

**Volume 13. December 2012**  
**Transcendent Philosophy**  
An International Journal for  
Comparative Philosophy  
and Mysticism

**Editor**

Seyed G. Safavi  
SOAS, University of London, UK

**Book Review Editor**

Sajjad H. Rizvi  
Exeter University, UK

**Editorial Board**

G. A'awani, Iranian Institute of Philosophy, Iran  
A. Acikgenc, Fatih University, Turkey  
M. Araki, Islamic Centre England, UK  
S. Chan, SOAS University of London, UK  
W. Chittick, State University of New York, USA  
R. Davari, Tehran University, Iran  
G. Dinani, Tehran University, Iran  
P.S. Fosl, Transylvania University, USA  
M. Khamenei, SIPRI, Iran  
B. Kuspinar, McGill University, Canada  
H. Landolt, McGill University, Canada  
O. Leaman, University of Kentucky, USA  
Y. Michot, Hartford Seminary,  
Macdonald Center, USA  
M. Mohaghegh-Damad, Beheshti University,  
Iran  
J. Morris, Boston College, USA  
S.H. Nasr, The George Washington University,  
USA  
S. Pazouki, Iranian Institute of Philosophy, Iran  
C. Turner, University of Durham, UK  
H. Ziai, UCLA, USA

**Assistant Editor:**

Shahideh Safavi, University of London

**Coordinator:**

Seyed Sadreddin Safavi, University of London

**Layout & Design**

Mohamad A. Alavi, [www.mediatics.net](http://www.mediatics.net)

*Transcendent Philosophy Journal* is an academic peer-reviewed journal published by the London Academy of Iranian Studies (LAIS) and aims to create a dialogue between Eastern, Western and Islamic Philosophy and Mysticism is published in December. Contributions to *Transcendent Philosophy* do not necessarily reflect the views of the editorial board or the London Academy of Iranian Studies.

Contributors are invited to submit papers on the following topics: Comparative studies on Islamic, Eastern and Western schools of Philosophy, Philosophical issues in history of Philosophy, Issues in contemporary Philosophy, Epistemology, Philosophy of mind and cognitive science, Philosophy of science (physics, mathematics, biology, psychology, etc), Logic and philosophical logic, Philosophy of language, Ethics and moral philosophy, Theology and philosophy of religion, Sufism and mysticism, Eschatology, Political Philosophy, Philosophy of Art and Metaphysics.

The mailing address of the *Transcendent Philosophy* is:

Dr S.G. Safavi  
Journal of Transcendent Philosophy  
121 Royal Langford  
2 Greville Road  
London NW6 5HT  
UK  
Tel: (+44) 020 7692 2491  
Fax: (+44) 020 7209 4727  
Email: [philosophy@iranainstudies.org](mailto:philosophy@iranainstudies.org)

Submissions should be sent to the Editor. Books for review and completed reviews should be sent to the Book Review Editor. All other communication should be directed to the coordinator.

*Transcendent Philosophy* is published in December. Annual subscription rates are: Institutions, £60.00; individuals, £30.00. Please add £6.00 for addresses outside the UK. The Journal is also accessible online at: [www.iranianstudies.org](http://www.iranianstudies.org).

© London Academy of Iranian Studies  
ISSN 1471-3217

## Articles

**Answers to Some Questions Posed about Religion and the Environment**  
Seyyed Hossein Nasr [7-20]

**Mulla Sadra's Life and Philosophy**  
Seyed G Safavi [21-96]

**The Heideggerian Triad of Ontical, Ontological and Hermeneutical Approaches to *Sein***  
Abdul Rahim Afaki [97-118]

**Revisiting the Question of Alienation in a Frommesque Perspective**  
Seyed Javad Miri [119-130]

**Compatible Corruptibilities: Death in Physical Theory, the Pauline Epistles and the Philosophy of the Iranian Illuminationists**  
David Kuhrt [131-148]

**Reverberations of The Life and Work of The Seventeenth-Century Bosnian *Shaykh* and Poet Ḥasan Qa'emi**  
Sara Susanne Kuehn [149-176]

**A Comparative Analysis of the Concept of Formality in the Work of Rumi and in Empirical Psychology**  
Fatemeh Nasr Azadani and Fariborz Bagheri [177-202]

**Kindness: the Relationship Between God and Creation**  
Abdolmajid Mohagheghi and Jaseb Nikfar [203-224]

**Why the Modern Intellectual Cannot Teach the Truth?**  
Aadil Farook [225-238]

**Art As It Is, and Art As It Should Be: An Analytical Study of Fārābī**  
Nadia Maftouni [239-248]

## Book Reviews:

**The Garden of Truth: The Vision and Promise of Sufism, Islam Mystical Tradition**  
Prof. Seyyed Hossein Nasr [249-252]

**A Sufi Master's Message: In Memoriam René Guénon**  
Shaykh 'Abd al-Wahid Pallavicini [253-258]

## Reverberations of The Life and Work of The Seventeenth-Century Bosnian *Shaykh and Poet* Ḥasan Qā’emi<sup>1</sup>

Sara Susanne Kuehn  
London Academy of Iranian Studies, UK

### Abstract

Ḥasan Baba, also known as Hasan Kaimija, was one of most celebrated Bosnian Ṣūfī *shaykhs* (spiritual master) and poets of the eleventh/seventeenth century, whose spiritual charisma continues to be a subject of ritual veneration, which endures and radiates across the western Balkans. In fact, his resting place remains an important place of pilgrimage of Bosnian Muslims to this very day. This paper sheds some light on the impact of Hasan baba’s life and work on the region.

**Keywords:** Hasan Baba, Ḥasan Qā’emi, Bosnia, Sufism, West Balkan.

### Introduction

Ḥasan Baba, with the *makhlāṣ* (“[poetic] pseudonym”, Bosn. *postojani*) of Qā’imī (“steady, constant, persistent”),<sup>2</sup> also known as Hasan Kaimija, was one of most celebrated Bosnian Ṣūfī *shaykhs* (spiritual master) and poets of the eleventh/seventeenth century. What is known of his life and work affords a rare glimpse into contemporary Ṣūfīsm (*taṣawwuf*), the mystical dimension of Islam, in Bosnia. The *shaykh*’s resting place remains an important “place

of pilgrimage” of Bosnian Muslims to this very day being endowed with a symbolic efficaciousness that perhaps also reflects the expectations and the hopes of the members of his community. Hasan Baba thus represents an example of a saintly man whose spiritual charisma was not only revered during his lifetime but who continues to be a subject of ritual veneration which endures and radiates across the western Balkans.

### The *tekke* of Šejh Ḥasan Qā'imī

Information about the *shaykh*'s life is quite scarce<sup>3</sup> and is based more on circumstantial evidence and oral traditions<sup>4</sup> than on written sources. Born in 1039/1630 in Sarajevo, where he acquired his primary education, he went to Sofia to join the well-known Šejh Muslihudin Užičanin (d. 1052/1643) of the Khalwatiyyah (Turk. Halvetiyye) *tarīqa* (lit. “path”).<sup>5</sup> There he remained until he obtained the *idžazet* (Ar. *ijāza*, lit. “permission, license, authorization”, the certificate from a higher authority authorising the *murīd* (“aspiring novice, seeker”) to transmit a certain subject or body of Islamic knowledge that was studied “at the feet” of the *shaykh*) and *iršad* (Ar. *irshād*, “spiritual guidance”).<sup>6</sup> Ḥasan Qā'imī is said to have then travelled to Istanbul and Konya.<sup>7</sup> Later he also became attached to the Qādiriyya *tarīqa* and after his return to Sarajevo he became *šejh-mejdan*<sup>8</sup> of the renowned *tekije* (Turk. *tekke*, “Šūfī lodge”) of Ḥājjī Sinān Āghā in Sarajevo (fig. 1). The latter was constructed in 1047–9/1638–40 and subsequently restored on several occasions.<sup>9</sup>

Ḥasan Qā'imī was reputedly also the *shaykh* of another *tekke* located in the Ajaz Paša *mahala* (Ar. *maḥalla*, residential quarter) on the right bank of the Miljacka River near the lower Ćumurija Bridge in Sarajevo, which was named after him.<sup>10</sup> Originally his private house (and birthplace), it was transformed into a *tekke* in 1075/1664.<sup>11</sup> Ḥasan Qā'imī seems to have been in easy circumstances<sup>12</sup> and the *tekke* is said to have been quite beautiful; on the ground floor a storeroom was located while on the first floor

there was a *samā'khāna* (central ritual hall) as well as two chambers.<sup>13</sup> The land that was endowed to the *tekke* stretched to the Miljacka River.<sup>14</sup> In his twelfth/eighteenth-century chronicle the prominent local author Muṣṭafa ibn Aḥmad Bašeski (Bašeskija) Ševki (d. 1223/1809) states that this *tekke* belonged to the Khalwatiyya fraternity.<sup>15</sup>

It is of significance that Ḥasan Qā'imī's wife was among the so-called "Sisters of Rum" (*Bacıyan i Rûm*, locally known as *Badžijanije*<sup>16</sup>), a mystical organization of women with roots in Asia Minor that is mentioned in fragmentary references across Bosnia. Bajram Salih Kalaba (Bayrām Šālih Qalāba) mentions in his pilgrimage guide of Sarajevo, published in 1276/1859–60, that the grave of Qā'imī's wife was located in the backyard of the Qā'imī Baba Tekke.<sup>17</sup> There it served as *zjaretgah* (Turk. *ziyāretgāh*),<sup>18</sup> a holy place which marked the continuing presence of a saint or "friend of God" (*evliya*, Ar. *awliyā*),<sup>19</sup> where *ziyāret* is performed – denoting the practice of pilgrimage to her resting place with concomitant acts of veneration. Hence, even though Kalaba does not mention her name, she was clearly recognised as a spiritual master (with a *deredža* (degree) in spiritual advancement).<sup>20</sup> Muhamed Hadžijahić has conclusively shown that, since Ḥasan Qā'imī acted as *šejh-mejdan* of the Ḥājji Sinān Tekke, his purpose for transforming his private house into a *tekke* was for his wife to act there as *vekil* (Ar. *wakīl*, "deputy, representative"). The *wakīlkhāna* was later instituted as a specifically women's *tekke*.<sup>21</sup> It consequently predates the tradition of the Qādiriyya in Sarajevo to establish *dhikr* assemblies (*majlis dhikr*, Ar. *majāles al-dhikr*) for women,<sup>22</sup> a practice which continues to this very day in the Qādirī-Badawī *tekke* located in the Čeljigovići *mahala* in Sarajevo.<sup>23</sup>

Hadžijahić convincingly argues that Qā'imī's wife must have passed away before her husband left Sarajevo towards the end of his life, allegedly after having become involved in the Sarajevo rebellion of 1093/1682–3.<sup>24</sup> It seems that after her death the *tekke* ceased to serve as a *wakīlkhāna* for women dervishes.<sup>25</sup> Less than three

decades after its construction, the *tekke* was burnt to the ground – like most buildings of Sarajevo – during the 1109/1697 raid of Sarajevo by Austrian troops commanded by Prince Eugene of Savoy. It took over half a century before the *tekke* was rebuilt by the Sarajevo *qāḍī* Ḥājjī Muhamed Zihnija in 1176/1762,<sup>26</sup> but just over a century later in the great fire of 1296/1879 it was once again destroyed.<sup>27</sup> However the cult of Qā'imī's wife had not disappeared and pilgrims continued to seek blessings (*baraka*) at her tomb since Kalaba included her grave in his 1276/1859–60 compilation of places of worship in Sarajevo.

### The poetic legacy of Šejh Ḥasan Qā'imī

Ḥasan Qā'imī's poetic work comprises two *Dīwāns* in Ottoman Turkish as well as poems (*qaṣīdas*) written in *alhamijado* (Bosnian Slavic written in Arabic script).<sup>28</sup> The first *Dīwān* contains a rich collection of mystical verse. These poems of religious and mystic inspiration were mainly intended for preparation at sessions of the *dhikr*,<sup>29</sup> “recollection” of God, as a principal prayer practice within the *tekkes* of the mystic orders. Many of these are sung as *ilāhīs*, “divine [hymns]”<sup>30</sup> (Bosn. *ilahijes*), during the gatherings of the dervishes encouraging the participants by their rhythm as by their words to reach a state of exaltation.

In a *ghazel* the poet and *shaykh* calls upon the Ṣūfīs to come to the *mejdān* (Ar. *maydān*, here “arena”), the place in the *tekke* where the *dhikr* is held:

You have come into the arena, O heart!  
Try to attain Unity with audacity, today!<sup>31</sup>

Qā'imī uses the well know poetic metaphor of the flame and the moth (Ar. *farāsha*, Pers. *parwāna*) relating to the pinnacle of mystical experience. He alludes to the moth's fatal attraction to the candle's flame as a symbol of annihilation. The dervish is likened to

the moth that circles around the flame of the candle and that eventually immolates itself in the fire of divine love:

Burning and blazing in the fire of love,  
 You must become the moth [*pervāne*], today!  
 Having come into the arena of the gathering of dervishes,  
 Abandon your life in sacrifice, today!<sup>32</sup>

He thereby alludes to the topos of *baqā'* ("subsistence, survival") through *fanā'* ("passing away, effacement") referring to the stages of the development of the seeker in the mystical path of self-recognition (*gnosis*), in other words, the return of the self to the Self. This is described by the famous analogy of al-Biṣṭāmī of the sloughing of the outward skin of the serpent.<sup>33</sup> By virtue of this unsheathing, the serpent gains new skin and thereby new life which is likened to the mystic's final shedding of his "I" in *fanā'*. Hence in the same manner as the serpent sloughs its old skin and appears newly robed, the mystic annihilates his *nafs* (lower soul) and lives eternally by undergoing a metamorphosis.

The doctrine of the oneness of being or "the unity of existence" (*waḥdat al-wujūd*), one of the stages of the path to God, is revealed in ecstatic and poetical exclamations:

You will eternally burn in the fire of the plurality;  
 Do you know why you became like the light of the flame of  
 uniqueness?<sup>34</sup>  
 The one who knows God with certitude cannot fall, the Divine  
 Essence [*lūbb*, "heart, spirit"] is not a fabrication;  
 The shawl and mantle (of the dervish) do not make the real man,  
 attain the Essence and accept it!<sup>35</sup>  
 One can neither increase Him nor decrease Him, if He becomes very  
 large He will decrease,  
 If one presses it has already been pressed; God [*Bārī*] is One [*eḥad*],  
 Unique [*vāḥid*]<sup>36</sup>

In other verses Qā'imī speaks of the absolute surrender of the self to God through *tajrīd* (“outer renunciation”) and *tafrīd* (“inner renunciation”):

He lived the ascetic isolation [*tecrīdlük*] and is following the mystique path,  
He has a penchant for Jesus [*meylî oluben İsâda*], today.

The *maqām al-tajrīd* refers to the wayfarer’s outward abandoning of the desires of this world that it is precursory to the *maqām al-tafrīd* in which the wayfarer inwardly rejects the compensation of this and the next world and thereby experiences an even purer oneness. The mystic wants to follow the example of Jesus (Īsā), who for the Şūfīs represents a symbol of abandon from this world, and to leave this world and all profane attachments.<sup>37</sup>

Most of his poems he dedicated to the progenitor of the historically oldest *tarīqa*, the Qādiriyya. ‘Abd al-Qādir ibn Abī Şāliḥ Jangīdūst from Jīlān, who was born south of the Caspian Sea (470/1077–8 – 561/1166), is described as the “saint of saints”, the “spirit of the terrain,” and the “king of saints in East and West”.<sup>38</sup>

He will cautiously show the way to those who seek and are sincere;  
In twelve names, one after another, he will designate the solace.  
Without guidance nor sign, he will manifest his splendid illumination,  
The white falcon is our guide, the *shaykh* ‘Abd al-Qādir!<sup>39</sup>

Known by the *makhlaṣ* Basil al-Eṣheb (Turk. Bāz-ül-Eṣhen, Ar. al-Bāzi 'l Ashhab, “white falcon”), ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī will guide the mystics with the twelve names which affect the dervish in his approach of God. These represent the twelve *maqāms* (“stages of the soul”) which are postulated in the Qādiriyya. To each *maqām dhikr* one of the twelve names (*al-asmā’ al-ithnā ‘ashar*) is appropriate: Lā ilāha illā ’llāh, Allāh, Hū, Ḥayy, Ḥaqq, Qayyūm, Qahhār, Fattāḥ, Wahhāb, Salām, Quddūs, Wadūd. The first seven names (*al-asmā’ al-sab‘a*) represent the *maqāmāt* of the Khalwatis.<sup>40</sup>

Not only here, but the East and the West are filled with him,  
 At the beginning and at the end, his power comes from God;  
 Ḥasan, Ḥusayn, Muḥammad and ‘Alī are the ancestors  
 of the white falcon, our guide, the *shaykh* ‘Abd al-Qādir!<sup>41</sup>

‘Abd al-Qādir’s family lineage (*silsila*) has been traced by hagiographers to Ḥasan, the eldest son of ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib (c. 600 – 40/661), cousin and son-in-law of Muḥammad; hence the poet’s reference to the Prophet’s *ehli bejt* (Ar. *āl al-bayt*; sūras 11:73 and 33:33) as ancestors of the eponymous founder of the Qādiriyya. The *āl al-bayt* plays an important role in Qā’imī poetry and is alluded to in several *qaṣidas*:

Greet and pray to those to whom God has said: “If you did not exist”!  
 He must be humble (Qā’imī) to the family of Muḥammad day and night!<sup>42</sup>

Be humble to all the children and all the friends (of Muḥammad), his four friends [*Çehâr-ı yâr*] and the deserving!  
 For those of the invisible world [*ricâl-ül-ğayb*] and the friends who are numerous like leaves and flowers!<sup>43</sup>

The poet refers not only to the holy family (*āl*) that consists primarily of five members, the Prophet himself, ‘Alī, Fāṭima, Muḥammad’s daughter, the wife of ‘Alī and her sons, al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn, but also to the four companions of Muḥammad (*chahār yār*), the “four rightly guided caliphs”, Abū Bakr, ‘Umar, ‘Uthmān, and ‘Alī. To these Qā’imī adds the “hidden wayfarers”, the people of the unseen spiritual world (*rijāl al-ghā’ib*), those who can communicate with God and with the angels, who know the hidden secrets and who can make them visible if they want.<sup>44</sup>

It will be through the “kindness and generosity of God”<sup>45</sup> that the unbelievers, the Europeans, the *Banū ‘l-Aṣḡar* (originally a designation for the Greeks, the term was later used for all Europeans), will be ultimately routed; these often graphically portrayed predictions (“The mountains, the rocks and the plains are

stained with blood, look at these groans in agony”<sup>46</sup>) are repeatedly found throughout Qā'imī's work.<sup>47</sup> His work was much copied after 1878 when the Austrians extended their protectorate over Bosnia and Herzegovina, since Qā'imī repeatedly alludes to the overall conquests by the Ottomans and the universal triumph of Islam.<sup>48</sup>

The second smaller *Dīwān*, entitled *Wāridāt* (“incomings, gains”), which he wrote in 1097/1685–86,<sup>49</sup> contains *qaṣīdas* which are foretelling events based on onomancy (Bosn. *ilm-i džifr*, Ar. *ilm al-jafṛ*)<sup>50</sup>. In these he alluded to political events, such as the long campaign by the Ottomans for the conquest of Crete (Candia, Ottoman Kandiye) from the Venetians which was written in *alhamijado*.<sup>51</sup> In the first *qaṣīda* of this *Dīwān*, he correctly predicted the date of the end of the war (1079/1669), which earned him great celebrity.

Another poem composed in *alhamijado* is the “Ode against Tobacco”,<sup>52</sup> written when Murād IV banned the use of tobacco in the Ottoman empire. He ends it with the warning:

Those who die of [smoking] tobacco  
Will burn in hell  
He will transform into pitch  
Abandon the tobacco!<sup>53</sup>

Qā'imī Baba is said to have been exiled from Sarajevo, reportedly after having become involved in the Sarajevo riot of 1093/1682,<sup>54</sup> and to have settled in Zvornik, now located in the Republika Srpska, in northeastern Bosnia and Herzegovina, where he died in 1103/1691–92.

According to one narration Qā'imī Baba's supposed banishment from Sarajevo is associated with one of the miracles (*karāmāt*) he is said to have performed.<sup>55</sup> On the twenty-seventh night of the month of Ramaḍan, the holiest moment in the Islamic calendar, *Laylat al-Qadr* (the “Night of Power”, when the Qur'ān was first revealed), when he was a *hodža* (*imām*) in Sarajevo, he went to the mosque.

Suddenly the wind blew and extinguished his lantern. Qā'imī took a candle and held it towards the lamps that were burning high up on the minaret thereby lighting his candle. The people who watched this immediately recognised that Qā'imī is a righteous man and a man of God. Realizing what he had done, he repented and said: "O what I have done! I discovered that I am a holy man." Troubled by his own deed, Qā'imī went into a tavern where he drank until the early morning. The people of Sarajevo were bewildered to learn that such a saintly man comported himself in such a manner and expelled him from Sarajevo to Zvornik.<sup>56</sup> According to another legend Qā'imī Baba was much loved by the people of Sarajevo and was accompanied by many people, in particular his disciples who did not want to leave him.<sup>57</sup>

As Hadžijahić has pointed out, when Qā'imī arrived in Zvornik he stayed in a *musāfirhana* owned by certain *begovica*; since his wife had passed away before he left Sarajevo, he is presumed to have married the *begovica* at an advanced age.<sup>58</sup> Qā'imī is also known to have had a son (of the first or the second wife is not known), who should be noted as one of the Bosnian poets writing in Arabic.<sup>59</sup>

Numerous *naẓīre* (an Ottoman literary genre in which the textual practice of another poet is deliberately reproduced) pay homage to Qā'imī's poetic work and reflect the poet's celebrity. The *naẓīre* of the late seventeenth-century Bosnian poets Gā'ibī Šejh Muṣṭafa and Muṣṭafa Mukhtārī, an *imām* of a mosque located in the Ajaz Paša *mahala* in Sarajevo, are particularly noteworthy.<sup>60</sup>

### The *türbe* of Šejh Ḥasan Qā'imī

The *shaykh* was buried in a *türbe* ("mausoleum") in Kula Grad to the west of the old town of Zvornik. The *türbe* was an unassuming small building, built of sundried brick and timber with a four-sloped roof, covered with tiles which previously used to be wooden (fig. 2).<sup>61</sup>

According to an extract of archival records displayed in the *türbe*, the *silāhdār* Muṣṭafa Paša, son of the great merchant Ḥājjī Sinān Āghā (either the father or the son was the builder of the renown *tekke* of Ḥājjī Sinān Āghā in Sarajevo), recommended the *mutesarif* (district master) of Zvornik, Meḥmed Paša, to build a Qādirī *tekke* next to the *türbe* (as stated in a *firmān* dated 1219/1805); yet no trace of the *tekke* has survived.<sup>62</sup> The expenses of upkeep of both *tekke* and *türbe* were defrayed by the income of the *waqf* (religious and charitable endowment) generated by the rafts crossing the river Drina in Zvornik, a saltern in Gornja and Donja Tuzla as well as rafters in Brod and the small town of Derventa *qadilug*. During the 1992–95 war in Bosnia and Herzegovina<sup>63</sup> Ḥasan Qā'imī's *türbe* was completely destroyed by Serbian soldiers and has since then been rebuilt (fig. 3).

A large, old linden tree situated next to the tomb miraculously survived the devastation (fig. 4). One of the most sacred trees in Bosnia,<sup>64</sup> Linden trees are often the subject of local veneration<sup>65</sup> and when *ziyāret* is performed at the *türbe* devotions may also be done to these sacred trees. The saint's popular devotion and respect during his lifetime and the veneration thereafter continued to attract many graves that came to form a large cemetery surrounding the *türbe*.

The visitors always respectfully approach the vicinity of the tomb and the blessed presence of the saint on foot. When arriving at the threshold of the tomb, they would adopt an attitude of humility. Before entering the tomb they would pay their respects to the threshold, often prostrating themselves and kissing the doorstep or the door frame to the right of the entrance. The threshold is regarded with great reverence as the liminal place *par excellence* leading from the profane to the sacred, opening into the funeral chamber and the sacred presence of the *awliyā'*. They would respectfully greet the saint before stepping over the threshold with the right foot first. They would then reverently approach the saint's tomb in an attitude of supplication (*niyāz*), commonly devoutly

make an effort to kiss the tombstones (or the ground before them) or at least touch them. Finally they would sit in humility at the foot of the grave. One can witness the pilgrims perform circumambulation (*tawaf*) three times around the tomb. On leaving, the pilgrims would perform the same reverential rituals in reverse without turning their back to the saint's cenotaph. When visiting the *türbe* dervishes would accord the same respect to the tomb of the sanctified *shaykh* as when approaching a living *shaykh* or other leading member of their order.

It is very fortunate that Ḥasan Qā'imī's *türbe* and its interior were carefully documented by Mehmed Mujezinović before it was raised to the ground two decades ago.<sup>66</sup> His unique account of the *türbe*'s wooden partition is particularly noteworthy<sup>67</sup> (fig. 5). It provides an insight into the importance attached to the *ziyāra* "tradition" of Bosnian Muslims and, in particular, to Ḥasan Qā'imī's *türbe* as place of pilgrimage. The latter was made of fitted beech shingles and divided the empty first room to the entrance of the *türbe* from the second part which houses the draped gabled cenotaph that marks the grave of the *shaykh*. The latter is framed by two simply cut tombstones without inscriptions,<sup>68</sup> the grave stele is crowned with a three-dimensional representation of the headgear (*tāj*), enclosed by a simple openwork wooden grille and with ceremonial rosaries (*tesbīḥ*) placed on the cenotaph; further *tesbīḥs* for the use of the visitors hang from the railing of the grille (fig. 6).

According to Mujezinović, the partition was inscribed with about one hundred records made by the pilgrims visiting Qā'imī's *türbe*. A number of inscriptions have been partially erased over time and thereby become illegible, but the surviving graffiti attests to Bosnian *ziyāra* rituals or pious visitations since the death of Ḥasan Qā'imī. From the signatures it is possible to gain an impression of the sociological composition of the pilgrims; the devotees included *ūlamā'* (religious scholars), *Şūfīs*, numerous scholars and members of the general public. Their inscriptions attest to the honour the *shaykh* received after his death and to the elevated degree of

veneration paid to him over the centuries. Many pilgrims cited verses, while others eulogise Qā'imī, adding their signatures and date of visit. Among the signatories there are the names of: Šejh Mušafa, dated 1148/1735–6; ḥāfiẓ Halil ef. Fočevića, dated 1186/1772–3; Mango Meḥmed from Sarajevo, dated 1201/1786–7; Izmirlija Osman, 1207/1792–3; Ḥasan-baša, dated 1221/1806–7; Sejid hadži ḥāfiẓ Mušafa Konjali, Mawlawiyya, dated 1222/1807; Isević Meḥmed Emin from Sarajevo, dated 1225/1810–11; Derviš Meḥmed Mestvica from Sarajevo, the son of Hadži Aḥmed, dated 1226/1811. Mestvica visited Qā'imī's *türbe* two more times, in 1237/1821 and in 1245/1829–30; *mujezin-ogli* Mušafa Šehri Sarajlija, dated 1228/1813–4; Abdulhamid, *imām* of the Sultan Bayazid (Imperial) Mosque in Foča, dated 1239/1824 (fig. 7). The *imām* added the following lines in Bosnian:<sup>69</sup>

“Here comes Ramadan –  
honey and *maslo* (soft butter) spread [on bread] ...”

Derviš Meḥmed, dated 1250/1834–35; Hadži Meḥmed Sadik Sukuti Baba, dated 1250/1834; Sejid hadži Bekir-zade Aḥmed čauš dated 1269/1852; Hadži Derviš Meḥmed-beg Zvorničanin, dated 1276/1859–60; Derviš Ībrāhīm Fikrija, dated 1296/1878–79; Ḥamza, the son of Ībrāhīm, dated 1297/1879–80; Muhamed Enverija Kadić, who visited Qā'imī's *türbe* in 1314/1896–97, put his signature under the following: “Ḥasan Qā'imī Baba passed away in 1103/1691–92.” Below another entry, which does not carry the signature of the author, the date 1110/1698–99 has been recorded.<sup>70</sup> Several entries were skilfully inscribed in the form of a *tughrā*; and a certain Aḥmed Miri made a calligraphic composition of the *Ashabi kehfa* in Arabic letters in the form of a sailing boat (fig. 8).<sup>71</sup> The composition refers to the *Āl al-Kahf* or the *Aṣṣḥāb al-Kahf* (the “Youths of the Cave” mentioned in *sūrat al-kahf* (the *sūra* of the Cave, 18:9–26), whom God enclosed in a cave where they sank into a miraculous three hundred and nine year sleep to shelter them from the depravity of the world. The story of the refuge

from a hostile world is modelled upon the Christian legend of the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus<sup>72</sup> and has enjoyed long-lasting popularity throughout the Islamic world.<sup>73</sup> The simile of the companions' miraculous "sleep" in a sacred space such as a cave (which could be replaced by other subterranean locations such as a "pit" or a well) has been a recurring motif in Islamic mysticism. Caves are traditionally seen as places of seclusion and meditation; in Šūfī thought they are often perceived as a place for withdrawal from the world<sup>74</sup> as well as a symbol of initiation and of proximity to the divine.<sup>75</sup> It is also well known that Muḥammad was prepared for prophethood and received his initial Qur'ānic revelation in a cave on Mount Ḥirā' where he used to retire for meditation. It was in the solitude of this cave, the lonely place of mediation (Ar. *khalwa*, Turk. *halvet*) in the dark, undisturbed in his concentration upon God, that he was blessed with the first Divine words.<sup>76</sup> At the time of his emigration from Mecca to Yathrib (later called Medina) in 622 (in the episode known as the *hijra*) it was also in a cave that the Prophet sought refuge together with his companion Abū Bakr to evade the pursuers (sūra 9:40).<sup>77</sup> According to Šūfī tradition, this was the place where Muḥammad introduced Abū Bakr into the mysteries of *khalwa* and the silent *dhikr* (*dhikr al-qalb*, "in the heart" and *dhikr al-sirr*, "of the innermost being").<sup>78</sup>

Popular thought ascribes numerous miracles to Qā'imī's charismatic powers during his life and after his death. According to one legend, Qā'imī stayed with the Djulbegović family in Zvornik. One day, when one of the members of this family had to go to war, Qā'imī gave him a phylactery (*pusul*) with secret inscriptions which saved him his life.<sup>79</sup> It is said that if one takes a vow in the name of Qā'imī and recites the sūra *Yāsīn* (36), called the "heart of the Qur'ān" that is recited for the deceased or the dying and their benefit in the world to come, the vow will be fulfilled.<sup>80</sup> The saint is said to also possess the sacred gift of healing of human ailments. A certain Hadži Ḥarbā who was very ill went to the *evliya's türbe* in Zvornik and after offering his prayers miraculously recovered.<sup>81</sup> It is also said that during the First World War, Zvornik and the region around it was

protected by Qā'imī. It is thanks to the powers of the *evliya* that no one was injured.<sup>82</sup>

Before the total demolition of the *türbe* during the 1992–95 war in Bosnia and Herzegovina, it housed six documents from the first half of the thirteenth/nineteenth century that relate to the setting up of the curator of the holy places, the keeper, or *türbedār*, and his revenues. The *türbedār* functions as a kind of intercessor for the pilgrims, instructs the visitors about the local etiquette of devotion and administers the alms (*adak*, *nedhir*). The first known *türbedār* of Qā'imī's *türbe* is Šejh Omer of Jedren (Edirne) in Eastern Thrace who also served as *zāviyedār* of the *tekke* in Zvornik. After his death in 1234/1819, the *shaykh* was succeeded by his son Mehmed.<sup>83</sup> It is interesting to note that one of the present *türbedār*s of Qā'imī Baba's resting place is a woman; Hiba and Šaban Šehmedović alternately take care for two weeks of the *türbe* (fig. 9). Mujezinović furthermore records several precious manuscripts and artefacts which were housed in Qā'imī's *türbe* before its destruction during the 1992–95 war which also resulted in their loss. These include a large-format Qur'ān copied by the calligrapher Mehmed, the son of Hasan, who was the *imām* of the Kzlaraga džamija and a *sibjan mualim* (teacher at a religious primary school), in Belgrade in 1251/1835<sup>84</sup> as well as a hand-written manuscript on Islamic rituals transcribed by Ībrāhīm, the son of Abdulah, in the *madrasa* of Yahya Paša in Belgrade in 1213/1798.<sup>85</sup> He also notes several antique ceramic candlestick holders, a few calligraphies (*levhas*), a green flag with a beautifully worked tip made of *tuč* (very hard, heavy wood) that had survived in the *türbe* before its destruction.

The only objects preserved in the present-day *türbe* are two ancient ceremonial weapons of choice that are characteristic dervish accoutrements and insignia, which are often displayed in the *semā khānas* of *tekkes*:<sup>86</sup> a traditional battle axe (*tabar*) bearing one crescent-shaped blade and a curving thin long handle<sup>87</sup> as well as a halberd-like combat spear<sup>88</sup> used for throwing or hurling with a

pointed head surmounting paired lozenge-shapes of which the shaft is missing (fig. 10).<sup>89</sup>

These also serve as apt symbols in the *tūrbe* of a Qādiri *shaykh* for *taṣawwuf* as taught by the Ḥanbalite ‘Abd al-Qādir consists in:

“... a war, a *jihād*, greater than the holy war fought with weapons, against self-will; in thus conquering the hidden *shirk*, i.e. the idolatry of self and, in general, of creaturely things; in recognizing in all good and evil the will of God and living, in submission to His will, according to His law.”<sup>90</sup>

The sixth/twelfth-century mystic ‘Ammār al-Bidlīsī (d. between 590/1194 and 604/1207) analyses the greater *jihād* (lit. “striving for faith”, or “struggle on the path of God”) declaring that man’s lower soul (*nafs*) is the greatest enemy to be fought.<sup>91</sup> The goal of disciplining the *nafs* is to train it in such a way that all negative activities associated with it become extinct.<sup>92</sup> This spiritual exercise is related to the well-known saying of the Prophet:<sup>93</sup>

“We are returning from the lesser *jihād* to the greater *jihād*.”

The adoption of the practice of *khalwa* as a form of greater *jihād* is elaborated by the celebrated mystical poet Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī (604/1207–672/1273) in the sixth book of the *Mathnawī*. It is illustrated in the story of ‘Iyādi, who in the hope of becoming a *shahīd* (martyr in combat for the faith), had taken part in seventy campaigns against the infidels. When despairing of receiving the apogee of a believer’s aspirations, he turned from the lesser *jihād* to the greater *jihād* to become a “true “ or “living” martyr (*fi l-ḥaqīqa*):<sup>94</sup>

“When (I saw that) martyrdom was not the lot of my spirit, I went immediately into (religious) seclusion and (entered on) a forty days’ fast.

I threw myself into the Greater Warfare which consists in practising austerities and becoming lean. [3785–3786]

...

I vowed that I would never put my head outside of (come out of) seclusion, seeing that this body is alive,  
Because everything that this body does in seclusion it does with no regard to man or woman.

During seclusion the intention of (all) its movement and rest is for God's sake only."

This is the Greater Warfare, and that (other) is the Lesser Warfare: both are (fit) for (men like) Rustam and Haydar ('Ali)." [3799–3803]

In his poetry Qā'imī alludes to one of the most famous Ṣūfī *ḥadīths* (traditions), "Die before you die" (*ölumden once ölmek*), death of the self before the (natural) death. He calls upon the dervish to naught the self, to utterly efface and annihilate himself; to totally detach himself from the world and earthly matters; to break away from the world while alive; to live only for God:

O thou, distracted, death exists!  
Where are pride and shame?  
Kill yourself, come!  
There is no God but He!<sup>95</sup>

Thus when the mystic reaches the advanced stages of the path, he undergoes annihilation of the *nafs* that is accompanied by a subsistence (*baqā'*) in which he achieves the witnessing (*shuhūd*) of *waḥdat al-wujūd* and which prepares him for the concomitant annihilation of the spirit (*rūḥ*).<sup>96</sup> He accelerates the spiritual disintegration of the self to achieve union with God. This path is ultimately experienced by the mystic as being drawn upwards, as *fanā'* ("passing away, effacement") in God:

To (achieve) this there must be four witnesses: this world and the other world,

Existence and total abandon [*terk-i terk*, “the abandon of the abandon”], then you will go and regain the lights.<sup>97</sup>

The display of arms, the battle axe and the halberd-like spear, as ritual emblems in Qā'imī's *türbe*, thus confer upon him the spirit of a dervish *ghāzī* or Muslim warrior for the faith. The greater *jihād* moreover involves the practice of *khalwa* or *halvet*, i.e. ascetic discipline, vigils at night, nocturnal supplications, gradually increased fasting and concentration of the mind, mainly by means of *dhikr* (lit. “reminding oneself”). It is particularly noteworthy that Qā'imī Baba conducted his spiritual retreat of forty days (*arba ūn*, or *çilla*) in a standing position (*qā'imun*), a practice which gave rise to his name. The latter furthermore associates him with the term *qā'im* (“riser”) and with Qā'im Āl Muḥammad (in Shī'ī circles commonly seen as the Mahdī); hence referring to the member of the family of the Prophet who will restore religion and justice on earth, often qualified as *al-Qā'im bi 'l-sayf*, “the one who shall rise with the sword”. In many of his poems Qā'imī calls upon the manifestation of the promised rightly-guided leader of the last days, the Mahdī, the “Expected One”, “the miracle of the mysterious sword”:

Since it is the Mahdī who is the designated guide; then the treacherous will sacrifice his soul;  
This is the (Islamic) tradition, know this, it is the miracle of the mysterious sword.<sup>98</sup>

....

His appearance is the veil. He exists on the earth, he is the sea and the earth

[O *qā'im* baḥr ile berde],

His luminous appearance manifests itself in all forms; the ears, the sense of hearing and the eyes exist in the existence, in the world [God is the one who hears all and who sees all; sūra 2:121]!<sup>99</sup>

....

Jesus and the Mahdī will exert themselves, they will come to kill  
Dajjāl;  
It is an eternal promise of the Truth; through it the tyranny of the  
world will be removed!<sup>100</sup>

In the last verses of the *qaṣīda* Qā'imī prophesies that Jesus (ʿĪsā) will come down at the same time as the Mahdī<sup>101</sup> and help him to overcome the Antichrist (Dajjāl), the “deceiver”, who will come before the end of time and will let impurity and tyranny rule the world.

The Bosnian poet's verses are imbued with the sense of an omnipresence and omnipotence of God. Only the help of God inspires the *ghāzī*. He invokes the *waḥdat al-shuhūd* “the oneness of witnessing” of the *ghāzīs* fighting for the *waḥdat al-wujūd*. And the oneness of being is the essence of Divine unity (*al-tawḥīd*), the profession of God's oneness, the fundamental nature of Islam:

They are witnesses of all things, they are the fighters of this Oneness  
of Being,  
They are the witnesses of this world through themselves; there exists  
nothing but this Oneness!<sup>102</sup>

## Bibliography

- von Asbóth, J., *Bosnien und die Herzegowina. Reisebilder und Studien*, Vienna, 1888.
- von Asbóth, J., *An Official Tour of Bosnia and Herzegovina: with an Account of the History, Antiquities, Agrarian Conditions, Religion, Ethnology, Folk Lore, and Social Life of the People*, London, 1890.
- Balić, S., *Das unbekannte Bosnien. Europas Brücke zur islamischen Welt*, Cologne, 1992.
- Bašagić, S., *Bošnjaci i Hercegovci u islamskoj književnosti [Bosniaks and Herzegovinians in Islamic Literature]*, Sarajevo, 1912, pp. 98–100.
- Bašeskija, Mula Mustafa, Ševki, *Ljetopis (1746–1804) [Chronicle (1746–1804)]*, tr. and ed., Mujezinović, M., Biblioteka kulturno nasljedje, Sarajevo, 1968.
- al-Bidlīsī, ‘Ammār ibn Muḥammad, *Bahjat al-tā’ifa wa Ṣaum al-qalb*, tr. and ed. Badeen, E., *Zwei mystische Schriften des ‘Ammār al-Bidlīsī*, Beirut, 1999.
- Birge, J.K., *The Bektashi Order of Dervishes*, London, 1937, repr. 1956.
- Brown, J.P., *The Darvishes: Or Oriental Spiritualism*, London, 1868, repr. 1968.
- Buturovic, A., “Sufi Orders and Movements: The Balkans,” *Encyclopedia of Women & Islamic Cultures: Family, Law, and Politics*, eds. Joseph, S. and Najmabadi, A., Leiden and Boston, 2005, pp. 761–762.
- Čehajić, D., *Derviški redovi u jugoslovenskim zemljama sa posebnim osvrtom na Bosnu i Hercegovinu. Posebna izdanja [Dervish Orders in Yugoslavia with a Special Focus on Bosnia and Herzegovina]*, Orijentalni Institut u Sarajevu 14, 1986.
- Clayer, N., *Mystiques, État et société: les Halvetis dans l'aire balkanique de la fin du XVe siècle à nos jours*, Leiden and Boston, 1994.
- Dankoff, R., *An Ottoman Mentality: The World of Evliya Çelebi*, Leiden and Boston, 2004.
- Djordjević, T.R., “Kaim Baba,” *Naš narodni život*, 1st ed. Belgrade (10 vols.), 1930–4, 2nd ed. Belgrade, 1984 (4 vols.), vol. 2, pp. 127–133.
- Ekremov, M.Š., “Šejh Hasan Kaimija narodni tribun iz Bosne i hrvatski pjesnik iz XVII stoljeća [Shaykh Ḥasan Qā’imī, a Popular Tribune of Bosnia and Croatian Poet of the Seventeenth Century],” *Narod I*, Sarajevo, 1933, pp. 30–54.
- EP The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., 11 vols., Leiden, 1960–2005, *Extract from The Encyclopaedia of Islam CD-ROM v.-1.0.*
- Elmore, G.T., *Islamic Sainthood in the Fullness of Time: Ibn al-‘Arabī’s Book of the Fabulous Gryphon*, Leiden, Boston and Cologne, 1999.
- Frembgen, J.W., *Kleidung und Ausrüstung islamischer Gottsucher*, Wiesbaden, 1999.
- Goldziher, I., “Die Heiligenverehrung im Islam,” *Muhammedanische Studien*, 2 vols., Halle, 1888, repr. Hildesheim, 2004, pp. 275–378, 405–407.
- Gramlich, R., *Die schiitischen Derwischorden Persiens. Die Affiliationen, Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, 36,1, Wiesbaden, 1965.

- Gramlich, R., *Die schiitischen Derwischorden Persiens. Brauchtum und Riten*, Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, 45,2, Wiesbaden, 1981.
- Gramlich, R., *Die Wunder der Freunde Gottes: Theologien und Erscheinungsformen des islamischen Heiligenwunders*, Freiburger Islamstudien 11, Wiesbaden, 1987.
- Hadžibajrić, F., “Tesawuf tarikat i tekije [Taṣawwuf, ṭarīqa and tekke],” *Islamska misao* 6/I, Sarajevo, 1979, pp. 18–20.
- Hadžijahić, M., *Hasan Kaimija i njegovo turbe na Kuli u Zvorniku* [*Hasan Kaimija and His Türbe in Kula in Zvornik*], ed. Hadžić, A., Zvornik, 1966.
- Hadžijahić, M., “Hasan Kaimija,” *Stara književnost* t. I, Sarajevo, 1974, pp. 243–245.
- Hadžijahić, M., “Badžijanije u Sarajevu i Bosni [The Cult of Female Dervishes in Sarajevo and Bosnia],” *ANALI Gazi Husrev-begove biblioteke* VII–VIII, 1982, pp. 109–133.
- von Hammer-Purgstall, J., *Geschichte der Osmanischen Dichtkunst bis auf unsere Zeit. Mit einer Blütenlese aus zweytausend, zweyhundert Dichtern*, 4 vols., vol. 3, Pesth [s.n.], 1837.
- Hasluck, F.W., *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans*, ed. Hasluck, M.M., 2 vols., Oxford, 1929.
- Hillenbrand, C., *The Crusades: Islamic Perspectives*, Edinburgh, 1999.
- Huber, M., *Die Wanderlegende von den Siebenschläfern. Eine literargeschichtliche Untersuchung*, Leipzig, 1910.
- Ibn al-‘Arabī, Muḥyi ‘l-Dīn Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī, *al-Durrah al-Fākhīrah, al-Rūḥ al-Quds fī Muḥāsabat al-Nafs*, tr. and ed. Austin, R.W.J., *Sufis of Andalusia: the Rūḥ al-quds and al-Durrah al-fākhīrah of Ibn ‘Arabī*, London, 1971.
- Kalabić, M., “Die Tekè des Hadži Sinan,” *Wissenschaftliche Mitteilungen aus Bosnien und der Hercegovina* I, Vienna, 1893, pp. 506–510.
- Kandler, H., *Die Bedeutung der Siebenschläfer (Aṣḥāb al-kahf) im Islam. Untersuchungen zu Legende und Kult im Schrifttum, Religion und Volksglauben unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Siebenschläfer-Wallfahrt*, Bochum, 1994.
- Kecmanović, I., “Hasan Kaimija,” *Leksikon pisaca Jugoslavije* II, D–J, Matica Srpska, 1979, p. 369.
- Kemura, Sejh Sejfudin, *Sarajevske džamije i druge javne zgrade turske dobe* [*Sarajevo mosques and other public buildings from the Turkish period*], Sarajevo, 1910.
- Kemura, Sejh Seifuddin and Ćorović, V., *Serbokroatische Dichtungen bosnischer Moslems aus dem XVII, XVIII und XIX Jahrhundert*, Sarajevo, 1912.
- Koch, J., *Die Siebenschläferlegende, ihr Ursprung und ihre Verbreitung. Eine mythologisch-literaturgeschichtliche Studie*, Leipzig, 1883.
- Lavić, O., “Ulemanska i Šejhovska Porodica Muslihudina Užičanina iz XVII Vijeka [The Seventeenth-Century Shaykh Muslihudin Užičanin Coming from a Family of ‘Ulamā’ and Shaykhs],” *ANALI Gazi Husrev-begove biblioteke* XXV–XXVI, 2006/2007, pp. 111–128.

- Lilek, E., "Volks Glaube und volksthümlicher Cultus in Bosnien und der Hercegovina," *Wissenschaftliche Mitteilungen aus Bosnien und der Hercegovina* IV, Vienna, 1896, pp. 401–492.
- Massignon, L., *Essai sur les origines du lexique technique de la mystique musulmane*, Paris, 1922.
- Massignon, L., "Les "Sept Dormants", apocalypse de l'islam," *Analecta Bollandiana*, 1950, 245–260.
- Massignon, L., "Les sept dormants d'Ephèse (*ahl al-kahf*) en islam et chrétienté," *Revue des Études Islamiques* 12, 1954, pp. 61–110.
- Meisami, J.S., "Introduction," Nizāmī Ganjawī, Ilyās ibn Yūsuf, *The Haft Paykar: A Medieval Persian Romance*, tr. and ed. Meisami, J.S., Oxford and New York, 1995, pp. vii–xxxviii.
- Moubarac, Y., *Le Culte liturgique et populaire des VII Dormants Martyrs d'Ephèse (Ahl-al-Kahf): Trait d'union orient-occident entre l'Islam et la Chrétienté*, Rome, Pontificio universitatis Gregoriana, 1961.
- Mujezinović, M., "Tekija Šejha Hasana Kaimije [The Tekke of Šejh Hasan Qā'imī]," *Islamska epigrafika u Bosni i Hercegovini*, Knj. I, Biblioteka Kulturno Nasljedje, Sarajevo, 1974–82, repr. 1998, pp. 68–69.
- Mujezinović, M., "Natpis o Obnovi Hadži-Sinanove Tekije [The Renovation Inscription of the Ḥājjī Sinān Tekke]," *Islamska epigrafika u Bosni i Hercegovini*, Knj. I, Biblioteka Kulturno Nasljedje, Sarajevo, 1974–82, repr. 1998, pp. 249–256.
- Mujezinović, M., "Turbe šejha Hasana Kaimije [The Türbe of Šejh Hasan Qā'imī]," *Islamska epigrafika u Bosni i Hercegovini*, Knj. II, Biblioteka Kulturno Nasljedje, Sarajevo, 1974–82, repr. 1998, pp. 128–131.
- Norris, H.T., *Islam in the Balkans: Religion and Society between Europe and the Arab World*, Columbia, SC, 1993.
- Palavestra, V., *Legends of Old Sarajevo*, Zemun, 2003.
- Pennanen, R.P., "All-Comprehending, United and Divine. The Myth of the *ilahija* Hymns in Sarajevo," *Journal of the International Institute for Traditional Music (IITM)*, vol. 36/3, 1994, pp. 49–67.
- Pennanen, R.P., "All-Comprehending, United and Divine. The Myth of Sufi Music as Told by Seid Strik," *Anatolia moderna/Yeni anadolu: travaux et recherches de l'Institut Français d'Études Anatoliennes et de l'Observatoire Urbain d'Istanbul* IV, Derviches des Balkans, Disparitions et Renaissances, Paris, 1992, pp. 95–98.
- Popovic, A., "The Contemporary Situation of the Muslim Mystic Orders in Yugoslavia," ed. Gellner, E., *Islamic Dilemmas: Reformers, Nationalists and Industrialization*, Berlin 1985, pp. 240–254.
- Šamić, J., *Divân de Kâ'imî: vie et oeuvre d'un poète bosniaque du XVIIe siècle*, Institut Français d'Études Anatoliennes, Paris, 1986.
- Schimmel, A., *Mystical Dimensions of Islam*, Chapel Hill, NC, 1975.

Schimmel, A. *Deciphering the Signs of God: A Phenomenological Approach to Islam*, Albany, NY, 1994.

Tahmišćić, H., “Legende o Kaimi Babi Hasan Efendiji [Legends of Qā'imī Baba Hasan Efendi],” *Poezija Sarajeva*, Sarajevo, 1958, p. 84.

‘Ušâqîzâde, *Ušâqîzâde’s Lebensbeschreibungen berühmter Gelehrter und Gottesmänner des Osmanischen Reiches im 17. Jahrhundert (Zeyl-i Šaqâ’iq)*, tr. and ed. Kissling, H.J., Wiesbaden, 1965.

## Illustrations

Fig. 1 Hājjī Sinān Āghā Tekke in Sarajevo (1047–9/1638–40). Photograph by the author, 2011.

Fig. 2 *Türbe* of Šejh Ḥasan Qā'imī in Kula Grad, Zvornik, before its destruction during the 1992–95 war in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Fig. 3 The rebuilt *türbe* of Šejh Ḥasan Qā'imī in Kula Grad, Zvornik, after its destruction during the 1992–95 war in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Photograph by the author, 2011.

Fig. 4 An old linden tree situated next to the *türbe* of Šejh Ḥasan Qā'imī. Photograph by the author, 2011.

Fig. 5 New wooden partition in the rebuilt *türbe* of Šejh Ḥasan Qā'imī. Photograph by the author, 2011.

Fig. 6 New wooden cenotaph covering the grave of Šejh Ḥasan Qā'imī framed by two simply cut tombstones without inscriptions. Photograph by the author, 2011.

Fig. 7 Record of Abdulhamid, *imām* of the Sultan Bayazid (Imperial) Mosque in Foča, dated 30 Sha‘bān 1239/30 April 1824 inscribed on the wooden partition in Šejh Ḥasan Qā'imī’s *türbe*. After Mujezinović, 1974–82, repr. 1998, p. 129.

Fig. 8 Calligraphic composition of Arabic letters in the form of a sailing boat inscribed on the wooden partition in Šejh Ḥasan Qā'imī’s *türbe*. After Mujezinović, 1974–82, repr. 1998, p. 128.

Fig. 9 Hiba Šehmedović, one of the two present *türbedārs* of Šejh Ḥasan Qā'imī’s resting place. Photograph by the author, 2011.

Fig. 10 A battle axe and a halberd-like combat spear displayed in the *türbe* of Šejh Ḥasan Qā'imī. Photograph by the author, 2011.

## Endnotes

---

<sup>1</sup> The research for this article is part of an eighteen-month research project entitled “Iconographic Expressions of Muslim Mysticism in the Western Balkans” which is generously funded by Dr Seyed G. Safavi, the London Academy of Studies and the International Peace Studies Centre. I would like to take this opportunity of thanking Dr Safavi for his inspired humanitarian vision, his generosity of spirit and thoughtful encouragement. I moreover am greatly

indebted and would not have been able to complete this research without the tremendous help and support of Mustafa Arslanović, 25/02/2012.

<sup>2</sup> It is said that he spent his solitary retreat (Ar. *khalwa*, Turk. *halvet*) of forty days in standing position (*ism al-fā'il*, the *nomen agentis*, of the Arabic *qā'imun*), hence the *makhlas* "Qā'imī"; Hadžijahić, 1982, p. 123. For a discussion of *halvet*, see Clayer, 1994, pp. 36–40; also Hadžijahić, 1982, p. 123, n. 48; Šamić, 1986, p. 80, n. 16.

<sup>3</sup> Much documentation was lost in the eleventh/seventeenth century, especially at the great fire in Rabī' I 1109/October 1697, when Sarajevo was sacked and burnt by Austrian troops commanded by Prince Eugene of Savoy, followed by a bloodthirsty raid.

<sup>4</sup> For some of the folk traditions and legends associated with Hasan Qā'imī, see Djordjević, 1930–4, repr. 1984, vol. 2, pp. 129–132. According to one tradition, Qā'imī was a friend of late seventeenth-century Bosnian poet Gā'ibī Šejh Mustafa as well as the legendary sixteenth-century dervish Gül Baba who is buried in Budapest; *idem*, pp. 129–130 and ns. 8, 9. Cf. Fekete, L., "Gülbaba," *ET* II, 1133b. Qā'imī's grave is said to be visited by many pilgrims en route to their *zijaretgah* to Gül Baba's tomb in Budapest; Kalabić, 1893, p. 508.

<sup>5</sup> On Šejh Muslihudin Užičanin, see Lavić, 2006/2007, pp. 111–128, esp. 114. Also 'Ušâqizâde, tr. and ed. Kissling, 1965, p. 553; Clayer, 1994, pp. 95, 103, 140, 153, 159, 155, 167–168, 185–186, 191, 220, 268.

<sup>6</sup> Mujezinović, Knj. II, 1974–82, repr. 1998, p. 128. Cf. Clayer, 1994, p. 155, n. 46.

<sup>7</sup> Ekremov, 1933, pp. 30–54. Šamić, 1986, p. 32.

<sup>8</sup> The term *šejh-mejdan* indicates that the *shaykh* officiates in a *tekke* and leads the *majlis dhikr* (ritual practice at a Sūfī gathering) there; the distinction between *šejh-mejdan* and *shaykh* (*šejh*) is noteworthy since there are also *shaykhs* who do not preside over a *mejdan* (place, i.e. a *tekke*). Hadžijahić, 1982, p. 123 and n. 47.

<sup>9</sup> There are two versions about the foundation of this *tekke*. One is that it was built by the great merchant Hājjī Sinān Āghā at the behest of his son, Mustafa Paša, the *silāhdār* ("bearer of arms") of the Ottoman Sultān Murād IV (r. 1042/1623–1049/1640), hence the official name of the *tekke* was Silāhdār Mustafa Paša Tekija. According to another version, it was built by Mustafa Paša in the name of his father. Cf. von Asboth, 1890, p. 244; Mujezinović, Knj. I, 1974–82, repr. 1998, p. 249; Šamić, 1986, p. 24; Norris, 1993, p. 108.

<sup>10</sup> According to legend, Hasan Qā'imī built a wooden bridge over the river Miljacka, named after him Šejhanija-ćuprija (on the site of today's Čobanija bridge), which in the course of time was corrupted into Šejtanija-ćuprija (Shaytan (or Devil)'s bridge). Djordjević, 1930–4, repr. 1984, vol. 2, p. 128; Mujezinović, Knj. II, 1974–82, repr. 1998, p. 128; Hadžijahić, 1982, p. 123 and n. 46. Palavestra (2003, p. 25, n. ii) adds that the bridge was originally erected by Čoban Hasan and only later on restored by the *shaykh*. However, according to

Hadžijahić (1982, p. 124), Šejh Shāhīn, who succeeded Qā'imī's wife as *shaykh* at Qā'imī Tekke (see n. 22), was in fact the builder of the Šejhanija Bridge and not Qā'imī Baba; this can be inferred on the basis of an Austro-Hungarian map, on which the bridge is marked as the bridge of Šejh Shāhīn ("Sheikh Shahin Brücke").

<sup>11</sup> This date is corroborated in the Imperial *berāt* written in Istanbul of 17 Jūmādā I 1216/26 September 1801, preserved in *Sidžil* no. 44, p. 32, in the Gazi Husrev Beg Library, published in Bosnian translation in Kemura, 1910, p. 253; Čehajić, 1986, p. 147. Different dates are suggested for the date of the transformation of the private house into a *tekke*: 1070/1660 (Kemura and Ćorović, 1912, p. 12; Djordjević, 1930–4, repr. 1984, vol. 2, p. 128; Mujezinović, Knj. I, 1974–82, repr. 1998, p. 128; Hadžijahić, 1982, p. 123) and 1079/1667–8 (Šamić, 1986, p. 25).

<sup>12</sup> Kemura and Ćorović, 1912, p. 12.

<sup>13</sup> Kemura, 1910, p. 253.

<sup>14</sup> Mujezinović, 1974–82, repr. 1998, p. 68.

<sup>15</sup> Bašeskija, 1968, p. 152. See Kemura, 1910, p. 253. Also Norris, 1993, p. 108; Clayer, 1994, p. 155, n. 46.

<sup>16</sup> The term was first coined by the Ottoman historian 'Āṣiqpaṣazāde (803/1400 – after 889/1484). Hadžijahić, 1982, p. 123. These female dervishes were also known as *badžas*, *djulbadžas*, *badž-kadunas*; see *idem*.

<sup>17</sup> *Idem*.

<sup>18</sup> In the area between the *tekke* and the nearby Muhsinzāde 'Abdullah Paša Mosque (built by the Bosnian governor between 1133/1721 and 1161/1748; the mosque was renovated in 1206/1792 by Mustafa hādži Bešlija and is still mentioned in a 1227/1812 *waqf* document) there were three more *zijaretgahs*: one of the good and educated Delil from Medina, who was buried in the *tekke* in c. 1184/1780, as well as the graves of the *shaykhs* Abdulah and Osman. *Idem*.

<sup>19</sup> See Goldziher (1888, repr. 2004, in general, pp. 285–295, 305–325, on female saints, pp. 299–305) for an in-depth description of the characteristics of a *walī*. Cf. Gramlich, 1987, pp. 58–73.

<sup>20</sup> *Idem*.

<sup>21</sup> *Idem*, pp. 123–124. Buturovic, 2005, p. 761.

<sup>22</sup> Hadžijahić, 1982, pp. 124, 129–130. The *wakīlkhāna* of Hasan Qā'imī's wife also predates Djulbadža's *tekke* in Hošin brijeg *mahala* on the left side of the river Miljacka, which still existed in the first decade of the twentieth century. See *idem*, pp. 113–114.

<sup>23</sup> This *tekke* comprises two *samā'khānas*, one for men and the other for women, with the wife of the *shaykh* presiding over the *samā'khāna* for women. The *tekke* is located in the *harīm* of the mosque built in 972/1565 by Hadži Timurhan, the son of Alija.

<sup>24</sup> *Idem*, p. 124. Qā'imī is said to have been a leader of the famine-driven food riots of the urban poor aggravated by speculative hoarding of the wealthy merchants of Sarajevo; during this riot the *mehkjema* (Ar. *mahkama*, "court") was attacked and the *kādī* (Ar. *qādī*, "judge") Omer and his *najīb* (Ar. *nā'ib*, "delegate, deputy") Ahmed were killed. See the Imperial *berāt* of 17 Jūmādā I 1216/26 September 1801 preserved in *Sidžil* no. 44, p. 32, in the Gazi Husrev Beg Library; Kemura, 1910, p. 253; Kemura and Ćorović, 1912, p. 12; Djordjević, 1930–4, repr. 1984, vol. 2, p. 129; Mujezinović, Knj. II, 1974–82, repr. 1998, p. 128; Šamić, 1986, p. 28.

<sup>25</sup> The popular Šejh Shāhīn ("gerfalcon"; whose *makhlas* is closely related to that of the founder of the Qādiriyya, 'Abd al-Qādir, known as Basil al-Ešheb (al-Bāzi 'l Ashhab, "white falcon"); see also p. 7), and who is buried in a small cemetery at Panjina kula (Kalabić, 1893, p. 508), thereafter served as *shaykh* of the Qā'imī Tekke; he appears to be incorrectly included in the list of *shaykhs* that presided over the Hājjī Sinān Tekke. See Hadžijahić, 1982, p. 124.

<sup>26</sup> As stated in the Imperial *berāt* of 17 Jūmādā I 1216/26 September 1801 preserved in *Sidžil* no. 44, p. 32, in the Gazi Husrev Beg Library (Kemura, 1910, p. 253), "on the deserted place where the Hasan Qā'imī *tekke* was located, the benefactor [*qādī* Hājjī Muhamed Zihnija] erected a new *tekke* as well as a new *masjid* (mosque) next to it, where the *shaykh* and *imām* served without income." In the same *berāt* it is stated that at some time after 1108/1697 and before 1176/1762–3 the *tekke* changed the *usul* ("principle, foundation") and followed the Naqshbandiyya *tariqa*. Kemura, 1910, p. 253; Hadžijahić, 1982, p. 124.

<sup>27</sup> Kemura, 1910, p. 253.

<sup>28</sup> The *Dīwāns* of Qā'imī have been the subject of Jasna Šamić's PhD thesis, completed at the Université de Paris III, which she published in French in 1986.

<sup>29</sup> Šamić, 1986, p. 189.

<sup>30</sup> Braune, W., "Abd al-Kādir al-Djīlānī," *EF*<sup>2</sup> I, 69a.

<sup>31</sup> Šamić, 1986, Ġazel IV, pp. 92–93, ll. 1.

<sup>32</sup> *Eadem*, ll. 3–4. The same ecstatic theme is evoked in Murabba'a II, III, *eadem*, pp. 102–103, and Murabba'a V.b.3 (II), V, *eadem*, pp. 124–125.

<sup>33</sup> Ritter, H., "Abū Yazīd al-Bistāmī," *EF*<sup>2</sup> I, 162a.

<sup>34</sup> Šamić, 1986, Ġazel II, pp. 84–85, ll. 11.

<sup>35</sup> *Eadem*, pp. 162–163, Qasīda, n. 153.

<sup>36</sup> *Eadem*, pp. 162–163, Qasīda, n. 157.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. *eadem*, p. 90, n. 20.

<sup>38</sup> *Eadem*, pp. 40, 96–100, 165–166, 177, 189, 211.

<sup>39</sup> *Eadem*, pp. 98–99, Murabba'a I, II and ns. I,1 and II,1.

<sup>40</sup> *Eadem*, p. 100, n. II,1. Šamić mistakenly confused here the *maqāms* of the Qādiriyya with those of the Khalwatiyya. The list of twelve names was enumerated by the late Šejh Hadži Fejzullah efendi Hadžibajrić, the celebrated Qādiri *šejh-mejdan* of the Hājjī Sinān Tekke, who passed away in 1410/1990.

- <sup>41</sup> *Eadem*, pp. 98–99, Murabbaʿa I, VIII.
- <sup>42</sup> *Eadem*, pp. 164–165, Qasīda, n. 167.
- <sup>43</sup> *Eadem*, Qasīda, n. 168.
- <sup>44</sup> Brown, 1868, repr. 1968, p. 92 and n. 1. Cf. *eadem*, p. 234.
- <sup>45</sup> *Eadem*, pp. 166–167, Qasīda, n. 175.
- <sup>46</sup> *Eadem*, pp. 154–155, Qasīda, n. 122.
- <sup>47</sup> See for instance *eadem*, Qasīda, pp. 144–145, n. 72, 148–149, ns. 89, 91, 152–153, n. 115, 154–155, n. 122, 156–157, n. 134, 160–161, ns. 145, 147, 166–167, n. 176.
- <sup>48</sup> *Eadem*, pp. 144–145, 152–153, 154–155, 197–198, 211.
- <sup>49</sup> Djordjević, 1930–4, repr. 1984, vol. 2, p. 129.
- <sup>50</sup> *Idem*, p. 127. Fahd, T., “Djafr,” *EF*<sup>2</sup> III, 375b. On Evliya Çelebi’s copious references of the practice of onomancy (Turk. *cefr*) in the seventeenth-century Ottoman empire, see Dankoff, 2004, pp. 102–104 and ns. 58–60.
- <sup>51</sup> Šamić, 1986, pp. 50–67.
- <sup>52</sup> *Eadem*, pp. 68–75.
- <sup>53</sup> *Eadem*, pp. 74–75, Qasīda, n. 20.
- <sup>54</sup> See n. 21.
- <sup>55</sup> Cf. Gramlich (1987, pp. 38–58) for a concise definition of *karāmāt*.
- <sup>56</sup> Djordjević, 1930–4, repr. 1984, vol. 2, p. 131.
- <sup>57</sup> *Idem*.
- <sup>58</sup> This reference was given in an account of Hadžijahić’s father Hadži häfi Džemaludin, who died in 1955; cf. Hadžijahić, 1982, p. 124. See however also Djordjević (1930–4, repr. 1984, vol. 2, p. 136) who in 1929 recorded oral legends in Zvornik relating to Qāʾimī and according to which the latter stayed with a family named Djulbegović.
- <sup>59</sup> A handwritten manuscript of a grammatical debate, of which Qāʾimī’s son was the author, was preserved until 1962 in Qāʾimī’s *türbe* in Zvornik. In this year the manuscript was presented to Gamal Abdel Nasser, the then president of the United Arab Republic, and is now kept in Cairo. There is however also the possibility that the term “son” alludes here to an *evladi menevi* (Turk. *evlâdi menevi*), that is Qāʾimī’s spiritual son. See Hadžijahić, 1982, p. 124 and n. 49.
- <sup>60</sup> Šamić, 1986, p. 43; on Mustafa Mukhtārī also pp. 34, 41–43, 150–151, 168, 174, 176, 190, 196, 212; on Gāʾibī, pp. 30, 34.
- <sup>61</sup> Mujezinović, Knj. II, 1974–82, repr. 1998, p. 128.
- <sup>62</sup> Čehajić, 1986, p. 47.
- <sup>63</sup> Listed by the Institute for the Protection of the Cultural, Historical and Natural Heritage of Bosnia and Herzegovina as Category 1 monument of Islamic religious heritage sites.
- <sup>64</sup> Personal communication with Professor Ismet Bušatlić (15 June 2011).
- <sup>65</sup> Lilek, 1896, p. 446. See also Goldziher (1888, repr. 2004, pp. 349–352) on the tree cult in the veneration of the saints in Islam.

<sup>66</sup> Mujezinović, Knj. II, 1974–82, repr. 1998, p. 128.

<sup>67</sup> In a personal communication with Professor Ismet Bušatlić (15 June 2011) he informed the present author that Mehmed Mujezinović had worked for many years on a detailed investigation of the inscriptions on sections of the wooden screen of the *türbe*. Sadly Mujezinović passed away before being able to publish his research. After his death his library was sold to the Orijentalni institut u Sarajevu; however according to the librarian, Mubera Bavčić, who was contacted in July 2011, the notes of this article are not part of the Institute's inventory. There is a distinct possibility that Mehmed Mujezinović's son, Mustafa Mujezinović, has preserved these records in his father's house; so far though it has been impossible to obtain more information about the whereabouts of this important study on the graffiti on the partition. This documentation represents a valuable and perhaps unique study of the interiors of Bosnian *türbes* from the late seventeenth to the twentieth century and serves as an important testimony of pilgrims' visits to Hasan Qā'imī's *türbe* and their veneration, eulogies, commendations and reactions vis-à-vis the seventeenth-century *shaykh* and poet.

<sup>68</sup> Mujezinović, Knj. II, 1974–82, repr. 1998, p. 128.

<sup>69</sup> *Idem*.

<sup>70</sup> *Idem*, pp. 128–129.

<sup>71</sup> *Idem*.

<sup>72</sup> Massignon, 1954, pp. 61–110. Also Koch, 1883; Huber, 1910; Hasluck, 1929, vol. I, pp. 310–312; Kandler, 1994.

<sup>73</sup> See Massignon, 1950, pp. 245–260 and *idem*, 1954, pp. 61–110. Cf. Massignon's reassembled articles in Moubarac, 1961. On the popular veneration of the Seven Sleepers, see also Hasluck, 1929, vol. I, pp. 309–319.

<sup>74</sup> Cf. Schimmel, 1975, pp. 104–105.

<sup>75</sup> According to Meisami (*The Haft Paykar*, tr. and ed., 1995, p. xxxiii) the initiation rituals of the *futuwwa* (fraternities of young men who embraced the ideals of chivalry and true religion) comprised the recitation of Qur'ānic passages including one from the *sūrat al-kaḥf* (18:10): "When the young men fled for refuge to the cave and said: Our Lord! Give us mercy from thy presence and shape for us right conduct in our plight."

<sup>76</sup> Schimmel, 1994, p. 48.

<sup>77</sup> *Eadem*; Meisami, 1995, p. xxxiii.

<sup>78</sup> Schimmel, 1994, p. 48.

<sup>79</sup> Djordjević, 1930–4, repr. 1984, vol. 2, p. 136.

<sup>80</sup> Šamić, 1986, p. 36.

<sup>81</sup> *Eadem*, p. 36 and n. 89.

<sup>82</sup> *Eadem*, p. 36 and n. 91. Šamić mistakenly ascribes this tradition to Djordjević (*op.cit.*), who however does not mention this folk tradition in his records.

<sup>83</sup> Šamić, 1986, p. 24.

<sup>84</sup> Mujezinović, Knj. II, 1974–82, repr. 1998, p. 131 (and illustration of colophon).

<sup>85</sup> *Idem.*

<sup>86</sup> Birge, 1937, repr. 1956, p. 233.

<sup>87</sup> Gramlich (1981, pp. 7–8) describes the use of the *tabar* during official occasions such as during the visit of a *shaykh* to the *tekke* of another *shaykh*. See also the discussion in *idem*, 1965, pp. 79–80.

<sup>88</sup> Birge, 1937, repr. 1956, p. 236 (no. 9).

<sup>89</sup> For discussion of dervish weapons, see Frembgen, 1999, pp. 123–156.

<sup>90</sup> Boratav, P.N., “Ilāhī,” *EF* III, 1094a.

<sup>91</sup> *Bahjat al-tā’ifa wa Saum al-qalb*, tr. and ed. Badeen, 1999, p. 110. Cf. Hillenbrand, C., 1999, p. 161.

<sup>92</sup> *Bahjat al-tā’ifa wa Saum al-qalb*, tr. and ed. Badeen, 1999, p. 110.

<sup>93</sup> See *idem*, p. 110, n. 118; also Ibn ‘Arabī, *al-Durrah al-Fākhira*, *al-Rūh al-Quds fī Muhāsabat al-Nafs*, tr. and ed. Austin, 1971, p. 53.

<sup>94</sup> *The Mathnawī of Jalālu’d-dīn Rūmī: Containing the Text of the Fifth and Sixth Books and Indices*, tr. and ed. Nicholson, R.A., Cambridge, 1925–40.

<sup>95</sup> *Eadem*, Murabba’a V.b.3 (II), VI, *eadem*, pp. 126–127 and n. VI.I.

<sup>96</sup> Cf. Chittick, W.C., “*Wahdat al-Shuhūd*,” *EF* XI, 37b.

<sup>97</sup> Šamić, 1986, pp. 140–141, Qasīda, n. 57.

<sup>98</sup> *Eadem*, pp. 150–151, n. 100.

<sup>99</sup> *Eadem*, pp. 158–159, n. 137.

<sup>100</sup> *Eadem*, n. 142.

<sup>101</sup> It is interesting to contrast these lines with the well known *hadīth*, related to the authority of the second/eighth century saint, al-Hasan of Basra: “There will be no Mahdī but Jesus, son of Mary (*Lā mahdīya illa ‘Īsā*),” which stipulates that the Mahdī is Jesus returning to earth at the end of time; Elmore, 1999, pp. 177–179 and n. 97. Cf. also Gerald Elmore’s careful analysis of the “doctrine” of the great Andalusian Arab mystic Muhammad ibn ‘Alī Ibn al-‘Arabī (560/1165–638/1240) of Jesus as the Universal Seal of sainthood (*khātam al-walāyah al-mutlaqah*) and the dangers this presented vis-à-vis the uninitiated public, hence the mystic’s use of a secret coded script to conceal passages of some of his writings, particularly when he related to this subject; *idem*, 1999, pp. 3–8, 35–36, 184. The association of the coming of Jesus with that of the Mahdī appears to have been a well known topos of seventeenth-century mystics of the Ottoman world. The contemporary seventeenth-century poet and mystic Muhammad Nīzā’ī Mistrī of Brūsa was thrice banished and died in exile in Lemnos in 1111/1699 – in part for his alleged leanings towards Christianity the core of which probably formed his belief in the return of Jesus followed by to the coming of the Mahdī at the end of time; see Brown, 1868, repr. 1968, p. 204 and n. 1.

<sup>102</sup> Šamić, 1986, pp. 134–135, Qasīda, n. 30.