

whether we stick to the thesis of genetic relationship or suppose loan contacts. In contrast to Poppe I have abandoned the Altaic thesis; but he will always be my admired ideal in his breadth of knowledge, investigation and exploration. In France there was in the 17th century "la querelle entre les anciens et les modernes" ('the quarrel between the ancient and the modern'), namely the dispute whether the classical literature of the Greeks and Romans was superior to French literature or the latter had reached a higher level. Fénelon ended this quarrel with an elegant formulation, which may hold also for Ramstedt and Poppe, on the one hand, and such persons as Róna-Tas, Clark and Doerfer, on the other hand: "They, the older scholars, were giants, and we are dwarfs; but we stand on their shoulders, and this means: a little bit above them".

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THE QUESTION OF THE ORIGIN OF SUFI SCHOOLS AT BALKANS

The part of Sufism and growing on its ground community organisations in the form of dervishes – tariqat¹ brotherhood of Balkan nations still requires more precise research. It is generally assumed that in the process of conquest and islamisation of Balkan nation, and then consolidation of Ottoman the value of tariqats was decisive².

¹ The word *tariqat* is Persian and Turkish version of Arabian noun *tariqa* pronunciation, ended with mute *t* (Arabian *ta marbuta*) denoting "the route", "the road". Therefore the usage of this version with reference to Turkish linguistic and cultural acreage is reasonable. On the ground of Sufism the term *tariqa* (Persian-Turkish *tariqat*) has got two denotations: 1) the second stage of individual self-realisation achieved under spiritual masters' direction; 2) the particular school or community of disciples, following its own esoteric tradition and instructions of their spiritual teachers.

² It was confirmed in revealing studies by Franz Babinger, see his *Aufsätze und Abhandlungen zur Geschichte Südosteuropas und der Levante*, vol. I-II, München 1962-1966 (in series *Südeuropa-Schriften* no 8); in reference to Albania see: M. Hasluck, *The Non-conformist Moslems of Albania*, *The Muslim World*, vo. XV, 1925, pp. 392 ff.; N. Clayer, *L'Albanie pays des derviches*, Berlin 1990, pp. 77-79. Recognition of the integral character of Sufism in social and cultural dimension is quite common among scientists in so-called II Yugoslavia (before collapse in 1991), see A. Lopšič, *Islam in the Balkans*, Edinburgh 1979, pp. 50 ff.; H. Kaleši (Kaleshi), *Oriental Culture in Yugoslav Countries from the 15th Century till the End of 17th*

Ottoman historiographer Aşıkpaşazade writes about four groups, on which basis the sultanate army was formed. Especially important was Abdalan-i Rum group, initially meaning the afflux of Muslim immigrants to Anatolia³. Connecting to the images of Sufism Abdals constitute the brotherhood of warriors and ascetics and the leadership of "baba", i.e. spiritual father. The purpose of this group was the holy war with non-Muslims and Islam propaganda among Balkan communities. Their protectors were Ottoman rulers and Turkish sultans. Abdals originated from Near East, and even from Central Asia. The names of these groups are mostly derived from the names of their founders.

In fourteen century in Anatolia and even on the islands of Ionian Sea coast khalwatiyya brotherhood, initially related to Turkish safawiyya tariqats from Azerbaijan, considerably connecting to Shiism, gained the prominent influence. When the former army judge of claimant Musa Çelebi, Sufi shaikh Bedreddin (Arabian Badr ad-Din) joined the brotherhood, it took over the slogans social revolution. Owing to the long journeys over Anatolia, Egypt and north-west Iran, this spiritual "leader" came to know the life of Nomads from Anatolia and Christians of Rumelia⁴. He worked out fully developed syncretic system connecting the elements of tasawwuf (Sufism), Shiite eschatology and Christian doctrine close to hezykhasm. It was the courageous attempt to form new religion "over religions", linking Muslim and East-Christian tendencies. There are some premises indicating that the mis-

Century in: *Ottoman Rule in middle European the 16th and 17th Centuries*, Praha: Oriental Institute, 1978, pp. 379 ff. (and many others). The monograph by A. Popovic *L'Islam Balkanique. Les Musulmans du Sud-est européen dans la période post-Ottomane*, Wiesbaden 1986, does not explain precisely the question of the origins of Balkan Sufism.

³ Compare J. Hauziński, *Odbudowa państwa Osmanów i jego organizacja wojskowa w połowie XV wieku*, ed. by D. Quirini-Popławska (*Zeszyty Naukowe UJ MCLXXVIII. Prace historyczne* 119. *Studia Polono-Danubiana et Balcanica VIII*), Kraków 1995, pp. 52ff.

⁴ In this case F. Babinger's Schejch Bedr ed-din, der Sohn des Richters von Simaw, *Der Islam*, vol. XI. 1921, pp.1-106, still remains up-to-date; see also some Turkish works: A. Gölpınarlı, *Simavna Kadisioglu Şeyh Bedreddin*, Istanbul 1966.

sionaries of that trend accompanied Musa army and expressed their own message independently on Balkan lands⁵.

Shaikh Bedreddin and his disciple – Burklidje (old-Ottoman Börklüce) Mustafa and Torlak Kemal called Hu aroused revolt in 1416. Burklidje Mustafa operated in the region of Aydin and on Chios Island, Kemal was leading operations in the region of Manisa. Bedreddin himself tried to gain Anatolian beys' favours, especially emirs of Isfendiyar-oghlu and Kastamon. Failing to acquire their support, he got to Rumelia and South Dobrudja (Deli Urman), trying to form recruits army of dervishes of his trend. He quoted the clinching argument for Shiite oriented Sufis, claiming that he is expected Mahdi (Liberator, the Messiah). Temporarily voivode of Wallachia, Mircha I The Old (1386-1418) co-operated with him⁶. However, forces of Mehmed I Çelebi succeeded to crush that movement. Some "khalife" of Bedreddin saved their lives and, not admitting openly to their ideological descent, continue their mission among Christian population in Rumelia. Institutional structures of Ottoman state, along with religious Muslim institutions, in the period of conquest of Balkan land were too powerless to control detailed forms of islamisation and indoctrination of local communities. Therefore the advocates of heterodox and esoteric concepts, taking necessary camouflage, could make quasi-religious propaganda as Muslim-wide mission activity. That camouflage enabled the survival of many non-ortodox images in Balkan Islam.

Albania is considered to be the fatherland of Balkan Sufism, first of all Bektashi community, where in course of time Bektashism started to state Albanian national ideals. The scientists agreed that Bektashits – the main Sunni tariqat of Ottomans – became widespread in the middle

⁵ See N. Filipović, *Princ Musa i šejh Bedreddin*, Sarajevo 1971, p.104ff, 288f, 384f; there is also wide reconstruction of anti-Ottoman uprising of Bedreddin and his "delegates" (Turkish *halife*), *ibidem*, pp. 542ff.

⁶ Bedreddin as Mahdi see N. Filipović, *op.cit.*, pp. 572; co-operation with Mircha see *ibidem*, pp.384ff. The break of Ottoman state in issue of Wallachia affairs see Ş. Papacostea, *La Valachie et la crise de structure de l'empire ottoman (1402-1413)*, *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire*, Y. XXV, 1968, 1-2, pp. 23-34.

of sixteen century⁷, despite of legendary versions dating the origins of this organisation in Balkan sphere from the end of fourteen century. Generally, the question of the origins of Rumelian tariqat is connected with chronology of Ottoman conquest. It can be bound with appearance of Turks in Epirus and Albania after 1380, in the beginning as allied hired troops of Christian princes⁸, likewise it took place before in relation to central part of Byzantine empire. Winning in local conflicts, they began to vassalisation some of Christian lords. As a consequence of these practices Turks included territories of Albania and Epirus to Ottoman sultanate⁹.

In 1393 Bayezid I started to set restrictions of Venetian trade range in Albania. Undertaking economic and military means of pressure for Venetian oligarchy of tradesmen, sultan began systematically to outflank Venetian properties¹⁰. As that time Ottomans conquered Saint Sergius castle, while a little earlier (? 1391) Krujë¹¹. In course of

⁷ See H.-J. Kissling, *Zur Frage der Anfänge des Bektasitums in Albanien "Oriens"*, vol. CXV, 1962, pp. 281ff. Also F. Babinger, *Das Bektashik-loster Demir Baba, Ostasiatische Studien*, XXXIV, 1931, p. 8; *idem*, Ewlija Tschelabi's Reisewege in Albanien, *Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen*, vol. XXXIII, 1930, chap. II, pp.137ff.; J. S. Trimingham, *The Sufi Orders in Islam*, Oxford 1971 (further on quotation on the base of Russian translation by O. F. Akimuszkin (ed.), *Sufijskije ordieny w islamie*, Moskwa 1989), p. 74-76; lately H. T. Norris, *Islam in the Balkans. Religion and Society between Europe and the Arab World*, London 1995, pp. 93ff.

⁸ See H. T. Norris, *op. cit.*, p. 127.

⁹ See K. Bozhori, La lutte des albanais pour la liberté contre les conquérants Ottomans. Vue par les historiens byzantins, in: *Deuxième Conférence des Études Albanologiques*, Tirana 12-18 janvier 1968, vol I, p.118 (further: DCEA). D. E. Pitcher dates the Turkish intervention on territory of Epirus Joannina (Janina) to 1387 or 1388; see *idem*, *A Historical Geography of the Ottoman Empire*, Leiden 1972, p. 45.

¹⁰ H. T. Norris, *l.c.*

¹¹ H. T. Norris, *ibidem*. However, according to H. Inalcik this event took place probably between 1394-1396; see *idem*, *Les régions de Krujë et de la Dibra autour de 1467 (d'après les documents ottomans)*, DCEA, vol. I, p.

1394 Venetian authorities of Durrës (Italian Durazzo) has been encourage to sigh advantageous agreement with Ottoman commander Shahin¹². Quite soon Škodra also occurred under Turkish domination. The other centre captured by Turks was above mentioned Krujë, before that governed by Helena Thopia, sister of Gjergj Thopia¹³. About 1394 Turks charge the administration over this town to Konstantin from Balshić family, who enjoyed the confidence of sultan. Beglerbegs of Rumelia – Yakut Paşa and Khodja (Turkish Hoca) Firuz – in exchange for submission granted people of Krujë some tax reductions, which is confirmed by cadastral book from 1431¹⁴.

It is assumed that after these events "order" of Bektashits exerted an influence on mentioned localities and also the other regions of Albania. According to the tradition which was bequeathed to posterity by Haydar Baba – initiated in Bektashi history – to John Kingsley Birge says that Bektashi „babas" accompanied the army of Murad II (1421-

224; compare F. De Jong, "Krujë", in: *Encyclopaedia of Islam. New Edition*, vol. V, Leiden 1986, pp. 284-285 (further: EINE).

¹² In 1392 Gjergj Thopia drew up a document authorising the Republic of Saint Mark to inherit Durrës and its regions, see the ratification of agreement of 18.08.1392 in: *Acta Albaniae iuridica*, ed. by J. Valentini, vol. I, München 1968, no 199, pp. 160-163; negotiation with sultan Bayezid I regarding Turkish protectorate over Durrës see *Régestes des délibérations du Sénat de Venise concernant la Roumanie*, ed. by F. Thiriet, vol. I, Paris 1958, nos 878, 932.

¹³ See *Acta Albaniae iuridica*, ed. by J. Valentini, vol. I, no 200, p.164: "... In pertinentijs Durachij est quoddam Castrum, vocatum Croya, quod Maior soror domini quondam Durachij, post eius mortem tenebat, que nuper nup-sit cuidam ser Marco Barbadico qui jam longo tempore habitauit in dictis partibus(...)", compare N. Jorga, *Geschichte des osmanisches Reiches*, vol. I (to 1451), Gotha 1908, p. 269.

¹⁴ See *Hicri 835 tarihli Suret-i Defter-i Sancak-i Arvanid. Turk Tarih Kurumu yarinlarindan XIV Seri*, Ankara 1954, p. 103 (described by H. Inalcik); compare E. A. Zachariadou, *Marginalia on the History of Epirus and Albania (1380-1418)*, *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, vol.78, p.196.

1451) attacking Albania¹⁵. The presence of initiated in Bektashi was mentioned even before by Zulfo Baba from tekke Turan and in appropriate fragments of Bektashi history in Albania by Turabi Baba¹⁶. However their work was recorded clearly in Mehmed I days (1451-1481). The famous dervish Qasim Baba appeared in the sources coming from the period of Constantinople conqueror, whose successor Bayezid II (1481-1512) acquired fame as a founder of many tekkes for his disciples. Qasim Baba was specially active in the region of Castoria (Kostur), where the origin of certain tariqat is usually dated at the beginning of fifteen century¹⁷. From that time, or from a little later, comes the notion about Yamin Baba's arrival to Voutrinë, Piri Baba's to Djuma near Kozani in Aegean Macedonia, and Husayn Baba to Konitsa in Epirus. These relations seem to be worthy of belief, though their chronology is not unquestionable. In detailed dating applied in the biography of Muharem Mahzumi Baba from Gjirokastër, Baba Rexhebi proclaimed himself rather in favour of earlier foundation of Bektashi centres in Albania than in favour of later period¹⁸. That Bektashi author and spiritual master, living in nineteen century, was connected with tekke Farsalla in Thesalia, founded in 1480 by the missionary Durbalii Sultan¹⁹. Relationship between Bektashism and Krujë (English Krooja), finally conquered by Turks in 1478, is historically confirmed as a documentary evidence. That place became famous in Ottoman period as Aq Hisar (White Fortress), and until the present time remained the centre of Albanian Bektashism. French traveller A. Degrand, who was writing on Albania in the end of nineteen century,

¹⁵ See J. K. Birge, *The Bektashi Order of Dervishes*, London-Hartford 1937, pp.70-72; compare H. T. Norris, *op. cit.*, p. 127.

¹⁶ See J. K. Birge, note to p. 72 mentioned that according to *History of the Bektāshīyya* by Turabi Baba Qasim Baba appeared already in 1378.

¹⁷ H. T. Norris, *op. cit.*, p. 128, claims univocally that Qasim Baba's activity in Castoria could not take place before the beginning of fifteen century.

¹⁸ In published in Albanian language work: *Misticizma Islame dhë Bektashizma*, New York 1970, pp. 270 ff. (quotation after: H. T. Norris, *op. cit.*, pp. 128ff., 290).

¹⁹ See F.W. Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans*, vol. II, Oxford 1929, p. 766; H.T. Norris, *op. cit.*, p.129.

related about agricultural character of Bektashi people's life, particularly the life of the babas of Krujë²⁰. He presented quite accurate "hagiography" of Albanian Bektashis. Ali's activity is dated by Degrand at the beginning of sixteen century but it is rather incredible. It is generally known that this missionary of Bektashism arrived from Chorasani (north-west of Iran) and settled down in lower part of Krujë, where he found his own tekke and planted cypress trees. His arrival to Krujë is sometimes transferred to a later day, even to several decades²¹.

The settlements of Machiel Kiel, related to his research on the cult of Sari Saltiq in Krujë are of great importance approximately for the history of Krujë's Bektashism. He dated its origins to 975 A.H. (1567-68 A.D.)²². That turning point indicates more precise dating of early Bektashi influences in Albania, in particular in Krujë. The cult of mythical Sari Saltiq, with time linked with legends of Eastern Christianity about Saint Nicholas, some like later started to be connected even with some places and sacral objects of western world²³.

M. Kiel made an interesting discovery in Ottoman tax register in Istanbul (kuk 37) dated to 975 A.H. (1583 A.D.). It was mentioned there about "community of faithful people put to repair Sari Saltiq's route"²⁴. Therefore this mention is dated fifty years after notorious decease of commonly admired Hamza Baba to 940 A.H. (1533/34). The cave of Sari Saltiq sanctuary is situated inside mountain range around Krujë (there is, or there was, an inscription dated to 1104 A.H. = 1692/93)²⁵. Register found by Kiel specified ten tamirdji families (Turkish tamirci), i.e. subjects of sultanate with burden of taxes assigned to repair pilgrim route to Sari Saltiq grave. As to the origins of

²⁰ See A. Degrand, *Souvenirs de la Haute-Albanie*, Paris 1901, pp. 228-248.

²¹ F. Babinger, With the Dervishes of Krooja, in: *The Sphere*, no 1525, 13.04.1929, p. 63, dated Baba Ali's death to 970 A.H. = 1562.

²² On the basis of information sent by M. Kiel to H. T. Norris by correspondence, see *idem*, *Islam in the Balkans*, p. 156.

²³ On the range of that occurrence see F. W. Hasluck, *op. cit.*, vol. II, Oxford 1929, p. 577.

²⁴ I quote after H. T. Norris, *op. cit.*, p. 132.

²⁵ H. T. Norris, l.c. Perhaps this monument cast in its lot with other remains of religious culture, destroyed or seized by Enver Hodja regime.

Bektashism it can be assumed that in non-reformed form this trend appeared in Albanian Krujë but its expansion at the territory of Albania falls in period after reform of all "order" as a result of a leader known as Balim Sultan after 1516, the founder of parent "home" of Bektashi people in Pir Evi, the region of west-Anatolian town Kırşehir²⁶.

Should the origins of Balkan sufism really be connected with period of early Ottoman conquest on the lands of Albania, Macedonia and Epirus? Was the cult of Sari Saltiq, noticeable in sources in sixteen century in the religion of Krujë, really born in Albanian environment? Let us try to answer the latter question first.

Somewhere else I have tried to prove that the cult of Sari Saltiq who, in my opinion, could be a co-founder of primary Bektashism, in case of Balkan borderland among mixed population of Tartar-Wallachian-Roman²⁷. The evidence in favour of antiquity of Sari Saltiq's cult on that territory was the testimony of famous Arabian traveller Ibn Battuta who, travelling in 1331 A.D. through Qipčaq's Steppes to Constantinople, came across Baba Saltuq town (Turkish Saltik). It should be identified with later Babadagh. In that time it was already the centre of this dervish cult who undoubtedly was already gone in those days. According to the appropriate fragment this travel work by Ibn Battuta: "The road conducted across the town Baba Saltuq, one of the latest Turks' abode since farther begins the land of Rums. The name Baba has got the same meaning as Berberian one (...)"²⁸. They told that Saltuq itself was *mukashif*, i.e. the experienced ecstatic sensation; but they told such things of him which are rejected by Islam re-

²⁶ Confirmation of this opinion might be among others the legendary version of mysterious Baba Ali Efendi arrival to Krujë, whose mission became evident turning-point in local Bektashi community life; see H. T. Norris, *op. cit.*, p. 131; Balim Sultan as "the second founder" of Bektashi see B. Tschudi, *Bektashiyya*, El NE, vol. I, Leiden-London 1960, p. 1162.

²⁷ J. Hauziński, Muzulmański "Święty" w Gdańsku? Gdańsk w wyobrażeniach Turków osmańskich, in: *Gdańsk średniowieczny w świetle najnowszych badań archeologicznych i historycznych*, J. Iluk, H. Paner (eds), Gdańsk 1998, pp. 43-50.

²⁸ I omit philological reasoning on the term *mukashif*, added to biographical plot of Baba Saltiq or Sari Saltiq.

ligion"²⁹. His cult and his figure itself were in conflict with Muslim orthodoxy. Therefore the name Saltiq was replaced by Turkish word *baba*, i.e. father that nothing could irritate Sunni religious authority. Since then the name: Babadagh – notionally heterogenous – contained written in code name of holy dervish, for orthodox Muslims in fact the heretic.

The considerable rise of Sari Saltiq's cult in 1330 in Babadagh convinces that Sufi community followers of primary Bektashism had to come into being just in there.

²⁹ See *Voyages d'Ibn Batoutah, texte arabe, accompagne d'une traduction par C. Defrémery et B. R. Sanguinetti*, vol. II, p. 416 (reprint: Antrophos Publishers). In Polish selection of Ibn Batuta works that short passage has been omitted, though it mentioned the locality called Baba Saltuq as "one of the last Turks' abode". Selection translated from Arabian by T. Majda and H. Natorf, Warszawa 1962, p. 162.