* from 26 January 1468 to 12 May 1469, Belediye Kütüphanesi, Istanbul, Mualim Cevdet Yazmalari, Tapu defter No. 0–76, fol. 116–119.

65 Tapu defter No. 0–76, fol. 116–119.

the *timar* of Janissary Karagöz; in an additional note to this entry we are told that in 1474 Janissary Karagöz left his service in Kreševo and went to serve in the fortress of Srebrenica and because of this his *timar* was given to Hamza from Vidin.[66]

Further examples of Janissaries who acquired *timars* in Bosnia in their capacity as members of garrisons are found in the 1455 summary *defter* of Isa-bey's border provinces and the first detailed *defter* of the *sancak* of Herzegovina, written between 1475 and 1477. In the former, in the list of the *timars* belonging to the garrison of the fortress of Hodidjed there is the *timar* of Ömer, which was given to Janissary Doğan, who was serving in the fortress (*mezkûr kaleye hizmet eder*)[67] and the *timar* of Ayas given to Janissary Ali, who was also serving in the fortress of Hodidjed (again, *mezkûr kaleye hizmet eder*).[68] In the latter, we find Janissary Ilyas, who held a *timar* in his capacity as a member of the garrison in the fortress of Samobor,[69] and Janissary Karagöz, who held a *timar* as a garrison member in the fortress of Ljubuški.[70]

Thus, in addition to those who received their pay in the usual way, through wages, there were also, among the Janissaries who remained stationed in Bosnia as garrison troops, those who became *timar*-holders.[71] In his commentary to the 1455 summary *defter* of Isa-bey's border provinces, Šabanović puts forward the opinion that once these Janissaries became a part of the garrison troops (*mustaḥfaẓān*) they were technically no longer members of the Janissary corps and effectively retired from it.[72] Although the wording of the entries in the *defters* at hand does not in any way suggest that this was the case (they are all still referred to by their title 'Janissary' and there is no indication of any change of their status), it may be that Šabanović found evidence to this effect in other sources.

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66 Tapu defter No. 0–76, fol. 105.

67 Šabanović, *Krajište Isa-bega Ishakovića*, p. 60 (fol. 83). For the full name of the *defter* and details of these border provinces see footnote 5 in this chapter.

68 Šabanović, *Krajište Isa-bega Ishakovića*, p. 64 (fol. 87).

69 Detailed *defter* of the *sancak* of Herzegovina from 1475–1477, published with an introduction, translation and comments by Ahmed S Aličić, as *Poimenični popis Sandžaka Vilajeta Hercegovina 1475–1477*, Sarajevo, 1985, p. 368.

70 Aličić, *Poimenični popis*, p. 403.

71 That this was also the case in the rest of the Balkans in the 15th century is confirmed by Heath Lowry, according to whom about a third of all *timars* found in the region between 1431 and 1500 belonged to Janissaries serving as members of fortress garrisons, which provides us with evidence of another deviation from the traditional definition of the institution of the Janissary corps (see also note 55 above), namely, that in the early periods of the expansion of the Ottoman Empire, the Janissaries were not purely a salaried army, but, like the *sipahis*, the local land-owning cavalry, they too were in some cases paid in kind and performed their military services in exchange for land ownership (Lowry, *The Shaping of the Ottoman Balkans*, p. 3).

72 Šabanović, *Krajište Isa-bega Ishakovića*, p. 135.

Whatever the case, these soldiers were Janissaries when they arrived in Bosnia, and thus the religious influence which they would have exerted in the areas in which they settled would still have been the same even if they afterwards retired from the corps. Since their *timars* had to have local people working on them, these Janissaries would have been much better placed than their salaried counterparts to have a substantial interaction with the local population of those villages which constituted their *timars*. This being the case, it seems plausible to conclude that in many cases the Islam with which this local population first came into contact would have been the Islam of the Janissary corps, one characterised by a strong dervish tradition passed on from different dervish movements through the Bektashi order. Even if the Janissaries in question were not members of the Bektashi (or other) dervish order, their religious practices must have been influenced by dervish traditions, some of which they would have passed on to those locals from their *timars* who decided to convert to Islam.

That some of these garrison soldiers, on the other hand, were indeed dervishes is confirmed by the fact that in the sources there are also instances where the holders of *timars* from among the members of a garrison are referred to as dervishes or Sufis, although they acquired their *timars* in their military capacity. One such example is found in the above mentioned *defter* of the *sancak* of Herzegovina from 1475–77, in which a certain dervish Hamza is mentioned as a garrison member of the fortress of Samobor and the holder of a *timar* consisting of the village of Slatina and the *mezre*, or piece of farmland, called Babarovina.[73] Similarly, the 1455 *defter* mentions a *timar* consisting of the village of Hreša belonging to a certain Sufi Yahşi.[74] Since this *timar* was registered together with the other *timars* belonging to the garrison of the fortress of Hodidjed, this Sufi Yahşi must therefore have been serving in this garrison. He thus participated in the earliest conquests in Bosnia – those in Vrhbosna – and then stayed on in the garrison of Hodidjed after the fortress had been conquered.

Further examples of dervishes whom we know to have arrived with the Ottoman army during the conquests in Bosnia are Sheikh Magribi and Sheikh Bagdadi. Sheikh Magribi participated in the conquest of Vrhbosna, and some time before 1459 he built the Magribija mosque in Sarajevo.[75] Sheikh Bagdadi came to Sarajevo with Mehmed II and his army during the formal conquest in 1463 and apparently built one of the mosques in the Bistrik area.[76]

73 Aličić, *Poimenični popis*, p. 566.

74 Šabanović, *Krajište Isa-bega Ishakovića*, p. 61 (fol. 84).

75 Šabanović, Teritorijalno širenje, p. 49; Kemura, *Sarajevske džamije*, p. 256. A more detailed mention of this mosque is made in Chapter 2.

76 Šabanović, Teritorijalno širenje, p. 46.

Finally, the Yediler Tekke in Sarajevo, although built sometime in the 19th century, is also of interest here because of its location which has had a particular religious significance in the life of Sarajevans for centuries. The location in question acquired its status as a place endowed with special spiritual properties when an unknown dervish sheikh who came to Bosnia with Mehmed II's army lost his life during the conquest and was buried there. Later on, in the same location were buried two dervishes who were wrongly accused of theft and executed in 1494, and finally four captains who were executed in 1697 for not doing their duty properly during Prince Eugene of Savoy's attack on Sarajevo.[77] This is how the Yediler Türbe came into being, after, as the legend has it, at night time, people started seeing light above the graves of the seven martyrs and decided to build a *türbe* to protect the graves, and this is why the *tekke*, which was later built next to it, was called the Yediler Tekke.[78] The Yediler Türbe still exists, with a cemetery and a small mosque next to it, while the *tekke* was demolished in 1937 to make way for an apartment block.[79] Today the *türbe* houses the graves of seven sheikhs of the *tekke*, "each surmounted by the distinctive turban of the Naqshibandiyya," while the original tombs are now in the adjoining cemetery (Fig. 11).[80]

The Yediler Türbe is known in Sarajevo as 'the *türbe* of the seven brothers' and is traditionally an object of veneration: Sarajevans of all generations seek the *türbe*'s blessing, through reciting prayers for the souls of those resting in it, in advance of any kind of trying experience, such as hospital surgery or someone's recovery from an illness, or simply a job interview or an exam. This has more to do with the original occupants of the *türbe*, namely the unknown dervishes, wrongfully executed and therefore innocent martyrs, rather than the Naqshibandi sheikhs themselves, although the latter have subsequently taken over the role of the providers of blessing. The *türbe* has one door alongside of which there are seven windows, each with a small opening. Through each window a cloth-covered coffin with a turban can be seen. Every day, at almost any given time, one can see a number of people in front of the *türbe* reciting prayers for the souls of the sheikhs. This is done by dropping, as a token of supplication, a coin through the openings in the door and the windows and reciting a prayer, firstly in front of the door, and then in front of each window (Fig. 12).

77 Ćehajić, *Derviški redovi*, p. 44; Hamid Algar, "Some Notes on the Naqshibandi Tariqat in Bosnia," *Studies in Comparative Religion*, vol. 9, 1975, p. 72. Prince Eugene of Savoy was a Habsburg military commander who, following the Ottoman defeat at the Battle of Senta, marched into Sarajevo, pillaged and torched it, razing almost the entire city to the ground.

78 Ćehajić, *Derviški redovi*, p. 44. '*Yedi*' – 'seven' in Turkish; '*yediler*' = 'the seven'.

79 Ćehajić, *Derviški redovi*, p. 45.

80 Algar, Some Notes, p. 72.

FIGURE 11 *Yediler mosque. The Yediler Türbe is next to the mosque on the left, while the cemetery, housing the original tombs of the seven martyrs is in the mosque's small* harem*, partially visible through the grilled window.*

FIGURE 12 *People reciting prayers in front of the Yediler Türbe.*

CHAPTER 2

The Earliest *Tekkes* in Bosnia

Some dervishes, thus, came to Bosnia with the Ottoman army as fighters, be it as irregular *ghazi* warriors or members of the Janissary corps. Some, however, did so purely in their religious-proselytising capacity, which is why they are not documented as soldiers and evidence of their presence has to be looked for elsewhere. At the same time, other Sufis, or patrons of Sufism, who came to Bosnia during and in the wake of the Ottoman conquest were important Ottoman officials whose activities are documented in a variety of sources and much more substantially than those of ordinary dervishes. In all of these cases, it is the Sufi religious-humanitarian institutions, the *tekkes* and other accompanying buildings – whether built by unknown dervish settlers or high-ranking Ottoman officials, and whether modest, one or two-room houses built by the road, or more substantial buildings with lodgings for young Sufi apprentices, *dhikr* and prayer rooms – that provide the most tangible and, in some cases, the only evidence of dervish activities in Bosnia in the early years of Ottoman rule.

In order, therefore, to gain a fuller picture of the overall presence of dervishes and influence of Sufism in Bosnia during and in the wake of the Ottoman conquest, an attempt will be made, in the following pages, to provide an account of all Bosnian *tekkes* which we know to have originated in the 15th or the first half of the 16th century.

One of the most important *tekkes* to have been built in Bosnia in the early period of Ottoman rule is Isa-bey's[1] Tekke in Sarajevo. Together with the Careva (Emperor's) mosque built by Isa-bey around 1457,[2] this *tekke*, which was built in 1462, and the properties which Isa-bey endowed for its maintenance, are considered as having laid the foundations of Sarajevo, Isa-bey thus being regarded as its founder. The information on this *tekke* is contained in Isa-bey's *vakıfname* (pious endowment document) from 1462, which has been used by Bosnian historians as the main source for the history of Sarajevo of that time.[3] According to

1 Before he became the Sancak-bey of Bosnia (1463/64–1469/70), Isa-bey had been the governor (*voyvoda*) of the border province of Skopje (1439–1463). This is the region which in Bosnian is referred to as 'Krajište' (border province) of Isa-bey Ishaković. The areas it covered are listed in the 1455 *defter* of this region (see Chapter 1, footnote 5).

2 Handžić, A, O ulozi derviša, p. 93; Behija Zlatar, *Zlatno doba Sarajeva: XVI stoljeće*, Sarajevo, 1996, p. 29. The emperor in question is Mehmed II.

3 The original (in Arabic) of the *vakıfname* has been lost but several copies (in Arabic as well as in Ottoman translation) are preserved. One of them (in Arabic) was published with translation and comments by Hazim Šabanović in "Dvije najstarije vakufname u Bosni," *POF*,

 | DOI 10.1163/9789004288447_004

the *vakıfname*, Isa-bey's Tekke consisted of "three apartments/rooms (*buyūt*), one stable, one courtyard (*harem*) and everything else that was suitable for it… (see Fig. 13)"; the building was to be used as a *tekke*[4] and an inn for poor Muslims, be they students, *sayyids*,[5] *ghazis* or wayfarers (*abnā' al-sabīl*). Food (meat, rice, bread and broth) was to be cooked for the guests, who were allowed to stay there for up to three days; broth (*maraq*) was also to be provided for the workers of the *tekke* and the surplus was to be given out to the poor children of Sarajevo (*hadhihi-l-qaṣaba*).[6] Together with this *tekke* Isa-bey also built a bridge over the river Miljacka, and for the maintenance of the two edifices he endowed several mills, a *hamam*, a number of shops, and a large number of cultivated fields, plantations, and gardens in the area.[7] Isa-bey's Tekke was closed in 1924 and demolished in 1957, when a petrol-station was built in its place.[8] In recent years, the foundations of Isa-bey's Tekke, which had been lying under a car park, have been uncovered and plans for a reconstruction of the *tekke* are currently under way (see Udruženje Obnova Isa-begove Tekije, *Isa-begova zavija, sadašnji i budući poslovi rekonstrukcije*, Sarajevo, 2000).

It should be mentioned here, albeit in passing, that although Isa-bey's *vakıfname* has been available for some time now, and the *tekke* has been studied on various occasions, there are still a number of ambiguities and unresolved problems regarding the history of this edifice. Apart from an apparent misunderstanding of the text of the *vakıfname*,[9] a number of problems also arise in the context of correctly identifying the sources which refer to the later history of the *tekke*.[10]

II/1951, Sarajevo, 1952. The secondary sources which discuss Isa-bey's Tekke and his *vakıfname* are: Šakir Sikirić, "Sarajevske tekije," *Narodna Starina*, knj. VI, Zagreb, 1927, p. 78; Mehmed Mujezinović, "Musafirhana i tekija Isa-bega Ishakovića u Sarajevu," *Naše Starine*, III, Sarajevo, 1956, pp. 245–251; Ćehajić, *Derviški redovi*, pp. 28–30; Adem Handžić, "O širenju Islama u Bosni s posebnim osvrtom na srednju Bosnu," *POF*, vol. 41, Sarajevo, 1991, p. 46; Šiljak, Derviši i tekije, p. 75; Handžić, A, O ulozi derviša, p. 93; Zlatar, *Zlatno doba Sarajeva*, p. 29.

4 The word used in the text of the *vakıfname* is '*zaviye*' (Ar. *zāwiya*).

5 The word used is '*sādāt*' – plural of '*sayyid*', and the only definition which Šabanović provides in his translation is 'the title held by those who claim direct familial descent from the Prophet'. However, given the context in which the word is used here, it seems more plausible to take it to mean dervish 'masters', sheikhs, as in '*sādāt ṣūfiya*'.

6 Šabanović, Dvije najstarije vakufname, p. 9; Šabanović's translation of this sentence is slightly different: he separated the sentence into two and took it that the guests too (like the workers and the children) were to be given broth only.

7 Šabanović, Dvije najstarije vakufname, pp. 9–10.

8 Šiljak, Derviši i tekije, p. 75.

9 Which seems to have led a number of researchers to believe that there were in fact two different buildings built by Isa-bey, one a *misafirhane* (inn), and the other the *tekke* (see, for instance, Mujezinović, Musafirhana i tekija, or Ćehajić, *Derviški redovi*).

10 For more details on these problems see Ines Aščerić, "Neke napomene o problemima iz historije Isa-begove tekije u Sarajevu," *POF*, 52–53/2002–03, Sarajevo, 2004, pp. 339–350.

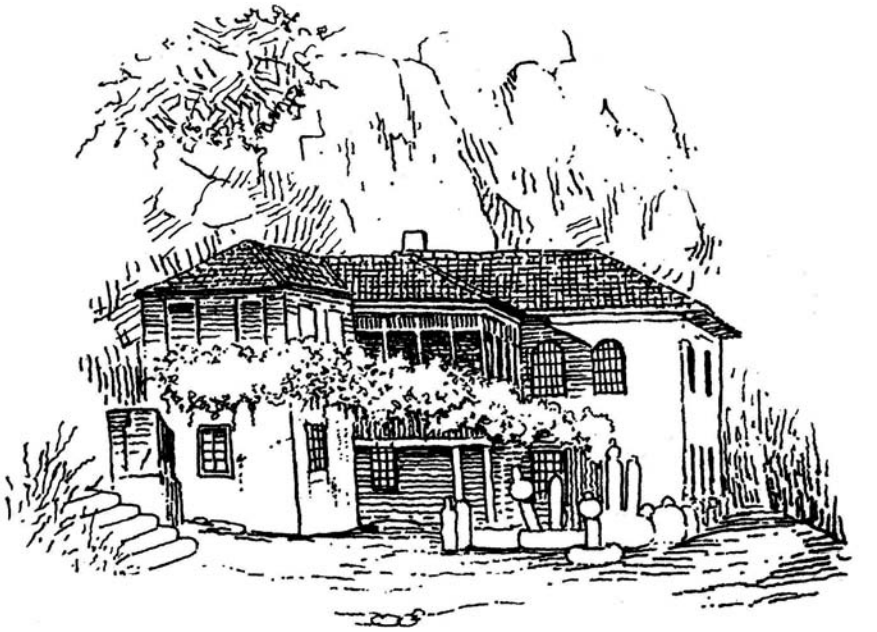

FIGURE 13 *Isa-Bey's Tekke.* (*From Vesna Mušeta-Aščerić,* Sarajevo i njegova okolina u XV stoljeću: izmedju zapada i istoka*, Sarajevo, 2005; image reproduced with the author's permission.*) *This is a graphic representation from an original photograph of the* tekke *taken sometime before its demolition in 1957. The building on the picture corresponds very clearly to the description in Isa-bey's* vakıfname*, which states that the* tekke *consisted of three apartments or houses* (buyūt)*: there are three obviously separate sections to the building on the picture. The* tekke *was situated on the right bank of the river Miljacka, and, in the early centuries of its existence, would have been very close to the water, which is why it is known to have been flooded on more than one occasion* (*see Fig. 19*).

Another *tekke* built in Sarajevo early in the Ottoman period was Iskender-pasha's Tekke situated on the left bank of the river Miljacka. Iskender-pasha built his *tekke* towards the end of the 15th and the beginning of the 16th century during his third term as the Bosnian Sancak-bey (1498/99–1504/5).[11] Next to the *tekke*, he built a *misafirhane* (inn) and an *imaret*, and constructed a water system bringing water from the 'Studena Česma' source to the fountains

11 Ćehajić, *Derviški redovi*, p. 38; Alija Bejtić, "Skender-pašina tekija," *Novi Behar*, XVI, br. 2, Sarajevo, 1944, p. 24; Šabanović, Teritorijalno širenje, p. 44; Behija Zlatar, "Popis vakufa u Bosni u XVI stoljeću," *Separat iz Priloga za Orijentalnu Filologiju*, XX–XXI, Sarajevo, 1974, p. 115. Iskender-pasha was the Bosnian Sancak-bey at least twice before this, between 1470 and 1489.

in front of these buildings.[12] On the opposite side of the river, on the right bank, he built a *saray* (palace) for himself, a large caravanserai (commercial inn) with 11 shops and a bridge over the Miljacka connecting them with the *tekke*, *misafirhane* and *imaret*.[13] Moreover, Iskender-pasha provided a rich v*akıf* for his buildings, buying much land in and around Sarajevo, including pastures on the mountains of Igman and Bjelašnica, and building 27 water-mills,[14] the proceeds of all of which were to go towards their upkeep. Although Iskender-pasha's v*akıfname* has been lost and the sources containing information on the activities of Iskender-pasha's Tekke are scarce and go back no further than the beginning of the 18th century, the *tekke* is known to have belonged to the Naqshibandi order of dervishes for the most part of its existence, which is why it also assumed that Iskender-pasha himself was a Naqshibandi.[15] The *tekke* was still fully functional in the first half of the 20th century and continued to be used by Naqshibandi dervishes until its demise in the Second World War.

A third early Bosnian *tekke* is that of Gazi Husrev-bey, a descendant of a notable from Trebinje, and on his mother's side a grandson of Bayezid II, who was the governor of Bosnia from 1518 to 1541.[16] Building a whole range of public establishments of religious and social character, he is famous for his contribution to the cultural development of Bosnia. In 1531 he built a mosque, a *tekke*, an *imaret* and a *misafirhane* in Sarajevo.[17] Information on these buildings is contained in Gazi Husrev-bey's *vakıfname* from the same year.[18] In the *vakıfname*, as well as in other sources, Gazi Husrev-bey's building is referred to as a '*hanegâh*', a term of Persian origin denoting an institution essentially the same as a *tekke*, except larger, which originally was simply a place of residence for dervishes, but later became a place where they both

12 Ćehajić, *Derviški redovi*, p. 38; Kemura, *Sarajevske džamije*, p. 215. The 'Studena Česma' and the area around it are also known as 'Souk Bunar' – 'the cold well', '*souk*' being the Bosnian version of the Turkish '*soğuk*' (cold).

13 Kemura, *Sarajevske džamije*, p. 215; Bejtić, Skender-pašina tekija, p. 24.

14 Bejtić, Skender-pašina tekija, p. 25; Ćehajić, *Derviški redovi*, p. 39. Some sources give the number of 35 water-mills.

15 Ćehajić, *Derviški redovi*, p. 38.

16 Džemal Čelić, "Kuršumlija medresa u Sarajevu," *Zbornik zaštite spomenika kulture*, knj. IV–V, 1953–1954, Beograd, 1955, p. 259.

17 Ćiro Truhelka, "Gazi Husrefbeg, njegov život i njegovo doba," *Glasnik Zemaljskog Muzeja u BiH*, XXIV, Sarajevo, 1912, pp. 123–129; Ćehajić, *Derviški redovi*, pp. 83–87; Šabanović, Teritorijalno širenje, p. 32; Sikirić, Sarajevske tekije, p. 78; Hamdija Kreševljaković, "Hanikah," *Spomenica Gazi Husrev-begove 400-godišnjice*, Sarajevo, 1932, pp. 57–59.

18 The *vakıfname* is published and translated in Truhelka, Gazi Husrefbeg, pp. 123–129.

lived and received education and training.[19] According to contemporary sources,

> Gazi Husrev-bey's Hanegâh consisted of a narrow central courtyard with a fountain in the middle, on both sides of which were rows of dervish cells, fourteen in total; in front of the cells a part of the courtyard was covered with a roof supported by a row of slim pillars (see Fig. 16). To the left of the entrance was the *semahane*…In each room of the *hanegâh* lived two dervishes and they had their food in Gazi Husrev-bey's *imaret*.[20]

The *hanegâh* was damaged in fires several times and each subsequent rebuilding of it rendered it more remote from its original form, until, eventually, it was completely demolished in 1931 and the large building of the modern Gazi Husrev-bey *medrese* was built in its place.[21]

However, it is possible to imagine what the *hanegâh* would have originally looked like, since in 1537 this complex around the mosque was further expanded when another building was built next to the *hanegâh*. In Bosnian, it is known as the Kuršumlija[22] *medrese*, and although it too has been damaged and reconstructed on several occasions, this building is still very much in its original form. The Kuršumlija *medrese* is essentially a slightly smaller version of what the *hanegâh* used to look like: the central feature of the building is a courtyard with a fountain in the middle; around the courtyard are rows of small cells which end with a large domed room opposite the entrance.

Thanks to the information contained in Gazi Husrev-bey's *vakıfname*, we can determine with certainty which dervish order the *hanegâh* belonged to at the time when it was built: Gazi Husrev-bey specifically laid down that the *hanegâh* should be for the Halveti order of dervishes:

> The duty of the head of the *hanegâh* will be carried out by the best and most perfect sheikh of the Halveti order, who will, from the above

19 Ćehajić, *Derviški redovi*, pp. 83–84; Trimingham, *The Sufi Orders in Islam*, pp. 17–23. For more details on the architecture of dervish lodges, their various uses, and the terminology involved, see Mehmet Baha Tanman, "Ottoman Architecture and the Sufi Orders: Dervish Lodges," in Ahmet Yaşar Ocak, ed., *Sufism and Sufis in Ottoman Society: Sources, Doctrines, Rituals, Turuq, Architecture, Literature and Fine Arts, Modernism*, Ankara, 2005, pp. 317–381.

20 Sikirić, Sarajevske tekije, p. 78; Ćehajić, *Derviški redovi*, pp. 84–85.

21 Kreševljaković, Hanikah, p. 59.

22 Meaning 'lead-covered', since '*kuršum*' is the Bosnian version of the Turkish '*kurşun*' – lead.

> mentioned edifices, receive 20 *dirham*s per day which will be paid out to him in monthly portions.[23]

In the middle of the 19th century, however, the *hanegâh* was taken over by the Naqshibandi order of dervishes, and the subsequent period, namely, the latter half of the 19th century and the first half of the 20th, witnessed a decrease in the number of dervishes in the *hanegâh* and its gradual transformation into a religious school,[24] which was completed with the demolition of the old building and the construction in its place of the new Gazi Husrev-bey *medrese* in 1931. It has to be said, however, that, unfortunately, this building does not possess a single trait which would be even remotely reminiscent of its past as a prominent centre of Sufi learning "full of *murīds* (disciples) absorbed in *'ilm* (learning), *tawḥīd* ('asserting the unity of God')[25] and *dhikr*."[26]

As for the Kuršumlija *medrese* next to it, it is now used as a gallery (Fig. 17). The famous Gazi Husref-begova Džamija is still the principal mosque in Sarajevo and is fully active. The *imaret* is there too (see Fig. 15), but only the old-fashioned bakery (Fig. 14), in which bread can be bought 24 hours a day, is still in use.

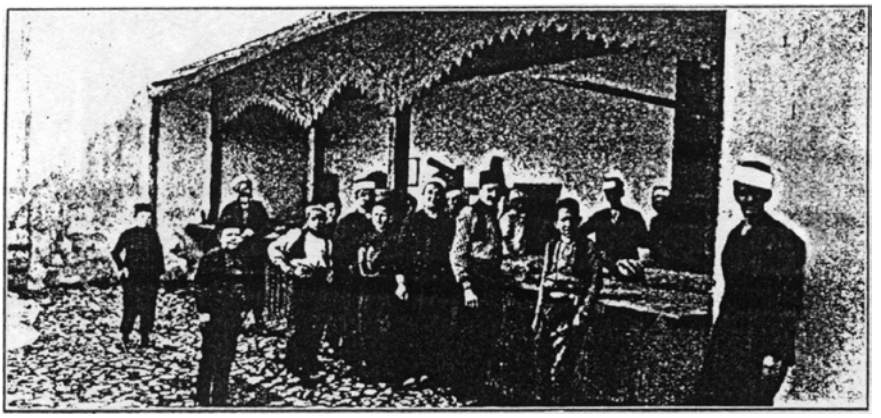

FIGURE 14 *The bakery in Gazi Husrev-bey's* imaret (*From Ćiro Truhelka, "Gazi Husrefbeg, njegov život i njegovo doba,"* Glasnik Zemaljskog Muzeja u BiH*, XXIV, Sarajevo, 1912; image reproduced with the permission from the Zemaljski Muzej, Sarajevo.*)

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23 Truhelka, Gazi Husrefbeg, p. 126. See footnote 25 in Introduction.

24 Ćehajić, *Derviški redovi*, pp. 85–86.

25 '*Tawḥīd*' – the concept of the 'Oneness of God' and the most fundamental article of faith in Islam, is also an important aspect of Sufism, giving rise to many philosophical debates and Sufi doctrines, most notably that of 'the Unity of Being' (*waḥdat al-wujūd*), concerning the nature of God and the relationship between God and creation.

26 Salih Sidki Hadžihusejnović Muvekkit, *Tarih-i Bosna ve Hersek*, Gazi Husrev-begova Biblioteka, Sarajevo, 7551–7554, p. 91.

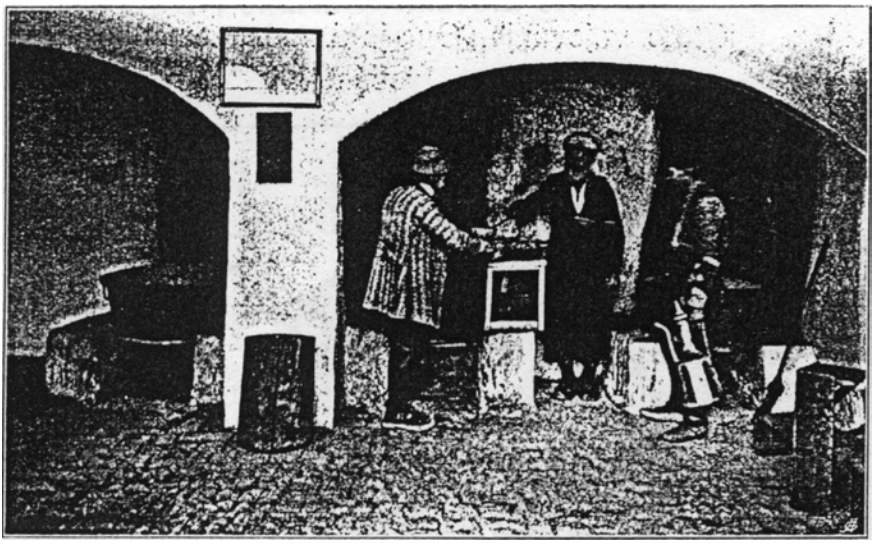

FIGURE 15 *A scene from Gazi Husrev-bey's imaret* (*From Ćiro Truhelka, "Gazi Husrefbeg, njegov život i njegovo doba,"* Glasnik Zemaljskog Muzeja u BiH*, XXIV, Sarajevo, 1912; image reproduced with the permission from the Zemaljski Muzej, Sarajevo.*)

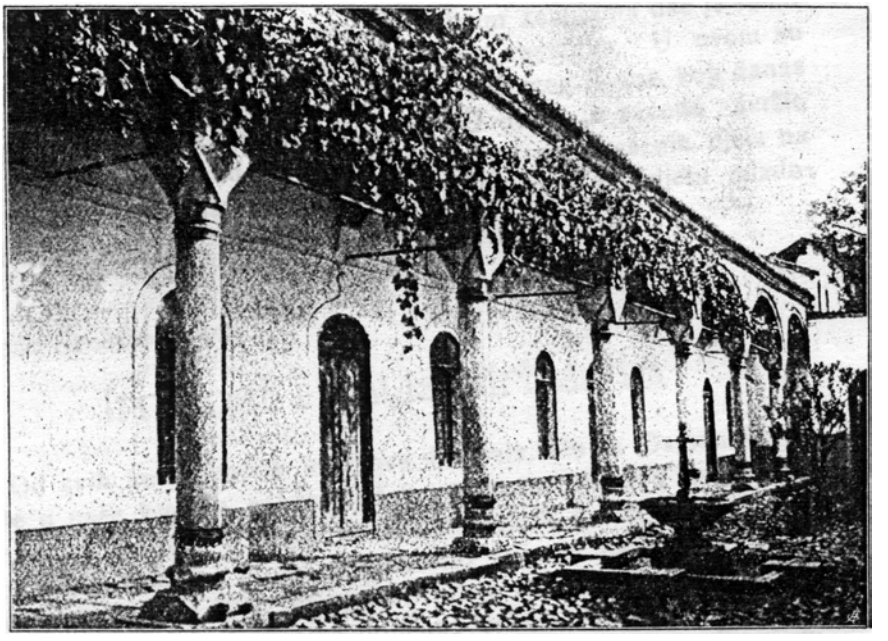

FIGURE 16 *The courtyard of Gazi Husrev-bey's Hanegâh* (*From Ćiro Truhelka, "Gazi Husrefbeg, njegov život i njegovo doba,"* Glasnik Zemaljskog Muzeja u BiH*, XXIV, Sarajevo, 1912; image reproduced with the permission from the Zemaljski Muzej, Sarajevo.*)

FIGURE 17 *Kuršumlija* medrese *today.*

Evliya Çelebi[27] (d.c. 1684), who was in Sarajevo in 1659, tells us in his *Seyahatname* that Sarajevo had 47 dervish *tekkes*.[28] This information has to be taken with a certain amount of reservation, since, as is now generally accepted, Evliya did at times exaggerate in his descriptions, and, in some cases, even gave wrong information, and most secondary sources agree with Šabanović, the translator of the *Seyahatname*, that this number is far too high. Thus, Bejtić is of the opinion that the greatest number of *tekkes* that ever existed in Sarajevo is ten, and comments:

> It is not possible that so many *tekkes* existed in Sarajevo and that only ten of them were recorded in contemporary documents. Perhaps Evliya also took into account private houses in which dervish rituals were carried out…[29]

27 One of the most celebrated Ottoman travelers, whose travel book *Seyahatname*, is, in spite of some inaccuracies, still an important source for the history, geography, ethnography, and other aspects of various regions of the Ottoman Empire in the 17th century. See Evliya b. Derviş Mehemmed Zillî Çelebi, *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi, Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi Bağdat 304 Numaralı Yazmanın Transkripsiyonu – Dizini, 1. Kitap*, ed. by Robert Dankoff, Seyit Ali Kahraman and Yücel Dağlı, Istanbul, 2006.

28 Evliya Çelebi, *Putopis: odlomci o Jugoslovenskim zemljama*, *Seyahatname*'s section on the lands of the former Yugoslavia, translation with comments by Hazim Šabanović, Sarajevo, 1979, p. 110.

29 Bejtić, Skender-pašina tekija, p. 24.

If this is indeed the case and Evliya's number in fact refers to all the gathering places of dervishes that he came across, his statement is certainly a significant indication of the wide-spread presence of Sufi teachings and practices in Bosnia at the time.

Whatever the case may be, there is still reason to believe that Sarajevo had more *tekkes* than the often quoted number of ten, in other words, more than simply those on which we have well-documented information. This is because there are instances in which secondary sources give information concerning the existence of a particular *tekke* without telling us anything else about it, either because they simply stumbled across the information while researching something else, or because they could not find anything more about that institution. One such example is Turna-dervish's Tekke. Bejtić mentions it as one of the ten *tekkes* of Sarajevo,[30] while Kreševljaković tells us that this *tekke* was one of the four which had already existed in Sarajevo when Gazi Husrev-bey arrived there.[31] Because Gazi Husrev-bey's governorship in Sarajevo suffered two minor interruptions, some consider it to have begun in 1518,[32] and some in 1521.[33] Regardless of which date Kreševljaković had in mind, Turna-dervish's Tekke was at any rate built before 1520 since it is mentioned in a summary *defter* of the Bosnian *sancak* compiled some time before 1520.[34]

The same *defter* mentions six *tekkes*, which means that Kreševljaković either took 1518 as the year in which Gazi Husrev-bey came to Sarajevo, in which case both of the additional *tekkes* would have had to have been built between 1518 and 1520, or, more likely, simply did not know about them. The two additional *tekkes* mentioned in the *defter* are 'Cancu-gazi's *zaviye*' and 'Dervish Hajji-dede's *zaviye*'.[35] Thus, we have two more *tekkes* built in Sarajevo early in the 16th century, but unfortunately do not have any further information about them.

The latter also indicate that Bejtić's claim that Sarajevo had ten *tekkes* in total is wrong, since these two *tekkes* are not on his list: Isa-bey's, Iskender-pasha's, Turna-dervish's, the Gaziler, Gazi-Husrev-bey's, Bistrigija's, Kaimi's, Hajji Sinan's, Sheikh Ali's in Kovačići, and the Bektashi *tekke* in Atmejdan.[36] Furthermore, although both his and Ćehajić's number of Sarajevo *tekkes* is ten,

30 Bejtić, Skender-pašina tekija, p. 24.

31 Kreševljaković, Hanikah, p. 57 (the other three are Isa-bey's, Iskender-pasha's and the Gaziler Tekke). Both Bejtić and Kreševljaković refer to this *tekke* as Turna-dede's, but in the 1520 *defter* (see below) it appears as Turna-dervish's.

32 Čelić, Kuršumlija medresa, p. 259.

33 Sikirić, Sarajevske tekije, p. 78.

34 Undated summary *defter* of the Bosnian *sancak* with marginal notes from 1520–21, BOA, Istanbul, Tapu Tahrir defter No. 57, p. 2.

35 Tapu Tahrir defter No. 57, p. 2.

36 Bejtić, Skender-pašina tekija, p. 24.

their lists, in fact, do not match. After discounting the seven *tekkes* on which the lists clearly agree, the following are left on Bejtić's list: Turna-dervish's Tekke, Sheikh Ali's Tekke in Kovačići and the Bektashi *tekke* in Atmejdan; whereas the *tekkes* left on Ćehajić's list are: the Yediler Tekke,[37] the Mlini Tekke,[38] and the Bektashi *tekke* in Golobrdica.[39] Since Atmejdan and Golobrdica are two different areas of Sarajevo, the Bektashi *tekkes* are obviously two different *tekkes*. Since none of Ćehajić's *tekkes* is in Kovačići, Sheikh Ali's Tekke does not correspond to any of them. And finally, since Turna-dervish's Tekke was situated near the Čekrekčijina mosque,[40] it too cannot be any of the ones that Ćehajić mentions, as its location does not correspond to that of any of Ćehajić's *tekkes*. Thus, including Cancu-gazi's and Hajji-dede's *tekkes* mentioned above, there are at least five Sarajevo *tekkes* which are not included in Bejtić's list. This example indicates that there were more, perhaps many more *tekkes* in Sarajevo, particularly in the early periods of the Ottoman rule, which were not as well documented as the ones built by prominent and well-known Ottoman officials, about which, consequently, we have relatively extensive information.

The area of Sarajevo, because it was the first Bosnian region conquered by the Ottomans, was also the site of the earliest *tekkes* built in Bosnia, and, apart from becoming the administrative and political centre of Bosnia, Sarajevo became its spiritual centre too. There are, however, other Bosnian towns which also had their first *tekkes* already in the 15th or at the beginning of the 16th century.

A *tekke* that certainly deserves mention here is Hamza-dede's Tekke in the village of Orlovići, near Zvornik. According to the 1533 *defter* of Zvornik, Hamza-dede founded his *tekke* and provided a *vakıf* for it in 1519.[41] Although there are no sources giving information on the activities of this *tekke* in the early years of its existence, it has been closely linked with the name of Hamza Bali (or Hamza Orlović, as found in some secondary sources), the founder of the Hamzevi order of dervishes, who was executed in Istanbul in 1573, partly because of the organisational structure of his order, which tended to be independent of the official state and religious system, partly because of its enormous popularity not only in Bosnia but in other areas of the Ottoman Empire.[42]

37 Ćehajić, *Derviški redovi*, p. 44.

38 Ćehajić, *Derviški redovi*, p. 46.

39 Ćehajić, *Derviški redovi*, p. 169.

40 Kreševljaković, Hanikah, p. 57.

41 Ćehajić, *Derviški redovi*, p. 201; Handžić and Hadžijahić, O progonu Hamzevija u Bosni, p. 68; Handžić, A, O ulozi derviša, p. 95; Šiljak, Derviši i tekije, p. 76; Lopašić, Islamisation of the Balkans with Special Reference to Bosnia, p. 169.

42 Handžić and Hadžijahić, O Progonu Hamzevija u Bosni, pp. 52–69. A separate and more detailed discussion of the Hamzevi movement follows in Chapters 10 and 11.

Because of its importance in relation to the Hamzevi order and its activities in the 16th century, this *tekke* will be given more attention later in this study. For the moment, however, it will suffice to say that it was fully active until 1954, when it was put under state protection as a cultural and historical monument.[43]

As mentioned earlier, the most comprehensive study of dervish orders in the territory of the former Yugoslavia is Ćehajić's *Derviški redovi u Jugoslovenskim zemljama*. Its format, however, lends itself to certain omissions, since the book is arranged according to individual orders, and, as such, includes only those *tekkes* whose affiliation is either certain, or, in the case of those built early in the Ottoman period, can at least be easily guessed at on the basis of later sources. A good example of this is the earlier mentioned Isa-bey's Tekke, which Ćehajić puts under the heading of the Mevlevi order of dervishes,[44] since this *tekke* is, because of its activities in the later period of its existence, generally regarded as having been run by Mevlevis. Thus, *tekkes* built early in Ottoman Bosnia which later disappeared and on whose activities no specific information has been found are not listed in Ćehajić's book. We have already seen examples of this in the case of Sarajevo: Cancu-gazi's and Hajji-dede's *tekkes* were built very early, and the sources have so far given us no concrete information on the affiliation of Turna-dervish's or Sheikh Ali's *tekke*.[45] *Tekkes* which do not find a place in Ćehajić's book are to be found in other parts of Bosnia as well, such as the one mentioned in the 1489 detailed *defter* of the Bosnian *sancak*, which was built in the town of Rogatica, in Eastern Bosnia, by a certain dervish called Musliheddin.[46] Similarly, Ayas-bey, who was the Bosnian Sancak-bey three times, built a *tekke* in Visoko, a town near Sarajevo, sometime after 1477 and before 1489. The time of the building of the *tekke* can be deduced from the fact that the *tekke* is not mentioned in Ayas-bey's *vakıfname* from 1477, but is mentioned in the 1489 *defter*.[47] Bahşi-bey, the Zvornik Sancak-bey, built a *tekke* in Zvornik around 1530.[48] Around the same time, that is, in the first half of the 16th century, a *tekke* was also built either in the village of Kopčići near Prusac, or in today's town of Donji Vakuf.[49]

43 Ćehajić, *Derviški redovi*, p. 201.

44 Ćehajić, *Derviški redovi*, pp. 22–34.

45 Though some information on the activities of the latter does exist, as will be seen later in this study (see Chapter 6).

46 Handžić, A, O ulozi derviša, p. 94.

47 Handžić, A, O ulozi derviša, p. 94.

48 Handžić, A, O ulozi derviša, p. 96. More details will be given on these three *tekke*s in the following chapter, since each of them had a very important role in the formation of towns in the areas where they were built.

49 Handžić, A, O ulozi derviša, pp. 96–97.

CHAPTER 3

Dervishes as Founders of Bosnian Towns

The character of medieval Bosnia, a country consisting of small settlements, villages and a few fortified towns, was quite different from the one it acquired by the end of the 16th century – that of a province of the Ottoman Empire, with fully established Ottoman-type local authorities, economic and social organisation, and towns developed on the Anatolian/Middle Eastern model. This was due to the rapid process of urbanisation which Bosnia underwent in the first periods of Ottoman rule. Nedim Filipović sees three phases in the development of Bosnian towns under the Ottomans: the first was the phase of the establishment and strengthening of Ottoman rule during which the old medieval Bosnian towns remained almost completely unchanged; the second phase followed the stabilisation of Ottoman rule and witnessed the beginning of the transformation of the old towns into Ottoman administrative, economic, and religious centres; the third phase was the longest one and was characterised by the flourishing of the developed and already 'orientalised' Bosnian towns.[1]

This process of development cannot, however, be applied to all Bosnian towns which have existed since the Ottoman period, since many of them were founded by the Ottomans in places which had previously not contained any towns, and in some cases, any settlements at all. Before a settlement in Ottoman Bosnia could qualify as a town (*kasaba*) it had to have a religious institution, a Muslim community (*cemaat*), and a market-place. That is why the urban development of most Bosnian towns, or indeed their formation, more or less always followed the same pattern: first, a religious institution would be founded, then, around this religious institution would develop *mahalles* (residential areas), a market-place would follow, if there had not been one there already, and a town would thus be formed.

One scholar who has given some attention to the role played by dervishes in the process of urban development in Bosnia is Adem Handžić.[2] According to Handžić, this process had two components: "the dervish component" and "the state and orthodox component."[3] Within the first, the formation of towns

1 See Filipović, Neki novi podaci. On Ottoman city in general, see, for instance, Irene Bierman, Rifa'at Abou-El-Haj and Donald Preziosi, eds., *The Ottoman City and Its Parts: Urban Structure and Social Order*, New York, 1991.

2 Handžić, A, O ulozi derviša. There are a few others who briefly mention it – see: Šiljak, Derviši i tekije, Zlatar, *Zlatno doba Sarajeva*.

3 Handžić, A, O ulozi derviša, p. 92.

 | DOI 10.1163/9789004288447_005

would start with the building of a *tekke*, while within the second – which might follow on from the first or arise independently of it – it would start with the building of a state-sponsored mosque and other public buildings and amenities.[4] Handžić further emphasises that the dervish component was the earlier, the state one coming later and very often building upon the former: in most cases there would be a *tekke* built first, and then, later, other buildings, including state-sponsored mosques, would be built in its vicinity.[5]

Today's capital of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Sarajevo, is the most important example both of a town which was founded under Ottoman rule and of a town whose formation began with "the dervish component," that is, with the building of a *tekke*. Apart from the village, there were three basic types of settlements in medieval Bosnia: the smallest one was an open settlement or '*trg*';[6] the second, called a '*varosh*', was also an open settlement, but larger than a '*trg*', usually the suburbia of a fortified town, and therefore enjoying some of the privileges of town status; the third and most important one was a fortified town or '*grad*'.[7] Before the arrival of the Ottomans, the area of today's Sarajevo belonged to the medieval province (*župa*) of Vrhbosna, which is why, for many years, it was commonly assumed that there had been a fortified town (*grad*) with the same name – Vrhbosna – which developed into Sarajevo.[8] Thus, in

4 Handžić, A, O ulozi derviša, p. 92.

5 Handžić, A, O ulozi derviša, p. 92.

6 '*Trg*' – in medieval terms, a small open settlement usually formed around a market-place. Most such settlements differed very little from villages, but some were bigger and, although lacking town status, functioned as such in areas where this was necessitated by the lack of towns proper. These latter thus probably corresponded to the so-called market-towns (*mezzo-varosh*) of medieval Hungary, open settlements ranking between the village and the town whose burghers were legally serfs, but which nevertheless served the function of towns, especially in the vast regions of the Great Hungarian Plain almost completely devoid of towns proper. For more on market-towns and their place in the feudal system see Lázsló Gerevich, ed., *Towns in Medieval Hungary*, Budapest, 1990, especially András Kubinyi, "Urbanisation in the East-Central part of Medieval Hungary." In contemporary Bosnian '*trg*' means 'a square', a term obviously related to the verb '*trgovati*' – to trade and the noun '*trgovina*' – trade, which suggests that originally it denoted an open space where trading was carried out (a market-place) and later came to mean a square in general.

7 '*Grad*' – the generic Slavonic term (sometimes '*hrad*') used for medieval settlements, usually, but not necessarily, with full town status (i.e. the equivalent of free royal towns in Western Europe, although without a charter), consisting of a fortified settlement on a hill with suburbia underneath. For more information on Slavonic medieval settlements, and '*grad*' in particular see Martin Gojda, *The Ancient Slavs: Settlement and Society*, The Rhind Lectures 1989–90, Edinburgh, 1991, especially Ch. 3: Early medieval castles – hillforts – and their role in the state-forming process in Bohemia. In modern Bosnian, '*grad*' is the only term for both 'town' and 'city'.

8 Zlatar, *Zlatno doba Sarajeva*, p. 24.

their accounts of the Ottoman conquest of the area, many works written early in the last century mention the fortified town of Vrhbosna. One such account tells us that when the Ottomans conquered the Vrhbosna region in 1435/6 they took "the town (*grad*) of Vrhbosna" to be their headquarters.[9] Most of these works mention Vrhbosna side by side with Hodidjed, taking these to have been the two fortified towns which existed in the province.[10] However, it has since been proven that the only fortified town in the province of Vrhbosna was the fortress of Hodidjed and that the settlement called Vrhbosna was a small *trg*, one of many that existed in the province at the time.[11] Moreover, it has also been established that this *trg* of Vrhbosna was almost completely destroyed in 1459 during the last attempt of the Bosnian king to retrieve the province of Vrhbosna from the hands of the Ottomans.[12] Thus, the only medieval settlement which had existed in the area of today's Sarajevo disappeared before the official Ottoman conquest of Bosnia in 1463. Sarajevo was therefore a completely new town which owed its formation entirely to its being in a very useful, and for the Ottomans, strategically important location.

It has already been mentioned that Isa-bey is considered to have laid the foundations of today's Sarajevo with the edifices he built on the bank of the river Miljacka in 1462,[13] and that this year is taken as the year of the founding of Sarajevo. Although his *tekke* was just one of the buildings with which he is considered to have started the development of Sarajevo, it nonetheless had a very important role in this development, since one of Sarajevo's first *mahalles* was formed around this *tekke*, and used to be called the Mahalle of Isa-bey's *zaviye*.[14] Thus, even the official founder of Sarajevo, Isa-bey, was obviously either a dervish himself or at least a patron of dervishes, since at the heart of the buildings with which he started the development of Sarajevo he decided to build a *tekke*.

It is also generally accepted that the city owes its very name to Isa-bey, since it is first mentioned in Isa-bey's *vakıfname* of 1462 in the context of the place in which Isa-bey's edifices were built: "*dākhil qaryat Brudche min aʿmāl Sarayovası*" (in the village of Brodac in the area of the field of the castle).[15] In order

9 Vego, *Naselja Bosanske države*, p. 135.

10 See Vego, *Naselja Bosanske države*, and also Vladislav Skarić, "Postanak Sarajeva i njegov teritorijalni razvitak u 15 i 16 vijeku," *Glasnik Zemaljskog Muzeja u BiH*, XLI-1929, sv. II, Sarajevo, 1929.

11 Hazim Šabanović, "Postanak i razvoj Sarajeva," *Naučno društvo NRBiH, Radovi*, knj. XIII, *Odjeljenje istorijsko-filoloških nauka*, knj. 5, Sarajevo, 1960, p. 76; Zlatar, *Zlatno doba Sarajeva*, p. 24.

12 Šabanović, Teritorijalno širenje, p. 49; Zlatar, *Zlatno doba Sarajeva*, p. 25.

13 See Chapter 2.

14 Mujezinović, Musafirhana i tekija, p. 245.

15 Šabanović, Dvije najstarije vakufname, p. 9.

for the place to be referred to as 'the field of the castle' there must have been a castle built there sometime before the *vakıfname* was written, which is why it is assumed that at the same time he built his *tekke*, or sometime prior to that, Isa-bey also built a castle for himself.[16]

However, the above sentence is the only instance in which the phrase '*Sarayovası*' is mentioned in Isa-bey's *vakıfname*, and, as was seen earlier, in the rest of the text, the place in question is referred to as '*hadhihi-l-qaṣaba*' (this town).[17] Given the usual definition of *kasaba* mentioned above, namely, an already formed town with a sizeable Muslim community, why would Sarajevo be mentioned as such at the time when it was just being formed? The answer to this question resides, perhaps, in Handžić's theory on the two components in the urban development of Bosnian towns: since Isa-bey was the official founder of Sarajevo, and was there as a representative of the Ottoman authorities,[18] this, according to this theory, classifies him as "the state component." The first question that arises here is: since "the state component" is the later one, what about "the dervish component"? Given that Isa-bey's buildings, including his *tekke*, were built in (in fact, probably just prior to) 1462, the second question that arises in this context is: what was happening in Sarajevo until then, since the area was under Ottoman control since 1436?[19]

At first sight these questions appear to be very difficult to answer, since, as already mentioned, Isa-bey's *vakıfname* from 1462 is considered to be the earliest Ottoman source on Sarajevo.[20] There are, however, reasons to believe that the foundations of Sarajevo were, in fact, laid before Isa-bey built his buildings, and that this was done precisely by that "dervish component" which Handžić mentions. While we do not know of any buildings like those of Isa-bey being built in Sarajevo before them, we do know about a *tekke* which was built there before 1459, namely the Gaziler Tekke mentioned earlier.[21] Since the Gaziler Tekke was built by dervishes who came with the *ghazi* troops during the conquest of Vrhbosna, it may well have been built as early as sometime in the fourth decade of the 15th century. Even without going this far and simply taking 1459 to have been the year in which the *tekke* was built, we can safely assume that this *tekke* was one of the first Ottoman edifices built in the area of

16 Ćehajić, *Derviški redovi*, p. 28.

17 See the discussion of Isa-bey's Tekke and his *vakıfname* in Chapter 2.

18 On Isa-bey see Chapter 2, footnote 1.

19 On the conquest of Vrhbosna see Chapter 1.

20 On Sarajevo as a town, that is, since there is the 1455 *defter* of the area – see Chapter 1, footnote 5.

21 See Chapter 1.

today's Sarajevo. Indeed, this *tekke* is "one of the oldest known in Bosnia and Herzegovina."[22]

As for the *tekke*'s location, this would appear to correspond exactly to the location of the old *trg* of Vrhbosna, the only settlement which existed in the area before the development of Sarajevo. There does not seem to be any doubt among scholars as to the exact location of the *trg* of Vrhbosna and the area in which Sarajevo developed: we are told that the *trg* was situated near Koševo stream, at the intersection of several important roads, thus corresponding to the site which would later become that of Ali-pasha's mosque.[23] From Zlatar's description of the main road passing through the *trg*, this road appears to be identical to the Gaziler Yolu[24] alongside which the Gaziler Tekke was built. That this was indeed the case is confirmed by Šabanović who tells us that the Gaziler Tekke was built in Eski Trgovište (i.e. the *trg* of Vrhbosna) some time before 1459.[25] The Gaziler Tekke, probably the first Bosnian *tekke*, was, therefore, built at the very centre of today's Sarajevo, and was there before Isa-bey built his *tekke*.

In spite of this, however, it would appear that none of the scholars dealing with the subject has ever considered ascribing to the Gaziler Tekke any role in the formation of Sarajevo. Apart from the fact that this *tekke* was one of the first Ottoman edifices to have been built in Sarajevo, there are other reasons to believe that the Gaziler Tekke was more important than is generally thought: some of the information that the sources provide seems to suggest that it is possible to connect the existence of the *tekke* with Isa-bey and his decision about where to build his buildings and which properties to endow for their maintenance.

Thus, according to Zlatar, one of the descriptions of the area of the old *trg* of Vrhbosna, in whose immediate vicinity Sarajevo was founded, gives us the following information: "In 1462 in that area there was a plot of land of the old *zaviye*; [the plot] was situated in the place called Varosh,[26] and stretched all the way to [the river] Miljacka…"[27] At the same time, a register of *vakıfs* from 1569

22 Ćehajić, *Derviški redovi*, p. 36.

23 Zlatar, *Zlatno doba Sarajeva*, p. 26.

24 The road, according to Zlatar, ran from the Sarajevo fields situated to the West of the city, passing through the *trg* and going all the way to today's Baščaršija at the eastern end of the city, which makes it identical to today's Tito's Street (Zlatar, *Zlatno doba Sarajeva*, p. 26). This road is, therefore, the Gaziler Yolu. See Figure 19.

25 Šabanović, Teritorijalno širenje, p. 49. 'Eski Trgovište' was one of the Ottoman names for the *trg* of Vrhbosna.

26 To further add to the confusion caused by the mixture of various Bosnian medieval and Ottoman terms, rather misleadingly, '*varosh*' seems to have been used by the Ottomans interchangeably with the term '*trg*' when referring to the settlement of Vrhbosna.

27 Zlatar, *Zlatno doba Sarajeva*, p. 27.

lists the properties of Isa-bey's *vakıf*, and among them were "a plot of land near the old *zaviye*, Koševo field…, Medjuputnica, Varošište, Nisputnica, Sušica…."[28] Both of these sources mention the 'old *zaviye*'. Obviously, in 1569, Isa-Bey's Tekke could have been considered 'old' and may well have been referred to as the 'old *zaviye*'. However, the above description of the *trg* of Vrhbosna throws doubt over such a supposition: if that is indeed a description of Vrhbosna, the location of the 'old *zaviye*' mentioned there does not correspond to that of Isa-bey's Tekke, and, moreover, the latter could not have been referred to as 'old' so soon after it had been built, namely, already in 1462. This leaves us with the only other *tekke* we know to have existed in Sarajevo before Isa-bey's, namely the Gaziler Tekke. If the location of the 'old *zaviye*' from the above descriptions is that of the *trg* of Vrhbosna, this makes it identical to the location of the Gaziler Tekke. The fact that already in 1462 the *tekke* is referred to as the 'old' *zaviye* indicates that it must have been there for some time, and leads to the conclusion that the building in question must be the Gaziler Tekke, which, as was mentioned earlier, could have been built as early as the 1430s. The second description, that of the properties of Isa-Bey's *vakıf*, although it was composed much later and is much less specific about the location of the 'old *zaviye*', nevertheless seems to go some way towards supporting this conclusion: the Koševo field, mentioned immediately after the *zaviye*'s plot of land is in fact much closer to the *trg* of Vrhbosna and the Gaziler Tekke than to Isa-bey's Tekke and its location.[29]

Both descriptions tell us that the *tekke* had land belonging to it, and must, therefore, have had people working on it. This land was later taken by Isa-bey and included in his *vakıf*, the properties of which started the formation of Sarajevo.

In any case, apart from being at the heart of the development of the old *trg* of Vrhbosna, the Gaziler Tekke also clearly influenced the location of Iskender-pasha's Tekke and his *vakıf*: the *tekke* and the adjoining buildings were built on the other side of the river Miljacka, directly opposite the Gaziler Tekke, and were connected to it by the bridge also constructed by Iskender-pasha.[30] Iskender-pasha's Tekke was the corner stone of Iskender-pasha's Mahalle which developed around it, and which is today a large neighbourhood called Skenderija. The *tekke* also gave names to two streets in that area: Tekija and Podtekija.[31]

28 Zlatar, *Zlatno doba Sarajeva*, p. 28.

29 See Figure 19.

30 On Iskender-pasha and his *vakıf* see Chapter 2; for the location see Figure 19.

31 '*Tekija*' – Bosnian for *tekke* and '*pod*' means 'under'. Alija Bejtić, *Ulice i trgovi Sarajeva*, Sarajevo, 1973, p. 304, p. 354.

It would appear, then, that the real foundations of Sarajevo were laid before Isa-bey, by unknown dervishes who came with the conquerors of the *župa* of Vrhbosna and decided to stay there and build their *tekke* on the most strategically important location in the area.

As already mentioned, the formation of Bosnian towns under the Ottomans followed the pattern of a religious edifice being built, then a *mahalle* forming around it, and eventually a number of *mahalle*s forming a town. Apart from those forming around a *tekke*, some of Sarajevo's *mahalle*s were formed around a mosque built by a dervish. One such *mahalle* was the Mahalle of Sheikh Magribi.[32] Unfortunately, the secondary sources do not agree about when this *mahalle* was actually formed, and the only thing they appear to be certain about is that the sheikh in question came to Sarajevo from the Maghrib, settled there, and built a mosque which acquired the name the Magribija mosque, and which later became the centre of the *mahalle* which formed around it. Kemura tells us:

> There came from the Maghrib, that is, from the Western Turkish lands, a certain sheikh with Ishak-bey, the first Bosnian Sancak-bey, who at that time conquered Bosnia up to the source of the river Bosna.[33]

If this was the case, it would mean that this sheikh could have come to Bosnia as early as 1414, since this is when Ishak-bey, the father of Isa-bey, is thought to have first arrived in Bosnia.[34] On the other hand, Bejtić says that the arrival of the sheikh, his building the mosque, as well as the formation of the *mahalle* around it, all date from the 16th century, more specifically after 1528 and before 1565.[35] Šabanović tries to resolve the problem by suggesting that, in fact, the mosque was first built some time before 1459, when it was seriously damaged, and then rebuilt in the 16th century.[36] However, he leaves the question of the formation of the *mahalle* open. Whatever the case, the fact is that both the mosque and the *mahalle* were named after their founder, a sheikh from the Maghrib. The Magribija mosque is still in use, although it was seriously damaged during the shelling of Sarajevo in the early 1990s, and its minaret, which was knocked down by a shell, has only recently been reconstructed (Fig. 18).

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32 Magribi – the Bosnian version of 'Maghribī' (i.e. from al-Maghrib).

33 Kemura, *Sarajevske džamije*, p. 256.

34 Skarić, Postanak Sarajeva, p. 44.

35 Bejtić, *Ulice i trgovi*, pp. 237–238.

36 Šabanović, Teritorijalno širenje, p. 49.

FIGURE 18 *Magribija mosque. This photograph was taken before the start of the reconstruction work on the mosque, which has since been refurbished, and its old and rare wooden minaret, which was knocked down by a shell, has been replaced by a new stone one.*

There was another sheikh who came to Sarajevo early in the Ottoman period, this time from Baghdad, as his name, Sheikh Bagdadi, suggests. He is supposed to have come to Bosnia with Mehmed the Conqueror's army, and following his arrival, to have built a mosque in the Bistrik area.[37] Šabanović questions the possibility of his building the mosque saying that, at the time, this area was not populated and that there is no mention of a *mahalle* there until the 16th century.[38] Bejtić is in agreement with Šabanović inasmuch as he is of the opinion that the *mahalle* around this mosque developed in the 16th century.[39] However, he also tells us that this is one of the oldest *mahalle*s of Sarajevo, and that it was called the Mahalle of Sheikh Bagdadi.[40] Thus, whether or not this sheikh built the mosque in question, he did give the

37 Šabanović, Teritorijalno širenje, p. 46.

38 Šabanović, Teritorijalno širenje, p. 46.

39 Bejtić, *Ulice i trgovi*, p. 183.

40 Bejtić, *Ulice i trgovi*, p. 105. Neither Bejtić nor Šabanović tell us which sources contain the information on this sheikh and his *mahalle*.

mahalle around it its name, which is, in any case, evidence of his presence and influence there.

Another *mahalle* named after a sheikh was the Mahalle of Sheikh Feruh. In the list of *vakıfs* from 1540 one finds the *vakıf* of Sheikh Feruh's mosque, which mentions a number of properties in the area of Visoko for the purpose of the maintenance of the mosque.[41] However, the Mahalle of Sheikh Feruh is mentioned for the first time in the 1516 *defter* of the Bosnian *sancak* which means that the mosque around which the *mahalle* was formed must have been built before that date.[42]

The Mahalle of Sheikh Musliheddin is yet another one worth mentioning here, since, although the details of its formation are not known, it was formed in the 16th century,[43] and thus belongs to the period of the urban development of Sarajevo.

As further illustration of the influence of dervishes in the formation of Ottoman Bosnia, it is worth mentioning a few more examples of their contribution to the development of its capital. Thus, in addition to the street already mentioned in this chapter, there is another street in Sarajevo which used to be called Tekija. This street belonged to the Mahalle of Hajji Ali Bakr Baba, and acquired its name after a Bektashi *tekke* which existed there.[44] Although it is not known when this *tekke* was built it certainly existed in the 16th century, which is when the street was formed.[45] Another street originating from the period of the most intense urban development of Sarajevo is the Street of Sheikh Mehmed, formed in the first half of the 16th century.[46] In the place of today's Čobanija bridge in Sarajevo, there used to be a wooden bridge built in the 16th century. This bridge, before being named after the Mahalle of Čoban Hasan, which developed on the left bank of the river Miljacka, used to be called the Šejhanija bridge, apparently after a certain sheikh who originally built it.[47]

41 Zlatar, Popis Vakufa u Bosni, pp. 117–118.

42 Zlatar, Popis Vakufa u Bosni, p. 118.

43 Bejtić, *Ulice i trgovi*, p. 256.

44 Bejtić, *Ulice i trgovi*, p. 383.

45 Bejtić, *Ulice i trgovi*, p. 383. Although there does not seem to be any more information about Hajji Ali Bakr Baba, his name suggests that he could have had something to do with the *tekke* in question, which would explain why the *mahalle* was named after him.

46 Bejtić, *Ulice i trgovi*, pp. 344–345.

47 Bejtić, *Ulice i trgovi*, p. 401.

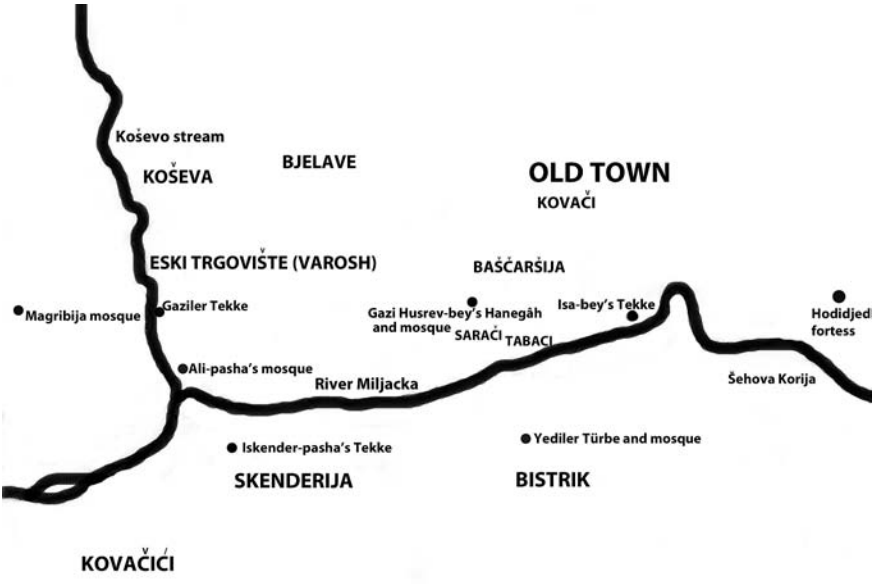

FIGURE 19 *Sarajevo in the 16th century.*

The town of Visoko, situated on the river Bosna, about 30 kilometres from the capital, is another example of a town in the formation of which a *tekke* played an important role. In Visoko, Ayas-bey, who was the Bosnian Sancak-bey at the time, built a *tekke* and founded a *vakıf* for its maintenance after 1477 and before 1489, at the time when there was only a small medieval Christian settlement there.[48] The *tekke* must have been built between these two dates since it is not mentioned in Ayas-bey's *vakıfname* from 1477, but is mentioned in the 1489 detailed *defter* of the Bosnian *sancak*.[49] Handžić provides us with the text of the note about the *tekke* in its original form in Ottoman, as well as his translation of it. The text reads: "In the same *bazar* [i.e. Visoko] a *vakıf* was provided for the *tekke* of Ayas-pasha;[50] it has a cultivated field and a garden."[51] The formation of the new Muslim town into which Visoko developed began very soon after the building of this *tekke*, which means that Ayas-bey and his *tekke* laid the foundations of Visoko as we know it today. According to the 1489 *defter*, although Visoko was at the time still largely Christian, by then there were

48 Handžić, A, O ulozi derviša, pp. 94–95.

49 Handžić, A, O ulozi derviša, p. 94.

50 Ayas-bey became Ayas-pasha in 1483; Handžić, A, O ulozi derviša, p. 94.

51 Detailed *defter* of the Bosnian *sancak* from 1489, Istanbul, BOA, Tapu defter No. 24, fol. 29; Handžić, A, O ulozi derviša, p. 95.

already ten Muslim houses there, and all of their inhabitants were recorded as new Muslims (their fathers were Christian).[52] Thus, the very first conversions in Visoko, and therefore the beginning of the Islamisation process and the formation of a Muslim community in that area, closely followed the building of the *tekke*, suggesting that whatever the individual motives behind these conversions may have been, the *tekke* must have played a significant, if not a crucial, role in setting this process in motion.

Similarly, in 1489 the town of Rogatica was, according to the above mentioned *defter*, still no more than a medieval *trg* with only five Muslim households out of a total number of 86.[53] However, the same *defter* further tells us:

> In the above mentioned *bazar* of Rogatica, dervish Musliheddin built a *zaviye*, and settled there. From Mehmed Çelebi, the son of the late Isa-bey, he acquired a piece of land of 5 *dunums,*[54] called Srednji Lušnik, which is now his property and for which he gives an *öşür* (tithe) of 50 *akçe*.[55]

Since Rogatica had only five Muslim households in 1489, all of which were new and since the *tekke* was built some time before that, it is very likely that at the time when the *tekke* was built, there were, in fact, no Muslims there at all. Thus, this *tekke* would appear to have been the first Muslim institution built in Rogatica, which subsequently developed into a Muslim town and changed its name, after the above mentioned Mehmed Çelebi, into Çelebi-pazar, the name it retained throughout the Ottoman period.

In the town of Zvornik, which used to be the seat of the Zvornik Sancak-beys, it was again a *tekke* that was one of the earliest Muslim institutions built there. Although the Sultan Mehmed II mosque was built earlier and one part of Zvornik was formed in that area, the other part developed around a *tekke*, which was built around 1530 by the Zvornik Sancak-bey at the time, Bahşi-bey.[56]

Finally, there is one Bosnian town which owes its entire existence to a dervish and, therefore, although it was formed after the period under discussion, nevertheless deserves a mention here: this is the town of Skender-Vakuf which developed in the 17th century and was founded by a dervish called Ali-dede Iskender.[57] Ali-dede was given a *timar* in that area, on which he built a *tekke*

52 Tapu defter No. 24, fol. 27–30; Handžić, A, O ulozi derviša, p. 95.

53 Tapu defter No. 24, fol. 258; Handžić, A, O ulozi derviša, p. 94.

54 *Dunum* – land measure of one day's ploughing, approximately 900 square meters.

55 Tapu defter No. 24, fol. 259; Handžić, A, O ulozi derviša, p. 94.

56 Handžić, A, O ulozi derviša, p. 96.

57 Handžić, A, O ulozi derviša, p. 97.

and founded a *vakıf* for its maintenance. This *tekke* and the *vakıf* were the basis on which the town was formed. Ali-dede's Tekke was built on the old road between Banja Luka and Travnik, and, thus, Skender-Vakuf, which formed around it, unlike the other examples, developed in an area in which there had previously been no settlement at all.[58] Skender-Vakuf, named after Ali-dede Iskender, is the only Bosnian town which still bears the name of its founder.[59]

58 Rogatica, Zvornik and Skender-Vakuf are today all part of the 'Republika Srpska', after having been subjected to some of the worst cases of war crimes of the 1992 war in Bosnia and having been completely 'ethnically cleansed' of their Muslim population.

59 Officially, at any rate, since the Bosnian Serbs have renamed it Kneževo. Handžić (writing in 1981) tells us that "the old mosque in Skender-Vakuf is the only mosque in Bosnia containing a tomb – that of Ali-dede Iskender" (Handžić, A, O ulozi derviša, p. 97). The fate of Ali-dede's tomb is unclear, but, given that the mosque was destroyed, it is highly unlikely that the tomb survived the Bosnian Serbs' campaign of systematic eradication of Muslim religious and cultural monuments in the territory of the 'Republika Srpska'. Other victims of this campaign include the Ferhadija and the Arnaudija mosques in Banja Luka (built in 1579 and 1595 respectively), the famous Aladža mosque in Foča (built in 1550 by Mimar Sinan's pupil Ramadan-ağa), and the old Srebrenica mosque, all of which were demolished after the Bosnian Serb/Serbian occupation of those towns: the mosques were levelled to the ground, their remains were dumped, and in some cases even the foundation stones were dug up and bulldozed over.

PART 2

Urban Realities of Ottoman Bosnia: Trade-Guilds, Tekkes *and Dervish Traditions at the Heart of City Life*

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CHAPTER 4

Akhis, Dervish Orders and the Religious Character of Bosnian Guilds

Studies of Ottoman guilds (*esnafs*)[1] have produced an array of divergent and sometimes diametrically opposed opinions with regard to almost every aspect of the subject. The two issues which seem to arise most prominently from these studies and which, to a greater or lesser extent, contain within them all others, are the issue of the religious character of the guilds and, closely related to it, the issue of the relationship between the guilds and the state.

The first of these – that of the religious aspects of Ottoman guilds – essentially revolves around the question of the link between the guilds and the 14th-century urban corporations of Akhis, and by extension, through the latter's *futuwwa* tradition,[2] the link between the guilds and dervish orders. At one end of the spectrum is the view that Ottoman guilds were not merely strongly linked with the *futuwwa* traditions of the Akhis, and through them with various dervish orders, but were actually a continuation of the Akhi corporations which themselves were already professional organisations of craftsmen. In effect, no distinction whatsoever is made between the Akhi and the guild organisations.[3] At the other end is the view that treats the Akhi corporations and later guilds as two completely separate and unrelated entities and rejects any connection between the guilds and dervish orders.[4]

The amount of importance attributed to the religious aspects of guild organisation differs from one case to another and depends on the standpoint of the

1 As pointed out in A Note on Names and Transliteration, in accordance with its Turkish (and Bosnian) usage, the term '*esnaf*' will be used to denote the singular 'trade-guild', irrespective of the fact that this is the plural form in the original Arabic.

2 For an earlier mention of the Akhis and the *futuwwa* tradition see Chapter 1.

3 See, for instance, Mustafa Sucu, *Ahi Ocakları ve Bir Ahilik Belgesi*, Malatya, 1996, or Mikail Bayram, *Tasavvufi Düşüncenin Esasları* (*Ahi Evren*), Ankara, 1995. It should be pointed out, however, that this view owes a lot of its support to its political connotations, namely, the upsurge in modern Turkey in the popularity of the subject of the Akhis and the emphasis of their heritage as a positive ideal contrasted with their negative modern counterpart, the trade-unions.

4 Gabriel Baer, "The Administrative, Economic and Social Functions of Turkish Guilds," *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, vol. 1, CUP, 1970, pp. 28–50 (Turkish Guilds henceforth). For more on these two views and a general overview of the historiography on the subject of Ottoman guilds see the Introduction in Eunjeong Yi's *Guild Dynamics in Seventeenth-Century*

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researcher in question, as well as on the sources available for a particular region or town under discussion. In spite of this, however, there are several questions which clearly emerge as those of common concern and to which a satisfactory answer has yet to be found. Firstly, to what extent were the ethical principles of *futuwwa* reflected in the conduct of the members of the guilds and the guilds' rules and regulations?[5] Secondly, how much authority did the Akhi-baba, the sheikh of the Kırşehir Tekke traditionally linked to Ottoman guilds in general, and those of the tanners in particular, have over the guilds?[6] And thirdly, did the influence and authority of the Kırşehir Tekke over the guilds in the Ottoman Empire decrease or increase with time?[7] All of these questions are applicable to Bosnia and will be addressed in the succeeding pages.

The main argument used by those who reject links between the guilds and the Akhi traditions of *futuwwa*, on the one hand, and between the guilds and dervish orders, on the other, is the claim that the Akhi corporations were not professional guilds and could, therefore, have had no bearing on the *esnafs* of later periods. Gabriel Baer, who seems to have pioneered this view and who with his 1970 article[8] appears to have influenced much subsequent discussion of Ottoman guilds, explains his argument in the following manner:

> Although the *ahi* movement, the popular organization of Anatolia in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, recruited its members mainly among

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Istanbul: Fluidity and Leverage, Leiden, 2004, pp. 1–18. For general background on crafts and trade-guilds in the Ottoman Empire see the following works by Suraiya Faroqhi: *Peasants, Dervishes and Traders in the Ottoman Empire*, London, 1986, "The Fieldglass and the Magnifying Lens: Studies of Ottoman Crafts and Craftsmen," *The Journal of European Economic History*, Vol. 20, No. 1, Rome, 1991, and *Making a Living in the Ottoman Lands, 1480 to 1820*, Istanbul, 1995.

5 Baer, Turkish Guilds, pp. 48–49; G G Arnakis, "Futuwwa Traditions in the Ottoman Empire: Akhis, Bektashi Dervishes and Craftsmen," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, vol. XII, no. 4, CUP, 1953, pp. 246–247; Amnon Cohen, *The Guilds of Ottoman Jerusalem*, Leiden, 2001, p. 5; Suraiya Faroqhi, "Crisis and Change, 1590–1699," in Halil Inalcik and Donald Quataert, eds., *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire, 1300–1914*, CUP, 1994, p. 588.

6 Arnakis, Futuwwa Traditions, pp. 246–247; Cohen, *Guilds of Ottoman Jerusalem*, pp. 90–93, 101–103, 192–196; Suraiya Faroqhi, *Towns and Townsmen of Ottoman Anatolia: Trade, Crafts and Food Production in an Urban Setting, 1520–1650*, CUP, 1984, pp. 156–157. The Kırşehir Tekke, traditionally linked to the tanners, in time acquired the status of the spiritual centre of Ottoman *esnaf*s in general. More details on the position and role of this *tekke* will be given later in this section; see especially Chapters 7 and 8.

7 Faroqhi, *Towns and Townsmen*, pp. 156–157; Franz Taeschner, "Akhi baba," *EI²*, pp. 323–324.

8 See Baer, Turkish Guilds.

> craftsmen, the association as such was non-professional. Unfortunately, most writers dealing with the early history of Turkish guilds have included in their writings long descriptions of the *ahi* movement and *fütüvvet* literature without making it unequivocally clear that they were not talking about professional guilds.[9]

Consequently, in his examination of Ottoman guilds, Baer does not take into account any guild literature of *futuwwa* character, does not address the question of the links between the guilds and the Kırşehir Tekke or the question of the supervision rights of the Akhi-babas, and devotes little or no attention to the religious or social roles the guilds may have played in the life of their members and town population in general.

As for the links between the guilds and dervish orders, Baer dismisses the suggestion almost out of hand on the basis that those who have suggested these links have not provided any evidence to prove their claim.[10] The fact that the lack of attention devoted to the question of the religious aspects of the guilds is at least in part due to the effect which Baer's views have had on subsequent discussion of Ottoman guilds can be illustrated by a much more recent statement, nevertheless based, as indicated by the footnote following it, on Baer's 1970 article:

> While earlier treatments of Ottoman guilds had emphasized the putative links between craftsmen's guilds and dervish orders, particularly the Bektashis, the existence of these links has not been proven.[11]

As will be seen shortly, however, Baer's views on either of these issues are not justified.

Thus, in spite of the overall trend[12] to underemphasize the religious aspects of guild organisation, most of the studies dealing with the subject of Ottoman guilds still do admit a certain level, albeit, in some cases, a very small one, of affiliation between the guilds and the 14th-century Anatolian urban corporations – the Akhis. This link is evident from what is known about the Akhi corporations on the one hand, and the information about the structural organisation, internal rules and regulations and practices of *esnafs*, on the other.

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9 Baer, Turkish Guilds, p. 28.

10 Baer, Turkish Guilds, p. 48.

11 Faroqhi, Crisis and Change, p. 588.

12 In Western literature that is; as for the literature produced in Turkey see footnote 3 above.

In the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Taeschner defines the Akhi corporations as associations of young men, "organized as guilds in Anatolia in the 13th–14th centuries, who adopted the ideals of the *futuwwa* and were recruited mainly among the craftsmen."[13] The corporations got their name from the old Turkish word '*akı*' (the form '*akhi*' being a variant reading used in Rum-Turkish and adopted willingly by the Akhis because of its correspondence to the Arabic for "my brother"), meaning "generous,"[14] this being one of the most important virtues required of a chivalrous, noble youth (*fatan*), an adherent to the *futuwwa* (Turk. *fütüvvet*) principles of conduct and a member of a *futuwwa* association. Other qualities of a possessor of *futuwwa* included manliness, bravery and honesty.[15] In contemporary sources, the Akhis themselves were described as noble-minded, unselfish, compassionate, affectionate and hospitable, and this is what the celebrated 14th-century Moroccan traveler Ibn Battuta said about them:

> Nowhere in the world will you find men so eager to welcome strangers, so prompt to serve food and to satisfy the wants of others. A stranger coming to them is made to feel as though he were meeting the dearest of his own folk.[16]

Evidence of the legacy which these Akhi principles left on the conduct of the craftsmen of later periods can be detected, for instance, in an *esnaf* custom observed until recently whereby a craftsman would send his second customer of the day to make a purchase at his neighbour's if the latter had not yet made his first sale of the day.[17] The same custom existed in Bosnia, where a craftsman would sometimes use an alternative technique in order to make his customer shop at his neighbour's: he would either say that he had sold out of the requested merchandise, or, if the product was visible in the shop, that it was reserved for somebody.[18]

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13 Franz Taeschner, "Akhi," *EI²*, p. 321.

14 Taeschner, Akhi, p. 321–322; Sucu, *Ahi Ocakları*, p. 2.

15 Bayram, *Tasavvufi Düşüncenin Esasları*, pp. 31–32; Sucu, *Ahi Ocakları*, p. 2. On this point, see also Sabahattin Güllülü, "Fütüvvet ve Ahî Ahlâkı Konusunda Bâzı Düşunceler," *Türk Kültürü ve Ahilik, XXI Ahilik Bayramı Sempozyumu Tebliğleri (13–15 Eylül 1985, Kırşehir)*, Istanbul, 1986.

16 Arnakis, Futuwwa Traditions, p. 237.

17 M S Kütükoğlu, "Osmanlı Ikitsadi Yapısı," in Ekmeleddin Ihsanoğlu, ed., *Osmanlı Devleti ve Medeniyeti Tarihi*, c. 1, Istanbul, 1994, p. 607.

18 Hamdija Kreševljaković, *Esnafi i Obrti u Bosni i Hercegovini 1463–1878*, Sarajevo, 1991, p. 61.

Although they were not necessarily organised along the lines of a particular craft like the *esnafs*, the Akhis certainly displayed some features of the professional organisation of the guilds from later periods. One such feature is the common treasury. Each member of the association contributed to the treasury and the funds were then used to finance their communal life: common meals, maintenance of the lodge (*zaviye*), and, significantly, food and lodgings for the poor and the travellers staying at the *zaviye*.[19] This corresponds to the later, more intricate system of the guild common fund for mutual help (*esnafın orta sandığı* or *esnaf sandığı*), which is known to have existed in the guilds in Anatolia, the Balkans and, to a lesser extent, in Egypt.[20] The fund's income came from regular contributions by guild members, voluntary contributions and special payments made by the masters on the occasion of the promotion of apprentices into journeymen or journeymen into masters.[21] At a more advanced stage of the guild organisation, the fund would be divided into separate sections depending on the type of income: some was in the form of cash, some in the form of property (*vakıf*) and some came from interest.[22] The fund money was used for maintenance of the *vakıfs*, loans to guild members in need of money, funding of religious and educational activities and for charitable purposes, such as "distribution of rice among poor members or other destitute persons, assistance to sick members, and funerals of members who lacked sufficient resources for this purpose."[23] Moreover, members of a specific guild were responsible for each other's debts and, in case of need, paid taxes of members who could not afford them.[24]

There were three ranks in Akhi corporations: *yiğit* (the equivalent of Arabic *fatan* – a brave, manly youth), *akhi* and sheikh,[25] the last one having a more religious connotation and referring to the head of a dervish order attached to the corporation.[26] The *esnafs* likewise had three ranks: *çırak* or *şagırd* (apprentice), *kalfa* (journeyman) and *usta* (master). Although these were professional

19 Arnakis, Futuwwa Traditions, p. 238.

20 Baer, Turkish Guilds, pp. 44–45.

21 Baer, Turkish Guilds, p. 44.

22 Baer, Turkish Guilds, p. 45.

23 Baer, Turkish Guilds, p. 45.

24 Baer, Turkish Guilds, p. 45. By questioning whether these principles of mutual help and charity were a survival from *futuwwa* associations, Baer admits the obvious parallels between them and the codes of conduct of the Akhis (pp. 45–46). Nevertheless, he refuses to make comparisons between the Akhi corporations and *esnafs* on the grounds that the former cannot be regarded as professional organisations (p. 28, p. 49).

25 Arnakis, Futuwwa Traditions, pp. 240–241; Taeschner, Akhi, pp. 322–323.

26 Taeschner, Akhi, p. 323.

grades and as such cannot be exact equivalents of the Akhi ranks, the parallels between the Akhi *yiğits* (freshly initiated novices) and the *esnaf çıraks* are obvious. Much more indicative, however, of the legacy the Akhi internal organisation left on *esnafs* are the titles found within the *esnaf* administration: the head of the guild was called either sheikh or *kethüda*, and his assistant *nakib* or, more usually, *yiğitbaşı* ('head of the *yiğits*').[27] Moreover, the three most frequently quoted Akhi ranks would appear to represent only the basic grades within which a more elaborate system of hierarchy existed. According to Mustafa Sucu, there were in fact nine grades within the Akhi corporations. Thus, we are told, *all* ordinary members of the corporation were called *akhis*. These were divided into six groups, of which only those belonging to the first were called *yiğits*. Additionally, members of the first three groups were referred to as *aṣḥāb-i ṭarīq* ('companions of the Way'). Those in the fourth, fifth and sixth groups were called *nakibs*. The seventh grade consisted of *halifes*, the eighth were sheikhs and the top ninth grade was reserved for the *shaykh al-mashāyikh* ('sheikh of the sheikhs').[28] If this system of grading is taken into account, even more similarities with *esnaf* organisation emerge. Apart from the Akhi *yiğits* corresponding to the *esnaf çıraks*, and the rank of *nakib* being found in both organisations, there are two grades within the Akhi hierarchy which would appear to be almost identical to the *esnaf* ones: that of the *halife* (*kalfa*), the journeyman, and the *shaykh al-mashāyikh*, the head of sheikhs or *kethüdas*, a term frequently found in relation to the guild system and seemingly interchangeable with 'Akhi-baba'.[29]

This intricate structure within the Akhi corporations points to the existence of a much more sophisticated internal organisation than is sometimes assumed. This particularly applies to the hierarchical aspect of the organisation: the general principles of ascendancy from one grade to another, namely from *yiğits* to *halifes* to sheikhs, is certainly comparable to that within the *esnaf*. This complex internal hierarchy within the Akhi corporations would seem to shift the argument in favour of those who consider the *esnafs* to have been a continuation of the Akhi associations.

Bosnian guilds would appear to provide additional evidence in this respect. Most of the studies of Ottoman guilds, whether they are concerned with the guild organisation in general or with a particular region or town, only mention

27 Kütükoğlu, Osmanlı Ikitsadi, p. 608; Haim Gerber, *Economy and Society in an Ottoman City: Bursa, 1600–1700*, Jerusalem, 1988, pp. 38–39; Baer, Turkish Guilds, p. 29; Cohen, *Guilds of Ottoman Jerusalem*, pp. 188–192.

28 Sucu, *Ahi Ocakları*, pp. 5–6.

29 Cohen, *Guilds of Ottoman Jerusalem*, p. 192.

two officials in the management of an *esnaf*, namely the *kethüda*/sheikh, who was the head of the *esnaf*, and the *yiğitbaşı*, who is loosely defined as the *kethüda*'s assistant. This is the case with the guilds of Istanbul,[30] Cairo[31] and Bursa.[32] The situation in Jerusalem is similar, with the notable exception of the mention of the *kâtib*, the guild's scribe, and the *nakib*, another assistant to the guild's head.[33]

The picture we have for Bosnia seems to be a little more complete.[34] The head of the *esnaf* was the *kethüda* (Bos. *ćehaja*), who also had an alternative title whereby '*başı*' ('head of') was added to the name denoting the practitioner of the *esnaf*'s craft, such as *ekmekçibaşı* ('head of the bakers') or *mumcubaşı* ('head of the chandlers') for instance. The second most important person in the *esnaf* administration was the *kalfabaşı* ('head of the *kalfas*'). This official, who is not mentioned in the studies about Anatolian guilds or the guilds in the Arab provinces,[35] appears to have been more than just one of the *kethüda*'s assistants. Apart from deputising for the *kethüda* in his absence, the *kalfabaşı* was the principal work supervisor, making sure that the products were manufactured in accordance with set standards so that the reputation of the *esnaf* was in no way compromised. In fact, in more than just one respect, the *kalfabaşı* seems to have acted as a kind of 'Public Relations' officer of the guild: Kreševljaković has found indications that the principal official in the organisation of the *esnaf* summer outings in the countryside, as well as special evening gatherings indoors in wintertime, was the *kalfabaşı*, who was not only in charge of the budget for these gatherings, but also personally took care of the guests, making sure that they had been properly welcomed and entertained.[36] Bosnian guilds too had the *yiğitbaşı* (sometimes called simply *yiğit*), who was another assistant to the *kethüda*, and came below the rank of *kalfabaşı*. After the

30 Faroqhi, Crisis and Change, p. 592.

31 Faroqhi, Crisis and Change, p. 592.

32 Gerber, *Economy and Society*, pp. 38–40.

33 Cohen, *Guilds of Ottoman Jerusalem*, pp. 190–191.

34 The information about the internal organisation of Bosnian *esnafs* is, for the most part, taken from Kreševljaković, *Esnafi i Obrti u Bosni*. This study, the only one of its kind for Bosnia, is the result of years of research on the author's part, and provides a comprehensive account of various aspects of guild life in Bosnia in the Ottoman period (1463–1878).

35 An exception is perhaps Jerusalem's *nakib* as a possible equivalent to this Bosnian official. See Cohen, *Guilds of Ottoman Jerusalem*, p. 191.

36 Kreševljaković, *Esnafi i Obrti u Bosni*, p. 48. Social gatherings of the guilds are an important example of an Akhi tradition, which in the case of Bosnia was very strong throughout the entire period of the existence of *esnafs* and played a crucial role in the social life of the urban population. These gatherings are discussed in more detail in Chapter 6.

yiğitbaşı came the *ustabaşı*, the master-craftsman of the *esnaf*'s craft and the examiner of the *şagırds* (Bos. *šegrt*). Apart from these main officials, Bosnian guilds also had a *çavuş* (Bos. *čauš*), or courier, a *bayraktar* (Bos. *bajraktar*), or standard bearer, and a *duacı* (Bos. *doadžija*), or reciter of prayers (*duas*). The *esnaf* officials formed the *esnaf* council and convened the *esnaf* assembly, the term *lonca* (lodge, Bos. *londža*) being used for both, as well as for the place in which the council met.[37]

Thus, on the face of it, the guilds in Bosnia would appear to have had a more elaborate internal hierarchy than those in other parts of the Empire – on the basis of the picture which emerges from the literature thus far, at any rate – one which in many aspects points to similarities with the principles of organisation and activities of the Akhi corporations. Moreover, the latter two functions mentioned, that of the standard bearer and the reciter of prayers, seem to be of distinctly Akhi origin: the Akhi corporations had their own special banners which they displayed at ceremonies and public festivities prepared in honour of visiting rulers;[38] Bosnian *esnafs* unfurled their standards during the countryside outings and other official *esnaf* ceremonies, as well as in the processions on the occasion of the arrival and departure of the Akhibaba or important government officials.[39] As for the *duacı*, he was a member of the *esnaf* who was particularly well grounded in religious education and, as such, was entrusted with reciting prayers during various *esnaf* ceremonies. Similarly, reciting parts from the Qur'an at formal and social gatherings of the Akhis constituted one of the most important elements of such occasions:

> After their common meal…the Brethren would sing hymns, recite portions of the Koran, dance, and listen to sermons. Some of them would fall into an ecstasy, which to their mystic mind was the consummation of union with God.[40]

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37 The term *lonca* (lodge) is, on the whole, rarely mentioned in the studies of Ottoman guilds in other parts of the Empire, the exceptions being Damascus, the Macedonian (Greek) town of Seres, and Bursa where, we are told, there is only one occurrence of this term in the documents relating to the guilds (Gerber, *Economy and Society*, p. 49).

38 Köprülü, *Les Origines*, p. 108.

39 Kreševljaković, *Esnafi i Obrti u Bosni*, p. 50. The fact that other guilds must have had *bayraktars* too is indicated, for instance, by the descriptions of Istanbul guild processions, which mention guild banners preceding each of the marching guilds; See Yi, *Guild Dynamics*, p. 5. This is, however, a rare example of the mention of these aspects of Ottoman guilds in modern (Western) literature, which, as pointed out earlier, has on the whole paid little attention to both social and religious aspects of the guilds.

40 Arnakis, Futuwwa Traditions, p. 239.

Although they were craftsmen and, as seen above, their organisation possessed a number of features of a trade-guild, the Akhis were, nevertheless, primarily a religious association, a brotherhood based on the principles of a dervish order. The Akhis' *zaviyes* served as both their religious and cultural headquarters and as hostels for travellers, many of whom were wandering dervishes who came to Anatolia from the East and exerted a strong spiritual influence upon the Akhis as well as the region in general.[41] The dervish practice of *sema*, which included dancing and singing, was a regular feature of Akhi religious life,[42] and the Akhis are known to have been associated with, among others, the Mevlevi, Bektashi and Halveti orders of dervishes.[43] This religious character of the Akhi corporations is also evident in their internal hierarchy: at the head of the corporation was a sheikh, then came *halifes*, then three groups of *nakibs* and, finally, three groups of ordinary *akhis*, also called *aṣḥāb-i ṭarīq* ('companions of the Way').[44] With the exception of the rank of *nakib*, this hierarchy is clearly identical to those of the dervish orders, for immediately below the Sheikh, or head of the order, are those entrusted with fulfilling the function of his *khalīfas* (*halifes*) or deputies in different towns or countries. Moreover, the ordinary members of the *ṭarīqa* are likewise referred to as 'companions of the Way' (*aṣḥāb-i ṭarīq*). Although it is not usually a part of the internal hierarchy of a dervish order, the function of *nakib* is also of dervish origin. An example of this function is found in Egypt in the late Mamluk period, where a Sufi sheikh, ʿUbayd al-Danjāwī, appointed seven *nakibs* (*naqībs*) as his representatives, whose role was that of acting as intermediaries between the common people and the authorities.[45]

Given the obvious legacy left by the Akhi corporations on later-day *esnafs*, it is no surprise that the *esnafs* too should share some common features with dervish orders. One obvious indication of this is, again, the *esnaf* terminology: in many parts of the Ottoman Empire the head of the guild was called sheikh, and the only term used for the journeyman is *kalfa*, i.e. *khalīfa*. Moreover, as briefly mentioned earlier, the dervish title of *nakib* also appears in the context of *esnafs*. In one instance, *nakib* is mentioned as the equivalent of *yiğitbaşı*, with the former title being used until the 16th century and the latter from the 16th century onwards.[46] At the same time, there is evidence of the title *nakib*

41 Arnakis, Futuwwa Traditions, pp. 238–240; Taeschner, Akhi, p. 322.

42 Arnakis, Futuwwa Traditions, p. 239.

43 Taeschner, Akhi, p. 323.

44 Sucu, *Ahi Ocakları*, pp. 5–6.

45 Éric Geoffroy, *Le Soufisme en Égypte et en Syrie sous les derniers Mamelouks et les premiers Ottomans*, Damascus, 1995, p. 114.

46 Kütükoğlu, Osmanlı Ikitsadi, p. 608.

being used in later periods too: in 17th-century Bursa, the head of the barbers' guild was called *nakib*.[47] An official with the same title is also found in Jerusalem guilds, in the role of an assistant to the head of the guild, in this case, the sheikh.[48]

Thus, regardless of whether or not one chooses to treat the Akhi corporations and *esnafs* as separate entities, the two undeniably share numerous common features and there are a number of traditions of distinctly Akhi origin present in the Ottoman guilds of later periods. It is also clear that there are obvious links between the guilds and dervish orders, irrespective of whether they are the result of the guilds' Akhi heritage or not. More direct evidence of a deep relationship between the *esnafs* and dervish orders is provided by the documents called *fütüvvetnames*, *şecerenames* or *pirnames*.

47 Gerber, *Economy and Society*, p. 39.

48 Cohen, *Guilds of Ottoman Jerusalem*, pp. 191–192.

CHAPTER 5

Futuwwa Documents: *Fütüvvetnames*, *Şecerenames* and *Pirnames*

In general terms, *futüvvetnames* can be defined as the Ottoman equivalent of Arabic and Persian 'books of chivalry' (*kutub al-futuwwa*), works outlining the Islamic codes of chivalrous conduct deeply grounded in the religious teachings of Sufism. However, the Ottoman period witnessed a further development of such works, and although they retained the original basic character of the earlier *futuwwa* books, Ottoman *fütüvvetnames* widened the field of discussion, and, consequently, tended to be more elaborate and much more varied in their contents.[1]

Depending on their format and contents, *fütüvvetnames* can be divided into three groups. The first group consists of *fütüvvetnames* of general character. These are perhaps the closest to the original *futuwwa* books inasmuch as they are collections of general moral and ethical rules of conduct derived from historical precedents as outlined in the Qur'an, the *hadith*, or Sufi traditions.[2] The second group of *fütüvvetnames* are those concerned primarily with business morals and etiquette. They contain general rules of acceptable business conduct within *esnafs* – such as those governing the relationship between master and apprentice – but are not related to any particular *esnaf* or craft. They may also contain a list of various crafts and their respective *pirs* (patron-saints).[3] The *fütüvvetnames* of the third group also deal with business ethics but are much more specialised and are concerned with the rules and regulations of a particular craft or *esnaf*. These are sometimes also called *şecerenames* or *pirnames*, because they usually contain a spiritual 'tree' (*şecere*), or chain of succession

1 Ali Torun, "Muhtevaları ve kaynakları itibariyle fütüvvet-nameler," *I. Uluslararası ahilik kültürü sempozyumu bildirileri* (*13–15 Ekim 1993, Ankara*), Istanbul, 1996, p. 164. For more on *futuwwa* and *futuwwa* books in general, and in the Ottoman context in particular, see Abdülbâki Gölpınarlı, "Islâm ve Türk Illerinde Fütüvvet Teşkilâtı ve Kaynakları," *Istanbul Üniversitesi Iktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, 11 (1949), 1–4, pp. 2–354.

2 Such are, for instance, Burgazi's *fütüvvetname* from the thirteenth century, or al-Razavi's *fütüvvetname*, better known as 'The Great Fütüvvetname', written in 1524 (Torun, Muhtevaları, pp. 164–165). Burgazi's *fütüvvetname* was published, with an introduction, by Gölpınarlı as "Burgâzî ve Fütüvvet-Nâmesi," *Istanbul Üniversitesi Iktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, 15 (1953), 1–4, pp. 76–153.

3 An example of this type is the sixteenth century Hace Can Ali's *fütüvvetname* (Torun, Muhtevaları, pp. 165–166).

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(*silsile*), establishing the authority of the craft's spiritual leader and/or that of their *pir* (patron-saint).[4]

Modern studies of Ottoman guilds do not appear to note the existence of any documents of *fütüvvetname* nature in relation to the guilds under discussion. Thus, in a study of guilds in Bursa, we are told that the guilds' regulations, because they fell outside the official *sharī'a* and *kanun*, belonged to the domain of customary law. Disputes within the guild system were resolved, and agreements were made, on the basis of old usages and traditional practices as witnessed by those members of society who were considered to be sufficiently knowledgeable in the matter. The government did not know the guilds' regulations and the *kadi* registers simply recorded the information provided by the members of the guilds in question. Although this means that the government accepted these regulations as valid, their registration was not carried out in order to give them legal standing, but merely to ratify them for future reference. Most of the regulations were transmitted orally but some also existed in written form, as sets of provisions mutually agreed upon by members of a particular guild. However, there is no indication as to what the guild members drew upon while formulating these regulations, and there is absolutely no mention of *fütüvvetnames* or other similar documents.[5] Presumably, the author never came across any such documents in relation to the Bursa guilds. Similarly, in the case of Jerusalem, we are told that although the existence of the function of Akhi-baba indicates the presence of *futuwwa* within the guilds, no specific mention of the actual term '*futuwwa*' had been found in any of the sources.[6]

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4 Azra Gadžo-Kasumović, "Veza esnafa u Bosni sa tekijom u Kiršehiru," *POF*, 49/1999, Sarajevo, 2000, pp. 130–131. Although the first two groups outlined here correspond to Gadžo's classification, she describes the third group of *fütüvvetname*s as being exclusive to the tanners' (*tabak*) craft. However, although most of these *fütüvvetname*s seem to have been written with the aim of establishing the authority of the Akhi-baba over a certain *esnaf* – the prerogative held primarily in relation to the tanners – the *esnaf*s in question, as will be seen shortly, were not always those of the tanners, and thus, one may argue that other crafts too had specialised *fütüvvetname*s (see the last two *fütüvvetname*s examined here).

5 Gerber, *Economy and Society*, pp. 42–45.

6 Cohen, *Guilds of Ottoman Jerusalem*, p. 5. This conspicuous lack of any consideration of *futuwwa* documents in relation to these particular guilds, could, of course, be simply the result of following the general 'Gabriel Baer-set' trend of underemphasising the guilds' Akhi heritage and their religious character, since, at least as far as Istanbul is concerned, the lack of attention given to these documents in modern literature does not seem to be due to the comparable lack of documents themselves: as will be seen throughout this chapter, many such documents do seem to exist, but have yet to be studied and given their due attention in modern studies of Ottoman guilds.

As far as Bosnia is concerned, however, a number of *futuwwa* documents has been found, both those of more general nature, as well as those concerned with specific crafts, thus providing evidence of deeply rooted and well preserved *futuwwa* traditions in Bosnian society in general, and its guilds in particular.

One such document which merits a closer look here – not least because it has never been translated or published – is Muhammad ibn Abī Bakr ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Rāḍī's *fütüvvetname*, the preserved manuscript copy of which was made in 1592.[7] This document could be said to belong to the second group of *fütüvvetnames* mentioned above, for although it contains a fairly detailed section on the *futuwwa* tradition in general, it is mainly concerned with the application of *futuwwa* principles in the context of craftsmanship.[8]

The first part of the *fütüvvetname* consists of a series of prophetic traditions tracing *futuwwa* back to the Prophet Muhammad and thus confirming its religious validity by showing that the foundations of *futuwwa* were laid by the Prophet and that its principles are based on his practices. Given that this part of the document contains some of the standard narrative elements of the *futuwwa* tradition, a brief outline of its contents will provide a fuller picture not only of this tradition, but also of the nature of *fütüvvetnames* in general.[9]

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7 Gazi Husrev-begova Biblioteka, Sarajevo, PR – 2356. The library only has a copy of the manuscript, which was found in the town of Travnik, in Central Bosnia, and was later bought by the Yugoslav Academy of Science and Art in Zagreb. Although in the library copy the entire manuscript is ascribed to this author, it should be noted that Fejzulah Hadžibajrić, who copied the manuscript for the library in 1957 before it was taken back to Zagreb, in a short description of it he gave thirty years later, states that only the final section of the manuscript bears this author's name while the rest was authored by a certain 'Yahya' (Fejzulah Hadžibajrić, "Osvrt na dva rukopisa na Turskom jeziku," *Anali Gazi Husrev-begove biblioteke*, knj. XIII–XIV, Sarajevo, 1987, p. 116). Unfortunately, there does not seem to be any way of verifying this, as the final section of the manuscript is missing from both the GHB copy and the original: the former is incomplete (see note below), and the latter would appear to have been, upon its return to Zagreb, separated from its final section (the whereabouts of which seem to be unknown) and catalogued without it (as Ms. No. 523 of the Oriental Collection of the Croatian Academy of Science and Art (HAZU) Archive).

8 GHB library copy is clearly incomplete, given that there are obvious gaps in some parts of the text and a certain amount towards the end, incuding the final section, is missing. However, the missing parts do not change the general format of the original nor do they disrupt the continuity of the text.

9 Compare the information in this section with that, for instance, contained in the *fütüvvetname* quoted by Evliya Çelebi in his account of Istanbul guilds: Evliya, *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, pp. 242–247.

The first story recounted is that of the *Miʿrāj*, the Prophet's journey to the seven heavens, during which, according to the *futuwwa* tradition, the foundations of the *kuşanma* or 'girding ceremony' were laid. Thus, on the night of this journey, Gabriel is instructed by God to find, in a specially created pavilion in Paradise, a crown (*tāj*), a cloak, a belt and the miraculous horse, Al-Burāq, all of which he is to take to the Prophet to equip him for his journey. Following God's instructions, Gabriel places the crown on the Prophet's head, the cloak on his shoulders, ties the belt around his waist, has him mount Al-Burāq, and takes him on the journey in the company of another seventy thousand angels. Then we are told of their visit to the Al-Aqṣā mosque, where Muhammad meets all of God's messengers who came before him, and leads them and the angels in prayer. Afterwards, he is called outside and asked by Gabriel to choose one of three cups presented to him, one filled with wine, one with milk and another with honey. Muhammad chooses the milk and drinks only half of it, upon which he is told that he made the right choice and that, as a result, half of his community (*ümmet*) will enter Paradise with his intercession (*şefaat*), and half with God's mercy (*rahmet*). To express his joy, the Prophet exclaims the words '*Allahu Akbar*' twice, which we are told the followers of *futuwwa* call the Pir's *tekbir* (*tekbir-i pir*). Likewise, the belt which Gabriel tied around the Prophet's waist is called the Pir's belt (*şedd-i pir*).

Following this is a lengthy story about the second girding ceremony, that of the Prophet's son-in-law and companion, Ali. The amount of attention devoted to this is not surprising given that Ali has a special place in the *futuwwa* tradition: it is through him that the *futuwwa* chain of succession is derived[10] and it is usually his virtues that are cited as an example of what a possessor of *futuwwa* should strive towards. According to the story, the second girding ceremony took place in the tenth year of the Hijra, in the camp of Ghadir Khumm just outside Medina,[11] while the Prophet and his companions were on their way back from Mecca. There, the Prophet tells Ali that he is his deputy and his representative in the community and awards him his titles of the Commander of the Faithful (*amīr al-muʾminīn*) and the Leader of the Pious (*imām al-muttaqiyīn*). Then Muhammad places his cloak on Ali's shoulders and ties the belt that Gabriel girded on him on the night of the *Miʿrāj* around Ali's waist. With a different invocation for each, Muhammad ties three knots with the belt

10 See Gölpınarlı, Islâm ve Türk Illerinde, p. 11.

11 In the Shiʿa tradition, this is a well-known and special location, in which, according to the Shiʿa interpretation of the hadith, the Prophet delivered a sermon naming Ali as his successor. The narrative recounted here is obviously very much in line with that interpretation (see above).

and thus seals it. This, among the followers of *futuwwa*, is known as the 'Seal of the Belt' (*mühr-i şedd*). The end of the ceremony is called the 'Completion' (*tekmil*) and refers to Muhammad's address to Ali in which he tells him that, through this process, he has perfected him and made him complete.

The second part of the *fütüvvetname* is concerned directly with the application of *futuwwa* principles in the context of craftsmanship and consists of a detailed account of rules and regulations governing different guild procedures. One such procedure described here is the process of the initiation of an apprentice into a craft. According to the document, this process consists of several stages, all of which have to be fulfilled before an apprentice can be given his work permit (*icazet*). Upon taking on an apprentice (*şagırd*), we are told, a master (*ustādh*) firstly has to show him his duties (*hizmeti*) and give him the key to the shop. After that the master has to be reassured (*emin ola*) about the apprentice, in other words, the latter has to convince the master of his commitment. This is done through a series of trial and privation periods (*çiles*).[12] The first of these is the 'sack-cloth period' (*çulak çilesi*), which consists of three days during which, presumably, the apprentice has to wear a shirt made out of coarse haircloth, which would cause a considerable amount of discomfort and is comparable to the dervish practice of wearing coarse woollen (*ṣūf*) or camel/goat hair cloaks. The second is the 'castigation and reprimand period' (*dövülmek ve sövülmek çilesi*), which lasts for seven days. While the first is an exercise in modesty, this second trial is obviously aimed at teaching humility, self-deprecation and submissiveness. The third test is the 'isolation period', literally 'the period of being barefooted and naked' (*yalın ayak ve yalıncak çilesi*), which lasts for forty days, and, thus, corresponds to the *çile* of the dervish orders, namely a period of forty days of retirement, fasting and religious contemplation. After these three strenuous trials comes the final 'refinement',[13] in other words, the learning of fine manners, politeness and respectful conduct. During this process, the apprentice has to perfect his manners by practising, for instance, how to bring water to somebody, i.e. how to

12 According to the dictionary definition, the word '*çile*' is used primarily to denote a period of forty days "during which a novice has to fast and engage in religious exercises, before admission to an order of dervishes" (J Redhouse, A Turkish and English Lexicon, Istanbul, 1992).

13 The word in the text is "صقا لق" which, with the implicit *shadda* over the *lām*, could be interpreted as 'polishing' (of one's manners), from the Arabic '*ṣaqqāl*' = 'polisher', '*ṣaqala*' = 'to polish'. Alternatively, the *ṣād* could be a scribal error for *sīn*, in which case – quite plausibly, given the context – the word in question could be read as '*sakalık*', literally 'water carrier-ship'.

hold a glass and how to offer it, or how to assume a respectful posture by bringing his hands in front of his person in an attitude of respect (*el kavuşmak*). This process of a distinctly *futuwwa* character, through which the novice is finally shaped into a perfect *fatan*, concludes the apprentice's initiation into the craft. After this, he learns the craft (*sanat*) for a thousand days, after which, on the thousand and first day, he receives his permit (*icazet*).

The initiation process described above reveals *esnaf* practices which display parallels with those of dervish orders and indicates the existence of a link between the Ottoman guilds and the esoteric realm of the Empire's official religion, that of Islam. Thus, the above process, apart from representing the spiritual path of a *mutaṣawwif*, also symbolises the actual production process of a craft. Accordingly, the initiate first wears a coarse cloth and thus represents the raw material. He is then made submissive through the chastising process, which corresponds to the process of subduing the raw material and making it half-processed and workable. The forty days retirement period is the longest stage and corresponds to the actual making of the final product from the half-processed material. The product is complete only after the finishing touches of the final refinement process.[14] This correspondence in symbolism is by no means accidental and provides evidence of the strong link between crafts and dervish orders: while a dervish strives towards perfecting his soul, his profession (as a craftsman) provides the practical aid along his path. This is made clearer by considering in this context the principles of organisation of the Akhi corporations, where the presence of this practical aid to the spiritual path was in fact essential: although they were a religious *futuwwa* brotherhood, all of their members had to be engaged in a craft.[15]

Another procedure which is described by the *fütüvvetname*, and which provides further evidence of the close relationship between *esnafs* and dervish orders in Bosnia, is that of changing *esnafs*, i.e. leaving one *esnaf* and entering another.[16] Indeed, according to the *fütüvvetname*, this effectively amounted to

14 This inevitably brings to mind a comparison with initiation processes in Free Masonry, where the material in question is stone.

15 Arnakis, Futuwwa Traditions, p. 238; Taeschner, Akhi, p. 322. This was also the case with Melami dervish orders and movements, for instance, which are known to have actively encouraged their members to engage in a craft; see Lloyd Ridgeon, "Futuwwa (in Sufism)," *Encyclopaedia of Islam, THREE*, ed. by Gudrun Krämer, Denis Matringe, John Nawas and Everett Rowson, Brill Online, 2014. (For a definition of Melamism, its characteristics and historical development, see Chapter 10, especially footnote 2.)

16 This only applies to a master or a journeyman, since an apprentice could not change his *esnaf* until he has received his *icazet* (i.e. become a journeyman).

leaving one chapter of a particular dervish order and entering another. Thus, the document tells us that every master – who is given his *icazet* by the elders of the *ṭarīqa* (*erbab-i ṭarīqa*) and the senior dervishes (*erkân erenleri*) – has to teach his apprentice five special signs (*nişane*) which are kept secret and are used as means of recognition by fellow craftsmen elsewhere. These are known as *rumuz* or 'symbols'. If a master or a journeyman moves to a different town and is looking for work, he is interviewed by the elders of the *ṭarīqa* there and has to demonstrate his knowledge of these five secret signs. When the elders are satisfied that he does indeed know the signs, and is therefore a fully initiated craftsman, they have to accept him as a member of their chapter. For a master they have to find a senior position in the guild (*köşe*), and for a journeyman, an employment (*iş yeri*). If, on the other hand, a person does not know the signs, this is an indication either that he is not from among the possessors of *futuwwa* (*ehl-i fütüvvet*), because the signs are kept secret from the common people (*avam*), or that he has not completed all of the obligatory parts of his training, in which case he is therefore not yet entitled to leave his original *esnaf*. In both cases, the candidates are barred from admission.

The document then goes on to describe these five secret signs, the first of which consists of the master or journeyman in question finding, upon his arrival in a given town or area, the sheikh or the *kethüda* of that area, and bringing with him the tools which he uses in his craft. After this, the *kethüda* summons his *yiğitbaşi*, his *nakib* and some other elders of the *esnaf* in whose presence the interview is conducted. As the second sign, the candidate takes off his shoes (on the pretext of their being dirty) and leaves them outside. As the third sign, he steps into the room only halfway, bringing his right foot inside and leaving his left foot outside. The fourth sign consists of a special greeting exchanged between the candidate and the *esnaf* committee, and a series of questions to which the candidate has to provide set answers. Among other things, the candidate is asked what the meaning of the five secret signs is, who taught him the signs, and where he got his *icazet*. The fifth and final sign is demonstrated by the manner in which the candidate takes his leave: he has to do this without turning his back to the elders and has to step outside with his left foot first.

The document further contains a detailed description of the ceremony for receiving the *icazet*, during which the apprentice, as a confirmation of his new status, learns the five secret signs and various other things, the knowledge of which proves his grade and might be needed in case of applying to a different *esnaf* later. The description includes the roles played by various members of the *esnaf* and *ṭarīqa* in question, the rituals to be carried out during the ceremony, and a series of questions and answers to be learned by the apprentice.

After that, the text explains the meaning of various parts of the ceremony and the symbolism of the rituals performed.

Another document that further confirms the link between dervish orders and the *esnafs* in Bosnia – and, for that matter, those in the Ottoman Empire in general – is a *şecerename* of the tanners from 1656 (Fig. 20).[17] In view of its contents, this document could be put in the third group of *fütüvvetnames*, namely those concerned with a particular craft or guild. The document contains a series of detailed rules and regulations to be observed by the tanners' *esnafs*, sanctions and punishments which are to be applied in the case of those who disobey the rules, and, as its title (*şecere-i fütüvvet der beyan-i erkân*) suggests, a number of formal *silsiles* which are there to provide support for what clearly emerges as the ultimate aim of the *şecerename*, namely that of confirming the authority of the sheikhs of the Kırşehir Tekke over the tanners of the Ottoman Empire. It can be assumed, therefore, given its general character, that the document was composed at Kırşehir and copies of it were then dispatched to different tanners' chapters (*ocaks*) throughout the Empire.[18]

Given that Ahi Evren, the semi-legendary founder of the Kırşehir Tekke, was the tanners' patron-saint, it is to be expected that a tanners' guild document such as this one, originating from the Kırşehir chapter and establishing the regulations for the tanners' *esnafs* of the entire Empire, would contain a section on Ahi Evren himself. This section recounts the standard tanners' tradition, according to which Sheikh Mahmud – who got his nickname Ahi Evren during a battle in which he fought bravely and skilfully like a dragon (*evren*) – was the son of Prophet Muhammad's uncle ʿAbbās, and later became the Prophet's son-in-law by virtue of marrying his daughter Zaynab. He was also the Prophet's first apprentice (*şagırd*) and learned from him the craft of tanning, the secret of which had been passed on from Adam through generations of prophets.

What is rather unexpected, though, is the relative brevity in this *şecerename* of the section concerning Ahi Evren, especially when compared to the space taken up by the sections of the document concerned with another personage, that of the founder of the Qādirī order of dervishes, Sheikh ʿAbd al-Qādir

17 Oriental Institute in Sarajevo, Inventar ANUBiH, Br. 174. A Bosnian translation of the document is published in Gadžo, Veza esnafa u Bosni, pp. 146–161. Here, both the Bosnian translation and the original text have been used.

18 The *şecerename* also provides a valuable source of information regarding the issues of the supremacy of the tanners over other crafts and the extension of supervision rights of the sheikhs of the Kırşehir Tekke, the Akhi-babas, over other *esnafs*, both of which will be addressed later in Chapters 7 and 8.

al-Jīlānī (d. 1186). In fact, considering the amount of importance devoted to him, one is forced to conclude that Sheikh Jīlānī must have occupied a very important position in the tanners' tradition, one perhaps even higher than that of Ahi Evren himself. Indeed, although the *şecerename* invokes the authority of both Ahi Evren and Sheikh Jīlānī, it is the latter's that clearly carries more weight. The document expresses this in very direct terms. Thus, after the traditional story of Ahi Evren, the *şecerename* tells us the following:

> [Although] numerous prophets, saints and spiritual poles (*aqṭāb*) have passed through the central lodge of the tanners (*debbağhane ocağı*) before Sultan ʿAbd al-Qādir, it was…[his] spiritual path (*ṭarīq*) that revived the *futuwwa* and imparted upon it [new] splendour…and he became the Akhi-baba of the tanners.[19]

Then, a few lines below, the document states:

> Let them know that there exist two *silsiles*. One is the *silsile* by origin (*zarīʿa*), and the other is the *silsile* by *futuwwa*. The *silsile* by *futuwwa* has priority over (*evvel dir*) the one by origin and is accepted. The *khalīfas* of ʿAbd al-Qādir Jīlānī belong to the *silsile* by *futuwwa*.[20]

Moreover, later on in the document, we are in fact provided with both of these *silsiles* for Sheikh Jīlānī. The first traces his lineage back to the Prophet, and the second is the formal *taṣawwuf* and *futuwwa silsile*, which, in the words of the *şecerename*, shows that Sheikh Jīlānī

> was from among the girded ones (*ehl-i şedd*), the followers of *futuwwa* (*ehl-i fütüvvet*), and the people of the *şecere* (*ehl-i şecere*); he was a possessor of the sign (*ʿalam*), *nūkh* (?), and the drum (*ṭabl*), and was an apprentice (*çırak*).[21]

The second *silsile* also begins with the Prophet, from whom the *futuwwa* was passed onto Ali, and from Ali, through a number of personages, including, among others, Sheikh Ḥasan al-Baṣrī and Sheikh Muhammad Baghdādī, onto Sheikh Jīlānī. In addition to the preference for the *futuwwa* one indicated

19 Oriental Institute in Sarajevo, Inventar ANUBiH, Br. 174, fol. 4.

20 Oriental Institute in Sarajevo, Inventar ANUBiH, Br. 174, fol. 4.

21 Oriental Institute in Sarajevo, Inventar ANUBiH, Br. 174, fol. 7.

beforehand, the fact that Sheikh Jīlānī belongs to both of the *silsiles* obviously further strengthens his position and authority.

Apart from the two *silsiles* of Sheikh Jīlānī, there is one more chain of authority in the *şecerename*, that of a Qādirī sheikh, Sayyid Mustafa, which is given at the very beginning of the document and is by far the longest of the three. As his title (*sayyid*) suggests, Sheikh Mustafa belonged to the descendants of the Prophet, and after a detailed account of his lineage to the Prophet, the *silsile* then continues by tracing the Prophet's lineage back to Adam. The *şecerename* does not provide any further information about the sheikh or his position. However, given that he almost certainly was not the Akhi-baba at the time – because this must have been Sheikh Ömer, the sheikh of the Kırşehir Tekke who issued and signed the *şecerename* –, and in light of his being described at the beginning of the *silsile* as the Sheikh of the Sheikhs (*shaykh al-shuyūkh*) and the Spiritual Pole of the Wise (*quṭb al-ʿārifīn*), it seems safe to assume that Sheikh Mustafa was the then head of the Qādirī order of dervishes.

Thus, all three *silsiles* in this tanners' statute are those of Qādirī sheikhs, and the *şecere* referred to in the title of the document and repeatedly invoked as the authority upon which the prescriptions given in the statute are to be carried out, is, in fact, that of the Qādirī order.

As already mentioned, the practical aim of this *şecerename* is to outline a set of rules regarding the business conduct of the tanners, to regulate the relations within and between their guilds, and, ultimately, to set out provisions for the representatives of the Kırşehir Tekke, the Akhi-babas, and confirm their authority and supervision rights over these guilds. The latter is evident, for instance, in the fact that the section describing the rules of division of raw material (*hisse*) and cash substitutes (*bedel*) within an *esnaf* provides first and foremost for the Akhi-baba, who according to the *şecerename* has the right to the same share as the *fikke,*[22] the *kethüda*, and the *yığıtbaşı*.[23] But, crucially, the *şecerename* also makes it clear that it is the sheikhs of the Qādirī order who

22 The exact function of this official and the origin of the word are not clear. It has been suggested that '*fikke*' is a derivation from '*faqīh*' and that this official was a sort of master of ceremonies within an *esnaf*, and was an equivalent to *nakib* (Franz Taeschner, "Islam ortaçağında fütüvva teşkilatı," *Iktisat fakültesi mecmuası*, Istanbul, 1954, p. 19, according to Gadžo, Veza esnafa u Bosni, p. 126). In any case, given that throughout the document he is always mentioned alongside the Akhi-baba and the *kethüda*, it is safe to conclude that the *fikke* was certainly a high-ranking official within the *esnaf* administration.

23 Compare this with, for instance, the rules and customs of the tanners' guild in Aleppo, as outlined in one of their 'guild agreements'; see Wilkins, *Forging Urban Solidarities*, pp. 210–213.

have this right of supervision and control of the tanners' *esnafs* throughout the Ottoman Empire:

> And the sheikhs who are in the *ṭarīqa* of ʻAbd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī…, with the *futuwwa*, the *şecere*, the noble decree (*emr-i şerif*) and the noble permit (*berat-i şerif*) in their hands, and within the framework of the *sharīʿa* and on the basis of the customs of the *ṭarīqa* and the principles of *futuwwa*, will promote the Prophetic knowledge, beat on the tambourine (*qudūm*)[24] and the drum (*ṭabl*), conduct themselves and act according to the *ṭarīqa* of the patron-saints, perform *dhikr* and proclaim *tawḥīd*, recite the Noble Book, and preach and advise (*vaʿz ve nasihat eylerler*) in the tanners' chapters (*debbağhane ocağı*) in Mecca, Medina, Shām, Baghdad, Gülşehir, Istanbul, and in all the provinces and lands (*wa fī jamīʿ al-nawāḥī wa 'l-buldān*). And in order [for them] to visit all of the chapters (*ocaklar*) in each land and teach the principles of (?),[25] they will give from the chapter (*ocaktan*) the provisions for three, five or seven days, depending on the chapter (*ocağa göre*), the sacrifice for the noble standard (*sancağ-ı şerifin kurbanı*),[26] and their pledged offerings (*nezirler*),[27] they will provide for their expenses and see to all their needs, and will send [them] from town to town with accepted and reliable men.[28]

Later on, the *şecerename* adds that the decrees award to these sheikhs the authority over eighty-six crafts, and give them the right to govern the appointments and dismissals of their elders.

Thus, the *şecerename* provides us with rare information, which seems conspicuously absent from any existing discussion of the subject, as to the specific dervish affiliation of the Kırşehir Tekke and its sheikhs, namely to the

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24 According to Gadžo (Veza esnafa u Bosni, p. 158), a *qudūm* is a dervish instrument resembling a tambourine.

25 The word in the original text is illegible and the Bosnian translation of this paragraph is unclear and does not seem to agree with the original.

26 The meaning of this phrase is open to interpretation. One possibility that comes to mind is that it could refer to those members of *esnafs* who would in case of need leave their trade and go to war.

27 Although in the Ottoman dictionary '*nezir*' (*nadhūr*) is defined as 'one who warns or admonishes' (Redhouse, A Turkish and English Lexicon), here the meaning of '*nezire*' (*nadhūra*), namely 'an object of a vow', a votive offering, seems more appropriate in the context.

28 Oriental Institute in Sarajevo, Inventar ANUBiH, Br. 174, fol. 8.

Qādirī order. It also provides direct evidence of the link between the Qādirī order and the tanners of the Ottoman Empire, and more specifically, those in Bosnia, where the document was found. The nature of the document, namely that of a practical manual for the tanners and their *esnafs*, precludes the possibility of considering this *şecerename* as being simply a theoretical *futuwwa* work, and proves that the relations within those *esnafs* and between them were very much conditioned by their affiliation to the dervish order in question. Thus, on the basis of the evidence provided by this document, it seems safe to assume that, at least as far as the tanners were concerned, the membership of the *esnaf* also meant membership of the dervish order to which the craft was affiliated.[29]

Finally, the *şecerename* also provides further evidence in support of the thesis, suggested earlier in connection with the *fütüvvetname* discussed above, that *taṣawwuf* and the crafts in the Ottoman Empire were not two separate entities linked externally and by accident, but that the affiliation of the *esnafs* to dervish orders has its origin in the traditional use of crafts as a practical symbol of the spiritual path, the Akhi brotherhoods being the first instance of its application in the context of the Ottoman Empire. Indeed, the *şecerename* describes in very clear terms the way in which the practising of a craft provides essential aid on the spiritual path of a dervish craftsman, in this case a tanner:

> The Great Qur'an and the other famous books of the four schools of Islamic law state that every hide (*ihāb*) is purified when it is tanned; except for the human skin, because of its noble qualities (*karāma*), and the pig's, because of its uncleanness (*najāsa*). And it should be known that as a tanner in a visible manner (*suret-i zahire*) tans and cleans a dirty hide, his soul too becomes clean from animal qualities and the darkness of ignorance (*cehil karanlığı*); he becomes enlightened and does not depart for a single hour from the manifestation of Beauty. Thus, just as sole-leather (*küsele*) is golden yellow and not empty of sustenance (*etmek*) and numerous kinds of benefactions (*nimetler*), so are the hearts of the tanners who tan it not devoid for an instant of divine gifts.[30]

29 Of course, in spite of the *şecerename*'s claim to the contrary, this was not necessarily always the Qādirī order, since the Kırşehir Tekke might have been at different times affiliated to different orders.

30 Oriental Institute in Sarajevo, Inventar ANUBiH, Br. 174, fol. 9.

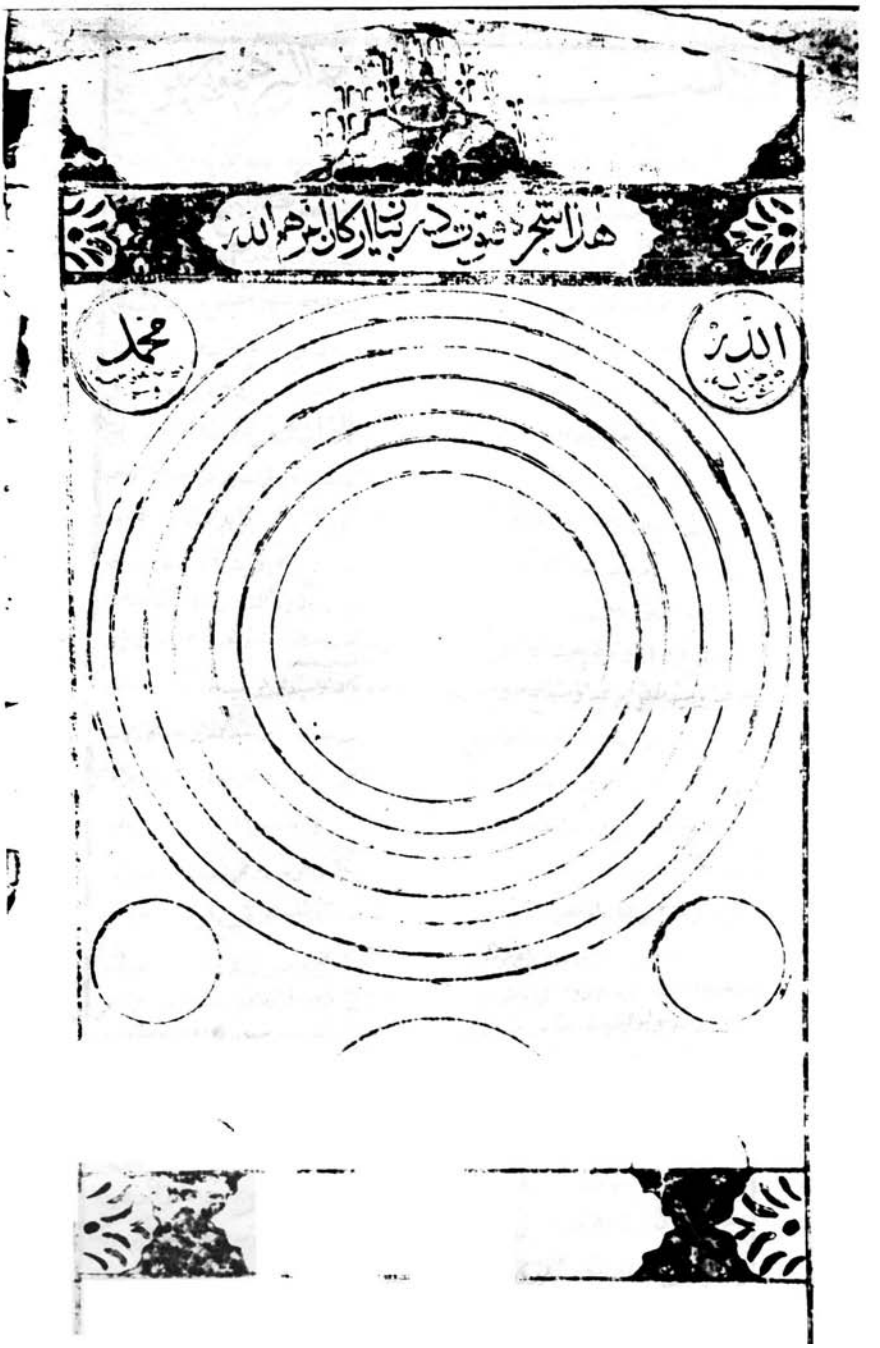

FIGURE 20 *The front page of the tanners'* şecerename.
ORIENTAL INSTITUTE IN SARAJEVO, INVENTAR ANUBIH, BR. 174.

Another *futuwwa* document from Bosnia which, despite its later date of 1819, deserves examination here, is a *fütüvvetname* issued by Sheikh Ömer ibn Ahi Evren ibn Abbas Ekber (Fig. 21),[31] who, as is evident from the authorisation section at the end of the document, was the Akhi-baba of the Kırşehir Tekke and was at the time visiting *esnafs* in Bosnia. The same section explains that the document was issued to a certain Kürkçü-zade Molla Ibrahim ibn Ahmed-ağa, with the aim of appointing him as the Akhi-baba's representative and supervisor of Sarajevo "tailors, merchants, the people of the scissors and those who use cloth-measure in their trade" (*terz esnafleri ve tujjār ve ehl-i miqrāḍ ve endaze isti'māl edenler*).[32] Molla Ibrahim is charged with overseeing their ceremonies (*ayin*), executing their rules and regulations (*erkân ve düstur*) and performing the girding of the *esnaf* members (*kemer-bestelik*). It is also his duty to fight against and stop those who violate the order of the *esnaf* and its bonds of unity (*şiraze ve nizam*) or in any manner or form behave contrary to the time-honoured customs. At the very end of this section we are told that the *fütüvvetname* and the authorisation for Molla Ibrahim were issued by Sheikh Ömer and the *ṭarīqa* (*tarafımızdan ve taraf-i tarikattan*), but, unfortunately, neither here nor anywhere else in the document are we told which *ṭarīqa* this is. Nevertheless, we still have clear evidence that, apart from the tanners, other *esnafs* in Bosnia were also linked with dervish orders (albeit, in this case, in the 19th century).

Considering the contents of this final part of the *fütüvvetname*, written in the format of an *icazetname* (licence certificate), one may be led to conclude that this whole document was simply the result of the Akhi-babas managing to extend the influence and supervision rights they had over the tanners to other *esnafs*. Thus, given the clearly stated purpose for the issuing of the document, one would be justified in thinking that this *fütüvvetname* is something that was written by the Akhi-baba in question, Sheikh Ömer, precisely and solely in order to extend his authority over the *esnafs* of the tailors and merchants in Bosnia.[33] However, the main text of the document throws some

31 Sarajevo Historical Archives, ZAT-227.

32 Although the *fütüvvetname* is primarily concerned with the tailors, Molla Ibrahim's name (*kürkçü* – furrier) suggests that he comes from a line of craftsmen related to tanners, a fact which might have had some bearing on his election as the Akhi-baba's representative. It may also be worth noting that the definition "the people of the scissors and those who use cloth-measure" could include the furriers and everybody else who produced leather goods.

33 Indeed, it has been suggested that, even as far as the tanners themselves are concerned, it was not until the 18th century that the Akhi-babas managed to extend their authority over the *esnafs* in the European provinces of the Empire (Faroqhi, *Towns and Townsmen*, p. 156).

doubt over such a conclusion. The document – which is in the shape of a scroll (23cm X 131cm) and has a large drawing of a rising sun at its head – is entitled "The *Fütüvvetname* of the Noble *Şecere*" and begins with an introduction in which it is explained that the document is a *şecere* of the Prophet Idris,[34] who is described as the Pir of the Pirs (*pir-i pirân*) of the *sharī'a*, the *ṭarīqa*, the *ḥaqīqa* and the *ma'rifa*.[35] This is in keeping with what we find out from the lists of crafts and their various *pir*s contained in some *fütüvvetnames*, namely, that the patron-saint of the tailors is Idris.[36] Thus, it is the authority of the Prophet Idris that is invoked throughout the text as a guarantee that the rules and regulations set out are valid and should be strictly observed by all members of the *esnaf*. The first of these rules outlined in the text refers to the necessity for members of the *esnaf* to respect and obey the *kethüda* and the *esnaf* elders. Then we are told about the punishments to be applied in the case of disobedient journeymen and the ways in which the latter can be redeemed and forgiven by their respective masters. After this, the document outlines the necessary conditions that have to be fulfilled before an apprentice can receive his *icazet* and be upgraded to a journeyman (*başına*

34 This explains the drawing at the head of the document (see Fig. 21), the Sun being the symbol of the Prophet Idris, who is the Pole (*quṭb*) of the Heaven of the Sun (Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibn 'Arabī, *Al-Futūḥāt al-Makkīya*, Beirut, 1998, vol. 2, p. 437).

35 These four concepts of *taṣawwuf*, which in the *futuwwa* tradition are called 'the four principles of *futuwwa*', could perhaps be best defined, and the relationship between them understood, if they were envisaged in terms of parts of a circle: thus, the circumference of the circle is the *sharī'a*, namely, the set of laws which apply to and are followed by everybody (hence the same root meaning as '*shāri'*'- a broad, main street); any radius, all of which start from and are based in the *sharī'a*, is the *ṭarīqa*, namely, the rules confined to and followed only by the initiated in order to reach the centre of the circle (the term '*ṭarīqa*' comprising, as in many other languages, the meaning of both the path (way) and the method (way) by which to travel along it); the centre, which defines the entire circle, is the *ḥaqīqa*, the Truth, from which everything else stems; and, finally, the *ma'rifa* denotes the state of gnosis in which are those who have successfully followed the *ṭarīqa* and reached the *ḥaqīqa*, in other words, the state of the realisation of the Truth, which, naturally, is not limited to any one part of the circle and encompasses all of them. For more on this analogy and its components see David Waines, *An Introduction to Islam*, 2nd ed., CUP, 2004, p. 138, and Eric Geoffroy, *Introduction to Sufism: the Inner Path of Islam*, tr. by Roger Gaetani, Bloomington, 2010, generally, and especially Chapter 2, pp. 59–64.

36 See, for instance, the list of crafts and their patron-saints in the *fütüvvetname* published in Sucu, *Ahi Ocakları*, p. 28, or the one in the *şecerename* examined in C C Güzelbey, "Bir Ahi Şeceresi," *Türk Kültürü ve Ahilik, XXI Ahilik Bayramı Sempozyumu Tebliğleri (13–15 Eylül 1985, Kırşehir)*, Istanbul, 1986, p. 239.

çıkarmak). These include the initiation process, the duties to be carried out by the apprentice during this process, and the questions and answers about the meanings of the four principles of *futuwwa* and *taṣawwuf* which the master has to teach the apprentice, and without which the latter cannot receive the *icazet* nor get employment elsewhere.[37] Finally, the document describes the interview procedure for a potential new journeyman, carried out in the presence of *esnaf* and *ṭarīqa* elders, during which the apprentice (who had already obtained his *icazet*) has to prove his knowledge of these meanings and show the five special signs taught to him by his master before he is admitted to the *esnaf* in question.[38]

The main section of the *fütüvvetname* concludes with two sets of inscriptions. The first one, the one on the right, says: "The *pir* of the tailors' *esnafs* is his Excellency Idris, a prophet of God, may peace and blessings be upon him," and the second and left inscription reads:

> The *pir* of all merchants is our Prophet, may peace and blessings be upon him, [who is] adopted [as such] because it is known that he used to visit the noble Shām together with his Excellency Abu Bakr for the purpose of trade.[39]

Given that this is the first instance in this document in which a reference is made to the patron-saint of the merchants, and given that the merchants are not mentioned in either of the lists of crafts and their *pirs* consulted, it could perhaps be deduced from this that the merchants did not previously have a patron-saint and were now awarded one in order to be included in the Akhibaba's *icazet*. On the other hand, it is possible that the merchants always belonged to the tailors' *esnaf*, and were, thus, automatically included in everything that applied to the tailors, in which case the appointing of the Prophet as the merchants' patron-saint, simply served further to strengthen the authority of the *fütüvvetname* over their business.

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37 Compare this to the text of the *fütüvvetname* examined by Evliya Çelebi in Evliya, *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, p. 245.

38 These are clearly the same procedures as those described in the Travnik *fütüvvetname* from 1592 examined above.

39 Sarajevo Historical Archives, ZAT-227. This sentence obviously refers to the time when the Prophet Muhammad worked as a merchant while employed by his first wife Khadīja.

In any case, the main section of the document clearly applies primarily to the tailors, inasmuch as it is their patron-saint, the Prophet Idris, who is the source of the authority throughout the *fütüvvetname*. Moreover, this section does not provide any indication whatsoever of being in any way linked with the tanners: it does not include any mention of the tanners' patron-saint Ahi Evren or their spiritual guide Sheikh ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī, it does not mention any trade rules or regulations similar to those outlined in the tanners' statute discussed above, and most importantly, it does not contain a single reference to the Akhi-baba or his rights of supervision over the craft in question, namely that of the tailors, the latter being the least that would be expected if the document was composed by the Akhi-baba. If the *fütüvvetname* was written at the same time as the *icazetname* and solely for the purpose of establishing the authority of the Akhi-baba over the *esnafs* in question, there seems to be no obvious reason why none of the above would be included in the main text, nor why the supervision rights of the Akhi-babas would be mentioned only at the very end of the document, namely, in the *icazetname*. Also, given that the contents of the main text, as is evident from its outline above, bears much more resemblance to the Travnik *fütüvvetname* from 1592 than to any part of the tanners' statute, this document is very clearly not a collection of excerpts from the tanners' statute, which is what has been used (with an *icazetname* at the end) in other instances of appointments of Akhi-baba's representatives in different towns and provinces.[40] In view of all this, it seems plausible to conclude that the *fütüvvetname* itself was already in existence before this date and had been used as such by the tailors' *esnafs* for some time. The *icazetname* from the Akhi-baba Sheikh Ömer was either simply added to an already existing copy of the *fütüvvetname* – which is not entirely implausible given the physical appearance of the document[41] – or was written together with a new copy. In either case, this means that the Bosnian tailors, and possibly the merchants too, adhered to the principles of *futuwwa* and had links with dervish orders (at least theoretical ones on the basis of this document) even before they came under the auspices of the sheikhs of the Kırşehir Tekke.

40 See the *fütüvvetname* in Sucu, *Ahi Ocakları*, pp. 14–36.

41 The text of the *icazetname*, does not, for instance, fall within the clearly outlined margins around the main section.


هذا فتوات نامه شجر شريف

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله رب العالمين والصلوة والسلام على رسولنا محمد وعلى اله وصحبه اجمعين

ان الدين عند الله الاسلام قل اللهم مالك الملك تؤتي الملك من تشاء باسمه ومراده

واحسانه وتفاخر شجرة سلطان ايدريس عليه السلام بكي اصحاب كبار حضرت محمد المصطفى

صلى الله تعالى عليه وسلم بودين جمله چاكرن فلان نام ادميان دستكان حضرت على كرم الله

وجهه اعظم افخم المتكلمين مولانا على الدين واحقر هيم السيد مصطفى الفزيزي عفى عنه

سبب تحرير شريعت طريقت وحقيقت ومعرفت باري بران حضرت ايدريس عليه السلام

شجره كتاب بود وركم السلام عليكم ياأهلي شريعت السلام عليكم ياأهلي طريقت

السلام عليكم ياأهلي حقيقت السلام عليكم ياأهلي معرفت وسلام على المرسلين

والحمد لله رب العالمين اما بعد حمد لله والصلوت والسلام على رسولنا محمد واله وصحبه

FIGURE 21 *The top section of the tailors'* fütüvvetname *featuring the symbol of the rising sun* SARAJEVO HISTORICAL ARCHIVES, ZAT-227.

A second document issued at the same time as the tailors' *fütüvvetname* is perhaps even more interesting. It is entitled "The *pirname* concerning the patron-saint of the farmers, his Excellency Adam, a sincere friend of God" (*pirname-i beyan-i pir-i çiftçiyân Adam ṣafīy-ullah*).[42] This is both the first example of a document called '*pirname*' and, more importantly, a rare piece of textual evidence concerning the *esnaf* organisation of the farmers.[43] After an introductory invocation of God's protection and mercy, the *pirname* begins by stressing the necessity to acknowledge and respect the four principles of *futuwwa* and *taṣawwuf*:

> What the Pir of the Pirs, the dearest among the dear, the main source of power, his Excellency Adam, the patron-saint of the farmers, ordered [is] first and foremost the greeting to the four gateways: may peace be upon you, the masters of the people of the *sharīʿa*, may peace be upon you, the masters of the people of the *ṭarīqa*, may peace be upon you, the masters of the people of the *ḥaqīqa*, may peace be upon you, the masters of the people of *maʿrifa*.[44]

This is followed by a story of how as soon as God had created Adam, Gabriel brought a grain of wheat and a pair of oxen from Paradise and God taught Adam how to plough the earth and thus made him the first farmer. After this, the *pirname* outlines a series of rules according to which the farmers should behave – including the need for every farmer to have a work permit from the head of the *esnaf*, the *çiftçibaşı*, and to respect the ban on ploughing on Fridays – and lists the sanctions for those who stray from them. But perhaps the most compelling part of the *pirname* is the section outlining the noble code of conduct to be adopted and followed by the farmers during their work:

> When a farmer wants to start sowing, he should firstly with his prayers (*maʿ ṣalawātihi*) recite for the soul of the Pir *sūrat-ul-ikhlāṣ* three times and

42 Gazi Husrev-begova Biblioteka, Sarajevo, A-3738. The document is published in transliteration with a Bosnian translation in Azra Gadžo, "Pirnama Čifčija," *POF*, 47–48/1997–98, Sarajevo, 1999, pp. 154–167. As with the *şecerename* from 1656, the Bosnian translation was used in conjunction with the original text.

43 Although the farmers, and Adam as their patron-saint, appear in the lists of crafts in some *fütüvvetname*s (e.g. Sucu, *Ahi Ocakları*, p. 27), a direct proof of the existence of the farmers' *esnaf*s, including any kind of document similar to this *pirname*, does not seem to have been found anywhere else.

44 Gazi Husrev-begova Biblioteka, Sarajevo, A-3738. On these four 'gateways' and the relationship between them see note 35 above.

> *sūrat-ul-fātiḥa* once (*pirin ruhuna üç ikhlāṣ-i şerif ve bir fātiḥa-i şerife*). After that he should begin sowing, and if he does not do so his yield will not be blessed (with abundance) (*kesbinde berekât bulmaz*). It is appropriate and necessary that [the farmers] should place on one side of the oxen their food and sustenance (*zahire ve nafaka*) and, on the other, their water; they should take care of the oxen and while [attending to them] they should not hit them (*vurmayalar*), should speak nicely to them (*güzel kelamları söyleyip*) and accompany this with reciting the *tasbīḥ,*[45] the *tahlīl,*[46] the *shahāda*[47] and prayers; …they should not graze their oxen on somebody else's or their neighbours' land, should not utter idle, bad or ugly words, should not swear at the oxen and should not be deficient in providing them with oats, fodder and water.[48]

At the end of the document we are told that the *pirname* was given into the hands of a certain Kapudan-bey, who was appointed the *çiftçibaşı* and whose ancestors had been *çiftçibaşıs* for generations (*kadimden beri çiftçibaşı olan ābā-yi ecdadı*). Kapudan-bey, who is to act on behalf of the *ṭarīqa* as its representative (*bil-vekâlet*) with full power (*bil-asalet*), was given the *pirname* by common request (*cümle iltimasıyle*) and in order to explain its requirements to everybody (*cümlesine pirnamenin mucibini tefhim eylemesi için*), by the undersigned Sheikh Ömer [ibn] Ahi Evren ibn Abbas Ekber. The document is dated 1819, and although the main text does not mention the location of the *esnaf* in question, it is safe to assume that the *pirname* was written in the small northern town of Tešanj, since there are a number of notes referring to Tešanj attached to the back of the document.

Clearly, this is the same Sheikh Ömer who issued the tailors and merchants' *fütüvvetname* in Sarajevo and who obviously visited other Bosnian towns during his tour in 1819. Again, we can only guess as to whether this was the first instance of the extension of the Akhi-baba's supervision rights over the farmers' *esnaf* in Tešanj, or Bosnia in general for that matter, or whether the *pirname* was issued simply to confirm the authority that had already existed. In any case, this document provides valuable evidence that in Bosnia even the farmers were organised into *esnafs* and adopted the principles of *futuwwa* and *taṣawwuf* in their organisation and conduct. The question of when this organisation was first established among them, of course, remains open.

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45 Exclaiming the formula "S*ubḥān-Allāh.*"

46 Utterance of the formula "*Lā ilāha illā-Allāh,*" affirming the Oneness of God.

47 The formula acknowledging the Oneness of God and Muhammad as His Prophet, the acceptance and reciting of which is considered the first pillar of Islam.

48 Gazi Husrev-begova Biblioteka, Sarajevo, A-3738.

CHAPTER 6

Guild Punishments, Ceremonies and Festivities

One way of assessing the religious character of Ottoman guilds, and, by extension, their relationship with dervish orders, whether in general or in Bosnia in particular, is to examine those guild activities closely related to *futuwwa* and *taṣawwuf* traditions and to the activities of dervish orders. Some *esnaf* practices – such as those relating to mutual help and solidarity between the craftsmen, for instance – which are based on Akhi traditions and demonstrate the links between the Akhi corporations and later guilds, have already been mentioned. Apart from these more general traditions, however, there are certain *esnaf* customs the existence of which proves that the rules and regulations outlined in the guild *fütüvvetname* documents were indeed observed by the guilds, and that the *futuwwa* codes contained in these documents were not just theoretical. Moreover, some of them also provide further information on the affiliation between the guilds and dervish orders, and show that the links indicated on paper existed in practice too.

A good example of such *esnaf* customs are those observed in relation to guild punishments. As will be recalled from the previous chapter, an outline of the punishments to be carried out in the case of those guild members who disobey the guild regulations and codes of conduct is, to a greater or lesser extent, a regular feature of *fütüvetname* documents. Thus, the tanners' *şecerename* from 1656[1] contains two sections concerned with punishments applicable to the members of the tanners' *esnaf*. One of the punishments prescribed in the document consists of ninety-nine blows with a stick (*değnek*) called the '*ḥaqīqa* flogging' (*tazir-i ḥaqīqa*), carried out in the presence of the masters of the *esnaf*, and a fine of a thousand *akçe*, which is called the '*ṭarīqa* penalty' (*ṭarīqa cerimesi*). After the execution of the punishment, the offender in question is required to perform the following procedure: he is to light three candles in his candleholder, put on his work apron (*makrama*), place his halva into his waist cloth (*peştemal*), hang his 'hot iron' (*ḥarr demiri*)[2] under his left armpit and from his waist, and in the presence of the *ṭarīqa* elders (*erenler*), while rubbing his face [with his hands] he is to exclaim "Forgive my impudence (*küstahlık*)!" After this, we are told, the masters of the *esnaf* should forgive his transgression. This particular penalty apparently applies only to junior

1 Oriental Institute in Sarajevo, Inventar ANUBiH, Br. 174.

2 A tanning tool.

 | DOI 10.1163/9789004288447_008

craftsmen, since the document then goes on to tell us that disobedient masters are required to pay a fine of three thousand three hundred and ninety-nine *akçe* and no beating punishment is mentioned in their case. The *şecerename* also provides for the possibility of government involvement and states that in the case of a particularly difficult dispute or offence, which "neither the Akhi-baba, the *kethüda*, the *yiğitbaşı*, the *fikke*, nor the *tekke* elders (*tekke-yi nishīn olan azizler*)" can resolve, the matter should be passed on to the *kadi*. The most severe punishment – short of the death penalty, which the *şecerename* prescribes in the case of those who had committed a crime so serious that they had to be referred to judges, *beys* and *ağas* – is banishment from the *esnaf*, which involves the cutting of the offender's collar (*yaka*) and requisition of his *esnaf* hat (*börk*). Later on, in a separate section, another severe punishment is mentioned, that of the curse of the *pirs* (*pirlerin laneti*), which may be applied in the case of severe offences in addition to banishment from the *esnaf*.

Similarly, the *fütüvvetname* of Sarajevo tailors,[3] prescribes the bastinado punishment of ninety-nine blows, or '*ḥaqīqa* flogging', and a thousand *akçe* fine for the younger journeymen, the cutting of the collar, requisition of the *esnaf* hat and banishment from the *esnaf* for the older journeymen, and the curse of the *pirs* for more severe offences, such as disrespect to the *kethüda* and *esnaf* elders and disregard for their authority or the authority of the *esnaf* patron-saint.[4]

The same punishments are also found in the *çiftçis*' *pirname*.[5] There, the '*ḥaqīqa* flogging' of ninety-nine blows and the '*ṭarīqa* penalty' of a thousand *akçe* are prescribed for those who disobey the *esnaf* ploughing restrictions and work on Muslim lands on Fridays. Again, one of the most severe punishments,

3 Sarajevo Historical Archives, ZAT-227.

4 What transpires from both documents is that the severity of the punishment depended not only on the offence but also on the seniority of the offender. Thus, in both cases, the mildest punishment – the bastinado and the fine of a thousand *akçe* – applies only to journeymen, and in the case of the tailors' *fütüvvetname*, only to the younger ones among those. Moreover, after the execution of this penalty, the offender, if he shows repentance in the manner described in the *şecerename*, is offered a pardon. This seems to indicate that those who were more likely to make mistakes were given a certain amount of leeway with regard to transgressing the *esnaf* rules of conduct. The more senior craftsmen, the older journeymen and the masters, were evidently considered to have passed the stage at which they can be simply reprimanded and were afforded much less tolerance for their offences. It should also be observed that the apprentices are not specifically mentioned in relation to any of the punishments listed, which leads to the conclusion that, since they were in the care of their respective masters, the latter were also responsible for punishing them and any particular prescriptions in that respect were considered unnecessary.

5 Gazi Husrev-begova Biblioteka, Sarajevo, A-3738.

the curse of the *pirs*, and, implicit within it, the exclusion from the *pir*'s and the Prophet Muhammad's intercession on the day of Judgement (*şefaatından mahrum olurlar*), is intended for those who deny the true path (*yol*) and its principles (*erkân*) – i.e. the principles of *futuwwa* and the path of its initiated followers – and who, therefore, deny the *esnaf* patron-saint and his authority.

Closely related to the issue of government involvement in guild affairs, the question of guild punishments is yet another one of those problems on which no definite agreement has been reached among the researchers. There is, thus, no agreement on the level of the guilds' own jurisdiction and that of the *kadi*; in other words, it has not yet been determined with any certainty what kind of offences and disputes, if any, were specifically the responsibility of the government such that the guilds' own administration had no right of arbitration over them. What is certain, nevertheless, is that, throughout their existence, the Ottoman guilds did carry out punishments over their members – although the form that they took and the level of independence with which they were applied differed according to the region or period under consideration – for there is ample evidence of the guilds throughout the Ottoman Empire acting independently in arbitration of disputes and applying punishments according to their own guild customs and without government involvement.

Even Baer, who, as has already been pointed out, emphasises the role of government in the guild system and downplays the guilds' independence, admits to several pieces of evidence which demonstrate guilds' rights to punish their members in accordance with their own, independent laws (although he, in keeping with his general views, dismisses the notion of their having any links with *futuwwa*). Thus, he tells us that the guilds of shoemakers, both in Anatolia and in Egypt, had special officers who were exempt from higher jurisdiction and had the right to carry out the punishments of their guild members, including the death penalty.[6] This is obviously in agreement with the prescription of the death penalty contained in the Bosnian *şecerename*. Baer also quotes a *ferman* from 1773 granted to the Akhi-baba of the Kırşehir tanners which confirms the guild's right to punish its members itself, with, among others, the bastinado penalty, temporary prison and prevention of exercising their craft.[7] According to Baer, the same was the case with the guilds in Damascus and

6 Baer, Turkish Guilds, p. 43. It is worth noting that this kind of independence was in Bosnia more characteristic of the boot-makers' (*çizmeci*) guilds: until the 19th century when the shoemakers (*kunduracı*) first appeared, it was the boot-makers who produced all footwear (except some specialised types like sandals/clogs); like the saddlers, the boot-makers were closely related to the tanners and theirs was one of the three strongest and most independent *esnafs* in Bosnia.

7 Baer, Turkish Guilds, p. 43.

in the Macedonian town of Seres. Finally, Baer tells us that there were certain offences which in *all* Ottoman guilds were always punished by the guilds themselves, even in the case of those *esnafs* which, unlike the examples quoted above, did not normally carry out the more severe punishments without the involvement of the *kadi*. These offences included acting contrary to the guild's traditions, idleness, drunkenness and other transgressions of religious precepts.[8]

The practices of Bosnian *esnafs* regarding punishments, according to what we learn from Kreševljaković,[9] were also very much in agreement with those outlined in the *futuwwa* documents. Thus, Bosnian guilds carried out most of the punishments themselves and strove not to involve the authorities whenever possible, except in the case of particularly complicated disputes or those which involved two or more separate *esnafs*.[10] This is perfectly in keeping with what the Bosnian *şecerename* prescribes:

> When a very difficult problem (*gayet müşkül mesele*) occurs, and if neither those from the guild headquarters (*ocakta olan*), the Akhi-baba, the *kethüda*, the *yiğitbaşı*, and the *fikke*, nor the great *tekke* elders (*tekke-yi nishīn olan azizler*), can solve that difficult problem, they should go to his Excellency the *kadi* to solve their problem.[11]

The punishments were determined either by the *kethüda* himself or jointly by the *esnaf* council (*lonca*), and were carried out in the presence of all or some council members. The most common punishments applied by Bosnian *esnafs* were bastinado (on the soles of the feet), temporary or permanent closure of the offender's shop, and the demotion of a master to journeyman, while the most severe punishment known to have been applied in practice was the *esnaf* curse. In the case of a temporary closure of business, the door of the shop in question was for the duration of the penalty kept half-way open, the punished craftsman was allowed to sit inside the shop but his tools were covered up and he could not work or sell his merchandise. An example of the application of this punishment is an incident in the mid 18th century, recounted by Kreševljaković, of a Sarajevo tailor who made a cloak (*ferace*) for one of his customers and instead of the current selling price of a hundred *grosh* charged them a hundred and fifty *grosh*. As soon as the *esnaf* found out that the tailor had overcharged his customer, the assembly was called, the tailor was found guilty of introducing (unlawful) innovation (*bid'a*), and the sentence of a temporary closure of his shop was

8 Baer, Turkish Guilds, p. 44.

9 Kreševljaković, *Esnafi i Obrti u Bosni*.

10 Kreševljaković, *Esnafi i Obrti u Bosni*, pp. 55–57.

11 Oriental Institute in Sarajevo, Inventar ANUBiH, Br. 174, fol. 5.

passed. As was customary, the punishment was carried out immediately. The *kethüda* and the rest of the *esnaf* council went to the guilty tailor's shop and covered his work table with a white cloth thus indicating the beginning of his sentence. As for the curse punishment, it was carried out in the presence of the entire council as well as the masters of the *esnaf* in question, all of whom would gather at the shop of the convicted member, with one of them pronouncing the curse formula and all present endorsing it by exclaiming the word '*amin*'.

One very important *esnaf* practice which not only provides further evidence that the *esnafs* did indeed adhere to the rules of the *futuwwa* documents, but is also probably the best illustration of the practical application of the *futuwwa* tradition by Ottoman guilds, is the *kuşanma* ceremony. The tradition of the 'girding of the belt', the *kuşanma*, is one of the key rites of *futuwwa* and features extensively in *fütüvvetname*s and other related literature.[12] In fact, judging by its place in the *futuwwa* tradition as a whole, namely, that of the symbol of the very beginning of the *futuwwa* organisation, the practice of the *kuşanma* can probably be regarded as *the* most important *futuwwa* ritual. This ritual not only survived in the guilds of later periods, being practiced, in the form of the girding ceremony, by Ottoman *esnafs* throughout their existence, but in fact played a crucial role in the whole system of *esnaf* organisation. This is because no apprentice could become a journeyman, or a journeyman a master, until they had been officially admitted to those ranks at a *kuşanma* ceremony.[13] The ceremony, which was a re-enactment of the first *futuwwa* girding, consisted of each of the potential journeymen and masters being girded with a belt or an apron and then receiving their *icazet* and advice on their business conduct either from a master, the *kethüda*, the Akhi-baba's local appointed representative or even, on occasions, the Akhi-baba himself.[14] The advice on business and personal conduct was as important as the girding itself. It was an obligatory part of the ceremony, and apart from good wishes, typically included admonishments and warnings against dishonesty and corruption. Thus, the following is an example of a master's words to his old *kalfa*, a newly made master himself, as given by Sucu:

12 See, for instance, the Travnik *fütüvvetname* examined in the previous chapter.

13 See Kütükoğlu, Osmanlı Ikitsadi, pp. 609–610, Sucu, *Ahi Ocakları*, pp. 8–9, Kreševljaković, *Esnafi i Obrti u Bosni*, pp. 62–8.

14 It seems that one of the duties of the Akhi-babas during their visits to *esnafs* in different towns was to carry out the necessary *kuşanma* ceremonies or, in the cases where these had already been performed, to confirm officially all the *kuşanmas* carried out by their representatives. Thus, during his visit to Sarajevo in 1888, the Akhi-baba reconfirmed all the *kuşanmas* that had been performed in the city since his last visit there (Kreševljaković, *Esnafi i Obrti u Bosni*, p. 52).

> May your hands turn stone into gold! May God be close to you in both worlds! From your work may you witness only good. May God make your sustenance abundant, may you never witness destitution and never suffer distress. [But] if you do not accept the council of the learned, the advice of the leaders of the *esnaf*, or my words; if you do not respect your mother, your father, your master and your teacher; if you are cruel to others and mistreat an infidel or an orphan, and in general do not keep away from the things that God has made forbidden, may my twenty nails be the hooks by which you will hang in the next world![15]

The Akhi-baba's advice to the new master, given at the same ceremony, was similar in its message:

> Do not look at what is forbidden (*haram*), do not eat the forbidden, [and] do not drink the forbidden. Be honest, patient and reliable. Do not lie. Do not speak before your seniors speak. Do not deceive anyone. Be content with what you have. Do not aspire towards worldly possessions. Do not measure shorter or weigh less [than you are supposed to]. Know how to be merciful when you are in a strong and superior position, know how to be soft when you are angry, and be so generous as to give to others even when you yourself are in need![16]

The virtues mentioned in the Akhi-baba's address clearly correspond to those qualities of character which are required of every member of a *futuwwa* association, or a possessor of *futuwwa* in general, among the most important of which are honesty, modesty and generosity.

Thanks to an anonymous manuscript which used to be in Kreševljaković's possession, and which describes the procedure followed at the *kuşanma* of a new *kalfa*, we also know the details of this ceremony as it was performed in Bosnia. The ceremony would begin with the Akhi-baba, or his representative, addressing the newly promoted apprentice in the following manner:

> My son, listen with your heart and accept this advice: do not transgress even a foot-length beyond the borders of the *sharī'a,* do not follow passion and devils, do not neglect your prayers, respect the masters and do not be rude

15 Sucu, *Ahi Ocakları*, p. 8.

16 Sucu, *Ahi Ocakları*, p. 9. For comparison, see the advice, entitled "*Nasihatname-i Pir,*" prescribed in the *fütüvvetname* examined by Evliya Çelebi: Evliya, *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, p. 245.

> to the *kalfas*; do not betray the one who gave you your bread, and do not give false oaths; with one hand work for yourself and with the other for the poor and never miss out doing good whenever you can – that way you will also receive good in the next world; do you hear this and do you accept it?[17]

The new *kalfa* would reply: "I hear it and I accept it." The Akhi-baba would then tie a new journeyman apron around his waist and say:

> I give you the licence to practice (*icazet*) so that you may earn your living in this way, keeping away from the things that are forbidden (*haram*). If you can work this way, work, but if not, then leave the craft, lest I be your prosecutor in the next world.[18]

Following these words the Akhi-baba would slap the new *kalfa* on his face, an act signalling the end of the ceremony.[19]

Although these are rare and usually very brief, there are some mentions of *kuşanma* ceremonies in the contemporary Western studies of Ottoman guilds too. Thus, Gerber, while discussing guilds and guild life in Bursa, comes across a documented quarrel between two guilds (he does not specify which) over a certain *tekke*, with each of the guilds claiming exclusive right to hold the *kuşanma* ceremony in the *tekke*; the ceremony in this case seemingly being referred to by its alternative name of 'başa çıkmak'.[20]

At the same time, while discussing guild excursions to the countryside, Baer tells us that in the town of Seres there were two types of yearly excursions, one held by individual guilds and lasting for one day, and the other held by all twenty-four guilds of the town and lasting for three days, both of which included meals, religious ceremonies and amusements.[21] Given that in Bosnia,

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17 Kreševljaković, *Esnafi i Obrti u Bosni*, p. 63.

18 Kreševljaković, *Esnafi i Obrti u Bosni*, p. 63.

19 Kreševljaković, *Esnafi i Obrti u Bosni*, p. 63.

20 Gerber, *Economy and Society*, p. 41, footnote 42. '*Baş*(*ın*)*a çıkmak*'– 'to accomplish, to succeed', and '*baş*(*ın*)*a* (*çırağı*) *çıkarmak*' – 'to bring to a successful conclusion, specifically, to turn out an apprentice as a skilled journeyman', seems to have been a common expression used in reference to an apprentice's completion of his training and his upgrading to a journeyman, and is found, for instance, in the *fütüvvetname* of Sarajevo tailors examined above (Gerber, however, on the two occasions on which he mentions the name of the ceremony, calls it '*başka çıkmak*'). '*Revan*(*e*) *olmak*' – 'to go, to pass', and '*revan*(*e*) *etmek*' – 'to make or let go, pass', seems to be another expression used in the same context (see the Travnik *fütüvvetname* examined earlier).

21 Baer, Turkish Guilds, p. 47.

as will be seen shortly, the primary reason for organising these kinds of excursions was to perform the yearly *kuşanmas*, one is led to the conclusion that the Seres outings too must have been occasioned by the annual promotions of apprentices and journeymen or at least included them on their agendas. The fact that these ceremonies were indeed performed in Seres, and that therefore there are sources containing information on them, is confirmed by the following statement by Baer, later on in the same section:

> In Seres the ceremony of transition to the rank of master included a sermon delivered by the *kahya* to the candidate in which the commendable qualities required of a master were enumerated: faithfulness, integrity, respect to guild masters and members and to customers, honesty, consideration of other people's interests, obedience to the sovereign, veneration of the *ulema*, kindness to other people, love of children, helpfulness, and the consideration of apprentices and journeymen as the master's children.[22]

It thus seems reasonable to conclude that this important *futuwwa* ceremony must have been practiced, with, of course, some degree of variation in terms of its format and content, in various parts of the Ottoman Empire, and that more in-depth examination of the sources regarding the *kuşanma* would perhaps yield more information on the ceremony itself, as well as provide some valuable insights into the social life of the guilds in question and the region in general, and, crucially, provide further evidence with regard to the link between the guilds and dervish orders.[23] The information available on *kuşanma* ceremonies in Bosnia confirms this.

As already briefly mentioned above, the *kuşanma* ceremonies in Bosnia were performed on *esnaf* excursions (*teferrüç*, Bos. *teferič*), held mostly in the countryside and sometimes in large town gardens, and were in fact the sole reason for organising these excursions. This is evident first and foremost from the *esnaf defters*, which were composed immediately after each excursion in order to register all new masters and *kalfas* who had just been girded.[24] The *defters* thus usually consisted of a brief outline of the excursion in question and then an updated list of the *esnaf* membership including all newly promoted *kalfas* and apprentices,[25] but some also contained the excursion's expenditure reports and

22 Baer, Turkish Guilds, pp. 48–49.

23 As is evident, for example, from Gerber's information on Bursa *kuşanmas* held in a *tekke* (see note 20 above).

24 Krešević, *Esnafi i Obrti u Bosni*, pp. 68–71.

25 See, for instance, the 1819 *defter* of the *kazazs*' (silk-carders) *esnaf*, Gazi Husrev-begova Biblioteka, Sarajevo, A-1742/TO.

accounts of various important events concerning the *esnaf*.[26] Further evidence that the *esnaf* excursions were organised for the purpose of carrying out the *kuşanmas* is found in contemporary chronicles, which very often provide detailed descriptions of the excursions and are thus also a good source of information on their significance in the social life of Bosnian guilds and town life in general.[27] From them, we find out that the *kuşanma* outings of Bosnian *esnafs* were important social occasions for the town in which they were organised, since they were open to all and it was the host's duty to make sure that whoever came to the festivity was shown hospitality and was appropriately served with food and drink. Obviously, the exact number of people to be accommodated at a given festivity would have been very hard to determine in advance, so the replenishment of supplies during the festivity must have been a regular occurrence. This is evident from some expenditure lists which contain several entries for certain items, indicating that at some time during the festivity the organisers had run out of the items in question and had to bring in new supplies.[28] *Kuşanma* ceremonies of smaller *esnafs* tended to last between one and two days, whereas those of larger or more affluent *esnafs*, such as those of the tanners, for instance, could last as long as nine days, during which the entire trading quarter of the given *esnaf* would be closed for business. Apart from food and drink, the guests were also provided with various amusements – some of them as extravagant as cannon fire and fireworks – the quantity and quality of which again depended on the size and the wealth of the host *esnaf*. The outings would normally begin with the *kuşanma* ceremony itself, when as many as several hundreds of new *kalfas* would be girded (the number of masters was naturally always smaller and sometimes there were no new masters at all); the reciting of a *dua* at the end of the ceremony signalled the commencement of the celebrations with food, drink, music and dance, all of which would continue for several days and nights.

The information available on Bosnian *kuşanmas*, apart from demonstrating the importance of this *futuwwa* ceremony within Bosnian *esnafs* and its role in the preservation of *futuwwa* principles among Bosnian craftsmen, also provides important evidence of the practical connection between the *esnafs*

26 This was the case with the lost *defter* of the *kazancıs*' (cauldron-makers) *esnaf* from the 17th century (see Kreševljaković, *Esnafi i Obrti u Bosni*, p. 70).

27 A good example of this is the chronicle of Molla Mustafa Başeski: Mula-Mustafa Ševki Bašeskija, *Ljetopis 1746–1804*, Sarajevo, 1987.

28 An example of this can be seen in the expenditure list for one of the *kuşanma* excursions organised by the *kazazs*' (silk-carders) *esnaf* in 1819, where some items on the list, such as rice, honey, oil and prunes, are mentioned twice with each of the second entries being preceded by the word 'more', indicating that the amounts initially provided were insufficient and more had to be supplemented during the festivity (Gazi Husrev-begova Biblioteka, Sarajevo, A-3197/TO).

and dervish orders. This is because there are many instances in which a *tekke* or its immediate surroundings can be identified as the location in which the *kuşanma* festivities took place.

Thus, one Sarajevo *tekke*, Sheikh Ali's Tekke in Kovačići, seems to have played a particularly important role in *esnaf kuşanmas* and was linked with more than one *esnaf*. According to the 18th-century chronicler Başeski, Sheikh Ali's Tekke was the location of the *kuşanma* excursion of the horsehair weavers' (Bos. *mutabdžija*) *esnaf* on the 26th of August 1777, a function at which Başeski himself was employed as a scribe.[29] On the 6th of October 1776, the barbers too held their *kuşanma* at Sheikh Ali's Tekke, although only after a quarrel with the local residents, who apparently wanted the arrangements for the excursion to be made with them too and not only with the sheikh of the *tekke*, a certain Hajji Mehmed Berba. Some of Başeski's comments with regard to this particular outing, apart from showing his dissatisfaction with the organisers for allowing the quarrel to arise in the first place, also provide further proof that the *esnaf* excursions were organised solely in order to carry out the upgrading of apprentices and *kalfas*:

> The barbers organised a *kuşanma*, in spite of the weather not being favourable for an excursion, and the number of [new] *kalfas* being very small indeed, such that they exerted too much [unnecessary] effort in organising this excursion.[30]

Apart from the explicit mentions of the *tekke*, its surroundings too are mentioned in relation to *kuşanmas*: on the 23rd of August 1778 the blacksmiths held a *kuşanma* excursion in Kovačići,[31] and the same location is mentioned as the place of the grocers' *kuşanma* on the 14th of July 1797.[32]

Another dervish centre with strong links with *esnafs* and *kuşanmas* in Sarajevo was the Mevlevi Tekke in an area called Šehova (Sheikh's) Korija (Fig. 22, 23, 24).[33] In his chronicle, Başeski describes a *kuşanma* outing by the saddlers' (*saraç*, Bos. *sarač*) *esnaf* held from 20-27th of September 1777 in a

29 Bašeskija, *Ljetopis*, p. 154.

30 Bašeskija, *Ljetopis*, p. 146.

31 Interestingly, 'Kovačići', which is still the name of this Sarajevo neighbourhood, is a diminutive of 'kovači' – 'blacksmiths', while 'Kovači' is the name of another neighbourhood, that of the area in the old town which used to house the blacksmiths' trading quarters. See Figures 19 and 35.

32 Kreševljaković, *Esnafi i Obrti u Bosni*, p. 65.

33 Because of its vicinity to the location of Isa-bey's Tekke, this *tekke* is often identified with Isa-bey's, but in fact most probably lay a mile or so upstream from the latter. For more on this issue, see the discussion of Isa-Bey's Tekke in Chapter 2, and also Aščerić, Neke napomene o problemima iz historije Isa-begove tekije.

place called Korija.[34] The location of the outing, the area on the left bank of the river Miljacka below the *türbe* of Sultan Dervish Ahmed and Abdal Mahmut, better known as the Mevlevi Türbe,[35] means that the saddlers' *kuşanma* took place in the immediate vicinity of the Mevlevi Tekke. This concurs with one of the five surviving *defters* of the saddlers' *esnaf*, according to which that year's *kuşanma* took place in the last ten days of the month of Shaʿbān (*māh-i shaʿbān-il-muʿaẓẓam-in ʿashr-i ākhir-inde*) in the Mevlevi garden (*Mevleviler bahçesinde*), in other words, the garden of the Mevlevi Tekke.[36] In fact, out of the six *kuşanmas* mentioned in the five *defters*, four were held in this *tekke*'s garden (in 1745, 1750, 1777 and 1797). This information alone is a sufficient indicator of the existence of a special relationship between Sarajevo's saddlers and the Mevlevi order of dervishes. However, the *defters* in question provide even more valuable information to this effect. Many of the persons listed in them are clearly identified as belonging to the Mevlevi order since they have the designation 'Mevlevi' after their name and, occasionally, the title of 'Dervish' before it, as illustrated, for example, by the entries for Master Mehmed Mevlevi and Dervish Ahmed Mevlevi, both of whom are examples of masters from the 1726 defter.[37] Moreover, some members of the *esnaf* administration, who verified and signed the *defters*, are also designated as dervishes. Thus, the first and main signatory of the 1726 *defter* is a certain Sheikh Hajji Mahmut Saraç, who was evidently the *esnaf kethüda* at the time, given that the first signature in all other *defters* is reserved for the *kethüda* and that there is no other signature here indicating this function.[38] In the appendix to the same *defter*, added in 1745 after another *kuşanma*, the signatories include Dervish Ahmed Mevlevi, who is identified as the *yığıtbaşı* at the time, and Dervish Ömer, who bears the title of '*ihtiyar*' (elder).[39] In 1750, the *kethüda* was once again a dervish, who signed his name at the top of the signature list as 'the humble (*al-ḥaqīr*) dervish Ahmed – the *kethüda*'.[40]

34 Bašeskija, *Ljetopis*, p. 155.

35 Mujezinović, Musafirhana i tekija, p. 247.

36 All five *defters* were published in Rašid Hajdarević, *Defteri Sarajevskog saračkog esnafa 1726–1823* (*prevod*), Sarajevo, 1998. This quote is from p. 64.

37 Hajdarević, *Defteri*, pp. 29–30. Upon a closer examination of the *defter*s, it appears that it is the masters alone who are given these designations, which could of course mean that all those registered as 'belonging to them' (*tābiʿ*) were also dervishes and were not designated as such because that was considered to be implicit in the context.

38 Hajdarević, *Defteri*, p. 42.

39 Hajdarević, *Defteri*, p. 43.

40 Hajdarević, *Defteri*, p. 61.

Thus, the evidence regarding the practical application of the *futuwwa* principles expressed in the *fütüvvetnames* and related *esnaf* documents clearly shows that, certainly as far as Bosnia is concerned, these documents cannot be regarded as solely theoretical treatises without any bearing on the practical functioning of the *esnafs*, and that these principles were very much alive among the craftsmen, influencing their business as well as their personal conduct. The *futuwwa* elements present in the *esnafs* clearly shaped and conditioned the *esnaf* system to a very large extent and hence cannot be disregarded in any discussion of guilds and guild life throughout the Ottoman period. Moreover, evidence also shows that the arguments proposed in the past about the link between the Ottoman *esnafs* and dervish orders are certainly not unfounded as has been suggested in recent times, especially in Western scholarship,[41] regardless of whether this link is held to be the result of the *futuwwa* tradition or not.

FIGURE 22 *Šehova Korija on the bank of the river Miljacka. Located a mile or so upstream from Isa-Bey's Tekke, Šehova Korija was the location of many outings and* kuşanma *ceremonies of Sarajevo* esnafs*, some of which would last for several days and nights. The area is traditionally linked with the Mevlevi order of dervishes, and there are many indications that the Mevlevi Tekke, mentioned in relation to this location, is not, as is very often assumed in secondary literature, Isa-bey's Tekke, but that there was in fact another, possibly larger building and centre of Mevlevi gatherings there, which later disappeared. This is made more plausible by the fact that the area also housed a Mevlevi türbe and a dervish meditation cave* (*For more on this issue see Aščerić, Neke napomene o problemima iz historije Isa-begove tekije.*)

41 See the discussion at the start of Chapter 4.

FIGURE 23 *The dervish cave in Šehova Korija. The cave was presumably used for retreat* (khalwa) *and meditation exercises. The cave had long fallen into neglect, but has recently been recognised as an important part of Sarajevo's cultural heritage, and has been placed under protection as a historical monument.*

FIGURE 24 *The door recently fitted to the dervish cave in Šehova Korija, as part of the project for its protection as a historical monument.*

CHAPTER 7

The Akhi-Baba

It has already been suggested that another question closely related to the issue of the religious character of the guilds and one which is important in determining some of its aspects is that of the function of the Akhi-baba. At the same time, the role and influence of the Akhi-baba also has a bearing on the question of the extent of the guilds' autonomy with regard to the state, since a strong role on the part of the Akhi-baba in a given guild or region indicates a firmer adherence to the traditional *futuwwa* principles of organisation and thus a stronger level of autonomy, and, as a consequence, implies less state control over the guild's internal affairs. This being the case, the discussion here would not be complete without at least a brief address of this question.

Although some aspects of the Akhi-baba's function have already been mentioned in the course of this study, they nevertheless need to be placed in a wider context in order to determine the importance of the Akhi-baba and the extent of his role in general and in Bosnia in particular. In order to do this, the first, and probably the most important, task is to determine the nature of the Akhi-baba's role. This is all the more necessary given that even a casual glance at the literature dealing with the subject indicates that this question is far from being as clear-cut as one might hope. Although most of those who discuss the function of the Akhi-baba in one context or another seem to agree on the fact that the original and main usage of this title is connected with the sheikh of the Kırşehir Tekke, the wide and somewhat confusing range of its applications beyond the original one is a cause of no little inconsistency in its interpretation. Thus, for instance, in her article about Bosnian *esnafs*, Gadžo on several occasions equates the secondary, local function of 'Akhi-baba', i.e. the representative of the Kırşehir Akhi-baba, with that of the guilds' *kethüda*.[1] Elsewhere, the question of a "duplication of functions" with regard to the title of Akhi-baba is raised, seemingly referring to the problem of differentiating between the role and function of the head of the guild, the sheikh, and the function of '*shaykh al-mashāyikh*' or Akhi-baba.[2] In the same work, another problem with regard to understanding the role of the Akhi-baba appears, this time in the context of the tanners' *esnafs*, and can be illustrated by the following question put by the author:

1 See Gadžo, Veza esnafa u Bosni.

2 See Cohen, *Guilds of Ottoman Jerusalem*, pp. 192–193.

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> Was the close relationship, possibly the intrinsic link, that existed between the holder of the office of *akhi baba* and the most senior of the tanners only a Jerusalem phenomenon, or was it perceptible in other Syrian (*sic.*) towns at that time?[3]

Thus, the Jerusalem sources indicate that it was mainly the members of the tanners' *esnaf* who were elected to the function of Akhi-baba, and although the author later finds that this was also the case with other towns in the province, he concludes that these findings must indicate the growing importance of the tanners in Jerusalem and these other towns.[4] In other words, he sees the choice of tanners for the position of Akhi-baba as a *result*, rather than a *cause*, of the (seemingly increasing) importance of this guild among other Jerusalem *esnafs*.

A better understanding of the causes of these problems regarding the function of Akhi-baba can perhaps be gained by considering Taeschner's definition of this title in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, which, in spite of some omissions later in the same article, is still probably the best and most accurate definition of the function of Akhi-baba available to date:

> Akhi Baba, in popular parlance also Ahu Baba or Ehi Baba, title of the shaykh of the tekye of Akhi Ewran in Kirshehir. Sometimes also his delegates to the Turkish guilds in Anatolia, Rumelia and Bosnia, especially those of the tanners and other leather workers (saddlers and shoemakers[5]), as well as the heads of these guilds, were given the title of Akhi Baba (more correctly *Akhi Baba wekili*).[6]

What this definition tells us, therefore, is that Akhi-baba was first and foremost the title of the sheikh of the Kırşehir Tekke, which, whether or not one decides to accept the tradition associated with it – according to which the *tekke* was founded by the tanners' patron-saint Ahi Evren, himself a

3 Cohen, *Guilds of Ottoman Jerusalem*, p. 91. Even at first sight, and without going into any detailed consideration of this problem, this seems a rather unusual question to pose, given that 'Akhi-baba' is a tanners' term, namely, the title of the sheikh of the tanners' central lodge in Kırşehir, and that, therefore, the link between the office of the Akhi-baba and the tanners is unquestionably an intrinsic one. The special position of the tanners within the Akhi tradition in general is well illustrated, for instance, in Evliya Çelebi's description of Istanbul guilds, where he uses the terms '*debbâğân*' and '*âhiyân*' interchangeably; Evliya, *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, p. 322.

4 Cohen, *Guilds of Ottoman Jerusalem*, p. 93.

5 See note 6 in Chapter 6.

6 Taeschner, Akhi Baba, p. 323.

tanner –, nevertheless retained its status as the main chapter (*ocak*) of the tanners' *esnafs* of the Ottoman Empire right up until the dissolution of the guild system.[7] Secondly, the sheikh's representatives in different areas of the Empire were also called Akhi-babas;[8] and thirdly, in addition to the main local Akhi-baba, the heads of the tanners' and related guilds sometimes carried the same title.[9]

Examples of the primary function of Akhi-baba, namely that of the sheikh of the Kırşehir Tekke and the main supervisor of the tanners' *esnafs*, can be found in most of our *fütüvvetname* documents. Thus, the 1656 *şecerename* was composed in Kırşehir by Sheikh Ömer, "the supervisor of the *tabaks*,"[10] and the two *fütüvvetnames* from 1819 were both issued by Sheikh Ömer ibn Ahi Evren ibn Abbas Ekber, during his visit to *esnafs* in Bosnia.[11] One of these documents also provides us with an example of the Akhi-baba's appointed local representative: Kürkçü-zade Molla Ibrahim was appointed as the Akhi-baba's representative and overall supervisor of the Sarajevo *esnafs* of tailors, merchants and other related crafts.[12] Another even clearer example of this function is found in an *icazetname* issued in 1888 during the last ever visit of an Akhi-baba to Bosnia. The document was issued by the then sheikh of the Kırşehir Tekke, Mustafa Şukri, for the purpose of appointing Hajji Abdullah Efendi Saračević as the sheikh's representative in Sarajevo and supervisor of *all* Sarajevo *esnafs*.[13] Other examples include the mention in 1639 of Akhi-baba Nurullah as the Akhi-baba's representative in Tešanj, in 1633 Hüseyin Akhi-baba in Mostar, in 1708 Akhi-baba Sayyid Mensur in Sarajevo, and in 1811 Akhi-baba Molla Bekir in Visoko.[14]

Interestingly, while the evidence on the presence of the primary and secondary functions of the Akhi-baba in Bosnia is relatively extensive, Bosnian documents do not seem to provide any examples of the third application of this title. In other words, there does not seem to be any explicit mention of the use of the title Akhi-baba for heads of the tanners' or other guilds. This seems somewhat surprising given that the Bosnian sources on the guilds appear to be, if anything, even more exhaustive than those for other regions. One possible

7 For more information on Ahi Evren and the Kırşehir Tekke see Franz Taeschner, "Akhi Ewran," *EI²*, pp. 324–325; Bayram, *Tasavvufi Düşüncenin Esasları*; Sucu, *Ahi Ocakları*; Ahmet Ceran, *Şeyh Sadruddin Konevi*, Konya, 1995.

8 Kreševljaković, *Esnafi i Obrti u Bosni*, p. 52.

9 Faroqhi, *Towns and Townsmen*, p. 156.

10 Oriental Institute in Sarajevo, Inventar ANUBiH, Br. 174.

11 Sarajevo Historical Archives, ZAT-227, Gazi Husrev-begova Biblioteka, Sarajevo, A-3738.

12 See the *fütüvvetname* of Sarajevo tailors examined in Chapter 5.

13 Kreševljaković, *Esnafi i Obrti u Bosni*, p. 53; Gadžo, Veza esnafa u Bosni, pp. 161–162.

14 Gadžo, Veza esnafa u Bosni, p. 119.

explanation for this could perhaps be found by considering more closely those examples that do appear to contain information on this usage of the title of Akhi-baba. One of them is provided by Faroqhi, who tells us that in certain documents from the 15th and 16th centuries the heads of the Istanbul and Manisa tanners' guilds were called Akhi-babas, while in the records from later periods, namely from the 18th and 19th centuries, this title was applied to "guild functionaries supervised by the sheikh of the Kırşehir Tekke."[15] Situations similar to this one have also been observed in Jerusalem, where we are told that in 1677 the head of the tanners' guild was called Akhi-baba, while ten years later the Akhi-baba and the head of the guild were two separate persons.[16]

Now, although the supervision rights of the Kırşehir Akhi-baba, and therefore also those of his local representatives, gradually extended to other guilds, such that by the 19th century the Akhi-babas supervised all guilds in a given town or region,[17] it should nevertheless be borne in mind that, as has been pointed out on many occasions thus far, these rights were primarily concerned with the tanners' *esnafs* and initially applied to them alone. Thus, even when the supervision rights were extended to other guilds, the position of the local Akhi-baba remained closely linked to the tanners. In fact, even though, in theory, the local Akhi-babas did not have to be tanners, nor indeed craftsmen, and any notable personage could be elected to this position,[18] evidence suggests that in practice these Akhi-babas were regularly connected with the tanners' craft in one way or another. This is evident in the two Bosnian examples mentioned earlier: in the case of the appointment of Kürkçü-zade Molla Ibrahim, although the *icazetname* does not make it clear which *esnaf* he belonged to, and the context even allows that this could have been the tailors' or merchants' *esnaf*, his name (the son of the furrier) nevertheless suggests that he himself came from a family line which may have had links with the tanners' *esnaf*; similarly, Hajji Abdullah Efendi Saračević, the appointed supervisor of all Sarajevo *esnafs*, came, as his name suggests (the son of the saddler), from a family of craftsmen closely related to the tanners.

15 Faroqhi, *Towns and Townsmen*, p. 156.

16 Cohen, *Guilds of Ottoman Jerusalem*, p. 86.

17 Taeschner, Akhi Baba, p. 323. The main omission of this article is in fact in reference to this point, since we are told that the Akhi-babas "brought under their control almost the whole Turkish guild organization, both in Anatolia and the European provinces (but not, however, in the provinces with Arab population)...," whereas, as has been seen, there is evidence of Jerusalem's and the guilds in other Arab towns also being under the auspices of the Akhi-baba.

18 Taeschner, Akhi Baba, p. 324; Kreševljaković, *Esnafi i Obrti u Bosni*, p. 52.

Thus, looked at from this angle, it seems fairly plausible that the third use of the title Akhi-baba did not in fact exist at all, or at least not as it appears to have done, and that, in effect, there were never more than two functions in question: one being the Kırşehir Akhi-baba and the other his representative in a given town, this latter being identical with the head of the tanners' guild at the time when the Akhi-baba's authority covered only the tanners. However, when this authority extended to other guilds, the two functions necessarily became separate and thus more easily distinguishable. This explanation makes matters much simpler and accounts for the problems that arise with regard to the understanding of the function of the Akhi-baba: it explains, for instance, why the local Akhi-baba is sometimes taken to be the same person as the *kethüda*, as is the case with Gadžo, or, as in the case of Jerusalem guilds, why it is sometimes difficult to make a clear distinction between the roles and responsibilities of the two. Finally, it also clarifies Cohen's observations, mentioned above, with regard to the supremacy of Jerusalem tanners over other guilds: for although, as has been pointed out, the conclusion that the tanners were superior to other guilds certainly stands, the fact that there too the local Akhi-babas were regularly elected from among the tanners can now be seen simply as a legacy of the time when the heads of the tanners' *esnafs* were also serving as the Akhi-baba's local representatives.

The question of the importance of the tanners' guilds, which arises in the context of the discussion of the guilds in Jerusalem, has wider implications, for even if one decides to ignore the traditions relating to the Kırşehir Tekke and its first tanner and patron-saint Ahi Evren, the fact remains that the craft of tanning, and therefore the tanners' guilds too, had a special position among other crafts in the Ottoman Empire. Whether this was due to the particular links that existed between the tanners and the predecessors of Ottoman guilds, the Akhi corporations, or simply because tanning was the natural original craft in a Muslim society, this special position of the tanners is evident in more than one aspect.

The most obvious of these, as we have seen, is the fact that the authority of the tanners' spiritual supervisor, the Akhi-baba, extended to other crafts, with the latter accepting this authority and thereby acknowledging the validity of the rules and regulations issued by the tanners' craft. The question of precisely when this extension of the Akhi-baba's supervision rights took place cannot be determined with certainty and is still a matter of discussion. In fact, this applies not only to the supervision rights over other crafts, but even those over Ottoman tanners other than those in Kırşehir. Thus, it has been suggested that it was only in the 18th century that the Akhi-baba's authority extended to other Ottoman tanners, and that no 16th or 17th-century documents "show any evidence of an

organization embracing, at least on paper, all the tanners active in the cities of Anatolia and the Balkans."[19] In the light of everything said so far, however, both of these suggestions can be adjusted: firstly, as argued just above, the title of Akhi-baba in the 15th and 16th centuries in Anatolia most probably, and in the 17th century in Jerusalem almost certainly referred to the Akhi-baba's representatives in those towns (and not simply to the tanners' *kethüda*), and there are many instances of the Akhi-baba's representative being mentioned in Bosnia in the 17th century.[20] Secondly, the Bosnian *şecerename* from 1656 certainly provides at least theoretical evidence of the Akhi-baba's authority extending not only to the tanners of Anatolia and the Balkans, but of the entire Ottoman Empire: the section of the document which outlines the rights of the Kırşehir Tekke sheikhs to supervise the tanners throughout the Empire states that this right applies to the tanners' *esnafs* "in Mecca, Medina, Shām, Baghdad, Gülşehir, Istanbul, and in all the provinces and lands (*wa fī jamīʿ al-nawāḥī wa 'l-buldān*)."[21] Furthermore, the *şecerename* also contains information about the extension of the Akhi-baba's authority over other crafts: in the context of the story about Ahi Evren, we are told that it was the Prophet who ordained that the successors of his uncle ʿAbbās, the first of these being Ahi Evren, should be in charge of 32 *esnafs* in order to make sure that they function according to the principles of *sharīʿa*, *ṭarīqa*, *ḥaqīqa* and *maʿrifa*.[22] Later on in the document, it is claimed that the imperial decrees award to the sheikhs of the Kırşehir Tekke authority over 86 crafts, and give them the right to govern the appointments and dismissals of their elders. Thus, it would appear that the Akhi-babas extended their supervising role to at least some other crafts already sometime in the 17th century,[23] and there is every reason to believe that the supervision of other tanners' *esnafs* dates from a much earlier period.

The tanners' *şecerename* is also another indicator of the special position of the tanners in relation to other Ottoman crafts. This is because their possession of this original and most elaborate *esnaf* manual indicates their role as the model of Ottoman professional guild organisation, nevertheless based on the *futuwwa* tradition.

19 Faroqhi, *Towns and Townsmen*, pp. 156–157.

20 To this can also be added Evliya Çelebi's mention of the Akhi-baba in relation to the tanners of Istanbul in the 17th century; see Evliya, *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, p. 322.

21 Oriental Institute in Sarajevo, Inventar ANUBiH, Br. 174, fol. 8.

22 For an explanation of these principles see Chapter 5.

23 This is further supported by evidence from Syria, where in the 17th century the Akhi-baba – who was present in different towns in the region, including Aleppo, Damascus and Tripoli – was in the town of Tripoli also entitled '*shaykh al-sabʿa*', i.e. 'the sheikh of the seven guilds' (Wilkins, *Forging Urban Solidarities*, pp. 249–250).

FIGURE 25 *Sarajevo's Tabački Mesdžid (the tanners' mosque). Although refurbished and redecorated on many occasions since it was built in 1591, Sarajevo's Tabački Mesdžid is still very much the same today. It is situated in the back of Tabaci, the tanners' street, on the right bank of the river Miljacka (see Fig. 19). Just like the tanneries used to be separate from other crafts' quarters, partly because of their need to be located near water, but mainly because of the bad smell they produced, so did the tanners usually have to have a separate mosque for their own needs, as the odour of their clothes would offend other worshippers in an ordinary mosque.*

FIGURE 26 *Tabaci, Sarajevo's tanners' street. The tanner's street stretches along the right bank of the river Miljacka on the southern edge of the city's old trading quarter (*çarşı*) and used to house tanneries and tanners' shops. As mentioned above, tanneries and tanners' quarters were usually separate from other crafts, because of the nature of the tanning process which produced bad smell, and, since closeness to water was also useful, they were often situated by a river, as is the case here.*

The main conclusions to be drawn about the function of the Akhi-baba and his role among Ottoman guilds can therefore be outlined as follows: the main bearers of this title, the sheikhs of the Kırşehir Tekke, were originally and primarily the supervisors of the tanners' *esnafs* (initially, of course, only in Kıreşehir and neighbouring regions but, as the Ottoman Empire expanded, in an increasingly widening area); the Kırşehir Akhi-babas carried out their supervising role through their representatives, the local Akhi-babas, a function which until the extension of this role beyond the tanners' craft seems, at least in some areas, to have been performed by the heads of the tanners' guilds and subsequently continued to be the privilege of the tanners in one way or another; already by the 17th century, the Akhi-babas' authority covered the tanners' *esnafs* in Anatolia, the Balkans and the Arab provinces, and sometime in that century it extended to other crafts; although primarily a religious role, with the main aim being that of ensuring the observance of *futuwwa* principles among the craftsmen, the function of the Akhi-baba was not merely an honorary one, but was applied in practice, as evident not only in *esnaf* ceremonies and rituals, but also in the Akhi-babas' role in the guilds' practical business matters, such as election of *esnaf* elders, *esnaf* disputes and punishments, control of quality of products and division of raw materials.

As for the question of the strength of the Akhi-baba's role in different periods of time, the problem can be viewed from different aspects and depending on this, different conclusions can be drawn. From one point of view, the fact that the Akhi-baba's role gradually extended from the Kırşehir tanners to all tanners of the Ottoman Empire and, eventually, to other crafts can be seen as evidence of the increase of the Akhi-baba's authority over time. Moreover, the relative increase in later periods, namely the 18th and 19th centuries, in the amount of sources providing information on the Akhi-baba's role has been seen as evidence of the increase of this role in those periods.[24] Up to an extent, the Bosnian evidence is in agreement with this view: the most numerous documents containing information on the Akhi-baba are from later periods, and apart from the two 1819 *fütüvvetnames* analysed above, also include two *fermans* confirming the Akhi-baba's authority, issued prior to his 1819 visit to Bosnia and recorded in the Sarajevo *sicil* during this visit,[25] as well as the 1888 *icazetname* issued during the Akhi-baba's last visit to Bosnia. However, as we have seen, the Bosnian documents containing evidence on the presence of the Akhi-baba and his role in Bosnia, are not limited to these later ones and there is evidence to suggest that the function of the local Akhi-baba may have existed

24 Faroqhi, *Towns and Townsmen*, p. 156.

25 Gazi Husrev-begova Biblioteka, Sarajevo, sicil No. 60.

in Bosnia as early as the 16th century. Furthermore, the 17th-century *şecerename* clearly shows that already at that time the Akhi-baba had in Bosnia the kind of influence that has been suggested to have existed in other areas only in the 18th or 19th centuries, namely the influence characterised by the existence of the Akhi-baba's right to a share of the *esnafs*' income – which, by the way, according to the *şecerename* and some other documents,[26] was to be collected as a portion of the *esnaf*'s raw material only, and not in money – for the maintenance of the Kırşehir Tekke and its role as a *misafirhane* and the central chapter of the tanners. This being the case, it is difficult to imagine how such a role of the Akhi-baba could have become any stronger in subsequent periods, as is suggested by the view mentioned above. Thus, the situation presented by the Bosnian evidence indicates the possibility of a different explanation with regard to the apparent increase in the number of sources confirming the Akhi-baba's authority in the later periods. Apart from the most obvious and simplest explanation, namely that it is only to be expected that the number of preserved sources would be greater in the case of those from the later periods, the relative absence of official documents from the earlier periods containing confirmation of the Akhi-baba's authority could also be explained by the fact, pointed out earlier, that, at least as far as Bosnia is concerned, the guilds' principal way of conduct was to carry out its business as independently from the government as possible and to strive not to involve the official authorities in its matters unless absolutely necessary. This would thus mean that there was less need for such documents at the time when the guild organisation was functioning more smoothly, the guild rules and regulations were strictly observed, and every-day guild matters, including those concerning the rights of the Akhi-baba, were dealt with internally. Consequently, the existence of those 19th-century documents from Bosnia could in fact be interpreted as indicating the weakening, rather than strengthening, of the Akhi-baba's role in Bosnia at that time. There are two main considerations which can be put forward in support of this view: firstly, the evidence clearly shows that the Akhi-baba's role as the practical supervisor of Bosnian *esnafs* was by the 17th century already well established and was fully enforced, which means that there was no realistic way in which this role could have increased further and beyond the

26 Such as a record from the Sarajevo court from 1708, about a dispute between the tanners' *esnaf* and the Sarajevo Akhi-baba, who, according to the record, appeared to have asked for his share in money, a demand which the court ruled to have been unfounded and contrary to 'the old custom', according to which the Akhi-baba's share had always been given to him during divisions of raw materials (Kreševljaković, *Esnafi i Obrti u Bosni*, pp. 53–54.).

format which it already had; secondly, the nature of the Bosnian 19th century documents, especially that of the two *fermans* recorded in 1819 and issued in order to re-enforce the Akhi-baba's rights, indicates that these rights may have been jeopardised in some way, which is why the Akhi-baba at the time insisted on, firstly, bringing these *fermans* with him, and secondly, recording their contents in the local *sicil*. Thus, the Akhi-baba's right to supervise Bosnian *esnafs* and collect the customary portion of their goods, which until the 19th century seems to have been observed without any major disputes, may now have been challenged in some way, which is what prompted the issuing of the *fermans* in question.

Clearly, it would be unjustified to consider the role of the Akhi-baba simply in terms of increasing or decreasing with time: although at first the strength of this role seems to be on the increase inasmuch as the scope of supervision expanded, the view that the Akhi-baba's rights were until sometime in the 18th or 19th century purely honorific, and only then became practically enforced, is, as far as the evidence shows, equally unjustified; furthermore, while the evidence for Bosnia shows that the Akhi-baba's rights were in force already by the 17th century, it also indicates that at the beginning of the 19th these rights may have weakened, only to be in full force again by the end of the same century.

CHAPTER 8

The Guilds and the State

The question of the relationship between the guilds and the state seems to have produced an even wider gap between the views of the researchers than that which exsists with regard to the religious character of the guilds, and one can differentiate two almost diametrically opposed opinions on the matter. On the one hand, there are those who consider Ottoman guilds to have been substantially independent organisations, self-governed according to their own internal rules and regulations with the aim of protecting their members' interests from those outside the guild and even the government itself.[1] On the other, it has been suggested that not only were the guilds completely dependent upon and under the strictest authority of the central administration, but they were in fact established by the government in order to supervise and control the craftsmen.[2] Obviously, this question is closely related to the issue of the religious nature of the guild organisation. For, if the latter view were accurate and the guilds were merely a government instrument for the purposes of supervision and taxation of the craftsmen, then the religious aspects of the guilds' organisation, to whatever extent they may have been present, would not have had a substantial effect on the functioning of the guilds. Conversely, a firmer link of the guilds with the religious and ethical principles of *futuwwa* and with dervish orders, and a stronger religious organisation through the authority of the Akhi-baba, would indicate a significant level of autonomy and preclude the possibility of the guilds simply being a government measure for controlling the urban economy.

As in the case of the downplaying of the religious character of the guilds, one of the best representatives of the view which proposes that the Ottoman guilds were in effect a government tool for supervision and control of craftsmen is, again, Gabriel Baer, and his standpoint on this issue can be illustrated by one of his conclusions to his article on Ottoman guilds mentioned earlier:

> This study of the various functions performed by Turkish guilds in the course of about three centuries shows clearly that the guild system was closely connected with the government. One of its principal *raisons d'être* was to serve as an administrative link between the ruling institution and

1 Faroqhi, Crisis and Change, pp. 586–587; Gerber, *Economy and Society*, pp. 38–45.

2 Baer, Turkish Guilds, pp. 49–50.

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> the town population and as a means of supervision and control of this population by the rulers.[3]

Just like Baer's other views on the subject, this one too appears to have affected some subsequent studies of Ottoman guilds to the extent that even when their sources clearly do not support this view, they nevertheless refuse to abandon it altogether. An example of this influence can be found in Cohen's study on Jerusalem guilds, where the question of the guilds' being a government instrument is the starting point for the entire study, and when almost all criteria taken as relevant to answering this question, such as guild administration and officials, the presence of the Akhi-baba, and crucially, the role of the *kadi* in guild internal matters, seem to point in the opposite direction, the conclusion reached at the end of the study is a kind of compromise between Baer's view and the sources at hand.[4]

Another problem with Baer's view, however, is the fact that even his own sources, used as examples in his study and examined according to his own criteria, do not seem conclusively to prove his thesis. Thus, for instance, his claim that the head of the guild, the *kethüda*, was the agent of the government is based on the various examples in which *kethüdas* conveyed to the members of their guilds certain government demands regarding production of goods. At the same time, however, he mentions examples of the *kethüdas* making complaints to the government on behalf of their guilds, an action clearly at odds with his claim that they were government agents (if they were, they would not have represented the guilds' side in these instances).[5] Similarly, the guilds' control of the quality of products is used to illustrate their role as government instruments for supervising the economy, in other words, this activity is seen as a task imposed on the guilds by the government, rather than one of the intrinsic roles played by the guilds in general. However, the examples cited as a proof to this claim, if anything, show that the opposite was the case: the complaints regarding the quality of products and raw materials brought in front of the *kadi* by the guilds' administration show that it was the guilds in question, and not the *kadi*, who were concerned with the issue.[6] Nevertheless, Baer concludes that the guilds were not allowed to take any measures themselves against those who committed malpractices and were

3 Baer, Turkish Guilds, p. 49.

4 Cohen, *Guilds of Ottoman Jerusalem*, pp. 184–201.

5 Baer, Turkish Guilds, pp. 33–35.

6 Baer, Turkish Guilds, pp. 36–38.

simply charged with denouncing them to the government.[7] Even if this were the case with certain offences and certain guilds, any generalisation to this effect is unjustified, as even Baer himself shows: first he claims that as a rule it was the government, through the function of the local *kadi*, and not the guilds themselves, who was in charge of punishing craftsmen for economic offences, and then he lists a number of examples which, according to him, represent exceptions to this rule. Thus, he tells us that the shoemakers'[8] guilds punished their culprits themselves, through specially appointed officers, and with such a degree of autonomy that they even applied the death penalty themselves. He also mentions the tanners as an exception to the rule, and further tells us that all guilds in Damascus and the Macedonian town of Seres had complete autonomy in dealing with offending craftsmen, and tried, sentenced and punished them through the elaborate system of authority consisting of the guild lodge (*lonca*), the common guilds' assembly (*kethüdalar meclisi*), and the function of the *kethüdalar başı*, the head of the guilds' assembly.[9] The sheer number of these examples seems to preclude the possibility of treating them as exceptions to the rule.

In fact, examples from other studies show that, if anything, a rule regarding this issue should be the reverse: Ottoman guilds were generally independent of the government in terms of their administration, business regulations and rules of conduct, and if there were instances when the role of the local *kadi* in guild affairs appears to have been stronger, then those instances are the ones that should be treated as exceptions to the rule. Thus, in the study of Bursa guilds, it has been found that the guilds issued and followed their own rules and regulations regarding the production and quality of goods, as well as conduct of their members, that not only did these regulations not emanate from the government, but were in fact not even known to it, and that the court confirmed every regulation acceptable to the guild in question and the *kadi* recorded the disputes and agreements not in order to give them legality but merely for registration purposes.[10] The author concludes that the Bursa guilds enjoyed a large measure of autonomy on the basis of the same criteria used by Baer in his discussion:

> [A Bursa guild] was formally organized, had officials, drafted its own regulations, punished offenders in accordance with those regulations and

7 Baer, Turkish Guilds, p. 37.

8 See note 6 in Chapter 6.

9 Baer, Turkish Guilds, pp. 43–44.

10 Gerber, *Economy and Society*, pp. 43–45.

> got the backing of the central authority for anything that was traditionally enjoyed by it.[11]

The same has been found to be the case with the guilds in Aleppo, where the strong tradition of self-regulation among the guilds is evident in elaborate 'guild agreements' which were used as the main source of the guilds' regulations and customs.[12] Accordingly, the Aleppo guilds too tried to resolve their problems internally and only rarely demanded the *kadi*'s interference in their disputes.[13]

As far as Bosnia is concerned, as transpires from everything discussed so far, all of the criteria regarding the guilds' autonomy considered by the abovementioned studies are also fulfilled by Bosnian guilds. Thus, the guilds in Bosnia possessed a very sophisticated formal organisation and had a carefully observed system of hierarchy among their officials, one seemingly more elaborate than anywhere else in the Ottoman Empire. As far as the guild rules and regulations are concerned, unlike in Bursa, where the guild customary law apparently existed only in the shape of oral tradition and the occasional guild agreements, written down in the case of disputes or changes to the law, in Bosnia there is clear evidence as to the origin of the regulations observed by the guilds. This evidence is contained in the *fütüvvetname* documents which outline, sometimes in great detail, the guilds' economic regulations as well as those concerning the business and moral conduct of the guilds' members. These documents are also a proof that while the government may have occasionally placed certain demands on the guilds in terms of quantity and type of products required at a given time, as in the examples provided by Baer, the

11 Gerber, *Economy and Society*, p. 60. Even here, though, one detects the strength of the influence that Baer's views have had on the subject: given that the area under discussion clearly falls into the category discussed by Baer, namely Anatolia, the author is very careful to emphasise that his conclusions apply only to Bursa and points out that they show that the measure of autonomy in Bursa "was much larger than in other places, as detected by former guild studies," referring, as is evident from elsewhere in this work, to Baer and his studies on the subject.

12 Wilkins, *Forging Urban Solidarities*, pp. 220–221.

13 Wilkins, *Forging Urban Solidarities*, p. 217. See also Eunjeong Yi's study on Istanbul guilds in the 17th century, which, although more technical in nature, still covers many aspects of the issue of the guilds' autonomy, such as the guilds' internal organisation, membership, and leadership, and which has found that a compromise existed between the guilds and the state, such that the guilds were allowed to behave according to their own rules and customs as long as this did not contravene the official laws or encroach upon the government's authority. Yi, *Guild Dynamics*, see especially Chapter 2.

basic and general rules of production, such as those concerning the division of raw materials or quality of products, did not emanate from the government, but belonged to the realm of guild customary law set and controlled by the guilds themselves.

Bosnian *fütüvvetnames* also prescribed the customary punishments for economic and other guild offences, which were to be carried out by the guilds themselves. In the case of disputes among members or different guilds, the *fütüvvetnames* make it clear that these too were to be resolved by the guilds themselves without recourse to the help of the government whenever possible, the exception being extremely difficult cases which the guild's administration could not resolve itself. As has been demonstrated, the guilds observed these prescriptions and resolved disputes and carried out punishments themselves. When the disputes were recorded in the local *sicils*, the evidence shows that, as in Bursa, the primary role in arbitration and verdict was played by the guilds themselves and that the *kadi* did not know the guilds' regulations and accepted them as given by the guilds' members. This is even more significant when one takes into account the fact that in Bosnia the disputes which were recorded in *sicils* would appear to have been only those difficult cases which the guilds could not solve themselves, and, in accordance with the prescriptions of the *fütüvvetnames*, had to seek government help. A good example of such a case is the 1708 dispute between the tanners' *esnaf* in Sarajevo and the local Akhi-baba, a certain Sayyid Mensur Çelebi. According to the court record, the Akhi-baba had repeatedly demanded to be given his share of the *esnaf*'s income in money, which the *esnaf* refused to do, and because they could not resolve the matter themselves, the court's help was sought. The court first listened to the Akhi-baba, who claimed that his ancient right had been violated and asked the court to force the *esnaf* to pay his fees in money. When the *esnaf*'s *kethüda* and other senior officials were asked to give their side of the story, they said that they were perfectly willing to pay the Akhi-baba what was due to him, but only in raw material, as this was the established custom and the Akhi-baba never collected his fees in money. The court then summoned a number of witnesses, referred to only as "Muslims," indicating that they were independent citizens and not members of the *esnaf*, and after they confirmed that the Akhi-baba's demand for money was against the old custom, the court ruled in the *esnaf*'s favour.[14] Thus, the *kadi* did not know the guilds' regulations and even in the case when his arbitration was required, he had to rely on what he was told by the guilds and independent witnesses in order to reach his verdict. The fact that in Bosnia the government interfered in guild matters only when

14 Kreševljaković, *Esnafi i Obrti u Bosni*, pp. 53–54.

asked to do so by the guilds themselves and not on its own initiative, is evident in virtually all documents recording such involvements, which regularly contain phrases such as "on the request of the *esnaf*" or "the members/elders of the *esnaf* have complained/are asking."[15] And even in the cases of high-level interventions, such as those by the *vali* or the *vezir*s, the documents show that these too were instigated by the guilds themselves, who specifically asked the *kadi* to refer them to other more senior officials. In all cases, there is no evidence of the government setting any regulations itself, and the orders issued by it were based on what had been reported to it as being the established custom.

The role of the Akhi-baba is another possible criterion in determining the level of the guilds' autonomy, and as the preceding chapters showed, most of the guilds analysed thus far in various studies appear to satisfy this criterion. This is certainly true of Bosnia, where the supervision rights of the Akhi-baba were exercised from very early on, and, as evidence shows, were fully honoured and observed by Bosnian guilds. The authority and strong influence of the Akhi-baba among the guilds indicates a significant level of autonomy and provides another argument against the view that the guilds were simply government instruments for controlling the urban economy. It is clear, therefore, that when all the criteria generally taken as relevant to the question of the guilds' autonomy are assessed, this latter view has to be rejected, both in terms of Ottoman guilds in general, and those in Bosnia in particular.

In conclusion, when talking about the independence of Bosnian guilds, a few words should also be said about the 18th–19th century phenomenon of the so called 'Esnaf Republic' in Sarajevo. Following the 1699 Treaty of Karlowitz and the transfer of the seat of the Bosnian Sancak-bey from Sarajevo to Travnik, Sarajevo witnessed a rapid increase in the independence of the *esnaf* organisation and the autonomy of the *esnaf* leaders, which led to the formation of a kind of city-republic governed by the heads of *esnafs* in collaboration with the Janissary *ağas*.[16] As a result, the city leaders, consisting mainly of craftsmen, acquired the power to appoint the chief administrator of the city, a right

15 This is evident from various records in Sarajevo *sicil* examined by Kreševljaković, *Esnafi i Obrti u Bosni*, pp. 55–57.

16 B McGowan, "The Age of the Ayans, 1699–1812," in Inalcik and Quataert, *An Economic and Social History*, pp. 701–702. One observation regarding the situation was made by the French Consul in Travnik in 1808, who informed his government about the existence in Sarajevo of an oligarchic republic, which "consciously defied the will of the *vezir* in Travnik" and purposely acted contrary to his orders (Kreševljaković, *Esnafi i Obrti u Bosni*, p. 44). As for the involvement of the Janissaries, it has already been mentioned earlier in this study (see Chapter 1, note 55) that the basic principles on which the Janissary corps was formed, namely being a salaried slave army raised by a child levy, started to break down, in some

normally belonging to the state, and decided on the implementation, or defiance, of the government orders of all levels, whether those issued by the Sancak-bey or the Sultan himself.[17] These orders would be implemented only if the *esnaf* leaders were happy with them, and if not, they would be defied through organised resistance, such as the closure of all shops and markets and the bringing of the city economy to a standstill. This situation sowed the seeds of revolts and civil unrests, which were to plague the city, and the country, until the Austro-Hungarian occupation in 1878. The appearance of this phenomenon in Sarajevo, although political in nature, nevertheless indicates the inherent independence of the *esnaf* organisation which provided the basis for this later, more radical level of autonomy acquired by its leaders.

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cases, as early as the 16th century, and were completely abandoned by the late 18th and early 19th century, when the Janissaries in towns and cities effectively turned into an armed force engaged in local business and politics.

17 Kreševljaković, *Esnafi i Obrti u Bosni*, p. 44; Malcolm, *Bosnia*, p. 91.

CHAPTER 9

The Guilds and the Islamisation Process

What transpires from everything said so far in this study about Bosnian guilds, is that the *esnaf* organisation in Bosnia seems to have nourished the strong *futuwwa* tradition of the guilds' predecessors, the Akhi corporations, and maintained, throughout its existence, a certain link with dervish orders, both on a more general level, through their honouring the authority of the spiritual supervisor of Ottoman guilds, the sheikh of the Kırşehir Tekke, as well as on a local level, through their association with the different *ṭarīqas* present there. Given that the *esnaf* organisation was at the heart of the newly developed urban economy of Ottoman Bosnia, these findings raise the question of what effect this religious dimension of the organisation, and its esoteric tradition in particular, had on the development of Bosnian Muslim society. In other words, what are the implications of such a strong presence of dervish traditions in a Muslim urban institution which firmly established itself in a previously largely non-urban and non-Muslim environment? One way of attempting to answer this question is to compare the process of the development of the *esnaf* organisation in Bosnia with that of the formation of Bosnian Muslim society.

The earliest information available on craftsmen in Ottoman Bosnia is contained in the 1489 *defter* of the Bosnian *sancak*, according to which the head of the household belonged to a trade-guild in about 60% of Muslim households in Sarajevo: the *defter* lists 98 Christian and 92 Muslim households, 49 of which were affiliated to an *esnaf*.[1] At that time, there were already twenty different crafts developed in Sarajevo, and the *defter* mentions, among others, the following craftsmen: blacksmiths, sword-smiths, boot-makers, saddlers, tailors, cotton-carders, bakers, butchers, halva-sellers, *boza*[2]-sellers, and even one surgeon.[3] As well as being the first substantial source of information on the

1 Detailed *defter* of the Bosnian *sancak* from 1489, Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, Istanbul, Tapu Tahrir defter No. 24, pp. 33–35; Filipović, who first extracted this information from this *defter* and whose data is still the main point of reference on this issue, provides slightly different numbers: while he also counts 49 houses of Muslim craftsmen, he gives the total number of Muslim houses as 82, and Christian houses as 89 (indeed, the compiler's own number for Christian houses in the subtotal for that section is 89, but this does not seem to match the actual count), (Filipović, Neki novi podaci, p. 71).

2 Sweet, barley-based soft drink.

3 Tapu Tahrir defter No. 24, pp. 33–35; Filipović, Neki novi podaci, p. 71; Kreševljaković, *Esnafi i Obrti u Bosni*, p. 41. Most of the names for these and other crafts were, of course, Turkish and

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development of the *esnaf* organisation, the 1489 *defter* is also one of the earliest sources for following the progress of the Islamisation process. Thus, the pace of Islamisation taking place during this time can be observed by comparing the information from this *defter* to that contained in the previous *defter* of the Bosnian *sancak*, from 1485, according to which Sarajevo had 103 Christian and only 42 Muslim households.[4]

Within the first few decades of its formation, Sarajevo embarked upon a rapid urban development and quickly transformed from a frontier settlement into a major urban centre with all the characteristics of a fully developed Islamic city. Together with the religious institutions and other urban amenities, such as water-systems, bridges and *hamams*, there developed shops, trading-quarters, indoor bazaars (*bedesten*, Bos. *bezistan*), warehouses (*daire*), and inns (*han*, *caravanserai*), all of which were necessary components of a major crafts and trade centre. In 1516, Sarajevo had 74 Christian households, most of which continued to be engaged in agriculture, and 873 Muslim households engaged in newly established urban occupations.[5] This trend continued and by 1530, according to two *defters*, one summary and one detailed, composed between 1528 and 1530, Sarajevo had only 15 Christian and 1047 Muslim households.[6] By this time, the number of crafts in Sarajevo had almost doubled, and among the newly established crafts the following are mentioned: tanners, slipper-makers, locksmiths, goldsmiths, cauldron-makers, carpenters and barbers.[7] In fact, by the middle of the 16th century, by which time Sarajevo had become an almost all-Muslim city, the trading quarter of Sarajevo, the *çarşı*, had already fully developed and had reached its peak size (which it retained until the 20th century when the abolition of the *esnaf* organisation led to a drastic decline in craft production and the subsequent appropriation of craft quarters for other purposes). Thus, already in the 16th century Sarajevo became the main crafts centre in Bosnia and, thanks to its geographic position, an important trade centre in the region, where merchants from prominent

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continue to be so to the present day, the same as the terms for craft (Bos. *zanat*), craftsman (*zanatlija*) and guild (*esnaf*).

4 Filipović, Neki novi podaci, p. 69.

5 Summary *defter* of Bosnian *sancak* from 1516, Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, Istanbul, Tapu Tahrir defter No. 56, p. 21; Filipović, Neki novi podaci, pp. 71–72. This being a summary *defter*, no information is available on the development of individual crafts.

6 Filipović, Neki novi podaci, p. 73. It is worth mentioning that with these figures, Filipović notes a possible underestimate in the number of Muslim population, since the rise in the number of Muslim *mahalle*s is proportionately much larger than the apparent increase in the population: in 1516 there were 849 houses in only 15 *mahalle*s, whereas in 1530, 30 *mahalle*s, double the number from 1516, contained 1017 houses.

7 Filipović, Neki novi podaci, p. 74; Kreševljaković, *Esnafi i Obrti u Bosni*, p. 41.

Western trading cities such as Venice and Dubrovnik collected goods from Eastern ones, such as Istanbul, Aleppo, and Damascus.

Apart from the *defters*, another good source of information on the importance of crafts and trade in the economic development of the city are the contemporary descriptions provided by foreign visitors to Sarajevo. One such description was given by a Catholic priest from Split, Athanasio Georgiceo, who visited Sarajevo in 1626, and, among other things, wrote:

> On the top of the city, on a very tall cliff separated from the mountain, there is an old fortress, not very large and not of much use to the city if the enemy came, which is why I concluded that in the old days the city had not been very big, and was enlarged a lot by the Turks. That is also evident from the mosques that they built and whose number would be some 115 . . . The city would seem to have more than 15,000 houses, out of which some 12,000 are craft and trade shops . . . There are a lot of inns for foreign visitors and there is also one place where in the evening all poor travellers are given supper. There are merchants, who, apart from goods, have in cash, some 50, some 100, some 200 and some 300 thousand ducats, because all the goods going from Turkey into Split and those going from Split pass through that city. In short, apart from Constantinople, there is no town in this part of Europe under the Turks, which is richer and has more mosques and in greater number than Sarajevo.[8]

Another very picturesque description of Sarajevo's trading quarter is provided by a French traveller, Quiclet, who journeyed through Bosnia en route to Istanbul in 1658. He writes:

> The great square, the *Çarşı*, is a wonder, where, on Sundays, which is the market day in Turkey, there is an infinitude of people and all kinds of goods on sale. There is also a pretty Atmeydan, a square with horses, where on the same day great quantities of very good horses are sold at very good prices . . . There are also very pretty covered markets which at night close like country palaces, which are called Bezistan, and in which are sold drapes, wax, wool, leather, beautiful sheep-skins and furs, satin and other silk materials that come from Venice, and other local goods and handicrafts.[9]

8 Kreševljaković, *Esnafi i Obrti u Bosni*, p. 25.

9 Monsieur Quiclet, *Les Voyages de M. Quiclet a Constantinople par terre*, Paris, 1664, pp. 79–80.

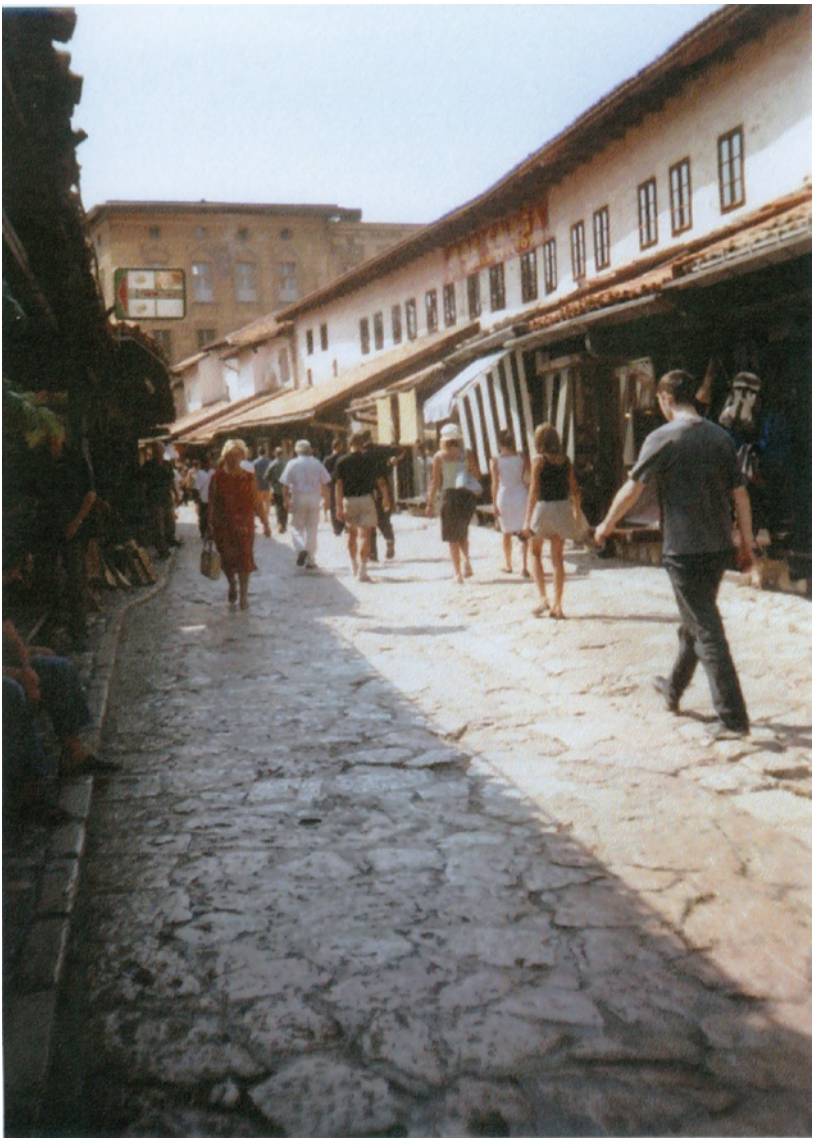

FIGURE 27 *The main street of Sarajevo's* çarşı: *Saračі, the saddlers' street. Although many of the premises on this street have long since been taken over by other establishments, such as small corner shops, cafes and restaurants, most of them are still the original buildings of the saddlers' (and other craftsmen belonging to the saddlers' guild) workshops, whatever their purpose may be now. The rest are still serving their original function, and although hand production of leather goods has since the beginning of the 20th century decreased on a dramatic scale, some of the goods are still handcrafted and sold in these shops, many of which specialise in a particular product, such as leather belts, gloves, sandals, or different kinds of leather slippers, those made out of sheepskin being a particular Bosnian forte.*

FIGURE 28 *An authentic saddler's shop in Saračі. Although the shop does sell some horse riding equipment, most of the products on display such as leather belts or purses, for instance, are of much more common use.*

FIGURE 29 *A sandal-maker's shop in Sarači (sandal/clog-makers belonged to the saddlers'* esnaf).

FIGURE 30 *Morića Han. Situated in Saračі, Morića Han is a famous inn which was used by the most powerful Sarajevo* esnafs*, most notably the saddlers', for convening the* esnaf *assemblies, and at the time of the so-called 'Esnaf Republic' was virtually the seat of the city government* (*see the end of Chapter 8 above*). *Today, still in its original form, the inn houses a famous traditional cuisine restaurant and a number of authentic Bosnian cafes.*

FIGURE 31 *The courtyard of Morića Han, with the stairs to the rooms which were used for* esnaf *assemblies.*

FIGURE 32 *The upstairs rooms of Morića Han where the* esnaf *assemblies took place.*

FIGURE 33 *Gazi Husrev-bey's* bedesten *at the heart of Sarajevo's* çarşı. *Although refurbished and redecorated since the 1990s war, with the aim of restoring it to its former glorious past as the richest and most beautiful indoor market in Sarajevo, the shops and goods that are now housed inside the* bedesten *unfortunately bear very little resemblance to those in the description of Sarajevo's* bedestens *in the 17th century given by the French traveller Quiclet* (*see above*).

FIGURE 34 *Kazandžiluk, the cauldron-makers'* (kazancı) *quarters, also includes the tinsmiths* (kalaycı).

FIGURE 35 *Kovači, the blacksmiths' street, at the far northern end of Sarajevo's* çarşı. *Although their trading quarters are situated in the old town, in the street named after them, Sarajevo's blacksmiths seemed to have had a special link with another location in Sarajevo, further down the river Miljacka towards the new town. This is the area called Kovačići (*'*small blacksmiths*'*), (see Fig. 19), which, together with Sheikh Ali's Tekke situated there, was the location of many* esnaf *outings by a number of different* esnafs*, but was obviously especially favoured by the blacksmiths (on the* kuşanma *ceremonies in and around Sheikh Ali's Tekke, see Chapter 6 above).*

Although lagging behind Sarajevo in terms of pace and the extent of their development, other Bosnian towns nevertheless followed its pattern, and many developed into important crafts centres.

The second fastest development of crafts, after that of Sarajevo, was witnessed by Mostar, which had some 30 different crafts in its *çarşı*, which developed on the eastern bank of the river Neretva. Like Sarajevo, Mostar also had a strong *esnaf* organisation, which manifested itself in the presence of the *esnaf lonca* with all the *esnaf* officials, the common *esnaf* treasury, as well as in the application of *esnaf* penalties, evident in the existence in the *esnafs* of the *falaka*, a special instrument used for the bastinado punishment.[10] The Mostar *esnafs* also nourished strong *futuwwa* traditions and regularly performed

10 Hamdija Kreševljaković, "Esnafi i Obrti u BiH: Mostar," *Zbornik za narodni život i običaje Južnih Slavena*, knj. 35, Zagreb, 1951.

kuşanma ceremonies and were visited by the Akhi-babas. Although most of the information available on *esnafs* in Mostar is from later periods, the presence of the function of Akhi-baba in 1633[11] indicates that the development of crafts and *esnaf* organisation there must have significantly advanced, if not completed itself, by the end of the 16th century.

Other towns whose urban development in the Ottoman period was closely linked to the establishment of Anatolian style crafts and *esnafs* include Banja Luka, which fell to the Ottomans in 1528 and already by 1554 had a small *çarşi* with some 20 different crafts,[12] Tuzla, Tešanj, Foča and Visoko. The last of these is also a very good example of how crucial the crafts and their *esnafs* were for the economic development of Bosnian towns: in the town of Visoko, whose urban development began soon after the conquest with the founding of Ayas-bey's *tekke* and his *vakif* for its maintenance, the strongest *esnaf* was that of the tanners, and Kreševljaković tells us that there is a family there called Ahić ('*ić*' – the Bosnian ending for 'son of', like '*oğlu*' in Turkish or '*zade*' in Persian), whose ancestors were traditionally the Akhi-babas for that area.[13] Today, with its large leather factory, Visoko is the main centre of leather production in Bosnia, and used to be one of the main leather producers in the former Yugoslavia.

The Islamisation process in the rest of Bosnia also followed the pattern of Sarajevo, and, by the time the main phase of this process was completed, the development of crafts in most Bosnian towns had likewise finished and the establishment of the *esnaf* organisation had already taken place. While the most important craft centres, such as Mostar, Banja Luka and Visoko, were already formed by the middle of the 16th century, by the end of the 16th and the beginning of the 17th century, the urbanisation of the rest of Bosnia was well under way and many other craft centres emerged. At the same time, the first decades of the 16th century saw the key phase of the Islamisation process, the time when the number of Muslims in Bosnia began to change from marginal to significant, and by 1530 the total population of the *sancaks* of Bosnia, Zvornik and Herzegovina was 211,595 Christians and 133,295 Muslims.[14] By the end of the 16th and the beginning of the 17th century the process had reached the point at which the Muslims became an absolute majority, one estimate of the Bosnian population from 1624 being roughly 225,000 Christians and 450,000 Muslims.[15]

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11 Gadžo, Veza esnafa u Bosni, p. 119.

12 Hamdija Kreševljaković, "Esnafi i Obrti u BiH: Banja Luka," *Djela, Naučno društvo NRBiH*, knj. 17, *Odeljenje istorijsko-filoloških nauka*, knj. 12, Sarajevo, 1961, p. 13.

13 Kreševljaković, *Esnafi i Obrti u Bosni*, p. 52.

14 Malcolm, *Bosnia*, p. 283.

15 Malcolm, *Bosnia*, p. 54.

Thus, the development of crafts and *esnafs* in Bosnia ran parallel to the formation of the new Muslim society, and the pace of this development almost mirrored the progression of the Islamisation process. Going back, then, to the question asked at the outset, namely, what effect the religious character of the developing *esnaf* organisation had on the Islamisation process, these findings clearly suggest some degree of linkage between the two issues. Although on one level the answer to this question can never be a definitive one, inasmuch as the ideological and personal motives behind any conversion are a highly subjective matter, and the extent to which the *esnaf* religious traditions may have affected any one individual can never be determined with certainty, some conclusions can be drawn from the general picture painted by the available sources.

Thus, we know that the Islamisation of the Bosnian population was strongest in the urban environments, while the villages either lagged behind or remained exempt altogether. Furthermore, the sources show that a large majority of the newly Islamicised town population engaged in the newly established urban occupations, namely crafts. However, while these new crafts had a distinctly Muslim character, being Muslim was never a condition of *esnaf* membership, and almost all Bosnian *esnafs* included both Christians and Jews, unlike Christian guilds, such as, for instance, those in Croatia, which regularly banned Jews from the guild system. Christians and Jews who belonged to Bosnian *esnafs* carried on practicing their own religious traditions and were separated from the Muslims only in those *esnaf* activities of purely religious character.[16] The fact that non-Muslims were free to engage in crafts and belong to *esnafs* regardless of their religion, and that many did so to such an extent that some crafts ended up being practiced exclusively by non-Muslims, emphasise the voluntary nature of the conversions to Islam by those who joined the *esnaf* organisation.

Nevertheless, many did convert, and although there would no doubt have been many different factors influencing these conversions, it seems safe to assume that the closest to home would have been precisely that of the religious traditions and practices which the *esnafs* brought with them, namely those *futuwwa* traditions which were so strongly preserved in Bosnian *esnafs*. Indeed, while the great majority of *esnafs* in Bosnia included members of all three faiths, the few whose membership eventually became entirely Muslim were those of the tanners, saddlers and boot-makers,[17] in other words, precisely those which, according to the evidence, had the strongest *futuwwa*

16 Kreševljaković, *Esnafi i Obrti u Bosni*, p. 45.

17 Kreševljaković, *Esnafi i Obrti u Bosni*, pp. 114–115.

tradition and the strongest links with dervish orders. Many of those who engaged in these crafts would have, of course, already been Muslim at the time when they joined the *esnafs* in question, but the information available from the *defters* suggests that this was not always the case, especially, of course, in the earlier periods of the Islamisation process, and that many in fact seem to have converted upon entering the *esnafs*.

Thus, the first detailed information available on the tanners of Sarajevo, contained in the 1530 *defter*, shows that although most of the 47 tanners listed were at least second-generation Muslims, there were 8 new converts: Timurhan, son of Ivan, Ahmed, son of Božidar, Yusuf, son of Cvjetić, Mehmed, son of Radovin, Hazir, son of Radosav, Yusuf, son of Vukas, Ibrahim, son of Radič, and Ali, son of Radivoj.[18] Although, admittedly, this information does not tell us exactly when these conversions took place, it nevertheless suggests that they had something to do with the converts' occupation: given that the training for craft began very early in one's life and one entered into an apprenticeship while still a teenage youth, it is hard to imagine that the converts listed here would have had time or inclination to convert before they entered theirs. Moreover, regardless of whether these particular tanners converted just before entering the *esnaf* or some time after, it is clear that all those who engaged in this craft converted in spite of the fact that they did not have to, which is why already by 1530 all Sarajevo tanners were Muslim.

The information on the development of the saddlers' craft paints a similar picture. While in 1489 there were only two saddlers in Sarajevo, both Muslim,[19] in 1530 there were 34, again, all of them Muslim.[20] Out of these, several are clearly second-generation converts, as suggested by their fathers' name which in all cases is Abdullah,[21] and four are recent converts: Hüseyin, son of Filip, Mehmed, son of Milić, Yusuf, son of Milić, and Kurt, son of Milenko.[22] Thus, again, we have a craft which clearly owes its exclusively Muslim membership to the conversions of its members from the very beginning of its establishment in Bosnia.

Of course, other crafts also witnessed conversions of their members and in most of them Muslims formed the majority of the membership. Nevertheless,

18 Kreševljaković, *Esnafi i Obrti u Bosni*, p. 115.

19 Detailed *defter* of the Bosnian *sancak* from 1489, Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, Istanbul, Tapu Tahrir defter No. 24, p. 34.

20 Kreševljaković, *Esnafi i Obrti u Bosni*, p. 123.

21 Abdullah was the most commonly adopted Muslim name by Christian converts especially in the early periods of the Islamisation process.

22 Kreševljaković, *Esnafi i Obrti u Bosni*, p. 123.

the crafts in which these conversions were all-inclusive, and, as sources show, regular from the very beginning of their development in Bosnia, correspond to the crafts that had the strongest *futuwwa* tradition. Thanks to this, it is possible to gain at least a glimpse – given the impossibility of gaining a full understanding of the situation – of what kind of influence this tradition had on the Islamisation process. Furthermore, whatever effect the *futuwwa* traditions may have had on a particular individual, it is nevertheless clear, given their firm establishment in Bosnia, that they had a great impact on the society in general, while the presence of a strong dervish tradition in the *esnaf* organisation indicates another and, from one point of view, perhaps the strongest role played by dervish orders in the formation of Bosnian Muslim society.

PART 3

Political Roles of Bosnian Dervishes: The Hamzevis – A Dervish Order or a Socio-Political Movement?

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CHAPTER 10

The Heyday and End of the Hamzevi Movement

As we have just seen, one of the most important ways in which dervish orders were able to exert an influence on social and political life in Bosnia under Ottoman rule was through their association with the guild organisation and involvement in guilds' administration, and both professional and social practices and customs. No discussion of this subject, however, would be complete without at least a brief look at what is probably the best example of a dervish order which, in precisely the same way, went beyond the usual roles played by dervish orders and, as a result, effectively turned into a social movement: namely, the Hamzevi movement of dervishes in the 16th century.

The earliest mentions of the Hamzevi movement of dervishes and its activities in Bosnia coincide with the beginning of the persecution of its members in the second half of the 16th century, this being the period which marked both the heyday and the effective end of the movement.[1]

As with the movement itself, very little historical information is available on the life of its leader, sheikh Hamza Bali the Bosnian, either before his return from Anatolia to his homeland sometime around the middle of the 16th century or indeed during the period between his return and his arrest and subsequent execution which followed soon after. What we do know is that at some point in his life he became a *khalīfa* to the Melami-Bayrami[2] sheikh Ḥusām al-Dīn al-Anqarawī (d. 1557), and that following the latter's death, Hamza decided to come back to his homeland of Bosnia and continue the propagation of his order there. In the little information that the contemporary sources provide about his person, Hamza is described as a charismatic figure possessed of extraordinary mental faculties and spiritual powers which attracted people to him. At the same time, he was a true adherent of *melamet*, as illustrated in the

1 For a bibliography on the Hamzevis see Ćehajić, *Derviški redovi*, footnotes 509–553 and footnotes in the article Handžić and Hadžijahić, O progonu Hamzevija u Bosni.

2 '*Melam*' and '*melamet*' – from Arabic '*malām*' and '*malāma*' – blame, reproach, censure. *Melamet* – the Sufi tradition of concealment of one's piety and internal spiritual state from the outside world which can, as a result, lead to being perceived (by the outside world) as blameworthy and reproachable; Melami – in its broadest sense, a term applied to all dervish groups and orders which subscribe to the tradition of *melamet*, the adoption of which requires, among other things, professing a modest worldly existence and rejection of material wealth and positions of power or status. Poverty is thus considered desirable, but should nevertheless be concealed lest it too should draw attention. Given such difficult

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following manner: he dressed poorly and very often starved himself or ate food thrown to street cats and dogs, but when asked about this, he would claim that he had given up asceticism and was eating chicken soup every day. As for his preaching techniques, he is said to have wandered the streets and recruited his followers from wine-houses, among other places. Indeed, Hamza's powers of persuasion were obviously very effective, since in the short period of time between his arrival in Bosnia and his arrest, he is thought to have amassed as many as several thousand followers.[3]

Unfortunately, nothing more specific is known about Hamza's time in Bosnia leading up to his arrest, and, as already mentioned, the earliest definite information on his activities there is found in the documents relating to the persecution of him and his followers by the Ottoman authorities in the second half of the 16th century.

The earliest and most important of these documents are two *fermans* issued on the 22nd of April 1573, one of which is directly concerned with Hamza's arrest.[4] This *ferman* is addressed to the Zvornik Sancak-bey and the Zvornik *kadi*, and orders them to arrest Hamza, who was in the town of Gornja Tuzla, in the *mahalle* of Eski Cuma, in the house of Sefer, the son of *subaşı*[5] Hasan. They are ordered to arrest him without delay and to send him to Istanbul, and to arrest together with him any of his followers that they may find. If he were to escape, his guarantors (3 *khāṭibs* and an *imam*) are to be held responsible, arrested and brought to Istanbul. The end of the *ferman* emphasises the importance of the matter and stresses that failure to carry out the order would not be

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requirements, adherence to *melamet* sometimes resulted in misinterpretation and exaggeration of its tenets, such as, most notably, the active seeking of blame and reproach through unconventional behaviour practiced by some antinomian dervish groups. For more on *melamet* see Frederick De Jong, Hamid Algar and Colin Imber, "Malāmatiyya," *EI²*, pp. 223–228. The Melami-Bayrami order of dervishes represents the second phase in the history of Melamism which started with the adoption of the *melamet* tradition by one of the two branches into which the Bayrami order split following the death of its founder Hajji Bayram Veli in 1430: see Ćehajić, *Derviški redovi*, pp. 186–187, and Fuat Bayramoğlu and Nihat Azamat, "Bayramiyye," *IA*, pp. 269–273; on history of Melamism in general see Abdülbâki Gölpınarlı, *Melâmîlik ve Melâmîler*, Istanbul, 1931, or Abū Al-ʿAlā Al-ʿAfīfī, *Al-Malāmatīya wa-l-Ṣūfīya wa Ahl al-Futuwwa*, Cairo, 1945.

3 Ćehajić, *Derviški redovi*, p. 192; Nihat Azamat, "Hamza Bali," *IA*, p. 503; Gölpınarlı, *Melâmîlik*, pp.72–77; Ahmet Yaşar Ocak, *Osmanlı toplumunda zındıklar ve mülhidler: 15–17. yüzyıllar*, Istanbul, 1998, pp. 290–304.

4 These and three other *fermans* are published, with translation, by Handžić and Hadžijahić in O progonu Hamzevija u Bosni.

5 Chief of police.

tolerated.[6] The second *ferman*, issued on the same day, is addressed to the Sancak-bey of Bosnia and the Sancak-bey of Herzegovina and orders them to carry out the same measures against Hamza's followers in these two *sancaks*, namely to arrest all suspected 'Hamzalis' and hand them over to the *çavuş* (herald) in charge, Mustafa, who is to transport them to Istanbul.[7] The first *ferman* reveals that the legal process against Hamza must have already begun sometime prior to this, since his exact location, including the house in which he lived at the time, was already known, and since there were four high-ranking guarantors keeping an eye on him and vouching for his whereabouts. The second indicates that the matter was not of merely local character and that Hamza had a considerable number of supporters in the two other *sancaks* as well.

Hamza was indeed arrested in accordance with the order in the *ferman* of the 22nd of April and in May underwent a trial in Istanbul, after which he was executed on the 6th of June 1573.[8] The justification for his execution was given, in the form of a *fetva*, by the Sheikh al-Islam Abu 'l-Su'ūd Efendi, who, together with the Grand Vizier Mehmed-pasha Sokollu, was one of the key players in bringing about Hamza's death. In this *fetva*, Hamza is accused of godlessness and heresy, and his execution was recommended in the following manner:

> On the basis of the *fetva* by my noble teacher, the late Ibn Kemal, Ismā'īl Ma'shūqī[9] was sentenced and executed. The *sharī'a* decision against Ismā'īl was made after it had been established that he was a heretic (*zindīq*)[10]

6 Handžić and Hadžijahić, O progonu Hamzevija u Bosni, p. 53.

7 Handžić and Hadžijahić, O progonu Hamzevija u Bosni, p. 53.

8 Handžić and Hadžijahić derive the exact date of the execution by combining the Ottoman documents and the Western reports by Gerlach and Philippe Du Fresne Canaye; see Handžić and Hadžijahić, O progonu Hamzevija u Bosni, pp. 65–67, and Azamat, Hamza Bali, p. 504. Before the *ferman* about Hamza's arrest became available, the date of Hamza's execution was thought to be 1561; see Colin Imber, '3. In Ottoman Turkey', in De Jong, Algar and Imber, Malāmatiyya, p. 227; though not all agree on this point, see Ocak, *Osmanlı toplumunda zındıklar*, p. 298.

9 Ismā'īl Ma'shūqī, also known as Oğlan Şeyh – a Melami-Bayrami sheikh convicted of heresy and executed in 1529; see R C Repp, *The Müfti of Istanbul: a Study in the Development of the Ottoman Learned Hierarchy*, London, 1986, pp. 236–238; Imber, '3. In Ottoman Turkey', p. 227; Ocak, *Osmanlı toplumunda zındıklar*, pp. 274–290.

10 Although '*zindīq*' is here translated simply as 'a heretic', it should be noted that in this context this term has a more specific meaning of 'a particular kind of heretic who uses the scriptures to justify his heresy', formulated by Ibn Kemal following another heresy trial, that of Molla Kabiz, a member of the *ulema* who was convicted and executed in 1527. For more on Molla Kabiz see Repp, *Müfti of Istanbul*, pp. 234–236, and Colin Imber, "Mollā Ḳābiḍ," *EI²* (vol. VII), p. 225. For more on this subject in general, namely the issue of

> and an atheist (*mulḥid*). Therefore, if sheikh Hamza is also in that order (*ṭarīqa*), he too is a heretic, and his execution is in accordance with the *sharīʿa* laws.[11]

It would appear that, by the time of his execution, Hamza had become very popular not only in Bosnia but in Istanbul itself, and that he had a particularly large number of supporters among the Janissaries. This is why, according to contemporary reports, the government, in fear of a rebellion, decided to wait for the number of Janissaries in the capital to lessen through their departure on a naval campaign against the Spanish before Hamza's execution was carried out. However, even when the potential danger from the Janissaries had been removed, there was still a considerable amount of concern, since, upon hearing about the forthcoming execution, a large number of Hamza's followers gathered in the Hippodrome where he was to be executed by stoning. Because of this, the planned execution never took place, and the guards were ordered to cut his throat on the way out of the dungeon. Hamza's death was made even more dramatic and memorable by the action of a Janissary, who was present at the moment when Hamza was killed and who fell on his knees at Hamza's feet and cut his own throat, saying that he wanted to be "an eternal witness, in front of the entire world, to his teacher's innocence."[12]

Hamza's execution, however, did not have the desired effect. If anything, it seems to have heightened the emotions and anti-establishment feelings among his followers and to have served to consolidate and further strengthen their movement. This is evident from another *ferman* issued about three months after Hamza's execution, dated the 25th of August 1573 and addressed to the Sancak-bey of Herzegovina. The first part of the text reads:

> An order to the Sancak-bey of Herzegovina: Some heretics have now appeared in the *sancak* of Herzegovina. Since it has been reported that there are those who are mourning the heretic Hamza, who has been previously captured and executed, have their behaviour examined in accordance with the *sharīʿa* by the *toprak kadis*[13] and have those of whom

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'heretics' and 'atheists' in the Ottoman Empire and, specifically, on the phenomenon of the appearance in the 15th and 16th centuries of a number of popular personalities accused of being '*zindīq*s' and '*mulḥid*s', see Ocak, *Osmanlı toplumunda zındıklar*.

11 Ćehajić, *Derviški redovi*, p. 193.

12 Handžić and Hadžijahić, O progonu Hamzevija u Bosni, pp. 66–67.

13 Regional *kadi*s not necessarily based in towns. In their article, Handžić and Hadžijahić give this as "*ṭarāʾiq kadıları*" and are unable to define the phrase. Here, it is assumed that '*ṭarāʾiq*' is a simple scribal or reading error for '*toprak*', the two words looking very similar when written in Ottoman.

> heresy is proven arrested. A report is to be submitted on these proceedings. You are sent a sealed *defter*: I am ordering that, as soon as it arrives, all those who are listed in this *defter* be captured, bound and arrested, and that the *toprak kadis* examine their behaviour in accordance with the *sharīʿa*. Have their present behaviour and activities established and if it is concluded that they are characterised by godlessness (*ilḥād*), heresy (*zandaqa*) and not belonging to any *sharīʿa* school (*bimezheplik*), have them and their followers arrested. Their condition, as thus established, is to be recorded in the *sicil* and a copy sent to my Sublime Porte.[14]

The rest of the *ferman* emphasises the seriousness of this order and warns that any protection of the suspected Hamzevis is not allowed and will not be tolerated: the Sancak-bey is threatened that, if they escape, all their suspected protectors will be dealt with in the same manner and will meet the same punishment as the culprits. A copy of the *ferman* was also sent to the Sancak-bey of Bosnia, the Sancak-bey of Požega and the Budin Beylerbeyi. Thus, the persecution of Hamza's followers continued after his death, seemingly even more vigorously and on a wider scale: this is the first evidence of these activities in the *sancak* of Požega and the first instance in which the involvement of the Beylerbeyi of Budin is called upon.

Although Hamza and, consequently, all his supporters were accused of heresy, the justification for this accusation – apart, of course, from the one provided by Abu ʻl- Suʻūd in his *fetva*, namely, that Hamza belonged to the same order as Oğlan Şeyh – and, therefore, also the basis on which they were prosecuted, is far from certain. The official documents concerning the prosecution do not contain any details on the exact nature of the Hamzevis' heresy nor do they provide any evidence as to how this heresy was proven; the only sources of information on this issue are the contemporary reports on Hamza and his trial which provide a few sketchy details, and a number of scholarly treatises, which, although more comprehensive, were written with the aim of condemning the Hamzevis and must, therefore, be treated with caution, as they are more likely to consist of imputations and accusations rather than describe the real state of affairs.

Thus, according to one report on Hamza's trial, Hamza reputedly denied the existence of the Day of Judgement and "expressed views which insulted the honour of the Prophet Muhammad," while in another Hamza is said to have

14 Handžić and Hadžijahić, O progonu Hamzevija u Bosni, p. 54.

been accused of claiming to have magical powers.[15] Elsewhere, namely in the Western reports, Hamza is attributed with propagating Christian doctrines and preaching Jesus' superiority over Muhammad.[16]

An example of the second group of sources mentioned above is a fragment from a religious treatise from Bosnia, by an anonymous author, which, in the context of the discussion on the necessity of proper religious education, mentions the Hamzevis on several occasions, and which, judging by its tone, seems to have been written at the height of the Hamzevi persecutions.[17] The first mention of the Hamzevis in this fragment reads:

> In these times, Hurufis, heretics, atheists, Hamzevis and unbelievers have appeared and have spread around the world. They are saying 'The *ulema* are not acting in accordance with their knowledge' and are spreading this notion among the masses just as they have spread among them the words of unbelief (*alfāẓ-i küfr*), because those deceived and deceiving groups consider the learned class their biggest enemy and it is they whom they hate and despise the most. This is because if it were not for the *ulema* and the learned class, the Hurufis and the Hamzevis would turn around the entire world and draw it into their schools of thought (*mezhepler*) within a few days. They would succeed in this because these are times of vice and pleasure and their schools of thought are vice and pleasure, and not the noble *sharīʿa*. This is why the Islamic *ulema* have issued a *fetva* and decided that such heretics can be executed.[18]

The apologetic character of this treatise is obvious: the above statements are clearly intended to explain and justify the persecutions of the mentioned groups which were evidently taking place at the time when the text was written. This passage is nevertheless significant inasmuch as it hints at the real reasons behind these persecutions, namely, reasons of a social rather than a theological character: in other words, the Hamzevis (and others) criticised the corrupt *ulema*, and therefore, the ruling elite, and they were so popular that they could win over 'the entire world in a few days'. The fear of the Hamzevis'

15 The first of these is a manuscript from the collection of Osman Asaf Sokolović entitled '*Risale-i mercübe berây-i padişah-i Sultan Selim Han*' and the second a report by Müniri Belgradi (d. 1617); Handžić and Hadžijahić, O progonu Hamzevija u Bosni, p. 65.

16 See footnote 8; Handžić and Hadžijahić, O progonu Hamzevija u Bosni, p. 64.

17 The fragment is published with translation by Ibrahim Mehinagić in "Četiri neobjavljena izvora o Hamzevijama iz sredine XVI vijeka," *POF, XVIII–XIX/1968–69*, Sarajevo, 1973, pp. 221–232.

18 Mehinagić, Četiri neobjavljena izvora, p. 223.

overturning the official authorities and taking the power from the ruling elite is evident in another very illustrative passage:

> And the Hamzevis will at the same time, or perhaps earlier, when there are about a hundred thousand of them, rise up in rebellion, and will carry out a massacre of all those who refuse to enter their order, and will rob their possessions and livelihood and burn down their property.[19]

The rest of the text reverts to the more usual style of condemnation and contains the claims that the Hamzevis approved of drinking alcohol, prostitution and homosexuality, obviously aimed at tarnishing their reputation and compromising them in the eyes of the people and their potential supporters.[20]

In reality, however, Hamza's teachings did not seem to contain anything that would significantly separate him from the general Melami-Bayrami traditions, not even to the extent of forming a separate branch of this order, as is sometimes assumed.[21] Although, admittedly, Hamza himself left us no literary evidence of his teachings, the writings of his successors, the most prominent of whom was ʿAbd Allah al-Bosnawī (d. 1643), known as '*Shāriḥ al-Fuṣūṣ*' after his famous commentary on Ibn ʿArabī's (d. 1240) *Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam*, indicate that Hamza did not in fact add anything new to the classical Melami traditions, and that, in his capacity as a *khalīfa* of the Melami-Bayrami order, he simply continued propagating the already established Melami-Bayrami teachings.[22] While the works of some Hamzevi representatives, most notably, those of the poet Hüseyin Lamekâni (d. 1625), do contain some traces of Hurufi[23] influence, on the whole, they do not display any radical Hurufi views which could qualify as heretical[24] and, therefore, do not justify equating the Hamzevi teachings with those of the Hurufis, as is sometimes done by their critics, like in the anti-Hamzevi treatise quoted above. As far as Hamza's preaching of Christian doctrines is concerned, no mention of this is made in any Ottoman sources, either

19 Mehinagić, Četiri neobjavljena izvora, p. 224.

20 Given that these are the exact same accusations previously levelled at Ismāʿīl Maʿshūqī and his followers (see Ocak, *Osmanlı toplumunda zındıklar*, p. 287), it seems likely that that is on what the author of this document may have based his claims.

21 Ćehajić, *Derviški redovi*, p. 191. Following Hamza's death, the order did adopt the name of 'Hamzaviyya', in honour of his memory, but this change does not imply any doctrinal or structural changes in the order.

22 See Ćehajić, *Derviški redovi*, pp. 191–208; Ilić, Hamzevijska i Hurufijska jeres, pp. 333–334.

23 A sect founded in 1397 in Khorasan by Faḍlullāh Astarabādī, a self-proclaimed prophet whose doctrines were based on the science of letters.

24 Ilić, Hamzevijska, p. 331.

in the contemporary reports, the anti-Hamzevi writings, or even in the official documents issued by Hamza's strongest enemies, namely, the authorities and the *ulema*. Indeed, claims to this effect are made by Western observers[25] alone and would thus appear to be the result of their own prejudices, combined with a case of mistaken identity: some of them seem to have based their conclusions on Hamza's teachings on what they knew about Molla Kabiz.[26]

In fact, those religious treatises which criticise the Hamzevis purely on the basis of their teachings do not seem to contain anything that would corroborate the presence in these teachings of the radical heretical views attributed to Hamza in the aforementioned reports. In other words, they do not contain anything that would warrant such harsh measures as those undertaken by the *ulema* against Hamza and his followers. The objections raised in the two existing treatises of this kind – one written by a certain Yiğit-başı Ahmed Efendi and, as transpires from the text, at the time when Hamza was still alive, and the other by Muhammad ʿAmīq in 1614 – are concerned either with those issues which have always constituted a theological bone of contention between the *ulema* and Sufi teachings, such as the doctrine of *waḥdat al-wujūd* – criticism regarding the interpretation of which by no means makes Hamza an exception, either in the context of the Melami tradition or Sufism in general[27] – or with such issues as finer points regarding the interpretations of dreams and prerogatives of the performing of miracles.[28] The level of seriousness of these objections does not seem to be in proportion to the level of severity with which the *ulema* treated the Hamzevis, which suggests that the reasons behind their actions have to be looked for elsewhere.

The anonymous anti-Hamzevi treatise examined above provides a very good starting point, revealing, as it does, the fear of a disturbance in the social order which could be caused by the Hamzevis and their followers if their activities are not checked: according to the author, if not prevented by the *ulema*, the Hamzevis would quickly gain a huge number of supporters and eventually overturn the established authorities and cause anarchy. Although these claims

25 See footnote 8 above.

26 Ilić, Hamzevijska, p. 334; Handžić and Hadžijahić, O progonu Hamzevija u Bosni, p. 66. For more on Molla Kabiz see footnote 10 above.

27 On the role of the doctrine of *waḥdat al-wujūd* and its interpretation in the context of the issues of 'heresy' and 'atheism' in the Ottoman Empire, and in particular in relation to the Melami-Bayrami order, see Ocak, *Osmanlı toplumunda zındıklar*, Chapter 5, pp. 251–327.

28 Both treatises are published with translation in Mehinagić, Četiri neobjavljena izvora, pp. 233–266. For more on some of these finer points of Hamzevi teachings see Gölpınarlı, *Melâmîlik*, pp. 201–206.

regarding the nature of the threat posed by the Hamzevis are undoubtedly exaggerated, there is nevertheless evidence to suggest that they were not completely unfounded.

As already mentioned, in accordance with the Melami tradition, Hamza and his followers professed modest worldly existence and rejected the amassing of material riches. If some of the members of the learned ruling elite, the *ulema*, who were meant to lead a life dedicated to spiritual and scholarly endeavour, were in fact seen to devote themselves to material gain and increase of wealth and possessions, it is no surprise that, as the author of our treatise informs us, the Hamzevis should criticise them for their behaviour which they considered inappropriate and untrue to their profession.

However, it seems that, unlike many others with the same outlook, the Hamzevis did not leave their social ideals at the level of theory, but went a step further and put them into practice, not only within the confines of a religious order, but in a much wider social context. Thus, the Hamzevis also believed in equality by birth and professed that manual work is the only honest way of earning one's living, which is why they encouraged the learning of a trade and considered craftsmanship a desirable occupation. As a result, they too, like many other dervish orders, developed a special link with the *esnafs*, and many of their supporters came from among the craftsmen.[29] Considering the latter's strong political and social influence in Bosnian society, and bearing in mind their frequent role as a force for social justice, it would appear that it was this link with the *esnafs*, more than anything else, which enabled the Hamzevis to put their ideals into practice on a much wider scale than they would otherwise have been able to.

Evidence to this effect is found in a set of documents concerning the second large wave of Hamzevi persecutions which took place in 1582, almost a decade after the first one and, thus, a decade after the execution of Hamza Bali in June 1573. These documents consist of five Imperial orders for the arrest and prosecution of suspected Hamzevis, issued between the 1st of June and the 14th of November 1582 and addressed to the *kadi*s of the towns of Zvornik, Gračanica,

29 Ilić, Hamzevijska, p. 332. This, as was mentioned earlier in this study (see the discussion on the nexus between crafts and Sufism in Chapter 5), is in accordance with true Melami tradition, since the latter has, from its very beginning, been in close relationship with the tradition of *futuwwa* and with trade-guilds (See Hamid Algar, '2. In Iran and the Eastern Lands', in De Jong, Algar and Imber, Malāmatiyya, p. 225; see also Al-'Afīfī, *Al-Malāmatīya*), and, thus, provides further evidence of Hamza's adherence to the classical form of Melamet. For the Melami-Bayramis' link with the trade-guilds see Imber, '3. In Ottoman Turkey', p. 228.

Tuzla and Sarajevo, with only a couple of them also addressed to the Zvornik Sancak-bey and only one to the Bosnian Beylerbeyi. Although some have taken this to indicate that on this occasion the matter was not viewed with as much seriousness as the first time around[30] since all of the documents relating to the 1573 persecutions were addressed to Sancak-beys, rather than just the *kadi*s, it seems more likely that this was the case simply because this set of documents represents a follow-up to the 1573 purges: the documents indicate that those mentioned in them were already known to the court and thus the process against them must have been going on for some time. Moreover, the fact that the matter was now limited to north-eastern Bosnia alone – only one document was sent to Sarajevo and, unlike in 1573, none were sent to Herzegovina or anywhere beyond Bosnia's borders – seems to indicate that the 1573 purges eventually bore fruit and that during them the Hamzevis were indeed dealt a fatal blow from which they never fully recovered, which is why there was now no need for persecutions beyond the area of their stronghold, namely the regions of Zvornik and Tuzla in north-eastern Bosnia.

Apart from providing evidence that even after the harsh treatment which the Hamzevis met following Hamza's execution their activities nevertheless continued in Hamza's home area, albeit on a smaller scale, the documents from 1582 contain interesting information, not present in those from 1573, regarding the nature of these activities, and are thus valuable from the point of view of understanding the reasons behind this harsh treatment.

The first piece of information concerns the link between the Hamzevis and the *esnafs*. In the earliest document, a *hüküm* issued on the 1st of June 1582 to the *kadis* of Zvornik, Gračanica and Tuzla, there are two among those who are to be arrested and tried under the charge of being followers of Hamza whose profession is indicated and both are craftsmen: the boot-maker Behram and the merchant Yusuf.[31] Although in this instance only these two are specifically identified by their profession, there is reason to believe that others from this list were also craftsmen and that this was simply omitted in the writing. Thus, the *ferman* issued on the 3rd of November 1582 to the *kadis* of Gračanica and Tuzla, as well as to the Zvornik Sancak-bey, contains the names of those who have in the meantime been arrested or have escaped: the list is somewhat longer which indicates that the investigation has in the meantime widened, but many of the names are the same, especially among those who were arrested and tried, and here two additional persons are identified as craftsmen, namely

30 Adem Handžić, "O progonu Hamzevija u sjeveroistočnoj Bosni 1582. godine," *Muzej istočne Bosne i gradja za kulturnu istoriju istočne Bosne*, knj. XI, Tuzla, 1975, p. 33.

31 Handžić, A, O progonu Hamzevija u sjeveroistočnoj Bosni, p. 35.

Cafer, the boot-maker and Cafer, the sandal-maker, one of whom was mentioned in the first list without any indication of his profession.[32] Hence, it is possible that many others were also craftsmen and that this was simply not mentioned.[33]

In any case, these documents confirm that some of the steadfast Hamzevis who were still active a decade after the biggest persecutions suffered by the movement were indeed craftsmen, and, thus, confirm the existence of the link between the Hamzevis and the *esnafs* mentioned earlier. The fact that some of these craftsmen also belonged to the *esnafs* with the strongest *futuwwa* tradition, namely those of the leather crafts related to tanning, is perfectly in keeping with the already existent affinity between those crafts and dervish orders, one which, because of the intrinsic link between *futuwwa* and Melamet, would have been particularly strong in the case of a Melami order such as Hamza's. Since these were also the strongest and most powerful *esnafs* in the urban centres in Bosnia, it is not difficult to imagine how the Hamzevis would have been able to benefit from their association with these crafts, thus providing us with an example of a perfect symbiosis between a dervish order and craftsmanship in which the ideals and principles of the former could be put into practice within the latter, and in which, if need occurred, the economic and social power of the latter could be used to defend the principles of the former. Bearing in mind this point, namely the fact that some of the strongest Hamzevi supporters may, through their position in the *esnaf*, also have wielded strong economic and political influence in the region, it is certainly somewhat easier to understand why they should have been treated in the harshest possible manner: according to the *ferman* of the 3rd of November, all of those arrested, including all our craftsmen, were sentenced to death.

But, this – namely the possibility of using the *esnafs*' power and influence to promote their social ideals – is not all, it seems, that came out as a result of the Hamzevis' association with trade-guilds. The second and perhaps even more significant piece of information provided by the 1582 documents regarding the Hamzevi activities and the real reasons behind their confrontation with the authorities concerns the organisational structure of the order, an issue absent from the anti-Hamzevi treatises and the lists of accusations of heresy levelled at them during the 1573 purges.

32 Handžić, A, O progonu Hamzevija u sjeveroistočnoj Bosni, p. 36.

33 Indeed, Imber identifies three more Hamzevi suspects from 1582 as being members of *esnafs*, two of them referred to as knife-grinders and one as *kalfa* (Imber, '3. In Ottoman Turkey', p. 228).

This issue is first hinted at in the *hüküm* of the 1st of June 1582 in which a certain Mehmed, son of Hasan, is accused of appropriating the title of 'Sultan' and, thus, of claiming the sultanate,[34] a right naturally reserved for the descendants of the house of Osman. At first sight, this may seem a misunderstanding and perhaps a wrongful accusation on the part of the authorities, since 'Sultan' is an honorary title bestowed upon dervish saints, but sometimes also upon sheikhs of particularly high standing, and this Mehmed could, thus, have been one of the latter and could have been awarded the title simply as a sign of respect. However, the information contained in the *ferman* of the 3rd of November indicates that this was not the case and that, in this instance, this title implied something other than the spiritual meaning in which it is usually associated with dervishes. Among those listed in this *ferman* as having escaped before they could be arrested there are, apart from Mehmed 'the Sultan', three others who also had titles which corresponded to the official titles of the Istanbul government: namely, Hüseyin-ağa, 'the Vezir', Ali-hoca, 'the Istanbul kadi', and Memi, 'the Defterdar'.[35]

Thus, it would appear that the Hamzevis did not stop at simply being associated with the *esnafs*, but, following their example, adopted the same kind of independence displayed by the larger and more powerful *esnafs*: they appear to have formed a sort of 'dervish government' for themselves, conducted their affairs independently of the official authorities and seemingly even organised their own courts.[36] This, together with their close relationship with the *esnafs*, which themselves at times posed a serious threat to the authority of the government, indicates that the fears of the *ulema* and the rest of the ruling elite, though perhaps exaggerated, were certainly not unfounded: the situation in Tuzla in the second half of the 16th century clearly echoes that of Sarajevo some two centuries later, when the so-called 'Esnaf Republic' was formed and the governance of the city was in the hands of the *esnafs*' leaders in cooperation with the Janissary *ağas*.[37] This state of affairs thus goes some considerable way towards explaining the swiftness with which the government reacted to the Hamzevi movement and the harshness of the measures it took against it. Given the social connotations and the agenda of the movement, it is understandable why the government would resort to the old and tested heresy

34 Handžić, A, O progonu Hamzevija u sjeveroistočnoj Bosni, p. 35.

35 Handžić, A, O progonu Hamzevija u sjeveroistočnoj Bosni, p. 36; see also Imber, '3. In Ottoman Turkey', p. 228, and Abdülbâki Gölpınarlı, *Mevlânâ'dan sonra Mevlevîlik*, Istanbul, 1983, p. 269, footnote 95.

36 See Imber, '3. In Ottoman Turkey', p. 228.

37 See Chapter 8.

charge: revealing the true motives for persecuting the Hamzevis would have been hazardous in terms of receiving the desired amount of support, and, given the obvious popularity which the movement had already enjoyed, it is easy to imagine how doing so could have back-fired and led to even more serious insurgence and unrest.

The 1582 persecutions represent the effective end of the Hamzevi movement: although its existence as the Melami-Bayrami order of dervishes was technically uninterrupted and continued through Hamza's successors in various parts of the Ottoman Empire, including its Arab provinces, there is no information of any further organised political activity on the part of the Hamzevis. Thus, although there are no documents confirming this, it is safe to assume that most of those listed in the *ferman* of the 3rd of November 1582 were eventually captured and, like their comrades arrested earlier, sentenced to death. As for those who escaped this fate, they seem to have gone underground never to come out again.

Thus, the Hamzevi movement was a short-lived socio-political movement which had its basis in a dervish order and grew out of this order's ability to exert its ideological influence on various parts of the society in which it functioned. Building upon the already existent links between dervish orders and some of the most important institutions of this society, such as the *esnafs*, Hamza Bali and his followers used these links to exercise their influence and gain support. The Hamzevis started by criticising the existing social order, moved on to refusing to comply with it and eventually openly renounced it altogether. Their confrontation with the authorities arose not necessarily from any heretical teachings they propounded, as may appear on the basis of the accusations of heresy levelled at them at the time, but from the radical way in which they decided to exercise their ideological influence, namely through forming an alternative local government and openly opposing the authority of the established one. Although Hamza and his followers from the Melami-Bayrami order moved away from the usual ways in which dervish orders exerted their influence in society, their ability to do so, however, even for a short period of time, and the success which they had within this period indicate the inherent strength and influence of dervish orders within the society in which this movement grew.

CHAPTER 11

The Foundations of the Hamzevi Order: Hamza-Dede's Tekke and Islamisation in the Tuzla Region

The question of the inherent strength and influence of dervish orders and their ideology within the society which saw the rise of the Hamzevi movement brings the discussion back to the main subject of this study, namely the very establishment of this influence in Bosnian society in the first place. Although the appearance of the Melami-Bayrami order in the second half of the 16th century in the area of the *sancak* of Zvornik in north-eastern Bosnia may, at first sight, seem rather arbitrary, there is reason to believe that this was not the case, and that the foundations for the development of the Hamzevi movement in this area were laid some half a century earlier. This is because it was precisely in this same area, more specifically, in the village of Orlovići, on the road between Zvornik and Vlasenica, that the legendary Hamza-dede built his *tekke* in 1519.

The information about the building of Hamza-dede's Tekke is contained in a note first written in the detailed *defter* of the *sancak* of Zvornik from 1519, and repeated, with minor changes, in the detailed *defters* of the same *sancak* from 1533, 1548 and 1600.[1] The note in the 1533 *defter* reads:

> It had been recorded in the old *defter*[2] that the above mentioned Hamza-dede relinquished a *timar* of seven thousand *akçe*; in the above mentioned village he built a *zavìye* for the sake of God Most High; he is serving those who come and go from his own money; when our *defter* was brought to the Imperial presence, Imperial favour was shown to the above mentioned; it was ordered that sheep, bee-hives, must (*şire*), vineyards, gardens and other things in his possession and at his disposal should be exempt from all dues and taxes imposed by the *sharī'a* and the *kanun* in return for[3] his service.[4]

1 Adem Handžić, "Jedan savremeni dokumenat o šejhu Hamzi iz Orlovića," *POF*, XVIII-XIX/1968-69, Sarajevo, 1973, pp. 205–206. Only the summary version of the 1519 *defter* has been found, and it does not contain this note, but from the text in the 1533 *defter* it is obvious that the note was transferred from the previous detailed *defter*.

2 Namely, the 1519 detailed *defter*.

3 Only the word '*hizmeti*' is in the original text but one can assume that '*mukabilinde*' is implicit.

4 The text is published in Handžić, A, Jedan savremeni dokumenat, pp. 206–207.

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The rest of the text tells us that in the meantime Hamza-dede had died, and also mentions all of the above properties as a *vakıf* for the *tekke*, which means that although Hamza-dede had initially financed his *tekke* with his own money, he later founded a *vakıf* for its maintenance.

The date of the building of Hamza-dede's Tekke and the later founding of his *vakıf* are confirmed by the four preserved Imperial warrants (*berats*) – dating from 1597, 1640, 1793 and 1801 – which were issued in order to renew the rights and privileges of the *tekke* and its *vakıf*.[5]

Unfortunately, these records about the building of the *tekke* and the maintenance of its *vakıf* are the only certain information available on Hamza-dede and his *tekke*: there are no sources providing information about its religious activities, either in the first period of its existence or after the appearance of the Hamzevis, and the information about Hamza-dede himself is scarce and mainly based on folk tradition. Similar to other traditions about famous dervish sheikhs on whose lives very little is known historically, the tradition about the person of Hamza-dede mainly consists of a number of stories illustrating his special powers as a *veli* (a dervish saint). Out of these, there seems to be only one which provides a clue, albeit a remote one, given its origin, about the religious orientation of Hamza-dede. In this story, Hamza-dede, who is always described as a man of mature age with long grey hair, was one day performing *dhikr* outside his *tekke*, and was seen by the villagers waving his pitchfork in the air, his long hair flowing behind him, which caused them to conclude that Hamza-dede had lost his mind and was a lunatic.[6] This perception by the villagers of Hamza-dede as a lunatic clearly points in the direction of the tradition of *melamet*;[7] for practicing *melamet* requires behaving in such a way as to conceal from the outside world one's real character and activities and results in being perceived as blameworthy and reproachable. Since lunacy is at the extreme end of the spectrum of blameworthiness, namely, a state in which one is not even capable of engaging in pious and spiritual endeavour, being perceived as a lunatic thus indicates the most successful degree of concealment of one's spiritual state. This aspect of *melamet* is closely related to and has its roots in the Sufi tradition of the hidden saints, at which Hamza-dede's story

5 Many more *berats* (some 12 in total) together with other documents relating to the *tekke*'s history were kept in the *tekke* itself until the Second World War, when the chest in which they were kept was among the *tekke* property destroyed in 1944; the four preserved *berats* survived because at the time they were on loan to Muhamed Hadžijahić (Muhamed Hadžijahić, "Tekija kraj Zvornika – postojbina bosanskih Hamzevija?", *POF*, X-XI/1960-61, Sarajevo, 1961, p. 194).

6 Hadžijahić, Tekija kraj Zvornika, p. 197.

7 See footnote 2 in Chapter 10.

would appear to be hinting, and according to which the higher the saint's station, the more hidden from the world it is, lunacy being one of the veils behind which a particularly high station can be concealed.[8]

Although the limitations of this information as historical evidence are obvious, there is nevertheless reason to believe that this particular story may have its basis in reality.

As already mentioned, the surviving historical sources on Hamza-dede's Tekke contain only administrative and financial data from the *tekke*'s history, and written information on its religious activities is lacking. Moreover, although the *tekke* was active until relatively recently, more specifically until 1954, when it was closed and placed under state protection as a historical monument, the religious practices of dervishes who resided in the *tekke* until then are nevertheless shrouded in mystery. Thus, for instance, Muhamed Hadžijahić, who investigated this question on several occasions and made what appears to have been the most important attempt at establishing the religious orientation of the *tekke* during his investigation at the time when the *tekke* was still open, could not obtain any concrete information on this matter from anybody, not even from the *tekke*'s guardians at the time.[9] The secrecy which surrounds the practices of Hamza-dede's dervishes indicates the possible presence of Melami tradition among them, secrecy regarding their activities and internal organisation being one of the main distinguishing characteristics of Melami orders both in the classical and the Melami-Bayrami period.[10]

The little that we do know about the *tekke*'s practices seems to confirm this conclusion. Thus, we know that Hamza-dede's Tekke had never had a *semahane* and never carried out *dhikr* in its traditional form, either as group recital or with instruments and music.[11] This particular aspect of the *tekke*'s tradition seems to have been a very important part of it, nourished so strongly that it spread beyond the *tekke*'s grounds: the Muslim population of the surrounding villages harboured an aversion towards music and singing to such an extent

8 This is why, for instance, the '*abdāl*', those saints who in Sufi tradition occupy the third highest rank in the esoteric hierarchy, behind the '*aqṭāb*' and '*awtād*', were considered to be concealed in the form of (crazy) vagabonds (these are not to be confused with Turkish Abdals, the wondering dervishes who seem to have acquired this name, or appropriated it for themselves, on the basis of this tradition). Interestingly, the Bosnian word for 'lunatic' is '*budala*', the alternative Arabic term for '*abdāl*', and the verb used in this story to describe what has happened to Hamza-dede is '*pobudaliti*' (to become crazy), derived from the same word with the prefix 'po' denoting to begin/become something.

9 Hadžijahić, Tekija kraj Zvornika, pp. 201–202.

10 See De Jong, Algar and Imber, Malāmatiyya, pp. 223–228.

11 Ćehajić, *Derviški redovi*, p. 201.

that they did not practice either in any circumstances, not even at wedding festivities.[12] Moreover, it would appear that the *tekke* never possessed a proper sheikh *silsile*, in other words, its sheikhs did not follow any clearly established chain of succession.[13] All of this, again, points in the direction of the Melami-Bayrami order, and according to Hadžijahić, the above characteristics also correspond to the teachings of Mehmed Birgivi (1523–1573),[14] who was a Melami-Bayrami and who was apparently highly respected in the *tekke*, with two of his works being among the few books still preserved in the *tekke*'s possession.[15]

In view of this information, Hadžijahić concludes that the teachings and practices of Hamza-dede's Tekke were at the very least similar to those of the Hamzevis and that the *tekke*, therefore, must have been linked to the Hamzevi movement and its activities.[16] This conclusion is supported by the fact that it was precisely in this region in north-eastern Bosnia that the Hamzevi movement was formed and exerted its strongest influence, which is why it has been suggested that in the middle of the 16th century the *tekke* became the centre of Hamzevi teachings.[17] Indeed, the fact that Hamza Bali, the founder and leader of the Hamzevi movement, was originally from the area of the *sancak* of Zvornik, since this is where he came to live upon his return to his homeland,[18] indicates that it was in this area that he may have been first introduced to the teachings for which he was later to become famous; this is why some believe that he was from the village of Orlovići itself and was in fact a descendant of Hamza-dede which is how he got his name in the first place.[19]

Whatever the case may be, that is, regardless of whether or not Hamza-dede's Tekke was linked to the actual Hamzevi movement, and whatever the nature of this connection may have been, we can safely assume that the

12 Hadžijahić, Tekija kraj Zvornika, p. 201.

13 Ćehajić, *Derviški redovi*, p. 201.

14 On Mehmed Birgivi, also known as Muhammad bin Pīr ʻAlī al-Birkawī, an influental Ottoman scholar, theologian and thinker see Emrullah Yüksel, "Birgivi," *IA*, c. 6, pp. 191–194; see also Muhamed Ždralović, "Bergivi u Bosni," *POF*, vol. 41, Sarajevo, 1991.

15 Hadžijahić, Tekija kraj Zvornika, p. 201.

16 Hadžijahić, Tekija kraj Zvornika, p. 202.

17 Ćehajić, *Derviški redovi*, p. 202; Lopašić, Islamisation of the Balkans with special reference to Bosnia, p. 169.

18 Ćehajić, *Derviški redovi*, p. 192.

19 Safvet-beg Bašagić, *Bošnjaci i Hercegovci u islamskoj književnosti*, Sarajevo, 1912, p. 25; Lopašić, Islamisation of the Balkans with special reference to Bosnia, p. 169, Azamat, Hamza Bali, p. 503.

'appearance' of the Melami-Bayrami order in north-eastern Bosnia in the second half of the 16th century was not accidental and that the basis for the flourishing of its teachings in this area was laid in 1519 by Hamza-dede who obviously established a very strong Melami tradition not only in his *tekke* but in the region as a whole.[20]

Hamza-dede's Tekke clearly played an important role in the shaping of the religious and social outlook of the population of the region in which it was built: the *tekke* is held in special reverence by the population of surrounding villages and towns, and, as mentioned above, the religious practices of this population were heavily influenced by those of the *tekke* and its residents. This being the case, and given the fact that the *tekke* was built in 1519, and thus relatively early from the point of view of the Islamisation process and the formation of Muslim communities in that region, there is very good cause for concluding that the *tekke* must have played some part in this process.

This is confirmed by the picture which the sources provide on the progress of Islamisation in the area. At the time when Hamza-dede built his *tekke* there could hardly have been any Muslims in the area, since the Islamisation process there was still in its early stages, no Muslim towns had yet developed, and Zvornik itself, the seat of the Sancak-bey, had still not reached the level of a *kasaba*.[21] As for the little village of Orlovići, which was in fact a small settlement on the edge of the larger village of Konjevići, its total yearly tax was only 310 *akçe*, which means that it consisted of some 3 to 4 houses;[22] and although the sources do not provide us with this information,[23] it is safe to assume, in view of the general situation in the area at the time, that not many of the inhabitants of Orlovići, if any, could have been Muslim.

The first specific information available on the progress of Islamisation is from 1533: according to the summary *defter* of the Zvornik *sancak* from this

20 This conclusion modifies the previously held view that until 1520 the Melami-Bayrami order was confined to central Anatolia and that the spread of the order beyond this area did not begin until the time of Oğlan Şeyh's activities in Istanbul in 1528 (see Imber, '3. In Ottoman Turkey', pp. 227–228).

21 Handžić, A, Jedan savremeni dokumenat, p. 211. For a definition of '*kasaba*' see Chapter 3.

22 Handžić, A, Jedan savremeni dokumenat, p. 211.

23 As has already been mentioned, the only preserved version of the 1519 *defter*, the first *defter* of the Zvornik *sancak*, is the summary one, containing only the names of the settlements and their yearly tax. This and the summary version of the 1533 *defter* are published, with translation, by Adem Handžić as *Dva prva popisa Zvorničkog sandžaka* (*iz 1519 i 1533 g.*), Sarajevo, 1986.

year,[24] the main village, Konjevići, consisted of 15 Christian households, 6 Muslim households and 2 Muslim bachelors, while its dependant Orlovići was an all-Muslim village consisting of 3 Muslim households and 5 Muslim bachelors.[25] From that point on, the Islamisation process progressed in a gradual manner throughout the 16th century (in 1548, for instance, the two villages together had 5 bachelors and only 20 households, out of which 9 (all in Konjevići) were still Christian[26]) until its completion sometime around the end of the 16th and the beginning of the 17th century. By the middle of the 17th century Konjevići too finally became an all-Muslim village, which according to Evliya Çelebi, who was there in 1664, had around a hundred houses.[27]

Thus, the sources show us that at the time when Hamza-dede built his *tekke* the Islamisation process in the area must have been, at the very least, in its early stages. In fact, given that in 1533 the village of Konjevići still had only 6 Muslim households out of a total number of 21, we can safely assume that the Islamisation process could not have been going on for very long, and, thus, most likely began sometime after the building of Hamza-dede's Tekke in 1519. This, then, directly links Hamza-dede and his *tekke* with the beginning of the Islamisation process in the area and explains the existence of the strong foundation of dervish traditions among its Muslim population. The religious influence of Hamza-dede and his *tekke* obviously accounted to no small degree for the susceptibility of this population to the Hamzevi ideology and the successful spread of Hamzevi teachings among them, thus enabling Hamza Bali and his followers to exert their influence on this population, albeit along lines somewhat different from those which Hamza-dede may have initially envisaged.

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24 Although one part of the detailed *defter* from 1533 is preserved (containing the note on Hamza-dede's *vakıf* quoted earlier), the rest of the *defter* is missing, and, thus, the rest of the information from this year has to be taken from the summary version. Fortunately, however, the summary *defter* from 1533 is more detailed than the one from 1519, and, together with the names of the settlements, also contains the number of households and their religious affiliation.

25 Handžić, A, Jedan savremeni dokumenat, p. 212.

26 Handžić, A, Jedan savremeni dokumenat, p. 212.

27 Evliya, *Putopis*, p. 474. The number of houses given by Evliya seems, in view of the data from the 16th century, somewhat overestimated.

Conclusion

The formation of Bosnian Muslim society was defined at the outset as encompassing the Ottoman conquest and early settlement, town-formation and urban development, establishment of Muslim communities through conversions to Islam, and the economic and social life of those communities in the newly formed towns and cities. This process began even before the official fall of Bosnia to the Ottomans in 1463 and one of the earliest elements which took part in it was the Ottoman army. The latter consisted of many dervish warriors who not only carried out the conquests but also remained in the conquered region as the first representatives of Ottoman rule there. Many of these dervishes acquired land and since they were among the earliest *timar*-holders in Bosnia they played an important role in the establishment of the *timar*-system there.

Shortly after the Ottoman conquest Bosnia embarked upon a rapid process of urban development. Many Bosnian towns developed out of already existing medieval towns or settlements, but some were formed as completely new towns in areas which had not contained any settlements at all. The formation of Bosnian towns would begin with the building of a Muslim religious institution which would constitute the foundation of the new town and the cornerstone of its urban development. In many cases, the first Muslim institutions built in an area were dervish *tekkes*, and the formation of Bosnian towns began with the arrival of a dervish into the area. These *tekkes* were built not only by those dervishes who came to Bosnia purely in their religious capacity, and who, in some cases, were even anonymous, but also by those who were formally in charge of Bosnia, namely the high-ranking Ottoman officials who themselves were dervishes or patrons of dervish orders: thus, while the original foundations of Sarajevo were laid by unknown dervishes who came to Bosnia during the conquest of that area and built a *tekke* alongside the road upon which they entered the region, its further development was ensured by a foundation laid by the Bosnian Sancak-bey, Isa-bey, at the heart of which was again a *tekke*; this development was further facilitated by a succession of official Ottoman patrons, all of whom built *tekkes* in different areas of what was soon to become different neighbourhoods of Sarajevo. Since so many Bosnian towns, including its capital, owe their existence to dervishes it is obvious that dervish orders played a key role in the process of the topographical formation of Ottoman Bosnia, and, for that matter, Bosnia as we know it today.

The newly formed Bosnian towns soon witnessed the development of an urban economy, the cornerstone of which were crafts and their trade-guilds, the *esnaf*s. The internal organisation of Bosnian guilds was based on and

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conditioned by the principles of *futuwwa* and Sufi traditions inherited from the Akhi corporations; and sources show that their everyday activities were very much dependent upon these principles. In practical terms, the membership of an *esnaf* was closely linked to membership of a dervish order: the trade-guilds in Bosnia were affiliated to different *ṭarīqas* throughout their existence, from the time they first appeared in Bosnia in the second half of the 15th century right up until their dissolution in the 20th century. Dervish orders were thus inextricably linked to all aspects of the economic development of Bosnia. Thanks to its all-encompassing character, the *esnaf* organisation played a crucial role in the social life of the newly formed Bosnian Muslim society. For the craftsmen and their families, the membership of an *esnaf* provided not only financial security and benefits but also a social framework within which they lived their lives, and for the townsfolk as a whole, the *esnafs* were an important urban institution which provided a rich social calendar for the entire population, be it by their participation in the marking of religious holidays and festivals, or by their organising celebrations and entertainments during the *esnaf* outings, the *kuşanmas*: although most of the day-to-day *esnaf* activities would have undoubtedly been reserved for the adult male part of the population, based on the information we have, it seems safe to assume that the craftsmen's wives and children – and indeed, other non-*esnaf* male or female members of the town population – would have taken part in at least some of those activities, such as the public holiday celebrations or large *esnaf* outings, for instance. The spiritual traditions of the *ṭarīqas* were an essential element in all of the social activities of Bosnian *esnafs*, and they were thus also an important element in the social life of Ottoman Bosnia in general. Furthermore, thanks to the size and importance of the *esnaf* organisation and the economic and political power it wielded, dervish orders, through their link with this organisation, were also able to exert a significant political and ideological influence in Bosnian society. The best example of this kind of symbiosis between dervish orders and *esnafs* is provided by the 16th-century dervish movement of the Hamzevis, who combined their ideological teachings with the power of the trade-guilds to defy the government's authority, exerting a huge influence and attracting a massive following first among Bosnians, and then in the neighbouring regions and all the way into Istanbul.

The assessment of the roles played by dervish orders in Bosnia thus shows that they constituted an integral part of the new Bosnian Muslim society which developed as a result of Ottoman rule and that it is virtually impossible to discuss any aspect of this society without considering the dervish traditions which were at the heart of the religious character of the Ottoman Empire. It was this vital position of dervish orders in Ottoman Bosnia which enabled them to play

what in many cases appears to have been a crucial role in the Islamisation process there. Frequently, the first contact which the Bosnian population had with Islam was through dervishes who arrived with the Ottoman army and then stayed on in the conquered areas, and there is ample evidence to show that, together with the urban development, the conversions to Islam among the local population of a certain area were directly initiated by the building of a *tekke* or the arrival of a dervish in that area: the *defters* show that the earliest conversions occurred just after the building of these *tekkes* and among those who lived closest to them, and other evidence suggests that the new Bosnian Muslims embraced the traditions of those particular *tekkes* or dervish orders associated with them. The progression of the Islamisation of Bosnia's urban population closely followed the development of crafts and trade-guilds in the newly formed Bosnian towns. The vast majority of Bosnian craftsmen were Muslims who nevertheless came from the ranks of the Bosnian local population: evidence shows not only that most of those who joined *esnafs* converted either prior to or just after entering them, but also, more importantly, that the *esnafs* with all-Muslim membership, in other words, those in which conversions to Islam amounted to 100% of their membership, were also the *esnafs* with the strongest *futuwwa* tradition and firmest links with dervish orders.

To this, one final observation may be added: while the conclusions reached in this study apply primarily to Bosnia, many of the findings have wider implications and, in some cases, modify or point to the need to revise some of the existing or prevailing views on the subject. These include, for instance, the view that the colonising and proselyitising roles in the early stages of Ottoman conquests were confined to the individual, 'wandering dervishes' and their *zaviyes* – Bosnian evidence shows that the more established, 'orthodox', or state-sponsored dervish orders and their representatives took equal part in this process. But perhaps in most urgent need of reconsidering, in light of the evidence presented in the preceding chapters, are the views prevailing in Western scholarship regarding Ottoman guilds and their religious character – Bosnian evidence shows that, contrary to those views, the *futuwwa* and Sufi traditions of the Akhi corporations not only survived in the context of later guilds, but to a large extent shaped the guild organisation and influenced many of the *esnaf* customs and day-to-day practices.

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